

THE ROLE OF SOCCER IN THE ADJUSTMENT  
OF IMMIGRANTS TO AUSTRALIA: A SOUTH  
AUSTRALIAN CASE STUDY  
1947 TO 2013

JUSTIN PETER CIVITILLO

BSocSc, BA (Honours)

Discipline of Geography, Environment and Population

Faculty of Humanities and Social Sciences

The University of Adelaide

South Australia

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## **ABSTRACT**

This thesis brings together both existing and new pieces of research, conducted over a period of 8 years. There are four primary aims. The first is to analyse the role the sport of soccer has played in the adjustment of immigrants to Australia since the Second World War with South Australia as a case study. This thesis lies in the context of immigrant adjustment theory and it is an attempt to analyse the role played by soccer in the lives of both new arrivals and their descendants. The social impact of participation in soccer is a long neglected aspect of settlement experiences in Australian immigration literature. Soccer has been specified due to its position in Australia as a sport played and supported by large numbers of culturally and linguistically diverse immigrants.

The second aim is to examine the influence of participation in soccer on cultural maintenance. Australian soccer clubs formed by CALD European settlers have a reputation of encouraging their members to maintain their ethnic identity while also stimulating anti-social attitudes – this study investigates the degree to which this is actually occurring, and the implications for cultural and social adjustment. The third is to investigate the potential for participation in soccer to influence the adjustment of immigrants from Asia, Africa and the Middle East – groups more representative of Australia's immigrant intakes since the 1970s and presently. The fourth is to explore the implications of the study's findings for immigrant adjustment theory and settlement policy in Australia.

## DECLARATION

I certify that this work contains no material which has been accepted for the award of any other degree or diploma in my name, in any university or other tertiary institution and, to the best of my knowledge and belief, contains no material previously published or written by another person, except where due reference has been made in the text. In addition, I certify that no part of this work will, in future, be used in a submission in my name, for any other degree or diploma in any university or other tertiary institution without the prior approval of the University of Adelaide and where applicable, any partner institution responsible for the joint-award of this degree.

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## ABBREVIATIONS

AAP – Australian Associated Press  
 ABC – Australian Broadcasting Corporation  
 ABS – Australian Bureau of Statistics  
 ACT – Australian Capital Territory  
 AEAC – Australian Ethnic Affairs Council  
 AFC – Asian Football Confederation  
 AFL – Australian Football League  
 AMAC – Australian Multicultural Affairs Council  
 APIA – Associazione Poli-sportiva Italo Australiana  
 ASCCEG – Australian Standard Classification of Cultural and Ethnic Groups  
 ASCO – Australian Standard Classification of Occupations  
 ASEAN – Association of Southeast Asian Nations  
 ASF – Australian Soccer Federation  
 ASFA – Australian Soccer Football Association  
 ATT – Attendance  
 AUS – Australia  
 BBC – British Broadcasting Corporation  
 CALD – Culturally and linguistically diverse  
 CBCS – Commonwealth Bureau of Census and Statistics  
 CCS – Complex Case Support  
 CMYI – Centre for Multicultural Youth Issues  
 CNN – Cable News Network  
 DC – District of Columbia  
 DIAC – Department of Immigration and Citizenship  
 DIBP – Department of Immigration and Border Protection  
 DIEA – Department of Immigration and Ethnic Affairs  
 DIMA – Department of Immigration and Multicultural Affairs  
 DIMIA – Department of Immigration and Multicultural and Indigenous Affairs  
 DP – Displaced Persons  
 DPCD – Department of Planning and Community Development  
 ECCV – Ethnic Communities' Council of Victoria  
 EU – European Union  
 FC – Football Club  
 FFA – Football Federation Australia  
 FFNT – Football Federation Northern Territory  
 FNSW – Football New South Wales  
 FFSA – Football Federation South Australia  
 FFT – Football Federation Tasmania  
 FFV – Football Federation Victoria  
 FIFA – Fédération Internationale de Football Association  
 IOM – International Organization of Migration  
 JUST – Yugoslav United Soccer Team  
 LGA – Local Government Area  
 MLS – Major League Soccer  
 NFSP – National Framework for Settlement Planning  
 NRL – National Rugby League  
 NSL – National Soccer League

NSW – New South Wales  
NSWFSC – New South Wales Federation of Soccer Clubs  
NT – Northern Territory  
NZ – New Zealand  
OOP – Onshore Orientation Program  
QLD – Queensland  
SA – South Australia  
SAASL – South Australian Amateur Soccer League  
SASFA – South Australian Soccer Football Association  
SBS – Special Broadcasting Service  
SC – Soccer Club  
SCOA – Settlement Council of Australia  
SES – Socioeconomic status  
SWB – Sports Without Borders  
TAS – Tasmania  
UK – United Kingdom  
US – United States  
VIC – Victoria  
VSF – Victorian Soccer Federation  
WA – Western Australia

# CHAPTER 1

## INTRODUCTION

### 1.1 Introduction

This study is concerned with the adjustment of immigrants to Australia since the Second World War, focussing on the role played by participation in sport.

Immigration has been a major driving force in the economic growth and social development of postwar Australia (Jupp, 1998). Much has been written on the experiences of the postwar immigrants to Australia and their economic, social and cultural adjustment (Price, 1963; Hollinsworth, 1998; Castles et al., 1998; Jupp, 1998; 2007; Richards, 2008; Markus et al. 2009). However, the literature on settlement has largely ignored the impact of sport on immigrant adjustment. This is despite the strong immigrant presence in many sports played in Australia (Mosely et al., 1997), the importance of sporting activities and achievements in mainstream Australian society (Kell, 2000), interest in the role sport is playing in the indigenous population (Gorman, 2010) and literature in other countries on sport and immigrant adjustment (Price and Whitworth, 2004). Many immigrants face social and cultural barriers upon arrival in Australia – especially those from culturally and linguistically diverse (CALD<sup>1</sup>) backgrounds (Castles and Davidson, 2000; Khoo, 2011). Sport potentially can assist in the removal of these barriers, particularly one with such a global

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<sup>1</sup> The term CALD – used throughout this thesis – is a: “...broad and inclusive descriptor for communities with diverse language, ethnic background, nationality, dress, traditions, food, societal structures, art and religion characteristics. This term is used broadly and often synonymously with the term ‘ethnic communities.’ CALD is the preferred term for many government and community agencies as a contemporary descriptor for ethnic communities. CALD people are generally defined as those people born overseas, in countries other than those classified by the Australian Bureau of Statistics (ABS) as ‘main English speaking countries’” (ECCV, 2012, p.1). It has replaced the term ‘non-English speaking’ (NES) countries to refer to immigrants from countries in which the main language is not English in government and community discussion in Australia.

coverage and accessibility as association football, a sport traditionally referred to in Australia as soccer.

Using a mixed-methods approach, this project seeks an understanding of the role that soccer has played, and continues to play, in the adjustment of immigrants to Australia. It is hoped that the results will contribute to the understanding of the immigrant adjustment process and also assist policy makers in determining how sport can be used to help the social development of culturally diverse immigrants.

## **1.2 Aims and Objectives**

This study will analyse the relationship between sport and immigrant adjustment in Australia since the Second World War using a mixed methods approach, using South Australia as a case study. It will specifically focus on the role participation in soccer clubs has played in influencing settlement experiences. The project has four main objectives:

1) *To analyse the role soccer has played in the adjustment of immigrants to Australia since the Second World War.*

The study seeks to understand how soccer has influenced the adjustment of immigrants to Australia – a long neglected aspect of settlement experiences in Australian immigration literature. Soccer has been specified due to its position in Australia as a sport played and supported by large numbers of CALD immigrants (Mosely, 1997a, p.155). Soccer's role in influencing settlement experiences will be compared to the wider literature on this issue, which more commonly focuses on



other institutions, such as churches and community clubs. This thesis is placed in the context of immigrant adjustment theory and it examines the role played by soccer in the lives of both new arrivals and their descendants. Adelaide, South Australia serves as the main study area; the reasoning for selecting South Australia as a case study is outlined in Chapter 4.

*2) To examine the influence of participation in soccer clubs on cultural maintenance.*

The study will examine immigrant involvement in semi-professional and amateur soccer leagues in South Australia and the role soccer clubs play in influencing cultural maintenance among their participants. Australian soccer clubs formed by CALD European settlers have a reputation of encouraging their members to maintain their ethnic identity while also stimulating anti-social attitudes – this study will investigate the degree to which this is actually occurring (Mosely and Murray, 1994; Hay, 2006a; Wilson, *The Daily Telegraph* [Sydney], 25<sup>th</sup> August 2012).

*3) To analyse the potential influence of sport on the adjustment of Asian, African and Middle Eastern arrivals.*

From 1952 to 1972, Australia's immigrant intakes were dominated by working class arrivals from European nations (Jupp, 1998, pp.110-111). Following the dismantlement of the White Australia Policy, Australia's major sources of immigrants now include African and Asian nations (ABS, 2007a). Furthermore, the immigrants selected are predominantly skilled, with visas of various lengths of stay available – which is a significant change from the emphasis on permanent migration that

predominated during the first five postwar decades (Hugo, 2006, p.108). The project will investigate the participation of immigrants from Asia, Africa and the Middle East in soccer and how it affects their adjustment.

*4) To explore the implications of the study's findings for immigrant adjustment theory and settlement policy in Australia.*

CALD arrivals continue to feature in Australia's immigrant intakes and are increasing in both number and percentage; settlers from Asia represented 45.1 per cent of permanent arrivals in 2011-12, compared to 33.9 per cent in 1999-2000 – representing a numerical increase of 40,490, from 31,150 to 71,640 (ABS, 2012a). The findings of this project will provide concepts for using sport to help immigrants adjust, such as forming sports clubs and leagues specifically for them, or by encouraging them to participate in a sports-based social program. This objective will be reviewed in the concluding chapter of this thesis, with implications for theory and recommendations for policy.

## **1.3 Immigration to Australia**

### **1.3.1 Background**

Australia, along with the US, Canada and New Zealand, is considered a traditional country of immigration; that is, a nation constructed by colonisation and immigration (Castles and Miller, 2003, p.198; Bedford, 2003). Initially settled by indigenous groups over 30,000 years ago, European settlement began in 1788 when Australia became a British colony. Britain remained Australia's largest source of permanent

immigrants annually from Federation until being overtaken by New Zealand – initially from 1996 to 2002, and then since 2006 (DIMA, 2001, p.16; ABS, 2012a). Australia is no longer a strictly British nation. Since the Second World War Australia has received a large number of immigrants in distinct waves from different areas of Europe, Asia, Africa and the Middle East. Over 300 different ethnicities were reported in the 2011 census (ABS, 2012b). International migration has had a significant impact on the growth of Australia's population, with overseas-born accounting for 27 per cent of the population; furthermore, 20 per cent of the Australia-born population had an overseas-born parent in 2011 (ABS, 2012b).

### **1.3.2 Postwar immigration to Australia**

There have been two distinct phases in Australian immigration history. From British colonization in 1788 to the end of the Second World War in 1945, the majority of immigrants arrived from Britain and other English-speaking nations. Immigration policy during this period reflected Australia's Anglo-Celtic mainstream; the White Australia Policy, implemented in 1901, prevented non-Europeans from immigrating – which was a response to significant Chinese settlement in the 19<sup>th</sup> century (Choi, 1975). Though prewar settlement was crucial to the growth of Australia's population, after 1945 immigration significantly changed Australia as a nation, culturally and economically (Markus et al., pp.3-17).

Since 1947, the sources of Australia's immigrant population have changed to include major intakes from mainland Europe, Asia and the Middle East, and Africa. Table 1.1 shows that in 2011 persons born in non-English speaking nations represented 15.7 per cent of the population, compared to just 1.9 per cent in 1947; Asia and Middle

East born in particular have risen from 0.3 per cent of the population to 9.2 per cent in this period.

**Table 1.1: Composition of the Australian Population by Place of Birth, 1947 and 2011**

Birthplace	1947		2011	
	Persons	Per cent	Persons	Per cent
<b>English speaking nations</b>	<b>7,438,892</b>	<b>98.1</b>	<b>16,931,210</b>	<b>78.7</b>
Australia	6,835,171	90.2	15,017,847	69.8
UK and Ireland	543,829	7.2	1,168,401	5.4
New Zealand	43,619	0.6	483,398	2.2
USA and Canada	10,304	0.1	115,881	0.5
South Africa	5,969	0.1	145,683	0.7
<b>Non-English speaking nations</b>	<b>140,466</b>	<b>1.9</b>	<b>3,367,078</b>	<b>15.7</b>
Other Europe	109,586	1.4	962,644	4.5
Asia and Middle East	23,293	0.3	1,978,658	9.2
Other Africa	1,531	0.0	192,144	0.9
Other America	1,323	0.0	107,869	0.5
Other Oceania	4,733	0.1	125,763	0.6
<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>7,579,358</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>21,507,717<sup>2</sup></b>	<b>100</b>

Source: Hugo, 2004a, p.16; ABS, 2012c

There have been several different waves of immigrants during this period. Following the Second World War the Australian government attempted to increase immigration; this was driven by labour shortages and through fear of invasion (Castles and Miller, 2003, p.199). However, British settlers alone were not enough to meet the target numbers, so the government assisted the settlement of over 300,000 Displaced Persons (DPs) from Eastern Europe – who were expected to rapidly assimilate culturally, socially and economically (Richards, 2008, pp.182-183; Jupp. 1998, p.104). In the 1950s and 1960s, based on the success of the DP program, immigrants were recruited from other parts of Europe, most notably Southern Europe (Price, 1968a, p.3).

<sup>2</sup> Includes 1,209,429 not stated, at sea or inadequately described.

A significant change in the origin of Australia's immigrants occurred in the 1970s; following the dismantlement of the White Australia Policy and with growing public support, substantial immigration from Asia began, initially Vietnamese refugees from Indo China and later other areas of South East Asia as well as East Asia (Mackie, 1997, p.11; McCoy, 1997, p.136; Viviani, 1984, pp.128). More recently, there has been an increase in settlement from New Zealand, Africa and the Middle East – the latter two driven by refugee and humanitarian entrants (Hugo, 2006, pp.110-111; ABS, 2012a). Chapter 4 will feature an in-depth analysis of these waves, and their impact on Australia's population and culture.

### **1.3.3 Permanent settlement and issues of adjustment**

Since the Second World War and until the 1990s, Australian immigration policy was focussed on permanent settlement, with arrivals gaining full citizenship and joining the Australian cultural and economic mainstream (Markus et al., 2009, p.9). The 'guest worker,' temporary immigration-based programs developed postwar by European nations were eschewed in favour of building the nation through permanent settlement (Markus et al., 2009, p.9). Hence, considering the diverse backgrounds of postwar permanent settlers to Australia, their successful adjustment to life in Australia is crucial to their level of social and economic contribution; immigrants have been identified as having a high risk of social exclusion (Sanders et al., 2008). This has been reflected in government policy, initially structured to force CALD arrivals to assimilate into the mainstream, from Federation until the implementation of multiculturalism in 1977 (Jupp, 2007, p.20).

A policy of assimilation successfully maintained Australia's position as a British nation until the postwar intakes of CALD arrivals from mainland Europe (Price, 1963, p.216). CALD Europeans resisted assimilation, maintaining their cultural identity and forming communities and cultural institutions (Castles et al., 1998, p.370). This resulted in a shift in policy to integration, then to multiculturalism, which protected the rights of CALD settlers to practice cultural maintenance, to improve inter-cultural relations between mainstream Australians and CALD groups (Galbally, 1978). Multiculturalism has since remained Australia's settlement policy, even during the term of John Howard's conservative coalition government from 1996 to 2007. Howard, a long time critic of multiculturalism, attempted to reposition Australia as a culturally British nation despite the population continuing to grow more diverse during his tenure as Prime Minister (Jakubowicz, 2007, p.9; Jupp, 1998, p.147; ABS, 2012a). Despite the success of multiculturalism in helping immigrants to adjust, many arrivals – particularly refugees and humanitarian entrants – face significant barriers to inclusion in Australian society (Hugo et al., 2012, p.135). A more detailed discussion of postwar immigration to Australia, including settlement policy, will be conducted in Chapter 4.

## **1.4 Sport in Australia**

### **1.4.1 Background**

Sporting achievement has served as a source of nationalism and unity for Australians (Kell, 2000, pp.154-155). Cricket, for example, brought together the colonies for a common purpose prior to Federation in 1901 (Vamplew, 1994, p.3). According to Cashman (1995, p.14): “Sport, as much as religion or any other form of tradition and culture, was highly regarded by those who colonised Australia.” During the 19<sup>th</sup>

century, sport was a means for Australia to interact with Britain, as well as providing immigrants from Britain a cultural space to connect with home (Adair, 2010, p.332).

Excluding Antarctica, Australia has, by far, the lowest rainfall of any continent, and a much smaller contrast between winter and summer temperatures than the Northern Hemisphere continents. Australia's climate allowed for sport to be played in every season, with the major cities developing in temperate zones featuring lengthy summer periods (Cashman, 1995, pp.38-41). As sport became more ingrained in Australian culture, many specialised sport constructions appeared in urban areas (Cashman, 1995, p.38). The low population density meant that there were a large number of open spaces available for playing sport; and unlike in Britain, they could be utilised all year (Dunstan, 1976, p.7). Australia's social, economic and political growth from 1861 to 1901, a period during which the non-indigenous population trebled, is also a reason for the bond between sport and Australian identity; not coincidentally, organised sport also became prominent during this time (Ward, 2010, pp.78-79).

At the turn of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, Australia (Federated in 1901) had little influence in global affairs, and the lack of a distinctly Australian culture meant that Australia's contribution to the arts was insignificant; however, during the second half of the 19<sup>th</sup> century it had become increasingly successful in sport, especially cricket, rowing and the rugby codes (Adair, 2010, p.332). Sporting triumphs were almost the lone source of national pride, resulting in Australians developing a devotion to sport. As Dunstan (1976, p.10) states: "The first successes Australia ever had were in sport, with the result that sport became the god."

### 1.4.2 Sport and Australian identity

Sport united the colonies when Australia was represented as a nation, most prominently in cricket (Caldwell, 1976, p.141). A win in London against England's Marylebone Cricket Club in August 1882 is perhaps the most notable event in shaping the nation's love of sport (Vamplew, 1994, p.3). The victory proved that Australian teams could rival those of the motherland, and it is still revered today with the winners of the regular series between Australia and England being awarded possession of 'The Ashes' of English cricket, 'cremated' after that win and contained in a small urn (Adair, 2010, p.332).

Sporting success constructed the belief that Australians were typically strong physically and mentally, and that the Australian way of life was superior (Kapferer, 1996, p.262). Honourable defeats do not exist for Australian sportspeople, as Dunstan (1976, p.11) argues:

“The public has this desire for success and the champions are lionized to such a degree that there are few dividends for failure. Australian sportsmen have a fanatical desire to win with a killer instinct not often equalled by other nations.”

### 1.4.3 'Australian' sports

Cricket is arguably the sport Australians (especially Anglo-Celtic males<sup>3</sup>) have identified with most closely; Figure 1.1, for example, shows that cricket was the most regularly viewed sport on television by Australians from October 2010 to September 2011 (Kampmark, 2004, p.100). All of the top 5 sports are among those favoured by Anglo-Australians; however, Table 1.2 shows that of team ball sports and activities,

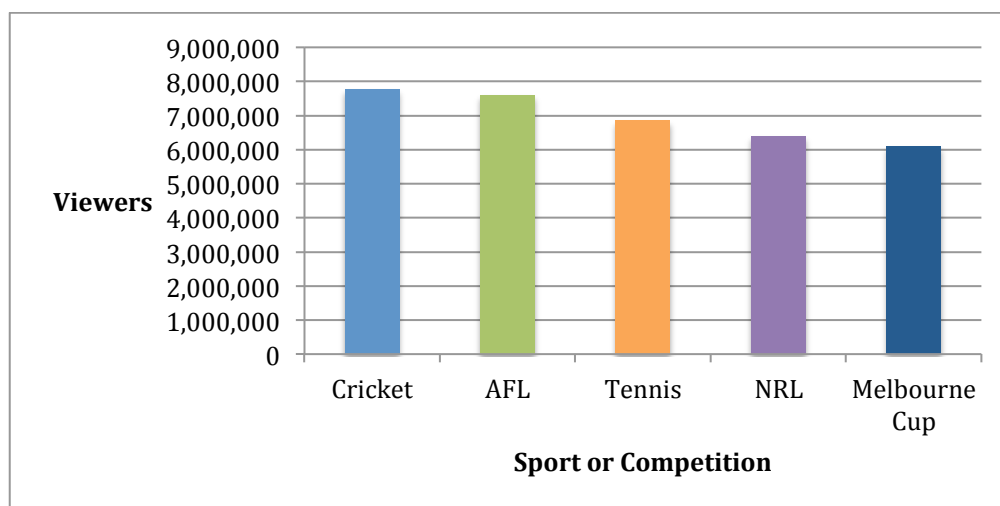
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<sup>3</sup> According to Gemmell (2008, p.33): "...Australian [cricket] crowds are virtual no-go areas for Aborigines, hold very few women and only a sprinkling of followers from the new immigrant communities.”



only tennis had more participants in 2011-12 than soccer; more Australians played outdoor soccer than Australian Rules, rugby league and rugby union combined.

**Figure 1.1: Most Popular Sports Watched by Australians (14+; ‘almost always’ or ‘occasionally’) on TV, October 2010 to September 2011<sup>4</sup>**



Source: Roy Morgan Research, 2012

**Table 1.2: Participants in Selected Ball Sports, Australia, 2011-12**

Sport	Males	Females	Total
Tennis	436,100	314,200	750,300
Soccer (outdoor)	386,600	120,500	489,100
Netball	39,700	410,500	450,200
Basketball	245,600	109,300	354,800
Other football <sup>5</sup>	206,200	114,000	320,200
Cricket	268,300	12,900	281,200
Australian Rules	222,600	18,900	241,500
Soccer (indoor)	166,700	27,500	194,200
Rugby league	95,200	8,900	104,100
Rugby union	95,600	5,300	101,000

Source: ABS, 2012d

Cricket appealed to Australians in every State and of all socio-economic backgrounds (Kampmark, 2004, p.100). Cricket also represented Australian ideals; according to

<sup>4</sup> AFL refers to the Australian Football League, the national competition for Australian Rules football; NRL refers to the National Rugby League, the national competition for rugby league.

<sup>5</sup> Includes touch football, Oztag, Gaelic football and American football.

Harriss (1986, p.193): “Cricket is a game that stresses the individual, but it does so always in the context of social obligation.” Furthermore, as Elford (1976, p.39) states:

“[During Australia’s formative years] Cricket was accepted as a game that built character and it appears probable that it was played by a wider cross-section of the community than any other sport, possibly, in part at least, as a consequence of that.”

Australia’s most renowned cricketer, Sir Donald Bradman, became a living symbol of Australian ideals, representing integrity and the ‘fair go’ nature of Australian society (Kampmark, 2004, p.100). Kell (2000, p.10) suggests that sport is so intrinsically linked to Australian culture that:

“...any politician who does not at least feign an interest in sport would have a hard job convincing the Australian public that he or she was good material for the position.”

According to Gordon (1994, pp.xxiii-xxvi) Australia is the only nation besides Greece to have competed at every Summer Olympic Games since 1896, often eschewing political issues that sometimes threatened the holding of the games. Sport has played a key role in the creation of an Australian identity, hence its prominence in Australian society.

#### **1.4.4 Sport and immigrants**

Most postwar CALD immigrants were unfamiliar with ‘Australian’ sports, such as cricket, Australian Rules football, rugby league and union (Cashman, 1995, p.163). CALD immigrants instead excelled at ‘fringe’ sports, including table tennis, fencing, water polo, kayaking, athletics and soccer, the most popular sport across mainland Europe (Kunz, 1985, p.127). However, CALD immigrant successes in ‘Australian’

sports were more highly regarded by the mainstream; for example, while attacking multiculturalism, Windschuttle (*The Australian*, 16<sup>th</sup> December 2005) used Lebanese-Australian Nick Shehadie's representation in Australia's rugby union team as evidence of his loyalty to Australia over his cultural heritage, inquiring: "How Australian can you get?" The history of immigrant participation in soccer, and its relevance to this study, will be analysed in detail in Chapter 5.

### **1.4.5 Soccer or football?**

The term soccer will be used throughout this study to refer to the sport of association football; this is largely to avoid confusion with other sports known as 'football' in Australia, such as Australian Rules football, rugby league and rugby union. It is important to note however that despite soccer previously being widely known by that name in Australia, the official term used by the national governing body (along with state associations) of the sport since rebranding in 2005 is football. The use of the term soccer or football as the sport's name is a political issue among sports writers in Australia, with some arguing that labeling the sport soccer is derogative (Foster, *Sydney Morning Herald*, 8<sup>th</sup> August 2010). The use of the term soccer throughout this study is not to denigrate the sport, nor is it intended to add to the debate on which is the correct term; it is simply to avoid confusion.

## **1.5 Concepts and Definitions**

### **1.5.1 Ethnicity**

Ethnicity is a disputed concept, with scholars differing on whether the term refers to emotional attachment to a particular group; use of symbols to identify one's self; a social construct; a cognitive process; a biological survival instinct; or various

combinations of the above (Hale, 2004, p.458). Some researchers argue that ethnicity is primordial in nature, while others claim that it is situational and identities are dynamic and can change continuously (Levine, 1999, p.166). According to Gilman (1998, p.19), ethnicity is a: “North American sociological concept that is defined against the categories of race and class.” Levine (1999, p.168) states that ethnicity is a: “...method of classifying people (both self and other) that uses origin (socially constructed) as its primary reference;” Adair and Rowe (2010, p.252) agree, arguing that ethnicity is not biological but does have strong ties to ancestry, with social factors such as language, religion, nationality and family serving as the basis of forming identity.

In Australia, both colloquially and in academia, the terms ‘ethnic’ and ‘ethnicity’ generally are used to refer to persons not of Anglo-Saxon or Anglo-Celtic ancestry; it should be noted however that Anglo-Saxon and Anglo-Celtic are separate ethnicities (Khoo and Price, 1996, p.2). The ABS defines ancestry as:

“...the ethnic or cultural heritage of a person, that is, the ethnic or cultural groups to which a person's forebears are or were attached. Operationally, Ancestry is defined as the ethnic or cultural groups which a person *identifies* as being his or her ancestry. Ancestry therefore involves measures of self-identification of ethnic or cultural group affiliation or nationality as well as of descent from one or more particular groups” (ABS, 2011a, p.1).

This study uses ‘ethnic’ and ‘ethnicity’ to refer to Australians (and social institutions) who identify with a cultural background outside the mainstream. Ethnicity may be seen as a choice rather than a birthright (and therefore situational), particularly if a person is of mixed heritage; this may be the case for many later generation immigrants in Australia (Khoo and Price, 1996, p.2). The ABS currently uses the Australian Standard Classification of Cultural and Ethnic Groups (ASCCEG) as the

statistical standard for classifying ancestry (ABS, 2011b, p.2). Within the ASCCEG, ethnicity is determined through distinguishing characteristics previously cited in the ‘Borrie report’ (Borrie, 1984):

- “a long shared history, the memory of which is kept alive
- a cultural tradition, including family and social customs, sometimes religiously based
- a common geographic origin
- a common language (but not necessarily limited to that group)
- a common literature (written or oral)
- a common religion
- being a minority (often with a sense of being oppressed)
- being racially conspicuous”

### 1.5.2 Ethnic enclave

Castles et al. (1998, p.93) state that:

“The term *enclave*<sup>6</sup> was originally used to refer to an area occupied by an ethnic group outside its major territorial area... Today it is used to refer to an area of *ethnic concentration*<sup>7</sup> within a city... It is hard to find a precise definition of the term, but it generally implies a fairly high degree of *segregation* of a group from the rest of the population, and that their daily activities are mainly centered within the enclave through ethnic businesses, associations and religious institutions.”

Ethnic enclave (or immigrant enclave) can also refer to a localised economy of an ethnic community (Logan et al., 2002, pp.299-302). Some researchers consider this to be the only definition for ethnic enclave, and a concentration of immigrants in an area to be a separate phenomenon (Adhikari, 1999, p.9). Some researchers have reasoned that ethnic enclaves occur due to three reasons: discrimination from the mainstream society, economic and social disadvantage, and by free will (Johnston et al., 2007, p.714). Enclaves provide new arrivals with cheap housing and a supportive community, also helping to facilitate the creation of networks that allow immigrants

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<sup>6</sup> Castles et al.’s emphasis

<sup>7</sup> Castles et al.’s emphasis

to find employment (Model, 1985, pp.65-68). Immigrants who do not speak the primary or de facto language of the wider population (e.g. English in Australia) generally experience difficulties finding work outside of ethnic enclaves (Carliner, 2000, p.158).

Some researchers view ethnic enclaves as a temporary phase of settlement, allowing migrants to establish themselves before integrating (Logan et al., 2000, p.101).

However, Price et al. (2005, p.64) argued that spatial dispersion did not necessarily result in social or economic integration, as evidenced by the existence of older immigrant communities of lower economic status segregated from the mainstream in Washington, DC. Price et al. (2005, p.64) also stated that ethnic enclaves were not the only means for new immigrants to form ethnic communities, as they could organise meeting places to congregate on a regular basis.

There is some danger in the establishment of ethnic enclaves, as the deliberate exclusion of the community from the mainstream may limit the upward mobility of its members, therefore trapping itself in the lower socio-economic classes of the host nation – such as the African-American and Latino ghettos in the United States (Marcuse, 1996). The existence of ethnic enclaves in Australia is a long debated issue, with fears regarding the emergence of ethnic neighbourhoods first developing following the Second World War, with the arrival of many CALD settlers from Europe (Castles et al., 1998, pp.94-95). Despite the residential clustering of CALD European groups proving to be a temporary phase, concerns were again raised after increasing immigration from South East Asia (Castles et al., 1998, p.95; Grimes, 1993, pp.102-103). This stemmed from the government's Indochinese refugee

program, essentially serving as a family reunion program and thereby increasing the level of residential concentration in certain areas, such as Cabramatta in Sydney, as many arrivals were dependent on their family for accommodation and finances and could not afford to settle elsewhere (Grimes, 1993, p.107). Furthermore, many arrivals were unsuitable for the jobs available in the mainstream labour market, resulting in the formation of a separate ethnic economy (Birrell, 1993).

Birrell (1993, pp.30-31) has argued that such enclaves insulated immigrants from the mainstream and visibly proved the emergence of separate minorities within Australia. Castles et al. (1998, pp.96-97) has disputed this by arguing that the segregation was due instead to economic disadvantage, rather than deliberate ethnic concentration.

Castles et al. (1998, p.97) concluded that:

“...the terms ethnic enclave, ghetto and underclass are inappropriate in Australia. The typical situation in Australian cities is still one of ethnic mixing, rather than segregation.”

According to Johnston et al. (2007, p.733), compared to other traditional immigration countries and Britain, Australia has far less ethnic residential segregation, with individuals and families more likely to be integrated spatially. Furthermore, many CALD immigrants to Australia tend to move soon after their arrival into more mainstream neighbourhoods compared to their American, British and Canadian counterparts. Johnson et al. (p.733) suggest that nations favouring assimilation tend to experience more instances of ethnic segregation than those espousing multiculturalism.<sup>8</sup>

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<sup>8</sup> Though it should also be noted that in the United States, the two largest minorities – blacks and Hispanics – have largely been excluded from assimilation processes and marginalised, resulting in greater degrees of segregation (Johnston et al., 2007, p.733).

### **1.5.3 Cultural pluralism**

Cultural pluralism refers to immigrants retaining their cultural identity within a larger community while participating in the community. Cultural pluralism is common in traditional immigration countries, such as Australia and the United States (Waters, 1990). She found that Americans of CALD backgrounds considered themselves to be American while also identifying with another ethnicity; as one of her respondents stated:

“You should not say ‘Italian American.’ You should say ‘American of Italian descent.’ Because an Italian is proud to be an American. Proud of his country. That is a very important part of their character” (Anthony Donio, as quoted in Waters, 1990, p.54).

Rubin (1975, p.144) argued that large ethnic communities exist within the host nation in order to prevent alienation. He highlighted the role played by ethnic clubs in stimulating cultural pluralism. Jordan et al. (2009) have argued that ethnic organisations are not only of great benefit for first generation immigrants, but can also be utilised by later generations to develop a sense of their family’s cultural identity. This study will investigate the role played by soccer clubs formed by CALD immigrants in maintaining cultural identity across generations.

### **1.5.4 Ethnic identity**

Ethnic identity refers to a person or a group using a real or imagined set of values to identify as belonging to a particular culture; this includes religious beliefs, language, physical appearance, place of birth, place of residence, cultural practices, history and other traditions (Spencer, 2006a, pp.46-47). The term is important in the context of this study as CALD immigrants tend to identify as belonging to a specific ethnicity, and to express this identity through institutions such as schools, churches,



publications and sporting clubs (Jakubowicz and Moustafine, 2010). Sanders (2002) has argued that in traditional immigration countries, perceptions of ethnic identity, both from within and outside of CALD groups, also play a role in constructing the values that represent a particular identity:

“Ethnic distinctions sometimes coincide with territorial segregation in the host society and with social constructions of racial identity... Constraints on cross-group interaction contribute to the respective groups ignorance of one another. This, in turn, encourages stereotyping. Race and the segregating tendencies of territorial concentrations are not necessarily components of ethnic boundaries, but when one or both of these elements of social organization obtain, they can play important roles in the maintenance of ethnic boundaries” (Sanders, 2002, p.328).

Within Australia, ethnic identity is classified according to the markers outlined by Borrie (1984): shared history, cultural traditions, religion, geographic origin, language, literature, minority status and race (ABS, 2011b). However, according to Burton et al. (2010, pp.1333-1334), there are three major issues in measuring identity: that ethnic identity is a dynamic, multi-dimensional concept and therefore cannot be classified by a single question; that researchers have different understandings of what ethnic identity incorporates; and that as ethnic identity is an evolving concept, the effectiveness of a measure or set of measures diminishes over time.

Rogler et al. (1980) have argued that ethnic identity weakens over time, at a rate determined by four factors: length of residence, ethnic composition of the neighbourhood, gender, and family cohesion. The issue of gender is relevant to this study, as Rogler et al. (1980, p.195) suggested that CALD men have a weaker sense of ethnic identity due to employment reducing time spent with their family and increasing their exposure to the mainstream. The impact of participation in soccer clubs on influencing ethnic identity will be examined in this study.

### **1.5.5 Social capital**

Social capital is a term (widely used in Australia) to refer to the resources available to a person via their social network and potential future benefits (Putnam and Goss, 2002, p.4). First defined in 1916 as the assistance a person can receive through their involvement in a social network, the term has since been forgotten and reinvented in various interpretations (Putnam and Goss, 2002, pp.4-5). Currently, there are two main schools of thought regarding the term's definition – the first follows the work of Putnam (1993; 2000). These scholars argue that social capital is: "...a distinctively social feature that is reflected in the structure of social relationships and so is both a public good and an ecological characteristic" (Baum and Ziersch, 2003, p.320). The other, following Bourdieu (1986), believes social capital to be the benefits gained from participation in a social network by an individual, and therefore subject to conflict between members of the network in the same manner as economic capital.

Research has shown that social capital can have many positive effects on both the members of networks as well as the general public, including reducing crime rates, improving physical health and encouraging trust within networks (Putnam and Goss, 2002, pp.6-7). Immigrant social networks can have a major influence on the success rate of CALD immigrants finding employment and successfully fostering a second generation (Sanders, 2002, pp.347-349). However, there are examples of social networks generating negative social capital, such as ethnic groups stimulating anti-social behaviour (Putnam and Goss, 2002, p.9).

In Australia, most of the literature follows Putnam's definition, and emphasises that social capital is generated through mutual trust and co-operation within networks and

between groups (Edwards et al., 2003, p.79). Cox and Caldwell (2000, p.52), for example, argue that trust is central to the generation of social capital, and only through co-operation with others outside of one's own social network. However, some researchers, such as Edwards et al. (2003, p.80), contest this and support Bourdieu's definition, believing a decline of social capital in Australia is due to a shift away from assimilationist and exclusivist policies. Onyx and Bullen (2000, p.123) also criticise Cox and Caldwell (and Putnam), arguing that social capital generated by and for the 'public good' does not necessarily represent minority groups, nor is the term able to be explicitly defined.

It is argued here that soccer clubs are important sources of social capital, allowing participants to acquire contacts, as well as providing a regular and comfortable meeting place to discuss their affairs. In the case of soccer clubs established by CALD immigrants, participants are able to use associations within their own communities to gain social capital (Aguilera and Massey, 2003, p.674). Some researchers have argued that immigrant participation in sporting activities is also a valuable means of building self-confidence and learning morality (Seippel, 2006, pp.173-174). This view is supported by Mosely (1997a, p.162), who states that soccer matches provided CALD Europeans the opportunity to compete with Anglo-Australians as equals, something not afforded to them elsewhere during the early years of postwar immigration.

The distinction between 'bridging' and 'bonding' social capital is also relevant to this study. Bonding social capital refers to the benefits gained from involvement in a social network of people of the same or similar backgrounds and ethnicities, or even

interests (Putnam and Goss, 2002, p.11). Bonding social capital builds strong ties among members of a social network, however it can also serve to exclude other groups from the network and reinforce anti-social behaviour (Putnam, 2000).

Bridging social capital is the product of relationships formed within groups of people of varied identities (Putnam and Goss, 2002, p.11). Putnam (2000) considers bridging social capital to be more valuable, as it is generated by trust and co-operation between different groups, resulting in the promotion of social inclusiveness – important in traditional immigration countries, such as Australia, which feature many CALD immigrant minorities. Soccer clubs that were formed by participants of one particular cultural background currently exist at both semi-professional and amateur levels in Australia, as do teams comprised of participants of varied cultures. This thesis will investigate and compare the positive and negative aspects for immigrants to be involved with both forms of soccer clubs.

## **1.6 Theoretical Perspectives**

### **1.6.1 Immigrant adjustment**

In this study the term ‘adjustment’ refers to the process of immigrants coming to terms, socially and economically, with their existence in the host nation. The specific policy model implemented by the host nation determines what is considered to be ‘successful’ adjustment; the most common means of gauging adjustment, however, is a comparison between immigrants and the native population (Speare, 1983, pp.22-23). Adjustment is dependent on a number of factors regarding both immigrants and the destination. Race, age, language, religion, education, experience living in other societies and the presence of others of similar backgrounds may all influence

adjustment, as could any differences between the mainstream culture of the country of residence and that of the immigrant's origin (Castles and Miller, 2003, pp.39-40).

Adjustment is often stressful, especially if immigrants have experienced some form of emotional trauma previously – likely for refugees and humanitarian entrants (Sonderegger and Barrett, 2005, p.342). Those without the support of family experience greater difficulties in adjusting, as many immigrants find employment through family or friends – particularly if they are not fluent in the primary language of the host nation (Junankar and Mahuteau, 2005, pp.S38-S40). Depending on the host nation's settlement policy, adjustment may be more inclined towards assimilation or multiculturalism. Generally, if the nation's government is opposed to permanent CALD immigration, they will favour assimilation as policy, as multiculturalism would be viewed as undermining mainstream culture and even national unity; this has been the case previously in Australia (Castles and Miller, 2003, pp.15-16). This section will present a detailed analysis of the three major models of immigrant adjustment, followed by a discussion of government settlement policy models.

### **1.6.2 Classic assimilation**

In the model of classic assimilation, immigrants are gradually incorporated into the mainstream society of the host nation, eventually becoming indistinguishable from the wider population (Brown and Bean, 2011, pp.93-94). According to the model developed by Gordon (1964, p.60-83), the process of assimilation occurs over seven stages. The first stage, cultural or behavioural assimilation (sometimes called acculturation), refers to immigrants changing from the cultural practices of their homeland to those of the host society (Gordon, 1964, p.71).

Prior to the implementation of multiculturalism and the dismantlement of the White Australia Policy, cultural assimilation was closely linked to the Anglo-conformity model, which is founded on the assumption that English culture is superior to all others (Richards, 2008, p.192; Crispino, 1980, p.3). This thesis will argue that soccer played a role in influencing cultural maintenance among CALD European groups, enabling immigrants to resist assimilating culturally. This would influence another stage, structural assimilation, involving the large-scale integration of immigrants into the institutions of the host society – as immigrants have formed institutions of their own, including soccer clubs, there is less impetus for them to assimilate structurally and therefore decreasing the rate of assimilation in this model (Gordon, 1964, p.71; Alcorso et al., 1992, pp.112-113).

The remaining processes of assimilation in Gordon's (1964, pp.69-71) model include marital assimilation (i.e. widespread intermarriage; Gordon also refers to this stage as 'amalgamation'); indentificational assimilation, where immigrants have developed a sense of belonging to the host nation; attitude receptional assimilation, or an absence of prejudice from the mainstream population towards the immigrants; behavioural receptional assimilation, with no discrimination of the immigrants existing; and civic assimilation, an absence of value and power conflict between the immigrants and the host mainstream society. These stages are not necessarily completed in order, and as Gordon (1964, p.76) indicates, the rate of completion of each stage varies greatly among different groups.

Subsequently, other researchers have revised Gordon's model – notably, Alba and Nee (2005, pp.4-5) argued that cultural assimilation need not wholly incorporate the

accepted cultural norms of the mainstream population; that it should not be seen as desirable for the distinctive traits of CALD groups to be eliminated across later generations; and that ethnic groups can play a positive role within wider society, which Gordon's model implies is impossible. As Brown and Bean (2011, p.94) state:

“Contemporary versions of the [classic assimilation] model also stress that assimilation involves changes in the majority population that make it more accepting of ethnic differences...”

This represents a key shift away from the implication in Gordon's model that CALD immigrants must replace their own cultural distinctiveness with the dominant culture of the host nation.

### **1.6.3 Ethnic disadvantage**

The model of ethnic disadvantage is founded in the theory that the assimilation process outlined in the classic assimilation model is never completed by many CALD immigrant groups (Brown and Bean, 2011, p.94). In the ethnic disadvantage model, cultural assimilation – or perhaps a familiarity with the mainstream language and culture – by an immigrant group does not necessarily imply that structural assimilation will occur, nor does it automatically eliminate barriers such as discrimination, which is also a stage in Gordon's model (behavioural receptional assimilation) (Brown and Bean, 2011, p.94; Gordon, 1964, p.71).

Glazer and Moynihan (1970, pp.291; 310) argued that, based on the persistence of European ethnic patterns in New York almost 40 years after European immigration to the United States had ended, social and political institutions exist in order to serve ethnic interests, and this results in resistance of structural assimilation; furthermore,

that the pattern of ethnicity had become deeply embedded in the city's life and events.

As Glazer and Moynihan (1970, p.310) state:

“...the atmosphere of New York City is hospitable to ethnic groupings: it recognizes them, and rewards them, and to that extent encourages them.”

Portes and Rumbaut (2006, pp.138-140) argued that as the socioeconomic opportunities of first generation immigrants are likely similar to those available in the homeland it is not until later generations that ethnic groups discover that they have not fully assimilated to life in the host nation. The failure of immigrants to assimilate can have social and cultural consequences, which includes the revival of a strong ethnic self-consciousness among ethnic groups – or the emergence of an ethnic identity where one did not previously exist (Brown and Bean, 2011, p.94).

Portes and Rumbaut (2006, p.139) present the example that Hispanic culture in America's Southwest is essentially the reaffirmation of Mexican-American cultural bonds: “...a latter-day manifestation of a familiar process.” Nonetheless, some researchers criticise the ethnic disadvantage model as overemphasising barriers and ignoring the socioeconomic mobility of immigrant groups (Brown and Bean, 2006). This study will investigate whether CALD immigrant-formed soccer clubs play a role in identity and influence cultural maintenance among later generation immigrants.

#### **1.6.4 Segmented Assimilation**

Segmented assimilation is based on the notion that the process of adjustment varies between both groups of immigrants and individuals (Brown and Bean, 2011, p.94). Developed by Portes and Zhou (1993) and following on from Gans' (1992) 'bumpy-line' approach (a play on the straight-line approach, which suggests that standardising influences within the host nation, including mass media and public education, result



in less cultural differences between immigrant groups [Crispino, 1980]), segmented assimilation implies that the patterns and stages of assimilation in the classic and ethnic disadvantage models are insufficient for gauging how immigrants actually adjust, as their experiences are far more varied.

Portes and Zhou (1993, p.82) argued that there were three forms of adaptation – where CALD immigrants acculturate and then integrate into the mainstream middle class; permanent poverty and assimilation into the underclass; and socioeconomic mobility, while nonetheless maintaining cultural values. For example, in the case of Australia, German settlers adjusted, or assimilated, far more easily culturally and structurally into the Australian mainstream than South Eastern Europeans, and there were far less barriers to their adjustment than for South East Asian, African and Middle Eastern settlers, particularly those from refugee or humanitarian backgrounds.

The segmented assimilation model has been criticised by some researchers as incorrectly indicating that the failure of some groups to adjust economically is due to racialisation, rather than alternative possibilities, such as low job growth or family dependency; furthermore, as the model has only been tested on young second generation immigrants in America, it may misinterpret the oppositional attitudes characteristic of young second generation immigrants and therefore incorrectly gauge the rate of assimilation (Brown and Bean, 2006).

### **1.6.5 Other models of adjustment**

Numerous other models have been developed to understand the processes that determine how immigrants adjust. These models are concerned with incorporation,

and the multicultural or integrationist policies that drive them (Brown and Bean, 2011, p.95). Therefore, multicultural adjustment models stress the importance of CALD immigrant groups being able to engage with their cultural heritage publically and without discrimination, in the belief that it will increase the rate of assimilation in other facets of life, such as economically – hence there is some debate among scholars as to whether multicultural policy is in fact driving a slower form of cultural assimilation, especially in Australia (Johnston et al., 2007, p.713).

Similarly, integration models are founded on the theory that in order to incorporate CALD immigrant groups economically and structurally, they must be supported with monetary assistance and social services; in these models, ethnic identity is largely ignored and citizenship is regarded as both difficult and unimportant; hence, this model is not relevant in Australia given the emphasis on gaining citizenship (Brown and Bean, 2011, p.95; Hallinan and Hughson, 2009, p.2). Anti-discrimination models are based on the belief that CALD immigrant groups are more likely to adjust culturally and structurally if the host nation has implemented anti-discrimination policies and the mainstream society favours the incorporation of new groups (Brown and Bean, 2011, p.95). Crul and Schneider (2010, pp.1263-1265), for example, argued that key differences in policy and notions of citizenship resulted in varying levels of adjustment among CALD immigrant groups across several European nations and the United States.

### **1.6.6 Settlement policy models**

The specific settlement policies implemented hinge on the level of integration considered as ideal by the host nation. According to the International Organization of

Migration (IOM), policy models can vary from being based on the goal of a wholly monocultural society, to one that embraces cultural diversity (IOM, 2004, p.6).

Models situated towards the monocultural end of the spectrum of integration emphasise the need for immigrants to adjust culturally, while those at the multicultural end require the mainstream society to adjust to the cultures of CALD immigrants. This section will present the noteworthy policy models of immigrant adjustment and discuss the theory and policies driving them.

### **1.6.7 Assimilation**

Assimilation in most instances refers to a model, or the final process of a model, where immigrants completely identify with the dominant culture of the host.

Assimilation emphasises the abandonment of cultural practices, language, and the ethnic enclave, socially and economically (Johnston et al., 2007, p.713). Assimilation is therefore difficult to quantify, as fully assimilated immigrants lack the distinguishing markers used for study by researchers (Waters, 1995, pp.519-520).

Adopting a policy of assimilation suggests a belief that the mainstream culture is of greater value than that of a minority group, and is therefore the standard by which the social value of an immigrant is measured (Ellis and Wright, 2005). In some cases, 'assimilation' refers to the elimination of distinguishing racial (rather than cultural) markers. In Australia, many policy makers followed this alternative definition until the later years of the 1960s; due to skin colour and other facial features, non-Europeans were unable to immigrate to Australia except under special circumstances (Jupp, 2007, p.20).

Assimilation can be a challenging policy to implement, as in most cases CALD immigrants practice cultural maintenance for a few generations after initial settlement (Castles and Miller, 2003, p.14). The melting pot concept of the late 19<sup>th</sup> and early 20<sup>th</sup> centuries in the United States attempted to account for this issue (Crispino, 1980, pp.5-6). Despite being based on the concept that CALD immigrants should ‘melt’ into the mainstream by adopting the host nation’s values and socially acceptable behaviour, the melting pot also allowed for immigrants to maintain some ties to their cultural heritage, under the assumption that they:

“...would contribute to an indigenous American type resulting from the blending of cultures of the majority and minority groups... ...a blending will occur which will produce a national whole somehow greater than the sum of its ethnic parts” (Crispino, 1980, pp.5-6).

Assimilation has been discredited as an ideal policy for immigrant adjustment by social scientists since the 1960s; in many countries, this led to a shift towards multiculturalism (Frideres, 2008, p.86).

### **1.6.8 Acculturation**

Acculturation is somewhat similar to assimilation, as it implies a shift from the cultural practices of the old country to those of the host nation. Some researchers (e.g. Swaidan et al., 2006) view acculturation as the process that immediately precedes assimilation, where the immigrant begins to adopt the mainstream culture of the host country, before finally abandoning their cultural practices and beliefs from their homeland and ‘assimilating.’ However, according to Gans (1997), acculturation differs from assimilation, as assimilation also requires an abandonment of the immigrant’s established ethnic networks, whereas acculturation is primarily concerned with adopting the mainstream culture.

Gans (1997) argued that acculturation is a faster process, as adopting the host nation's culture may be attractive, while discrimination may prevent CALD immigrants from attaining the economic means to assimilate fully. Nonetheless, both acculturation and assimilation suggest the mainstream culture of the host nation is superior. Jupp (2007, pp.20-21) argues that during Howard's tenure as Prime Minister the term 'assimilation' was used to refer to acculturation, as while CALD immigrants were encouraged to accept Australian values and speak English, they were allowed to continue cultural and religious practices and speak their native language within their homes and communities.

### **1.6.9 Multiculturalism**

Multiculturalism is conceptually opposed to assimilation and acculturation, as it allows immigrants to retain their cultural identity within the socially acceptable standards of the host nation, so long as it does not infringe upon the law or the equal rights of others. The term has diverse specific implementations, relative to the situation in each nation; in Australia, multiculturalism was created as an aspect of immigration policy to assist new arrivals from CALD backgrounds in settling into Australian life (Jupp, 2007, p.90). Australian multiculturalism differs from Canadian multiculturalism, for example, which places much greater emphasis on cultural maintenance, or South African multiculturalism, which endorses distinct cultural development (Markus et al., 2009, p.95). Currently, Australian multicultural policy is based on the principles of tolerance and enabling CALD immigrants to participate in society (DIAC, 2011a, p.5).

Multiculturalism has been a policy of Australian governments since 1972, however it has appeared in different forms (Castles, 1992, pp.559-560). Initially, the Australian Labor Party government of 1972 to 1975 introduced multicultural policies in order to protect social and economic rights of immigrant workers, as during that period many CALD immigrants were working-class. The Australian Liberal Party-Country Party coalition government of 1975 to 1982 used multiculturalism in order to allow CALD immigrants to maintain their ‘cultural baggage’ within the boundaries of mainstream Australian culture. Other minorities, such as Indigenous Australians (until 1989) and religious groups were not regarded as relevant to the Australian version of multiculturalism (Markus et al., 2009, p.81). Eventually multiculturalism evolved to a degree where cultural identity and diversity were viewed not as ‘necessary evils’ but as the protected rights of all people; this occurred on the 17<sup>th</sup> of March 1988 when the House of Representatives adopted a motion in support of multiculturalism (Theophanous, 1995, p.xviii).

Multiculturalism is an extremely contested concept in Australia, and especially so during John Howard’s term as Prime Minister (Jupp, 1998, p.149). Some researchers view multiculturalism in Australia as assimilation occurring at a slower rate, while others claim it is a strategy for the successful integration of a culturally diverse society (Johnston et al., 2007, p.713; Brahm Levey, 2007, p.28). Alternatively, multiculturalism has been criticised by right-wing commentators as encouraging racial segregation and escalating tensions between ethnic groups. Windschuttle (*The Australian*, 16<sup>th</sup> December 2005), for example, blamed the Cronulla beach riots of December 2005 on the multicultural policies of Australian governments:

“Multiculturalism is a reversion to tribalism that is anachronistic in a modern, liberal,

urban society.” It should be noted that Windschuttle’s previous works, which denied that Australia had been an explicitly racist nation prior to multiculturalism, have been discredited by many academics; Walker (2006, p.108), posed the question: “Could it be that Windschuttle has attempted his own playful experience in post-modernity?”

Current policy states that:

“Australians from all backgrounds will be given every opportunity to participate in and contribute to Australia and its social, economic and cultural life” (DIAC, 2011a, p.5).

However, multiculturalism favours those who are more integrated with the predominant ‘Australian’ culture. For example, only cultural organisations publish notices and information in a language other than English, and the vast majority of private schools have strong connections to Catholicism or Christianity, the primary religions of Anglo-Celtic Australians. Nonetheless, multicultural policies have transformed Australia from an openly racist and isolationist Anglo-Celtic nation into a country more accepting of the diverse cultures of the many immigrants it has received since the Second World War (Castles 1992, p.558).

#### **1.6.10 Two-way integration**

In two-way integration models immigrants and the host society must adapt to one another. It is expected that while immigrants attempt to adjust socially, culturally, politically and economically, the mainstream will remove barriers to integration. For example, in Canada – a nation noted as implementing the two-way integration model – restaurants and grocery stores stock more diverse food options to cater to CALD groups, banks hire multilingual staff and Eastern medical techniques, such as acupuncture, are widely available (Biles et al., 2008, p.4; Frideres, 2008, p.88).

In 2000 the European Commission developed a two-way integration model that required European Union members to remove barriers to integration, including implementing specific programs at national, regional and local level; granting civic and political rights to long-term residents; and becoming a more welcoming society by eliminating discrimination and xenophobia (Bosswick and Heckmann, 2006, p.22). In 2003 a European Committee on Employment and Social Affairs recommended that European Union nations amend policy to ensure immigrants had access to social and health services and decent living conditions, that their academic qualifications would be recognised, and they were able to participate socially, culturally, politically and economically; however, the need for immigrants to learn the national language(s) was also stressed (Bosswick and Heckmann, 2006, p.25).

### **1.6.11 Segregation**

In segregation models CALD immigrants live geographically separated from the mainstream society. Schnell (2002, p.44) defines segregation as:

“...a set of strategies directed toward distancing social groups from the rest of society within either closed territorial boundaries and / or sets of intra-ethnic networks.”

Segregation is the antithesis of two-way integration, as neither the mainstream or CALD groups are required to adjust to the other (IOM, 2004, p.5). Implementing a policy of segregation implies that the host nation wishes to restrict both the rights of CALD immigrants and their interaction with the mainstream society. Alternatively, desegregation models and policies are an attempt to encourage immigrants to integrate geographically from segregated communities into mainstream residential areas.



The spatial segregation of immigrants is widely viewed as having a negative impact on settlers by increasing poverty and creating a 'social prison' within the ghettos formed by segregation – the black ghettos of America for example (Schnell and Ostendorf, 2002, pp.3-4). Segregation is assumed to be a leading cause of social problems in cities (Domburg-De Rooij and Musterd 2002, p.107). Schnell and Ostendorf (2002, pp.4-5) argue, however, that the social segregation of immigrants is now a far larger problem than spatial segregation, as social networks are no longer restricted to specific residential areas; and that segregation only has a negative impact in residential areas with existing issues of poverty and disadvantage.

## **1.7 Thesis Structure**

The thesis contains nine chapters. Chapters 2 and 3 contain a review of the relevant literature; Chapter 2 will focus on the academic writings on the sociological impacts and influence of sport, both in Australia and globally, in addition to analysing references to sport in Australian and global immigrant adjustment literature. Chapter 3 examines work on the relationship between soccer and immigrants, both in Australia and globally.

Chapter 4 analyses secondary data to develop an understanding of the patterns of immigration to Australia and the current immigrant population. Chapter 5 provides a historical overview of the growth of soccer in Australia and its relationship with post-Second World War immigrants. The key sociological issues generated by immigrant participation in soccer are examined in this chapter.

Chapter 6 discusses the research methodology used in this project. Chapter 7 analyses the demographics and cultural backgrounds of respondents to determine their implications for the outcomes of this study. Chapter 8 investigates how the findings of the study impact on the first three objectives.

Finally, Chapter 9 contains a brief summary of the key issues raised in the previous eight chapters, as well as a review of results of the objectives of the study. The implications of the findings for policy makers are discussed, and the project's contribution to theory is examined. The limitations of the study are noted and potential areas for future research are suggested.

## **1.8 Conclusion**

The focus of this thesis is the social adjustment experiences of post-Second World War immigrants to Australia. There is a gap in the literature concerning the role that organised sport has played in assisting new arrivals, especially those from CALD backgrounds, to adjust to life in their new country of residence. Australia and its status as a traditional immigration country have been introduced, as have the major aims and objectives of this study. A discussion of the concepts concerned with this area of research, and the theory behind them was undertaken. Lastly, the content of the chapters have been outlined.

## CHAPTER 2

### THE SOCIOLOGICAL IMPACTS OF SPORT

#### 2.1 Introduction

Postwar immigration to Australia has attracted significant interest from scholars, especially the impact on Australia's population and economic development as well as the settlement experiences of CALD settlers (Price, 1963; Jupp, 1998; 2007; Richards, 2008; Castles et al., 1988; Castles et al., 1992; Castles et al., 1998). Nevertheless, in spite of a vast range of issues that have been addressed relating to the economic, social and cultural adjustment of CALD immigrants, researchers have largely neglected the role of sport in the lives of new arrivals. This is despite soccer being widely acknowledged in the early postwar decades as a game dominated by CALD immigrant participation in Australia (Hay, 2006a). The reasons for this neglect are not clear, though Murray and Hay (2006a, p.171) argued that:

“Failure to include soccer where it was obviously an important aspect of migrant life can quite simply be put down to academic snobbery, and even today this is a prejudice that has still not quite been overcome...”

This is not the case in other traditional immigration countries. Several studies conducted in the United States have analysed the relationship between soccer and CALD immigrant settlement experiences in that nation (Price and Whitworth, 2004; Messeri, 2008; Trouille, 2008; 2009; Van Rheenen, 2009, Apostolov, 2012). However, the Australian case remains largely unexamined. Furthermore, academic work on immigrant participation in Australian soccer tends to emphasise rather the role of immigrants in growing the sport at the expense of the impact soccer has had on their lives (Kallinikios, 2007; Murray and Hay, 2006b; Mosely et al., 1997). This

chapter summarises the literature that has investigated the sociological impacts and role of sport with special reference to the Australian situation, and identifies the major gaps in the field.

## **2.2 Research on the Sociological Impacts of Sport**

### **2.2.1 Background**

Despite having been studied by social scientists since the early 20<sup>th</sup> century, sport still occupies a marginal position in social science research (Loy and Kenyon, 1969, pp.1-5; Dyck, 2000, p.1). Although academic writing on sport has increased over the last twenty years, works in the area are scattered across a variety of disciplines and often published in sources difficult to locate, or not held in high regard among researchers (Bale, 2003, p.2). Several notable writings in sport – particularly in the case of soccer and immigrants in Australia – are ‘popular’ rather than academic, such as Warren et al. (2003).

Nevertheless, it is clear that with the recent increase in academic research relating to sport that there is growing recognition among scholars of the influence of sport on societies, and that sport is indeed a worthy area of research (Price and Whitworth, 2004; Smith and Porter, 2004; Bradley, 2006; Valiotis, 2005; Murray and Hay, 2006b). Bale (2003<sup>9</sup>) is widely credited for both giving sport relevance as an area of academic study, as well as highlighting the links between sport and immigration. Subsequent works in this area have analysed how sports influence identity, status, communities, and are related to globalisation (Price and Whitworth, 2004, p.170).

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<sup>9</sup> NB: first edition published in 1989.

### 2.2.2 Sport and geography

Historically, scholars have viewed sport as a marginal area of interest in geographical studies, instead emphasising the importance of economic, social and political influences (Dear, 1988). This is despite sport being examined in geographical research as early as 1876, when Reclus (1876) included a brief aside on cricket (Bale, 2003, p.3). Noting that sources seen as unimportant by scholars can often yield important insights into societies, Bale (2003, pp.1-2) argued that sport is relevant to both studies in human and physical geography, as it is a: "...major aspect of economic, social and political life," and space and place – the two fundamentals of geography – are central to the organisation of sport. Previously Scott and Simpson-Housley (1989, p.235) had contested Dear's (1988) assertion that sport was of minor interest to geographical research, suggesting that soccer influenced economic, social and political conditions in Rio de Janeiro. However, 'Sports Geography' is not a fully defined field of research, with many notable works on the relationship between sport and geography emerging from other schools such as Anthropology and History, and considered only a North American or European practice (Bale, 2003, pp.3-4). Some scholars consider sports geography to be defined simply as:

“...the study of spatial variations in the pursuit of various sports and of the impact of sporting activities on the landscape” (Johnston et al., 2000, p.783).

Bale (2003, p.5) however states that there are three key areas of research in sports geography:

- “1. sports activity on the earth's surface and how the spatial distribution of sport has changed over time;
2. the changing character of the sports landscape and the symbiosis between the sports environment and those who participate in it; and
3. the making of prescriptions for spatial and environmental change in the sports environment.”

This study is concerned with the second area, analysing how soccer has influenced the settlement experiences of CALD immigrant participants since the Second World War. Hence, this chapter will examine works on sports geography that also investigate the social influence of sport.

### **2.2.3 Sport and national identity**

Many scholars have researched sport's influence on shaping national identity; for example, cricket has played a significant role in the creation of an Australian national identity, both prior to and in the early years of Federation. Bale (2003, pp.12-13) argued that the space in which sport is played, or 'sport-space,' brings together people of different ethnicities, nationalities and social classes who otherwise would not interact. He also noted the attachment to place sport can develop within people who play for or support teams:

“Sport has become perhaps the main medium of collective identification in an era when bonding is more frequently a result of achievement” (Bale, 2003, p.14).

Sports teams, through the 'confrontation' of a game, can unify cities, regions, nations, religions, races and schools as a whole, creating a sense of 'place pride' through sporting achievements (Bale, 2003, pp.14-21). Polley (2004, p.12) argues that sport is an excellent means for studying national identity, as: “People's national sporting affiliations are among the most public statements they make about their identities,” and that it is no coincidence that most modern sports developed in the second half of the 19<sup>th</sup> century, the same time as the model of the nation state emerged.

Eichberg (2000, p.158) agrees, stating that:

“...modern sport has been an agent of nation-building, knotting together individuals as experts on the territorial, state, international and universal levels, and, with the help of homogenising rules, sport can give athletes a simultaneously equalised and hierarchical position relating to territorial identity: as provincial top athlete or as national champion.”

MacClancy (1996, p.2) also concurs, commenting that sport assists the process of identity formation by presenting people with a means of differentiating and classifying themselves and others. Sport can also enable a person to not only associate with an established social identity, but also to form an entirely new one – such as in Britain during the 19<sup>th</sup> century, where sporting clubs became a means for young, male rural emigrants from various regions to form a localised identity (MacClancy, 1996, p.3). Additionally, MacClancy (1996, p.4) contests the notion that sport merely represents or symbolises cultural values, arguing that it is instead an important part and social process of society itself; he presents the example of Turkish wrestling, which serves to teach its participants about morals, compromise and coping with defeat.

Smith and Porter (2004, pp.1-2) argue that sport presents:

“...a seemingly endless number of occasions when nations are embodied in something manifestly real and visible. Having once made the requisite imaginative leap and accepted that the eleven men who appear in white shirts at Wembley, or the fifteen at Twickenham, are ‘England,’ the possibilities for defining or redefining what it means to be ‘English’ are inextricably linked to what happens on the field of play.”

However, Smith and Porter (2004, p.2) state that this proves sport is as much a divisive force as a unifying one:

“...sporting occasions may provide as many opportunities not to belong as to belong and that a sense of what we are not may be as important as a sense of what we are in determining national identity.”

Smith and Porter (2004, p.2) use the example of touring cricket teams in England, such as India, being cheered by people born in England but of Indian descent to support their argument.

#### **2.2.4 Soccer and national identity**

Soccer features regularly in scholarly research on this phenomenon; for example, Bromberger (1994, p.283), in his analysis of soccer supporter behaviour at the FIFA World Cup finals, agrees with the notion sport brings people together in a collective consciousness:

“[soccer]... – from local and regional leagues to a world championship – provides a forum for the expression of affirmed collective identities and local or regional antagonisms.”

Stuart (1996, p.1977) argued that soccer was central to the development of imagined ethnicities in Africa, as well as playing a crucial role in Africa’s social and political growth:

“[In 1940s Africa] a soccer club was something to belong to, somewhere to seek solace, support and advice, and also maintain links with the country of origin and even to obtain a decent burial. Soccer played a key role in providing one of the few avenues available anywhere in colonial Africa to social mobility and high status.”

Soccer is by no means the only sport used as a means of building national identity.

Cricket has played a significant role in shaping Australian national identity during the early years of, and years prior to, Federation (Kampmark, 2004; Mandle, 1976).

Cricket has also influenced national identity in other countries, notably India and Pakistan (Majumdar and Mangan, 2004; Wagg, 2005; Bose, 2006; Gemmell and Majumdar, 2008). Valiotis (2005, p.126) argued that Pakistan’s political leaders have



used the national team's victories against India (portrayed by Pakistani media as the 'enemy') to:

“...justify their national vision and political legitimacy to an international audience and to the various regional and ethnic groups within Pakistan who disapprove of their claims to power.”

Valiotis (2005, p.127) also noted that:

“...many Pakistani nationals and diasporic communities readily [identify] with the Pakistani cricket team even as they disapprove of authoritarian regimes in Pakistan and the logic of their national discourse.”

Using the hypothesis that sporting contests between nations are: “...patriot games [in which players] become highly visible embodiments of these nations,” Tuck and Maguire (1999, p.27) argued that rugby union is an important part of the national identity of the British Isles countries. Tuck and Maguire (1999, p.27) are in agreement with Valotis (2005), Eichberg (2000), MacClancy (1996) and Smith and Porter (2004), arguing that the players are seen as symbols of national identity and pride. Having found that rugby union helps to embed an I (we) versus them set of relationships among the countries, Tuck and Maguire (1999, p.30) echo Bale (2003) by arguing that: “...sport forms one of the most significant arenas by which nations become more real;” and that certain sports can be regarded as the symbol of a country's strength or idealised character, citing the example of cricket as: “...the embodiment of a 'quintessential Englishness.'”

It is clear that sport has played a key role in the development of national identity in many nations, through the confrontation with an 'Other' in contests. This allows for the expression of cultural values, both on the field through adopting a certain style of

play and off the field through supporter behaviour. Sporting success can be seen as proof of a superior culture, thereby strengthening a population's national identity. The relationship between sport and national identity may also influence cultural maintenance in immigrants, as if their nation of origin has a strong connection to its history and success in a particular sport, then participating in this sport could reinforce the values of the homelands. This issue will be further examined in this and other chapters of this thesis.

### **2.2.5 Sport and local identity**

Researchers have examined the role sport can play in forming or strengthening identities at the regional or city level; for example Clark (2006) links identity and the 'terrace chants' of supporters of English soccer team Scunthorpe United. Clark (2006, p.500) argued that the club's fans used chants at matches to identify themselves (and to enable others to identify them) as belonging to Scunthorpe, despite the variance of what Scunthorpe represents to each person based on their social position and background:

“...the symbolic act of singing transforms the potentiality of difference into the appearance of similarity and this front stage similarity serves to act as a boundary marker to differentiate the collectivity from the opposition.”

Clark (2006, p.502) states that the need to differentiate themselves from the local rival teams is equally important to the experience and identity of being a Scunthorpe supporter.

Merkel (1994) also argued that sport is a means of creating a sense of community and place pride. Soccer, despite initially being predominantly a middle class sport in

Germany until the First World War, became extremely popular with the working class in the 1920s. This is because soccer clubs provided areas with communal relationships and a sense of identity at a time of social change; the change included a significant increase in the number of working class migrants due to the rapid development of industrial production at the beginning of the 20<sup>th</sup> century (Merkel, 1994, p.96). Similar to Clark (2006), Merkel (1994, p.97) noted that soccer clubs enabled the working class to unite behind symbols of their communities despite the dilution of cultural traditions brought about by the social changes. Lanfranchi (1994, p.141) argues that, unlike the examples presented by Clark and Merkel, soccer is not used in Italy as a cultural symbol by a specific social class; instead: “[Soccer] has operated as a vehicle for social integration, social mobility, and local identity.” Italian soccer clubs essentially serve as a communal nexus, a central location around which social communities are structured; soccer is seen as a secondary religion, with Sunday soccer matches supplementing attendance at morning mass (Lanfranchi, 1994, pp.141-142).

The role of sport in Australia’s rural communities has also attracted some interest from scholars; generally, studies of rural communities note that sporting clubs are highly influential socially and culturally (Spaaij, 2009, p.1133). Some have argued that this is due to sporting organisations continuing to provide residents with a sense of unity and belonging, essentially holding rural communities together socially, while other organisations have disappeared (Spaaij, 2009, p.1134). Involvement with sporting clubs in rural communities can significantly impact on a person’s social status, social networks and access to resources (Burke, 2001). Hence, social capital frequently features in studies of the impact of sport on rural communities; Tonts

(2005, p.143), for example, states that sporting clubs play a significant role in the development of social networks – creating a sense of place pride and a source of bonding social capital. Tonts (2005, p.144) also argued that rural sporting clubs generate bridging social capital, by providing a social space where groups who would otherwise not associate come together for a common interest. Spaaij (2009, p.1139) agreed with Tonts, stating that Australian Rules football clubs in rural Victoria, for example, presented different groups of residents the opportunity to interact (who otherwise would not), for the purpose of supporting the town's team.

However, sporting clubs can also have a negative social impact on Australian rural communities, with divisions existing within the clubs underpinned by class, gender, ethnic and other social aspects, as well as length of residency (Spaaij, 2009, p.1135). Tonts (2005, p.147) noted that in many clubs females are restricted to cooking and cleaning, are excluded from social functions, and that men and women do not interact. Spaaij (2009, p.1135) adds that indigenous Australian participation in rural organised sport is low and restricted to a minority of sports, and they are essentially a marginalised group. Spaaij (2009, pp.1140, 1143) further argues that instead of removing social barriers and inequalities, rural sporting clubs can reinforce them by perpetuating stereotypes among different groups, and that residents who do not participate in sporting clubs can become isolated from the wider community; this may also create a pressure to become involved with a club.

### **2.2.6 Sport as a divisive social force**

In addition to unifying people, pre-existing tensions can be heightened and expressed during sporting contests, both on the field and among supporters (Bale, 2003, p.15).

This phenomenon has occurred during soccer matches involving clubs represented by different immigrant groups in both Australia and Sweden (B. Murray 2006, pp.99-100; Bairner, 1994, p.213). This includes the ongoing and oft-repeated confrontation between clubs formed and supported by Croatian immigrants and Serbian immigrants; this rivalry has also resulted in incidents in other sports, including tennis (Pearlman and AAP, *Sydney Morning Herald*, 4<sup>th</sup> May 2005; Tallentire, *The Guardian* [London], 23<sup>rd</sup> January 2009). Another example is the tension between Republic of Ireland and Northern Irish supporters at international soccer games involving the two nations (Sugden and Bairner, 1994). Place pride can also result in off-field violence, through encouraging territorial behaviour in supporters, promoting the value of their own 'place' while denigrating that of the opposition's (Bale, 2003, pp.17-18). Adair and Rowe (2010, p.256) argued that:

“Sport continues to invoke ‘racial’ and ethnic differences while also in some ways trying to erase them. It still claims to be a force for equality while, often unconsciously and clumsily, reinforcing ‘racial’ and ethnic disadvantage.”

Maguire and Poulton (1999) analysed the nationalistic sentiments presented in the English media during the Euro 1996 soccer tournament. They found that England's matches served to raise nationalistic and jingoistic images of past rivalries, conflicts and glories; also, success against European Union countries were presented by the media as proof that England could stand up to the political pressures exerted upon it by the EU (Maguire and Poulton, 1999, pp.22-23). Maguire and Poulton (1999, p.27) concluded that the English press clearly: “...served more to ‘divide’ than to ‘unite’ the nations of Europe,” manifesting the fears of the English population that the nation was in decline and needed to politically assert itself against mainland Europe.

Like Maguire and Poulton (1999), Keane (2001), in his study of nationalism and masculinity in New Zealand soccer, disagreed that sport unites nations, stating this concept is a 'myth,' with sport dividing societies along lines of gender, race and class.

Blackshaw (2008, p.326) also disagrees, arguing that:

“...[soccer] has always had its own established outlets for prejudice and excessive resistance to their bitterest of opponents, blossoming whenever 'we' beat 'them.' Achieving their sensual union through the depredations of their necessary others – a sense of community that is essentially based on and stands for mutual hatred.”

Bandyopadhyay (2008, p.382) argues that beginning in the mid-1930s, soccer began to be seen less as a symbol of Indian nationalism standing up in defiance to British colonial oppression, and more as an expression of the divisions between Hindus and Muslims. For example, some viewed the success of a Muslim team, Mohammedan Sporting Club, in winning the Calcutta league as a victory for Indian nationalism, however many Hindus saw it as a victory for Muslims alone (Bandyopadhyay, 2008, p.383). The continued success of Mohammedan increasingly became a divisive force in Calcutta's communities, resulting in sport taking a similar position in society as in the cases studied by Maguire and Poulton (1999), Keane (2001) and Blackshaw (2008). Roberts (2007, p.137) also found that cricket clubs in Sri Lanka had been formed along ethnic lines in the late 19<sup>th</sup> and early 20<sup>th</sup> century, despite the development of a Ceylonese identity; Malays, Burghers, Tamils, Sinhalese, Moors and Borahs all had separate clubs. There is clearly a belief among some scholars that sport equally has the capacity to cause division and tension along cultural, geographical and religious lines as it does to unify.

### 2.2.7 Sport and immigrant settlement

Though the influence of sports participation on immigrant settlement experiences is a neglected subject among scholars, in some studies of the social impacts of sport this issue has been raised. This is especially relevant when examining the interaction between CALD groups and mainstream societies; sport can influence cultural maintenance among immigrants, as international sporting competitions provide the opportunity to support the nation of cultural origin (Smith and Porter, 2004, p.2). One example of this is descendants of Italian immigrants supporting Italy over Australia during the 2006 FIFA World Cup finals (Orsatti, *The World Game*, 11<sup>th</sup> July 2006). Works on the issue of CALD immigrant participation in Australian soccer competitions, as well as other nations, will be further examined in Chapter 3.

Polley (2004, p.20) argued that CALD immigrants in England relished the opportunity to support a team representing their homelands during tours by Pakistan, India, the West Indies and Sri Lanka, as this allowed them an opportunity to publicly express their cultural identity. Immigrants from other parts of Britain had historically established clubs representing their homelands within England, such as the rugby union club London Irish, and used them to maintain a connection to their cultural heritage (Polley, 2004, p.20). More recently, African and Middle Eastern immigrants are also using sporting clubs to help them maintain cultural ties, including in sports not widely played in the homelands – such as Nigerians establishing a rugby union club (Polley, 2004, pp.21-22). Similarly Cogliano (2004, p.152) notes that cricket was used in the mid to late 19<sup>th</sup> century in America by British immigrants to help them maintain a cultural connection to the homeland, providing them with a social space to gather and interact; the clubs were also exclusive to British immigrants and

Americans and other groups were not invited to participate. Hence, cricket was seen in America as a foreign sport, much like soccer is in Australia due to being associated with immigrant participation (Cogliano, 2004, p.153; Hay, 2006a).

Bradley (2007, p.1193) argues that cultural maintenance has a higher chance of occurring in areas where a significant number of immigrants of the same ethnicity have settled and formed institutions that enable them to maintain cultural practices from the homelands. For Irish immigrants in Scotland, soccer club Glasgow Celtic has become intrinsically linked to their cultural understanding of what it means to be Irish as an alternative to the mainstream culture of Scotland, essentially becoming a symbol of Irishness within Scottish society (Bradley, 2007, pp.1194-1197). Bradley (2007, p.1197) states that sport, and especially soccer:

“...has the capacity to embody, actualise and express a multiplicity of identities – national, cultural, ethnic, religious, social, political, economic and community – in a way few other social manifestations can.”

Also Irish immigrant support for Celtic – including displaying Irish republican flags at Celtic’s matches – is evidence that: “Irishness is a contested identity and expression in Scottish society” (Bradley, 2007, p.1201).

## **2.3 The Sociological Impacts of Sport in Australia**

### **2.3.1 Background**

Despite Australia being a ‘sporting nation’ since Federation, there is seemingly little interest among academics in understanding the role of sport in shaping Australian culture and identity. As Adair (2010, p.330) states:



“This is illogical, because sport can provide important insights into themes and issues that have been pivotal to the evolution of Australian history.”

Cashman (1995, p.205) agrees, arguing that:

“[Australia’s] culture of sport – the character of play, the behaviour of players and spectators, language, architecture and club identity – has become recognisably Australian, and its importance is generally agreed: most Australians would be surprised by any suggestion that sport was not a cornerstone of Australian life.”

Cashman (1995, p.206) also suggests that Australia’s cultural connection with sport may be unique in the world. According to Hutchins (2005), the positioning of sport as an integral component of Australian cultural identity is largely due to Australia lacking cultural icons to represent it as an independent nation – cricket filled this void early in Australia’s history.

### **2.3.2 Cricket and Australian Nationalism**

Cricket is synonymous with Australian sporting identity, with prolific players viewed as the manifestation of Australian cultural values, representing integrity and the supposed ‘fair go’ nature of Australia (Kampmark, 2004, p.100). Mandle (1976, pp.63-64) argued that cricket became entwined with Australian nationalism in the 19<sup>th</sup> century, a result of cricket presenting an opportunity to compete with England.

Victories against England created a sense of unity among the Australian colonies, prior to Federation in 1901 (Mandle, 1976, p.64). Defeating England, the mother country, was seen as a sign of Australia’s maturity (Vamplew, 1994, p.2).

International cricket matches held in Australia in the 1880s and 1890s drew large crowds for two reasons: the opportunity to see noted players and Australia defeat England (Ward, 2010, pp.96-97).

While Hutchins (2005) agrees with Kampmark (2004) that cricket is the sport most closely associated with the concept of ‘Australianness,’ he argues that cricket is deeply intertwined with Australia’s British colonial past, and shows little desire to expand beyond its traditions and embrace the social changes that have occurred in Australia over the past century. Despite its position as the ‘national game’ in Australia, a traditional immigration country, the vast majority of its players are Anglo-Celtic males (Hutchins, 2005, p.18). Hutchins (2005, p.9) notes that:

“Geographically, cricket has achieved a national spread; it is played in centres across the length and breadth of the country. In social and cultural terms, however, it has fallen short of welcoming and including all those groups and communities that constitute the nation.”

Hutchins (2005, p.11) criticises the positioning of Sir Donald Bradman by politicians and the media as the embodiment of Australian national identity, as it assumes the dominance of masculine Anglo-Australian ideals over those of other, yet equally Australian, values:

“...cricket played an important role in the formation of an Australian national identity for those lucky enough to be recognised as legitimate members of the nation.”

However recent developments in cricket suggest this is no longer the case, including Pakistan-born Usman Khawaja becoming the first Muslim to represent Australia in January 2011 (CNN, *CNN International*, 31<sup>st</sup> December 2010). Australia has also established a domestic competition for Twenty20, a shortened format of cricket intended to attract a new audience (including women and children); star foreign players have also represented Australian Twenty20 teams (AAP, *Sydney Morning Herald*, 24<sup>th</sup> October 2008; Brettig, *ESPN CricInfo*, 13<sup>th</sup> May 2011). Women’s cricket has also recently begun to accrue far more attention than it has in the past,

resulting in a push for national team players to be awarded professional contracts (Hanlon, *The Age* [Melbourne], 19<sup>th</sup> February 2013).

### 2.3.3 Sport and inequality in Australia

Several works on Australian sport agree with Blackshaw (2008) and others that sport causes divisions in society. Contrary to the supposed ‘fair go’ nature of Australian sport, Kell (2000, pp.10-11) states that both local and international competition has served to form:

“...social hierarchies within Australian society which are based on class, race, gender and ethnicity – social hierarchies that have perpetuated rather than alleviated long-term society inequalities.”

Additionally, Kell (2000, p.77) argues that sport has intensified negative attitudes towards other countries, particularly Asian nations and especially China:

“Australian sport has a tradition in its relationship with Asia which works to establish three central strategies – isolation, demonisation and accusation.”

The perception that Australians were *racially* superior athletes in fact refers to Australians of Anglo-Celtic ancestry, which maintains the traditional social hierarchy of white heterosexual males as superior (Kell, 2000, p.154).

Prior to Kell, Cashman (1995, p.206) had argued that Australian sport is an extension of male domination, as in Australia’s formative years most participants were male:

“If Australia was a paradise of sport, it was more so for some Australians: for men more so than women, and Anglo-Celtic Australians more so than other immigrants and Aborigines. A sizeable number of women (and some men) have resented the dominant role of Australia’s sporting culture.”

This echoes Stratton (1986, p.104), who stated that the masculinity of Australian sport stemmed from:

“...a specific late nineteenth century conjecture of the Victorian middle-class preoccupation with ‘manliness’ and the British working-class appropriation of sport in the context of the established male/female division of labour. Spectating in Britain and Australia became a male phenomenon, an assertion of working-men’s solidarity. Women, whose place was in the home, were in home-based ‘entertainments’ including tasks such as sewing (which could equally well be described as work).”

Williams et al. (1986, p.216) agreed, arguing that sport served to perpetuate gender fixing: “Sport helps to teach women their ‘proper’ role and demeanour in the wider social world.” According to Vamplew (1994, pp.14-16), it was seen that women needed to be removed from competition in order to establish the masculinity of sport, which in turn: “...served to reinforce the stereotype of the fragile female;” this served to later influence the belief that, according to both men and women, women should either not compete, or be limited to sports that require more ‘feminine’ qualities, such as gymnastics or synchronised swimming. Vamplew (1994, p.18) further argues that:

“...class prejudice, sexual segregation and racial discrimination have permeated Australia’s sporting history.”

This argument overlooks female sporting icons in Australia such as Dawn Fraser and Cathy Freeman, who is also indigenous (Fraser, 2002; Freeman, 2007). Since Vamplew’s work, women’s sport has attracted greater public and media attention. In addition to the rise of women’s cricket, a women’s national soccer competition was established in 2008; one match per week airs on TV, along with a match from the women’s national basketball league (Gaskin, *Canberra Times*, 16<sup>th</sup> August 2012). The public condemnation of a newspaper’s awarding of 2012 Sportswoman of the Year to Black Caviar, a racehorse, over Olympic gold medallists Anna Mears and

Sally Pearson and dual international representative (soccer and cricket) Ellyse Perry, suggests a high level of respect for women's sporting achievement (Anderson, *The Roar*, 24<sup>th</sup> December 2012).

## **2.4 Sport in Australian Settlement Literature**

Academic works on Australian immigrant settlement experiences have largely ignored the role played by sport in the lives of new arrivals, as this section will show. In his analysis of the history of scholarly writings on immigrant experiences in Australia, Jacobs (2011, pp.33-46, 61-74, 77-82) makes no reference to any works on the role of sport in the lives of immigrants, despite discussing topics such as immigrant neighbourhoods, spaces and networks, cultural identity, and even media portrayals of immigrants. All are highly relevant to settlement experiences, yet sport is not mentioned at any point.

Price's (1963, p.222) seminal work on Southern European settlement in Australia notes the importance of: "...the vitality of informal and formal social clubs and societies..." to CALD immigrant groups. Price (1963, p.237) later elaborates on what he considers the institutions relevant to the CALD immigrant settlement experience: "...newspapers, political societies, schools, churches..." Price (1963, pp.222, 232-234, 237-238 241-247, 264-266, 268-272, 286-288, 296-297, 302-304, 315-317, 320-321) makes numerous references to these institutions in addition to ethnic and religious festivals and their importance to CALD immigrant groups. However, he only briefly alludes to the role of sport, noting that second generation ethnic sports clubs are a 'midway position' for second generation CALD immigrants between their parents' cultural values and those of Anglo-Australians, fielding teams in 'Australian'

sports such as cricket and Australian Rules football, while the older clubs established by the first generation play 'European' sports such as soccer (Price, 1963, pp.268-269). Clubs establishing sport teams to cater for postwar CALD immigrants is noted, though as a source of tension between pre war and postwar arrivals (Price, 1963, p.286). Price (1963, p.266) also acknowledges the existence of a pre war second generation Greek society that established Australian Rules and cricket teams in order to show that: "Greek boys could play football and cricket as well as any Australians..." However, neither the actual social role of CALD immigrant-formed sports clubs or teams are discussed further, other than Price (1963, p.269) stating that the previously established ethnic organisations have not been enough to satisfy the social needs of the second generation.

Similarly, Price's (1968b; pp.37-38, 41, 52) study of Jewish settlement in Australia does not mention sport despite several references to Jewish institutions and their role in Jewish cultural life in Australia. Prominent Jewish soccer club (Sydney) Hakoah is not referred to (Thompson, 2006, p.102). A volume edited by Price (1960a) on studying immigrants in Australia refers to sport just once, when Benyei (1960, pp.74-75, 81-82, 86-87) states that Greek immigrants have limited interaction with Australians and are: "...not even [interested] in Australian Rules football;" the role of churches in CALD immigrant life is nonetheless discussed. Price (1960b, pp.95-96, 104-105) again neglects to note the role of CALD immigrant formed sports clubs when detailing the role of ethnic institutions in maintaining regional loyalties and ethnic tensions. Another important work on Italian and German immigration to Australia by Borrie (1954, pp.118-119) references sport in only one sentence:

“The one field in which Italians appeared to participate as freely as Australians was sport, and particularly football<sup>10</sup> and boxing; but because of the age groups involved few of these would be first-generation Italians.”

However, the role of other cultural institutions is discussed on numerous occasions (Borrie, 1954, pp.44, 69, 190, 195-200, 209-210, 222-223).

Zubrzycki's (1964, pp.40-41) authoritative sociological study of postwar immigrants working in the coal industry in the Latrobe Valley of Victoria makes only anecdotal references to sport, despite stating that his research team was invited to soccer matches during the fieldwork – and that his assistants were encouraged to record their experiences as participant observation research. Soccer clearly played an important role in the life of one of Zubrzycki's (1964, pp.206-209) respondents, whose life history is included in the appendices. Furthermore, most Greek and Italian respondents were identified as recently arrived, young, single men living in hostels and speaking little or no English – a group highly likely to be participating in soccer clubs, due to the accessibility of the sport, their need for socialising and curing homesickness (Zubrzycki notes that immigrants miss ‘miscellaneous things,’ such as ‘certain sports’ – listing soccer as one such sport), and soccer's dominance in their homelands (Zubrzycki, 1964, pp.95, 105, 129, 160).

Zubrzycki (1964, pp.149-150) nonetheless states that:

“Sport, especially soccer, is the meeting ground of several national groups. Immigrants with continental European background consider soccer matches to be their favourite entertainment on Sunday afternoons, and flock in their hundreds to watch ‘Germany’ play against ‘Holland’ or ‘Slavia’ against ‘Budapest.’”

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<sup>10</sup> The code of football is not specified, but as this particular section focused on Italians living in Queensland, it most likely refers to either soccer or rugby union, as these were the two most prominent football codes in that state (Hay, 2006a, p.166).

Zubryzcki (1964, pp.149) also observes a 'fair intermixture' of English and Scottish participants along with the CALD Europeans, and a growing number of Australian players. Zubryzcki (1964, p.151) identifies a Dutch club as no longer fielding only Dutch players, but also Australian, English and Scottish players. The implications of this are not investigated, nor is the role of sport in immigrant communities discussed in any detail, with Zubryzcki (1964, pp.151-156) instead devoting further attention to social clubs and churches. The Latrobe Valley Amateur Football Association, active during the time of the study, is not mentioned (Morwell Pegasus SC, 2009).

Kern (1966), in his work on the cultural, economic and social integration of post Second World War non-British immigrants to Australia, makes no mention of sport. Banchevska's (1966, p.56) study of the cultural contribution to Australia by settlers from non English-speaking nations briefly mentions sport, stating that:

“While Australian Rules and cricket are still the national games, soccer is gaining increasing support among the native population; table-tennis has been transformed from a social game to a competitive sport with international contests.”

None of the works contained in Castles et al.'s (1992) study of Australia's Italian communities mention sport. Bottomley (1975, p.124) studied Greek communities and networks in Australian cities, noting that soccer clubs were among 'public ethnic institutions,' but the role of sport in immigrant life is not investigated. Tsounis (1975, p.32) discusses the important role played by social institutions within Greek communities, noting that cultural organisations and clubs allowed Greek immigrants the opportunity to socialise with other Greeks, as well as participating in various recreational activities and the ability to find assistance if in need. Tsounis (1975, p.33) argues that in addition to supporting Greek immigrants socially, organisations:



“...provided a protection against a society which Greeks felt was frequently hostile, which rejected them and which reduced them to a low social status.”

Despite Tsounis' (1975, pp.70-71) research revealing that sports clubs were the most numerous type of Pan-Hellenic organisations in metropolitan New South Wales, Victoria, South Australia and in Darwin, the specific role played by sports clubs in the Greek communities of Australia is not discussed. Tsounis (1975, pp.41-42) simply notes that most Greek soccer clubs were formed to encourage professional soccer competition among other ethnic teams and replace the insufficient youth teams attached to existing community clubs.

Kunz (1988) does not refer to sport in his analysis of Australia's initial post Second World War Displaced Person intakes; however he discusses it in his earlier work on Hungarian immigration to Australia. Kunz (1985, p.128) notes that Hungarian soccer clubs were formed in most states during the early 1950s and were successful, most notably St George Budapest, which he describes as: “Australia's most famous team.” Kunz (1985, pp.127-131) explains the contributions made by Hungarian immigrants in several other sports also, including table tennis and fencing, however he does not attempt to explain the role of sport in immigrant life. This is also the case in Kunz's (1969, pp.217-218) authoritative study of Hungarian settlement in Australia, which includes two pages on the contribution of Hungarian immigrants to Australian sport, but no analysis of sport influencing settlement experiences.

Similarly, Vondra's (1981, pp.110; 112-113) analysis of German-speaking immigrants to Australia makes anecdotal references to soccer clubs formed by German immigrants. Interestingly, sport is not listed among the activities Vondra

(1981, p.111) states as being offered by German clubs. Ironically, in a section on German-language media in Australia, one journalist notes the significance of sport in his paper, and especially soccer – both local and overseas competitions (Vondra, 1981, p.119).

Birrell's (2001, pp.72-74) analysis of the effect of immigration from 1972 to 2000 on the Victorian economy only mentions sport when discussing star immigrant players from the history of Australian Rules football; the wider role of sport in the lives of immigrants is not mentioned, other than Birrell stating that the emergence of Australian Rules football immigrant players is an example of the integration process. The contribution of immigrant soccer clubs and star players, such as Mark Viduka – at the peak of his career, playing in England in front of a global television audience at the time (BBC, *BBC Sport Online*, 4<sup>th</sup> November 2000) – are ignored. The other works in this collection, analysing the history of immigration to Victoria and its effect on the economy do not mention sport (Markus, 2001a). Rivett's (1975, pp.183-208) study of non-white (i.e. non-British) immigration to Australia includes a section on immigrant adjustment experiences, however it does not discuss the role of sport. Martin (1978, p.34), writing on the status of non-British settlers in Australia, also does not mention sport.

Although many of the traditional works on settlement in Australia make anecdotal or no reference to the role sport plays in the lives of immigrants, some researchers included sport in their work. Martin's (1972, p.77) analysis of refugee and immigrant groups in Adelaide featured a brief discussion of immigrant-formed sports clubs, stating that the initial wave of arrivals from mainland Europe following the Second

World War caused a 'wave of enthusiasm' for soccer and basketball in South Australia. However the impact of sport on adjustment is not further investigated; immigrant involvement in scout and guide movements and the Catholic Church are discussed in greater detail (Martin, 1972, pp.78-85, 85-101). Mason (2010, p.821) expands upon Martin's discussion of ethnic sporting clubs, arguing that they are: "...potentially vital tools to embed pluralistic social structures." Mason (2010, p.821) also makes the important point that soccer's position as the national sport in the homelands of many immigrants resulted in the sport potentially playing a key role in their country's shift to democratic governance, hence the utilisation of the game in Australia to publicly play out past rivalries.

Cox (1975) is one of the few traditional works on immigrant adjustment in Australia to discuss the role played by soccer clubs in the lives of immigrants. When describing the social places available to Greek men in the 1960s, Cox (1975, p.145) notes that soccer is available on both Saturdays and Sundays, and that new arrivals could participate as a supporter of a Greek club or a player should they be talented enough. Soccer, along with dances and cinema, is stated as being a familiar activity to Greek settlers, and Cox (1975, p.154) argues that it should be expected that soccer would be popular among young male Greek immigrants and enhance their connection to a Greek lifestyle and culture within Australia. Of the 37 young Greek men interviewed for the study, 34 were 'enthusiastic' about soccer; one third of the 34 played for or actively supported a Greek team, while the remainder stated that they were more interested in Greek clubs than any other soccer teams. Cox (1975, p.159) argues that social groups formed prior to immigration were maintained after

settlement in Australia, and that most members of one such group, as an example, all played for or supported the same soccer team.

Iuliano (2010, p.118) included a subsection on Italian sporting clubs, with an emphasis on soccer, in her study of Italian immigrants in Western Australia. She believes that sport was viewed by as a means of curtailing aggression and anti-social behaviour from immigrant males, stating that: “It was soccer more than any other sport which engaged the passions and energies of post-war Italian migrants” (Iuliano, 2010, p.120). However, much of Iuliano’s discussion of soccer revolves around tensions between clubs of various backgrounds and soccer administrators, rather than analysing the positive aspects of participation. Tampke (2006), unlike Vondra (1981), makes reference to soccer clubs in his study of German immigrants in Australia in a section on ‘Maintaining language and tradition.’ Nonetheless, instead of investigating the specific role soccer clubs played in German immigrant life, Tampke (2006, pp.148-149) discusses why German immigrant-formed soccer teams were not as successful as their counterparts from other parts of Europe. Tampke (2006, pp.166-167) notes the existence of German-Australian sporting icons, such as cricketer Darren Lehmann – though Tampke refers to him as ‘Daryl,’ further highlighting that sport is seen as trivial to scholars.

Unikoski (1978, pp.47-55, 305-312) is one of the few researchers to discuss the role of soccer clubs in CALD immigrant communities. Using Melbourne’s Polish community as a case study, Unikoski (1978, p.47) states that sports clubs:

“...probably form the most vigorous and diffuse sector of Polish communal life, by virtue of their numerous clubs, the number and extensive age-range of

their members, and the support of the whole community reinforcing the involvement of the participants.”

Importantly, and unlike most others, Unikoski (1978, p.49) also notes that sports clubs are a source of social capital for their participants:

“...all sports clubs, including those other than soccer, are contained within an elaborate network of connections. These provide the sports clubs with links outside as well as inside the community.”

## **2.5 Sport in Global Settlement Literature**

### **2.5.1 Overview**

Academic works on immigration outside of Australia have also largely viewed sport as a marginal area of interest (Price and Whitworth, 2004, p.170). Though this is changing, many notable works have ignored the role played by sport in the lives of immigrants. For example, Borrie’s (1959) analysis of the cultural integration of immigrants makes no reference to sport, despite discussing many topics which link to immigrant participation in sport, such as assimilation, integration, cultural retention, localised ethnic communities, social institutions, immigrant employment and social capital. Nor do any of the other works contained within the volume, which focused on the cultural integration or assimilation of immigrants in Europe (Zubrzycki, 1959), Brazil (Neiva and Diegues Junior, 1959), Israel (Isaac, 1959) or European settlers in Australia, the United States and Canada (Price, 1959).

Price (1969) also does not mention sport in his overview of assimilation, which focuses on the Australian and American cases, including both British and Irish and CALD immigrants; nor does Richmond (1969) in his analysis of the sociology of immigration. Richmond (1969, p.254) includes a diagram of ‘the social systems of

ethnic minorities,' which nonetheless indicates the role played by ethnic businesses, church groups, ethnic organisations and media in an immigrant's life. The nearest Richmond (1969, p.254) comes to noting participation in sport is when stating that:

“The larger [CALD immigrant] groups have a high degree of institutional self-sufficiency providing an environment in which the members may live, work, *play*<sup>11</sup> and worship without the necessity of knowing any English.”

In their seminal work on international migration, Castles and Miller (2009, pp.245-276) make no reference to the role of sport in the lives of immigrants, despite including a section on the relationship between ethnic minorities and host societies. Castles and Davidson (2000) do not mention sport despite including chapters on ethnic mobilisation, multiculturalism and social capital. Castles (2000, pp.133-154) also does not discuss sport in his work on ethnicity and globalisation, despite devoting a chapter to Australia as a case study of multicultural societies. Boyle et al. (1998) do not mention sport in their overview of immigration research, theory and methods. Guild and Van Selm (2005) include chapters on the impact of literature (Bowers, 2005) and cuisine (Thompson, 2005) on cultural identity, while sport is omitted. Goldin et al. (2011) make no reference to sport in their analysis of the impacts of immigration (including social impacts), despite immigrants having a profound influence on the growth of professional sport in many countries (Buell, *Wall Street Journal*, 22<sup>nd</sup> June 2012; Kallinikos, 2007, pp.27-40; Foer, 2004, pp.235-248). Spencer's (2006) analysis of immigrant cultural, social and economic integration issues within Europe also overlooks the role sports participation may potentially play in the lives of immigrants. Spencer (2006, p.10) presents an 'Integration Nexus,' a

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<sup>11</sup> Author's emphasis.

diagram of the ‘Shared Responsibility for the Inclusion of New Migrants,’ which does not include sport, recreation or any type of ethnic organisation among the factors potentially benefiting the settlement experiences of immigrants.

### 2.5.2 Case studies

Springer (1997) makes no reference to sport in her analysis of the impact of non-European immigrants on Western European cultures, despite discussing France as a case study. This ignores the fact that 4 members of France’s 1996 European Championships football squad were non-European immigrants, and 5 were of non-European heritage; a further 3 were of Spanish or Portuguese descent. Squad member Zinedine Zidane became a national (and later international) icon; he is a non-practising Muslim and the son of Algerian immigrants (Hussey, *The Observer* [London], 4<sup>th</sup> April 2004). Within the same volume (Ucarer and Puchala, 1997), Abadan-Unat’s (1997) study of Turkish communities in Western Europe does not mention sport, overlooking the existence of, for example, Turkish soccer clubs in Germany (Glennon, *InBedWithMaradonna.com*, 26<sup>th</sup> March 2012). The significance of sport to both German and Turkish culture is evidenced by the presentation of German soccer player Mesut Özil, who is Muslim and of Turkish descent, with a national media award in 2010 for being a symbol of cultural integration into German society (Martin, *Reuters*, 12<sup>th</sup> November 2010<sup>12</sup>).

Anthias (1992) makes no reference to sport in her study of Greek-Cypriot immigrants in Britain, overlooking the existence of KOPA, a London soccer league comprised entirely of Cypriot clubs formed in 1975. The competition’s website states that:

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<sup>12</sup> It should be noted that the article states that Ozil is Turkey-born; he was in fact born in Germany (Real Madrid Club de Futbol, 2011).

“We can boast that every Cypriot household in London, some 300,000, have some connection with KOPA, be it with players or Club officials” (KOPA, 2011, p.1).

Vlachos (1968, pp.104-110, 125-130, 139-142) does not include sport in his study of the assimilation of Greek immigrants in America, though he includes a discussion of the role of church groups, ethnic institutions and social activities. However, Greek-American sports clubs such as New York Greek-American Atlas, formed in 1941 (Belac, *The New York Times*, 7<sup>th</sup> May 2011), are not mentioned.

Tricarico (1984, pp.10-19, 48-55) discusses the important role played by the Catholic Church in the lives of Italian immigrants in Greenwich Village, New York, however sport is mentioned only to note the icon status of Italian-American boxer Rocky Marciano and Italian-American baseball player Joe DiMaggio. Di Leonardo (1984) overlooks immigrant involvement in sport in her analysis of the impact of sociological influences on the identity of Italian-Americans living in California, as does Gans (1982) in his seminal work on the settlement experiences of Italian immigrants in the United States. All three studies ignore the existence of Italian-American sporting clubs, such as the Italian American Sport Club of Rochester, New York, formed by Italian immigrants in the 1940s (Italian Civic League, 2012) or the Brooklyn Italians Soccer Club, formed in 1949 (Brooklyn Italians Soccer Club, 2012). Italian soccer club AS Roma played against a team of Italian-American ‘All-Stars,’ formed by the Italian-American Soccer League, during a tour of America in 1977 (Izzi, *AS Roma News*, 14<sup>th</sup> July 2012).



## 2.6 Conclusion

This chapter has presented an overview of scholarly literature on the sociological impacts of sport, comprising the relationship between sport and national identity, sport and local identity, and sport as both a unifying and divisive social force. While sport remains a marginal area of interest for researchers, there have nonetheless been a number of studies on the sociological influences of sport, regarding its impact on national identity, local identity, social networks and the social capital they generate, divisiveness and exclusion among communities and of certain groups, and identity and cultural maintenance among immigrants groups. It is clear that researchers regard sport as both a positive and negative social force, emphasising both a sense of unity and of otherness. For some, the positives firmly outweigh the negatives, and sport has played a key role in strengthening national identity and pride in many countries, including Australia. Sporting clubs are important social spaces where groups can interact and access both bridging and bonding social capital. Participation in organised sport presents some groups with a rare opportunity to mix with other groups. However, clubs also potentially can reinforce social barriers and stereotypes, and as a result exclude people based on gender, social status and cultural background from fully benefitting from their participation, as well as restricting how they participate. It is also clear that sport plays a role in the settlement experiences of immigrants, as there are several examples of immigrants forming or using sporting clubs to help them maintain a cultural connection to their homeland and ethnic heritage.

Research conducted on the sociological impacts of sport in Australia has also been discussed, with attention paid to works on inequality in Australian sport and the

relationship between cricket and Australian national identity. There is little dispute that sport has played a significant role in the formation of an Australian identity, owing largely to Australia's lack of cultural icons. Cricket is noted as being the sport most closely associated with Australian identity; early successes against England have been identified as proof of Australia's independence from Britain. Some scholars have concluded that cricket is a bastion of Anglo-Australian culture, and reinforces ties to white, conservative Australia, however recent developments in the sport suggest that this is no longer a significant issue. Arguments that Australian sport reinforces other inequalities, including along lines of both gender and race, have also been weakened by recent developments.

Finally, an analysis of both Australian and global immigration literature has been conducted in order to identify a gap, where the vast majority of researchers have neglected to reference the role sport has potentially played in the lives of immigrants worldwide. It is clear that the role of sport in the adjustment of immigrants to Australia has been ignored or trivialised by many scholars. Researchers who analysed the importance of immigrant institutions failed to include sporting clubs in their studies. Only a minority of works on immigrant adjustment discussed the role of sporting clubs in immigrant communities, and fewer still since the 1970s. This study aims to fill the literature gap by solely focussing on the role of sporting clubs in the adjustment of immigrants, situated in a modern context. The review of literature relevant to this study will continue in Chapter 3, which will analyse scholarly writings on immigrants and soccer in Australia and other nations.

## **CHAPTER 3**

### **IMMIGRANTS AND SOCCER**

#### **3.1 Introduction**

This chapter will analyse the literature on immigrant participation in soccer in both Australia and other nations, and identify gaps in current knowledge. The academic works on soccer discussed in this chapter focus on three key themes. The first of these is developed from the concept introduced in the previous chapter that sport can serve to divide groups as much as unify them for a common cause. In this case, several researchers have investigated the phenomenon of soccer acting as a divisive social force between mainstream society and minority CALD immigrant groups, or between different CALD groups. Secondly – and this is especially the case for soccer in Australia – that soccer clubs formed by postwar CALD immigrants have served to stimulate cultural maintenance among their members, acting as a social space where participants can publicly reaffirm a connection to their ethnic identity and heritage. Finally, academic works on soccer and immigrants will be analysed for evidence of soccer clubs assisting the adjustment of CALD settlers.

#### **3.2 Research on Soccer and Immigrants in Australia**

##### **3.2.1 Overview**

Academic writings on soccer in Australia have focused primarily on the historical development of the sport in various states and regions. Most discussions of immigrant participation are concerned with the impact new arrivals have had on the sport's development, expansion and status as an 'ethnic sport' rather than the role of soccer in the adjustment of immigrants (Kallinikios, 2007, pp.1-4). While the latter is

sometimes referred to it is usually tangentially, and the impact of participation on settlement experiences is rarely focussed upon or made the object of the study. Moreover, sport-based research has had no impact on ‘mainstream’ migration and settlement research. A major goal of the present study is to bridge this gap. While themes such as the role of ethnicity will be considered, this study is grounded in immigrant adjustment theory, unlike any major work on sport or soccer in Australia.

### **3.2.2 Soccer as a divisive force**

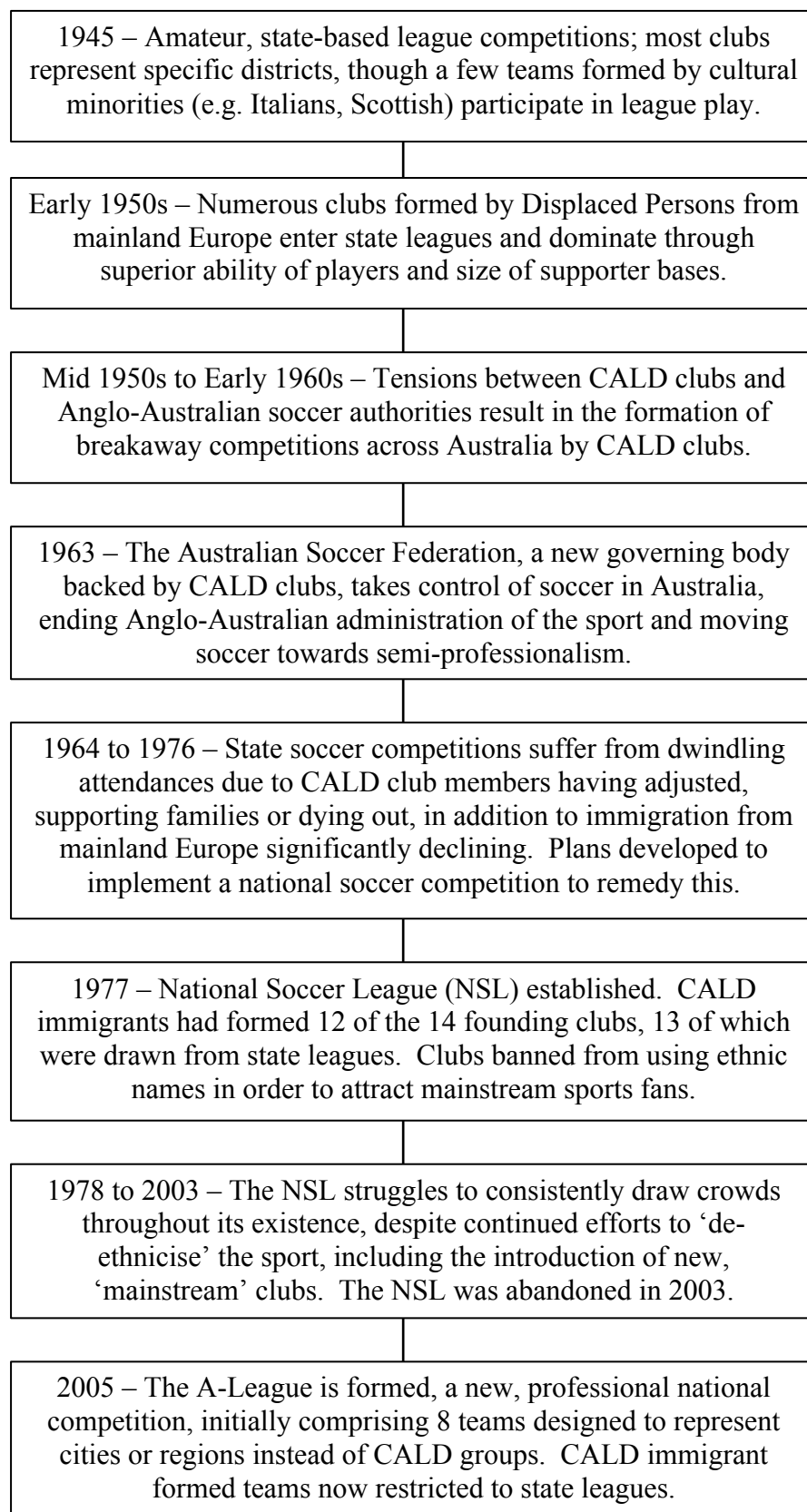
Popular media accounts over the postwar period have sometimes pictured soccer clubs formed by CALD immigrant groups as divisive social forces – e.g. “‘Ethnic’ threat splits clubs” (Koslowski, *Sydney Morning Herald*, 14<sup>th</sup> August 1996); “Crackdown on ethnic rivalries to end violence” (Lynch, *The Age* [Melbourne], 23<sup>rd</sup> August 2005) – and this has attracted some attention from scholars (Hughson, 2001; Hay, 2006, p.171). Carniel (2009) discussed the ‘public image issues’ faced by soccer in Australia in her analysis of the football code’s social movement, from an ‘immigrant’s game’ in the early postwar years to a sport with a more mainstream appeal in the 21<sup>st</sup> century. Carniel (2009, pp.73-74) argues that the global shift of soccer support from the local to the transnational, led by changing perceptions of masculinity, has allowed for soccer in Australia to be seen as more than a niche sport exclusive to CALD immigrants and associated with ethnic divisions and violence. Soccer in Australia is seeking to become a cosmopolitan sport in order to unite Australian sport and soccer participants, with the ultimate goal of achieving success and significance on the global stage (Carniel, 2009, p.80). In order to achieve this, soccer has paradoxically attempted to abandon its ties to the CALD immigrant groups who transformed soccer into a professional sport in the early postwar years. This

indicates that CALD immigrant participation in soccer is generally seen among mainstream Australians as a negative social influence, and the potential benefits of CALD immigrant participation, such as generating bonding and bridging social capital, are not widely considered.

Lock (2009) also examined this issue by interviewing supporters of Sydney FC, a new club formed to participate in the revamped Australian national soccer competition, the A-League, as part of the attempt to move away from the sport's ethnic image discussed by Carniel (2009). Figure 3.1 shows the multiple changes in organisation of Australian soccer since the Second World War; most recently, the national (professional) competition has been changed from a league featuring predominantly clubs formed by CALD European immigrants to one comprised of new clubs basing their support on localities rather than cultural heritage. This is despite the significant impact CALD European immigrants have had on the sport in Australia, as will be discussed in more detail in Chapter 5.

Lock (2009, pp.113-116) argued that mainstream sports fans had found the ethnic image of the original National Soccer League (NSL) to be unattractive and unsafe, despite none of his respondents who attended NSL games having been involved in an incident. This was the case even if the respondent had supported an NSL club not formed or dominated by one CALD group, while others supported an 'ethnic' NSL club due to being of that background (Lock, 2009, pp.115-116).

**Figure 3.1: Timeline of Postwar Organisation of Australian Club Soccer**



Source: Harlow, 2003; Thompson, 2006; Hay, 2006

Alternatively, Bosevski and Hallinan (2009) approached the issue by studying a soccer club formed by Macedonian immigrants. The club had attempted to appeal to mainstream sports fans by forbidding its supporters from chanting in Macedonian and displaying Macedonian banners and flags at matches, in turn alienating the club's traditional fan base. Hallinan and Hughson (2009) take an interesting approach to the issue, arguing that soccer's unpopularity among the mainstream, 'Anglocentric' Australian population is due to a tradition of cultural xenophobia, most recently represented by the mono-cultural policies of the Australian Liberal Party-Australian National Party coalition government under Prime Minister John Howard from March 1996 to December 2007, where Howard attempted to reemphasise Australia's Anglo-Celtic identity (Jupp, 2007, pp.106-107).

During Howard's term attacks on soccer's 'ethnic links' intensified; this included multiple attempts to ban 'foreign' nationalistic symbols at games, such as club names, logos, playing strips and flags, and culminated in the formation of a new national league with no immigrant clubs included – a reform funded by Howard's government (Hallinan and Hughson, 2009, p.2). According to Hallinan and Hughson (2009, p.2), the new league represented:

“...a symbolic return to the pre-1970s immigration policy of assimilation where people (or soccer clubs in this case) are expected to fit into a cultural grid.”

These reforms are linked to the implementation of Howard's nationalism, which demanded a shift away from a pluralist, multicultural society toward:

“...a simplistic, monocultural way of life steeped in nostalgic longing for the Anglo place that Australia supposedly once was” (Hallinan and Hughson, 2009, p.2).

Hallinan and Hughson (2009, p.6) also pose the question of whether the issue of ethnic violence at soccer matches concerned the actual acts of violence, or simply a xenophobic fear of being confronted with displays of foreign cultures and nationalism on Australian soil – Lock’s (2009) research suggests this hypothesis may be correct. Hallinan and Hughson (2009, p.3) nonetheless argue that:

“...soccer has developed historically within Australia as a genuinely multicultural practice, and, in this respect, is *uniquely*<sup>13</sup> Australian.”

This would indicate that conservative politicians and commentators view the CALD immigrant domination of soccer in Australia as proof that multiculturalism is a socially divisive policy, hence the rise in frequency of attacks on soccer’s links to CALD groups during Howard’s time as Prime Minister – including the Howard government-sponsored reform of the national soccer competition and the governing body of the sport. One such example was conservative commentator Jeff Wells’ statement in 1996 that:

“The national [soccer] league is no place for ethnic fiefdoms... The strength of ethnic diversity is in bonding, not brawling. But bonding into what? Most of the laconic humour and family strength, which carried this country through war and depression, seems to have been obliterated by imported push-button repressive ‘liberal’ ideology” (as quoted in Gorman, 2013, p.5).

According to Gorman (2013, p.5), Wells – like other conservative commentators and politicians – believed that CALD participation in soccer contributes to the cultural division and moral degradation of Australian society.

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<sup>13</sup> Hallinan and Hughson’s emphasis.



### 3.2.3 Soccer and ethnic identity

Mosely et al. (1997) brought together studies relating to the role played by sport in the culture of immigrant groups. In his introduction to the volume, Mosely (1997b, p.3) states:

“[Given that] sport inevitably played an important role in the transmission of immigrant values, a preliminary evaluation of the importance of the place of sport in the lives of Australia’s ethnic communities is long overdue.”

The focus of the volume’s works is on sport as a means of retaining ethnicity through adaptation or acculturation and resisting assimilation, an issue overlooked by most settlement studies. Mosely (1997c, p.129) states that Polish settlers established sports clubs in order to maintain Polish culture throughout their community and for later generations. Doumanis (1997, pp.65-66), in his study of sport within Australia’s Greek community, reiterated Mosely’s point that immigrant-formed sport clubs enabled new arrivals to both affirm and reaffirm their ethnic identity. Annual Pan Hellenic Games, with participants from all over Australia competing, were established in order to help develop a Greek community consciousness across the nation (Doumanis, 1997, p.66).

Doumanis (1997, pp.66-67) notes the dominance of soccer within CALD immigrant communities: “...from the beginning soccer eclipsed all rivals in terms of Greek community sport;” furthermore, he states that other sports failed to: “...fulfil a need in Greek immigrant life the way soccer did” – making the sport’s omission from settlement studies even more baffling. In lieu of the intra-ethnic conflicts sometimes experienced among groups of Greek settlers, Doumanis (1997, pp.68-69), echoing Bale (2003), argues that soccer both unified and divided the Greek community on

different occasions (Danforth, 1995). Nonetheless, Doumanis (1997, p.70) supports Mosely (1997c, p.129) by arguing that Greek soccer clubs existed in order to promote and defend the honour of Greek identity, which has resulted in members of Australia's Greek communities – including later generations – visibly supporting teams representing their ancestral home over Australian teams. This issue will be further investigated in this study, in order to determine if soccer still serves to influence cultural maintenance in CALD groups.

Hughson (1997, p.52) stated that the achievements of the Sydney Croatia Sports Club provided (male) Croatian immigrants with a source of pride, the ability to maintain associations with other Croatians, and an escape from the realities of: "...dreary blue collar employment..." – continuing the common theme in the collection of soccer acting as a social space and refuge where CALD immigrants could freely and publicly connect with their culture. However, Hughson (1997, p.54) argues that the link to Croatian ethnicity felt by supporters of Sydney Croatia is particularly strong in comparison to the clubs of other CALD groups; the reason for this is that:

“[Croatian immigrants] have tended to exist as an émigré community constantly concerned with the quest of their former homeland for independence from the perceived oppressor, Serbia.”

Hughson (1997, pp.54-55) goes on to note that the cause has manifested itself in all facets of life for Croatian immigrants, and in turn, has potentially resulted in their marginalisation. This again highlights sport's potential to both unify and divide (Bale, 2003).

Mosely (1997d, p.93) argues that throughout the 1950s and 1960s, predominantly Greek and Italian settlers supported soccer across Australia, with Croatian arrivals playing a role from the 1970s. However, unlike the Greek and Croatian communities, interest in displaying ethnicity through soccer support has dwindled among members of the Italian and Polish second generations, with Italian-Australians in Melbourne more interested in following Australian Rules football instead of soccer, while Polish-Australians have found sources of social capital outside of their original networks (Mosely, 1997d, p.94; 1997b, pp.134-135). Mosely (1997d, p.95), does note, however, that arguably the strongest Italian soccer club in Australia, Adelaide Juventus, enjoyed its most successful period (in the 1990s) in no small part to the continued support of the descendants of its founding members:

“An ethnic club’s survival and prosperity is predicated upon retaining the support of the second generation. The steady rise of Adelaide Juventus and Marconi in Sydney confirms this as does the gradual demise of Sydney’s APIA and Melbourne’s Brunswick.”

A detailed discussion of the changes over the postwar period in the nature of soccer clubs will be included in Chapter 5.

Mosely (1997a, p.155) begins his chapter on the history of immigrant involvement in soccer in Australia by stating that:

“...no other sport in Australia has been more closely associated with immigrants and ethnic communities than soccer... ...soccer could only be described as an immigrant success story.”

Soccer clubs were the nexus of a number of immigrant communities; in many cases, soccer clubs were the first social institutions formed after arrival by new settlers (Mosely, 1997a, p.163). Soccer, being the national game in the homelands of many

immigrants since the end of the Second World War, presented young, single, working class CALD immigrant men – who dominated the initial postwar intakes – the opportunity to not only indulge in a favourite pastime but also find companionship among settlers of a similar background. Mosely (1997a, p.162) also states that soccer matches provided many immigrants access to a social space that improved their self-confidence:

“Soccer was an exceptional forum in which immigrants felt they stood equal with, if not superior to, host Australians. [Soccer] was an international language and an environment in which they had long been reared.”

McCoy (1997), in a rare work focussing on Asian migrant participation in Australian sport, argues that settlers from Vietnam have taken only a minimal interest in forming clubs representing their community and ethnicity. A key reason for this is that there is no established relationship between sport and Vietnamese culture (McCoy, 1997, p.137). Sport has however played a small role in the Vietnamese community, as during the late 1970s team competitions were organised and:

“...provided an important reprieve from the boredom, social isolation and cultural alienation experienced by many of the newly arrived immigrants” (McCoy, 1997, p.138).

As McCoy (1997, p.137) states:

“This early popularity was the product of a community which was disproportionately young with comparatively few kinship networks.”

Notably, this is similar to many refugees today, suggesting that sport could play an important role in their settlement. Nonetheless, unlike CALD Europeans, Vietnamese settlers did not view sport as a means of maintaining a connection to their cultural heritage, and therefore Vietnamese teams began to steadily decline in number once

they had served their purpose of assisting the settlement of younger, isolated immigrants; sport became secondary to expanding networks, supporting a family and academic achievement (McCoy, 1997, p.140). A small number of Vietnamese soccer teams existed in the 1990s, however the martial art *vovinam* has received continued support from the Vietnamese community since 1980, and is according to McCoy (1997, pp.141-142) the sport most closely associated with Vietnamese culture and identity, held in high esteem despite a relatively small number of participants nationally. Vietnamese immigrants do not use sport or soccer clubs to visibly express their ethnicity as other CALD groups do:

“In many respects sport plays a peripheral rather than a central role in the expression of immigrant Vietnamese ethnic identity in Australia” (McCoy, 1997, p.147).

### **3.2.4 Soccer as a source of social capital**

Academic works on immigrant participation in sport show that soccer clubs are a significant source of social capital for their participants, even if this issue is not the focus of writings on Australian soccer. An example of this is Bill Murray’s (2006) study of ethnic tensions in South Australian soccer in the 1950s, where he agrees with Mosely (1997a) that soccer clubs provided a space where CALD immigrants could socialise with others of similar backgrounds, speaking their native language and listening to songs and stories from their homelands:

“Work might have come first after family, with church next, but then, for the males at least, came the soccer club, open to those of a particular faith or of no faith at all” (Murray, 2006, p.78).

This is perhaps reflected not only in the on-field success of immigrant-formed clubs, but also in terms of their support; in the mid-1950s, clubs representing the Italian,

Greek, Hungarian, Polish, Serbian, Croatian and Ukrainian communities all consistently attracted significant crowd numbers to their games (Murray, 2006, p.92). Murray (2006, p.87) suggests that soccer clubs gave immigrants a space to make their ethnicity: "...a living reality [rather] than a nostalgic past," and resulted in nationalistic tensions emerging, even among Italians and Greeks who had arrived prior to the Second World War.

Hay and Guoth (2009) also touched upon soccer clubs as sources of social capital in their comparative study on the sociological impacts of soccer clubs on different ethnic minorities in Victoria prior to, and after, the post Second World War immigrant intakes:

"Some migrant minorities have embraced the game as an important element of cultural identification and distinction; others have used it as one of a number of means of finding a way into some areas of Australian society and yet others have shunned the games as being un-Australian" (Hay and Guoth, 2006, p.823)

The fact that immigrants are not the only minority groups involved with soccer is noted (women as athletes, and a small number of mainstream Australians – a minority within a majority who participate in a sport seen by most as un-Australian), as is that soccer potentially provides groups with access to networks and both bridging and bonding social capital (Hay and Guoth, 2006, p.824); however these issues are not elaborated upon.

### **3.2.5 Biographical accounts of immigrant participation in soccer**

Though only a limited amount of academic research on the issue of immigrant participation in Australian soccer exists, some valuable insights into the issue can be

found in biographical writings. These works include Warren et al.'s (2003) overview of the post-Second World War development of soccer in Australia through the personal experiences of its narrator, Johnny Warren. Warren, an Australian of Anglo-Celtic heritage, played for clubs formed by CALD immigrants and therefore has a firsthand understanding of the relationship between soccer and immigrants. For example, Warren et al. (2003, pp.34-35) observed that:

“Many post-war migrants in Australia... were young men with an enthusiasm for football. Getting together on the weekend to mix with people from their own country and play football was an opportunity they relished and for many it was an escape from the racism they often experienced in Australia. Most European migrants couldn't speak English and struggled to adapt to the nuances of their new society... It was in this often-unforgiving environment that soccer provided an escape. Migrants gained some comfort and some memories of home by getting together on the weekend and playing football.”

St George Budapest, a soccer club formed in the late 1950s by refugees from Hungary, would serve an important role in the settlement experiences of some of those refugees, such as Les Murray – who, like Warren, would become one of Australia's most notable soccer personalities. Warren et al. (2003, p.265) described the initial experiences of Murray's family upon settling in Wollongong:

“All week long, Les and his brothers went to school, unable to speak English. Understandably, they felt like outsiders. At work, his father was thought of dismissively as a 'wog' and seen almost as sub-human by the 'Aussies' at work. Les's mother would try to shop for the family but without any English, couldn't order potatoes or other staples and, for the most part, certainly wasn't assisted by unsympathetic shopkeepers.”

Warren et al. (2003 p.266) then explain the role the soccer club would play in the lives of Les and his family, after watching St George play for the first time:

“You can imagine the feelings of Les and his brothers when they turned up and saw this team, Budapest, made up entirely of Hungarian players. Suddenly they were confronted with a crowd of three or four thousand

supporters who were almost all Hungarian. They hadn't seen such a familiar gathering since they'd left Hungary. For a couple of hours, Les and all the other Hungarians felt at home."

Les Murray later confirmed this point in a collaborative work with Johnny Warren on their involvement with soccer in Australia (Harper et al., 2005, p.2):

"As a young person, I spent time every week following the team, talking my native tongue with like-minded people with whom I had shared history. I could also enjoy Hungarian food as opposed to what I saw as the blandness of meat and three veg. Among other things, it was a port in the storm; my early days in Australia were alive, but tough and tumultuous, so I was rusted on to the Budapest cause."

In his autobiography, Les Murray (2006, p.50) supported Unikoski (1978, p.311) by arguing that the opportunity to support a team representing his homeland actually assisted his family in assimilating to life in Australia. Murray's insights on the role soccer played in his own life are particularly important to investigating this issue, as he is an insider who has experienced adjusting to life in Australia as a CALD immigrant:

"I found warmth and momentary refuge, albeit for a couple of hours a week, away from the cold of the hostilities and challenges I was facing as a spirited immigrant... Later, I was accepted and even respected as an Australian of some worth. The boys in red, white and green that day at Memorial Park were a big help and I doubt if it would have happened without them... Budapest SC became the centre of our social world" (Murray, 2006, p.51).

Based on his experiences, Murray (2006, pp.50-51) believed that immigrants required a space to escape from the many struggles they faced upon arrival; he added that such cultural spaces are temporary havens, and that most will 'move on' once they have become accepted within the host society, having learned the language and local customs. That Budapest played its home games 70 kilometres from Murray's residence suggests the significance of such a cultural space to immigrants. In his



authoritative work on Hungarian settlement in Australia, Kunz (1969) made no reference to soccer clubs playing this role in the Hungarian community. Similar to Les Murray's experience, noted soccer player and coach Mark Rudan recounted that a club formed by Croatian immigrants had played an important role in helping his family to adjust:

“[My father took me to there to] be around other Croatians. The club was integral. It gave us a chance to socialise and to assimilate properly. I grew up with my best mates at that club. We met wives and girlfriends there... my first dream as a kid was to don the red jersey [of Sydney United] and play at the hallowed ground of Edensor Park” (as quoted in Gorman, 2013, pp.4-5).

This is evidence that rather than causing division in Australian society, CALD immigrant-formed soccer clubs allowed participants to assimilate on their own terms. The tribute for Adelaide Juventus founder Michele Bini states that the demise of Juventus' predecessor Savoy, another soccer club formed by Italian settlers:

“...left a major hole [in] the sports and social life of new Australians who were assimilating with their adopted homeland” (The Advertiser, *The Advertiser* [Adelaide], 4<sup>th</sup> May 2013, p.74).

The tribute also notes that soon after its founding, Adelaide Juventus: “...soon became the home-away-from-home for the thousands of Italians who left Italy and made SA their new home,” and that through the club, Michele was able to engage with the local Italian community (The Advertiser, *The Advertiser* [Adelaide], 4<sup>th</sup> May 2013, p.74). This indicates that soccer has played a key role in influencing the settlement experiences of many CALD immigrants to Australia, an issue overlooked by the vast majority of writings on immigrant adjustment in Australia.

### **3.3 Research on Soccer and Immigrants in Other Nations**

#### **3.3.1 Overview**

The Australian case of soccer being inextricably linked with immigrant participation is not unique, with the sport serving to play a similar role in the lives of settlers in other nations; most prominently in another English-speaking, traditional immigration country, the United States. As in Australia, the study of sport in other nations is also seen as a marginal area of academic interest (Dyck, 2000, p.1). According to Price and Whitworth (2004, p.170):

“When one considers the vast literature about Latino immigration and immigrants [in the United States] produced in the last few years... it is rather astounding that immigrant soccer leagues have received so little attention. If they merit mention at all, it is usually at the anecdotal level to illustrate the workings of social networks.”

Nonetheless, over the past two decades the amount of research on the social impacts of sport on immigrants has increased, as this section will show.

#### **3.3.2 Soccer as an ‘immigrant sport’**

The majority of research on CALD immigrant participation in soccer outside of Australia is concerned with the United States. This is perhaps due to the United States’ position as the top immigration country in the world, with 42.8 million immigrants reported to be living there in 2010 – 30.5 million more than the 2<sup>nd</sup> ranked nation, Russia (World Bank, 2010). One of several recent works on immigrant participation in soccer in the United States, Jensen and Sosa’s (2008) study of the relationships between American professional soccer clubs in Major League Soccer (MLS) and Hispanic communities demonstrated both the importance of soccer to

immigrants in America, and immigrants to American soccer. Jensen and Sosa (2008, p.487) argued that:

“It seems likely that the best way to help MLS grow into a major presence in American sport is by cultivating positive relationships among Mexican-American, Chicano and Hispanic fan bases throughout the Americas. Alienating Hispanic fans may cause problems for MLS franchises.”

Jensen and Sosa (2008, p.487) also suggested MLS clubs hire players specifically to appeal to the immigrant communities of the cities they represent, such as signing Mexican players to attract Mexican-Americans to the matches.

Though not focussing specifically on immigrants, a similar study of MLS supporter behaviour by Wilson (2007) considered the importance of soccer to America’s Latino population. Wilson (2007, p.384), noting that allegedly 50 per cent of MLS fans are of Latino descent, argues that soccer is of much higher cultural importance to Latinos than any other major immigrant group in the United States. Soccer is unpopular commercially in the US outside of the Latino population, with fringe sports such as Bass fishing and ten pin bowling regularly beating MLS games in television ratings by a significant number of viewers – perhaps further cementing soccer’s position in America as a foreign or immigrant sport, much like it has been in Australia (Wilson, 2007, pp.384-385).

Apostolov (2012) contested the notion that soccer is a foreign or un-American sport; however, his study did little to disprove that this. Apostolov (2012, p.521) argued that assimilated Brazilian immigrants attending matches featuring the visiting Brazilian national team shows that Americans are interested in soccer. Apostolov (2012, p.525) also notes, as proof that soccer became: “...ghettoized in ethnic

neighbourhoods...” during the 1940s-1960s, that a club team of Portuguese immigrants took the place of the US national soccer team at an international tournament in 1947. From his conclusion, it seems Apostolov (2012, p.530) has paid no attention to Australian studies of CALD immigrant participation in soccer, stating that people of CALD descent supporting opposition national teams or club sides from other nations over the locals would be “...unlikely to happen in the rest of the world.”

### **3.3.3 Soccer as a source of social capital**

Price and Whitworth (2004, p.168) analysed the sociological roles played by soccer competitions in the lives of immigrants from Latin America in Washington, DC:

“[Soccer] Leagues create a cultural space that is familiar, entertaining, practical, inexpensive, transnational, and ephemeral, where migrants gather to reaffirm their sense of identity and belonging. Soccer leagues are multigenerational social centers that supply participants with information about employment and legal status and news from home, and may both facilitate and preclude immigrant assimilation into the dominant U.S. society.”

Of their study’s sixty respondents, 88 per cent agreed that the soccer leagues were ‘very important’ for the participants and the immigrant communities; also for the majority of male respondents soccer clubs were the only Latino immigrant organisations which they were members of (Price and Whitworth, 2004, pp.173-174).

There are few public places in Washington for Latino immigrants to congregate – for example, large groups of Latino youths would be conspicuous to authorities – so soccer matches are in many cases the only space where immigrants can express their ethnicity openly, speak their native languages, and socialise with others of the same background (Price and Whitworth, 2004, pp.177, 179, 183-185). Often ceremonies are held at matches involving traditional folk cultural or religious practices. Of Price

and Whitworth's (2004, p.183) respondents, 90 per cent played on teams composed of players from the same country of origin, and 88 per cent knew some of their teammates from before their immigration to the US. Similarly, Van Rheenen (2009, p.791) concluded his study of 'ethnic subcultures' within America's, and specifically San Francisco's, soccer leagues by stating that:

“...San Francisco soccer fields have indeed afforded space for communities to assemble around a common goal. Thus, rather than a tale of promise unfulfilled, the San Francisco Football Soccer League, and American soccer in general, has provided an open terrain for new ethnicities to play and compete for cultural space in an emerging nation.”

Van Rheenen (2009, p.782) also utilises soccer in Australia as an example of an attempt to de-ethnicise a sport, though his description of key events in the sport's development is muddled.

Messeri (2008, pp.419-420) studied Latino involvement in various soccer competitions in Richmond, California. Latino and Hispanic residents account for over a quarter of Richmond's population; the majority living on or in proximity to 23<sup>rd</sup> Street, which has become an ethnic enclave. In Richmond's two primary high schools Latino students represent 52 per cent of the total student body, while only 3.7 per cent are white American; one of these schools, Richmond High, is located on 23<sup>rd</sup> Street and 60.5 per cent of its students are of Latino origin (Messeri, 2008, pp.419-420). As a result, Richmond High's soccer teams have become the predominant physical manifestations of the area's Latino community. There are no soccer clubs in Richmond for adults, with most of the Latinos in Richmond instead playing impromptu games in the city's parks (Messeri, 2008, pp.421-422). However, due to the lack of a senior soccer club for Latinos, Messeri (2008, p.424) argues that instead:

“...Richmond High’s soccer team becomes a natural outlet for their support,” with large crowds attending their matches. Messeri’s (2008, p.422) study also revealed that this community support of the high school team led to greater interaction between the Latino community and the supporters and players on the team, resulting in the team becoming a source of social capital.

### **3.3.4 Soccer and cultural maintenance**

Trouille’s (2008; 2009) two-part study analysed the connection between ethnic succession and the development of soccer in Chicago since 1890. According to Trouille (2008, pp.459-460), the first organised soccer league in Chicago was founded in April 1887, amidst a period when increases in immigration from Britain coincided with a growth in soccer participation across America. During this period soccer became a means of affirming British cultural identity for immigrants (Trouille, 2008, p.461), as Mosely (1997a), Doumanis (1997) and Hughson (1997) argued had occurred in Australia with CALD groups; this continued with the arrival of “inferior and undesirable” Irish immigrants in the late 1890s to early 1900s and 2.5 million (mostly Southern and Eastern) European immigrants between 1880 and 1920 (Trouille, 2008, pp.466, 470). Further mirroring the Australian example, Trouille (2008, p.471) states that soccer matches during this period offered a space for cultural tensions to be expressed, resulting in on-field violence and gangs being formed through sporting clubs, or CALD groups using them as symbols of cultural solidarity.

Again as in the case of Australia, the visible presence of immigrants as players and spectators led to soccer being seen as a ‘foreign’ game, with almost all soccer clubs in Chicago being immigrant formed by the mid 1940s (Trouille, 2008, p.800). Trouille

(2008, pp.804-806) makes the point that, like their Australian counterparts, Chicago's immigrant soccer teams provided their members with a cultural space to gather and socialise, resist assimilation, access social capital, develop a sense of cultural pride and an opportunity to disprove stereotypes. Alternatively, and yet again mirroring the Australian case, immigrant soccer clubs were perceived by the mainstream as being negative social forces; as Trouille (2008, p.806) states:

“By the late 1950s... soccer was widely perceived as an alien sport played primarily by immigrants – part of the old cultural baggage from Europe that was a barrier to full assimilation.”

The connection between soccer and immigrants continued for a new wave of arrivals, as immigration from Latin America increased sharply in the 1970s, leading to what Trouille (2008, p.808) describes as the ‘Latinisation’ of soccer in Chicago.

Day (1981) studied the impact of immigrant involvement in Canadian soccer clubs on assimilation. Day (1981, p.46) discovered that, unlike in many of the Australian and US examples, immigrant soccer clubs in London, Ontario, Canada welcomed players of all backgrounds:

“The ramifications of this policy were realized insofar as most teams exhibited an ethnically mixed, integrated roster reflecting increasing levels of cultural assimilation. This may also be representative of an increased feeling of security experienced by the ethnic club with relation to the core society.”

He concluded that immigrant soccer clubs actually increased the level of assimilation of participants, or at least reduced resistance to assimilation; as one of his respondents stated: “...interchangeable groups have caused an ethnicity breakdown” (Joe Callipari, as quoted in Day, 1981, p.46). According to Day (1981, p.50), although London's immigrant soccer clubs were initially formed to assist cultural maintenance, it became

secondary to on field success. This resulted in a mixture of different cultures within the teams, which in turn led to a decrease of overt expressions of ethnic identity and an increase in assimilation.

Andersson (2009) presented a study of CALD immigrant soccer teams in Sweden, most notably Assyrisk FF, a club founded by Assyrian immigrants who settled in the small town of Södertälje in 1974. Assyrisk FF climbed the Swedish soccer league system from its lowest tier to eventually compete in the top division in 2005. There are multiple parallels drawn with the Australian cases; following the Second World War CALD immigrant-formed teams began to emerge in Sweden, representing Jews, Italians, Hungarians, Spaniards, Austrians, Greeks and Yugoslavs, as well as Assyrians and Syriacs (Andersson, 2009, pp.400-403).

Furthermore, as Ice Hockey was the preferred sport of the Swedish population of Södertälje, soccer was seen as a sport for the immigrants (Andersson, 2009, p.398). Immigrant clubs were also viewed with a degree of suspicion from the Swedish media, gaining a reputation for on-field and off-field violence at matches (Andersson, 2009, p.401). Andersson (2009, pp. 411, 414) concludes that while the club no longer presents itself as an immigrant club but as the 'All Södertälje Team' following its successes in the early to mid 2000s, Assyrisk FF's older supporters still consider the club to specifically represent Assyrians, and many of them became incensed when the Assyrisk FF chairman stated before the cup final in 2003 that: "...there will be Syrians coming from all over Sweden and probably Europe..." to view the match; nonetheless, Assyrisk FF is still seen by the Swedish population as a CALD immigrant club (Andersson, 2009, pp.415, 417).



Rommel (2011, p.851) criticised Andersson for not elaborating on the dynamic between Assyriska FF and a second team from Södertälje's Suryoye community (Assyrians and Syriacs), Syrianska FC, thus failing to develop an understanding of how this dynamic impacts on immigrant identity and encourages a cultural divide in the Suryoye community. Though, as Andersson suggests, the clubs are no longer integrated into the Syriac and Assyrian Societies of Södertälje, the administrators and most of the supporters of both clubs are of Suryoye background; Rommel (2011, pp.852, 855) argues that they therefore should still be considered Suryoye clubs, and that their supporters see Syrianska FC and Assyriska FF as 'national teams.' Rommel (2011, p.865) notes that the 'derby' match between the two teams: "...becomes a stage on which two competing versions of Suryoye's contested history are set against each other in front of a nationwide audience" – this echoes examples of ethnic division in Australia manifested in soccer, such as between Greeks and Macedonians (Danforth, 1995) and Serbians and Croatians (Hughson, 1997).

### **3.4 Conclusion**

This chapter has examined the key literature on the relationship between soccer and immigration in Australia and other nations. Despite being viewed as a marginal area of study, it is clear that immigrant participation in sport, and especially soccer, potentially can have significant social impacts, including encouraging both social inclusion and exclusion, based on ethnicity, nationality, religion, regional loyalties and loyalty to a sporting club itself. Soccer is often seen as the sport of immigrants, especially within traditional immigration countries such as Australia and the US, where it exists on the margins of national sporting culture. Studies, as well as biographical works, on the relationship between soccer and immigrants tend to focus

on three key themes: firstly, that CALD participation in soccer is seen as stimulating the isolation of groups, particularly by conservative commentators who view multiculturalism itself as divisive. The reforms undertaken in Australian soccer in the early 21<sup>st</sup> century have been linked to the dismantlement of Australia's multicultural policies by the Howard government. Soccer is also seen as a social space where CALD immigrants can publicly display their cultural heritage; hence, soccer clubs have been argued as assisting cultural maintenance in CALD groups – an issue that has not received much attention previously in Australian settlement studies. Finally, soccer can be seen as playing an important role in the adjustment experience of CALD immigrants, such as in the case of Les Murray, as described in his autobiography. Again, this important issue has received little attention from Australian settlement scholars, though recently in America it has become more influential in settlement studies.

This thesis will argue that soccer clubs have acted, and continue to act, not only as a cultural space where immigrants can interact with others of the same backgrounds, but also as a means of allowing immigrants to adjust to life in Australia more smoothly and with a more structured social network, and therefore greater access to potential social capital. This is in spite of the emerging shift of soccer from a predominantly male working class leisure activity to a middle class spectator sport. An attempt will also be made to analyse whether it is more beneficial for immigrants to participate in clubs comprised of people of diverse backgrounds rather than from a single cultural group.

## CHAPTER 4

### POSTWAR IMMIGRATION TO AUSTRALIA

#### 4.1 Introduction

Australia is a ‘traditional migration country:’ a nation essentially constructed by colonisation and immigration (Castles and Miller, 2003, p.198). Initially colonised by indigenous groups more than 30,000 years ago, Australia became a colony of Great Britain in 1788, and British settlers have since dominated Australia’s immigrant intakes, until recently (DIMIA, 2002, p.16). Following the Second World War Australia made a major change in immigration policy, for the first time, to include large numbers of settlers from outside the UK and its colonies. Immigration was extended in stages to mainland Europe, Southern Europe, the Middle East, South East Asia, East Asia, South Asia and Africa. These culturally and linguistically diverse immigrants have changed Australia from a British society to a multicultural nation, with over 270 ethnicities represented (ABS, 2008a, p.460). This chapter will demonstrate the significant impact of postwar immigration on Australia, and specifically on the selected area of research: Adelaide, South Australia. A discussion of why Adelaide was chosen as the study area is also included.

#### 4.2 Post Second World War Immigration to Australia

##### 4.2.1 A British nation

In 1947, over 90 per cent of Australia’s population was Australia-born, and a further 8 per cent were born in English-speaking nations, as Table 4.1 shows. While there had been some non-European immigration to Australia, such as Chinese settlement in the 19<sup>th</sup> century, it was limited compared to British immigration (Richards, 2008, p.18).

Some 99 per cent of the population reported having British nationality (CBCS, 1951).

The concept of being ‘Australian,’ the Australian nation-state and culture were all intertwined with the British heritage of the majority (Smolicz, 1997, p.173).

**Table 4.1: Australian Population by Region of Birth, 1947**

<b>Region of Birth</b>	<b>Persons</b>	<b>Per cent of Population</b>
English-speaking nations	7,438,892	98.1
Other Europe	109,586	1.4
Asia and Middle East	23,293	0.3
Other Africa	1,531	0.0
Other Oceania	4,733	0.1
<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>7,579,358</b>	<b>100</b>

Source: CBCS, 1947

Table 4.2 shows that other groups were also present, though they were minorities and not considered to be ‘true Australians’ by those of British descent (Smolicz, 1997, p.173). Cultural practices not associated with the British concept of Australian identity were rejected by mainstream society (Theophanous, 1995, pp.xiii-xiv). The belief that Caucasians were superior physically, mentally, and in technological development to all other races was central to Australian culture (Jupp, 2007, p.8).

**Table 4.2: Ethnic Strength of Australian Population, 1947**

<b>Ethnicity</b>	<b>Per cent of Population</b>
Anglo-Celtic	89.8
Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander	0.8
North Western European	5.7
<i>(German)</i>	<i>(3.7)</i>
Southern European	1.5
<i>(Italian)</i>	<i>(0.9)</i>
Eastern European	0.6
Jewish	0.9
Asian and North African	0.5
<i>(Chinese)</i>	<i>(0.2)</i>
Pacific, Other African and American	0.1
<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>100</b>

Source: Price, 1993, p.14

Non-British immigration to Australia was extremely limited; a key reason was that the Australian government only assisted with travel costs for arrivals from Britain (Price, 1968a, p.3). CALD immigrants often faced discrimination and overt racism from Anglo-Australians (Castles, 1992, p.550).

#### **4.2.2 Postwar arrivals from mainland Europe**

Following the Second World War, the Australian government determined that the population must be increased to ensure that Australia could compete economically with the rest of the world, as well as being able to defend itself from potential invaders (Castles and Miller, 2003, p.199). It was proposed that the population be increased to 20-30 million, with half of this gain provided by natural growth from the existing population of 7.5 million, the other through immigration (Richards, 2008, p.180). However it became clear that British arrivals would not be numerous enough to reach the ideal population size (Castles, 1992, p.551). There was full employment in both Britain and Australia, and a housing shortage in Australia, making it an unattractive destination (Jupp, 2007, p.13). Britain itself was importing immigrants from Europe in response to postwar labour shortages (Richards, 2008, p.181).

Immigration minister Arthur Calwell implemented a policy of 'Europeanisation' from 1947, which included negotiating with the International Refugee Organization for an initial 16,000 refugee arrivals in 1947 and 1948; this was the beginning of the Displaced Persons (DP) program (Richards, 2008, pp.182-183). It was assumed that the white Europeans selected would quickly assimilate into the dominant culture due to physical, and some cultural, similarities (Jupp, 1998, p.104). DP program immigrants were selected by Calwell, who attempted to acquire the healthiest and

ablest from the 12 million displaced persons in Europe, despite Australia considered to be the fourth most preferable destination after the US, Canada and Argentina (Richards, 2008, p.185).

The origin of permanent arrivals to Australia shifted from primarily English-speaking nations to include large intakes from mainland European nations, though immigration from Britain and Ireland would remain the main source of arrivals annually until 1996. This trend would continue throughout the remainder of the 1940s, the 1950s and 1960s, and into the 1970s, significantly changing the cultural composition of Australia's population (Castles and Miller, 2003, pp.199-201). For example, by 1966, Italy-born residents totalled 267,325 – nearly an 800 per cent increase in less than 20 years, accounting for 2.3 per cent of Australia's population (CBCS, 1970). This was despite residents of wartime enemies, including Italy, initially being denied immigration to Australia (Jupp, 1998, p.104). Eastern Europeans were the most numerous non-British settlers during early postwar intakes, comprising 37 per cent of immigration to Australia from 1947 to 1951 (CBCS, 1953); however, the end of the DP program and the beginning of the Cold War halted this trend (Castles, 1992, p.551). DPs were provided with basic accommodation (normally in rural areas), food, English lessons and guaranteed employment (Jupp, 1998, p.105). Qualifications of most DPs were not recognised, forcing them into menial unskilled employment – and therefore not in competition with Anglo-Australians for work (Richards, 2008, p.185).

The DP program was completed in 1953, but it proved to government officials that Anglo-Australians would not object to further immigration from mainland Europe – provided that Australia remained dominated by British ideals and that Anglo-

Australian employment was secure (Jupp, 1998, p.107). Soon the Australian government began offering assisted package schemes to mainland Europeans (Price, 1968a, p.3). The Snowy Mountain River scheme was built largely on the back of migration from mainland European – 70 per cent of the over 100,000 people involved with the project were immigrants, the majority of whom became permanent settlers (australia.gov.au, 2008).

Some potential settlers were refused admission – specifically those classified as ‘non-whites’ under the Immigration Restriction Act of 1901 – also known as the ‘White Australia Policy’ (Castles, 1992, p.550). The policy was extremely successful in keeping Australia ‘white,’ as in 1947 non-Europeans (not including indigenous Australians) represented only 0.25 per cent of the total population (Jupp, 2007, p.10). The White Australia Policy had unanimous public support until the mid-1950s (Theophanous, 1995, p.xv).

Many CALD European immigrants arrived with poor or no knowledge of English, and were provided with few support services to assist their settlement (Burnley, 2001, p.119). This was due to the government’s insistence on the assimilation of all CALD immigrants, culturally, socially and economically (Jupp, 1998, p.104). Therefore, CALD European groups formed their own organisations (including soccer clubs), where they could congregate with others of a similar background and discuss the old country, as well as being able to express their ethnicity publicly (Jupp, 1998, p.113).

### 4.2.3 End of the White Australia Policy

The White Australia Policy was slowly dismantled over a period beginning in 1956 and ending in 1973, culminating with the Whitlam government offering assisted passage to Australia to non-European settlers for the first time (Price, 1975, p.307). Following the end of the Second World War and the collapse of colonialism in Asia and Africa, Australia became increasingly under international pressure to end the White Australia Policy; however its demise was influenced more by internal pressures (Mackie, 1997, p.11). The end of the postwar economic boom, subsequent global financial crisis and rising unemployment levels led to a drop in permanent arrivals from Britain and mainland Europe; assisted immigration for non-refugees ceased and discrimination became secondary to population growth (Richards, 2008, pp.250-255).

As shown in Figure 4.1, in 1967-68 Asian settlers represented far less of the intake than European and British immigrants. Following the end of the White Australia Policy in 1973, immigration from Asia steadily increased, surpassing European settlement for the first time in 1975-76 and British and Irish arrivals in 1978. At the end of 1983-84, Asians accounted for over 40 per cent of the annual permanent settler intake for the first time in Australia's history, while British and Irish immigrants represented less than 20 per cent for the first time (Jupp, 2007, p.31); Asian settlers also outnumbered immigrants from Europe, Britain and Ireland combined. The Whitlam government resisted admitting large numbers of Vietnamese refugees at the end of the Vietnam War in 1975 (Jupp, 1998, pp.119-120). However, by May 1975 the government changed its stance, and 1,093 Vietnamese refugees were accepted by the end of the year<sup>14</sup> (Viviani, 1984, pp.63-64). Refugees arriving by boat were first

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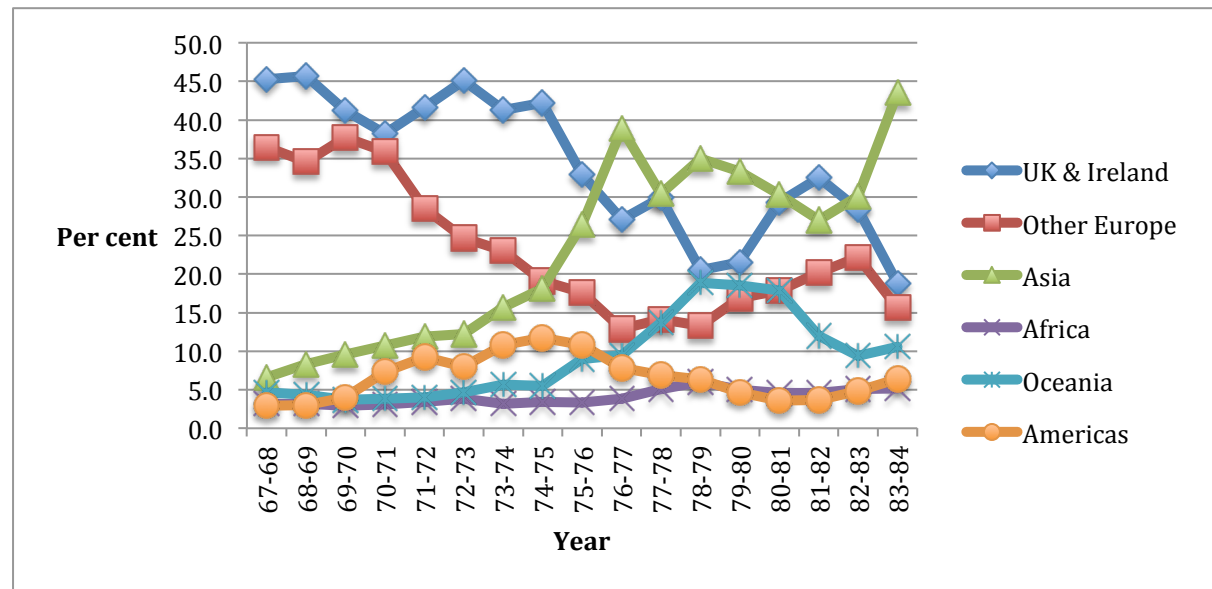
<sup>14</sup> By which time Fraser's Coalition government had replaced Whitlam's Labor government.



admitted in April 1976 and almost 5,000 had been accepted at the end of 1977

(Viviani, 1984, p.82).

**Figure 4.1: Permanent Settler Arrivals Annually by Region of Birth, 1968-69 to 1983-84**



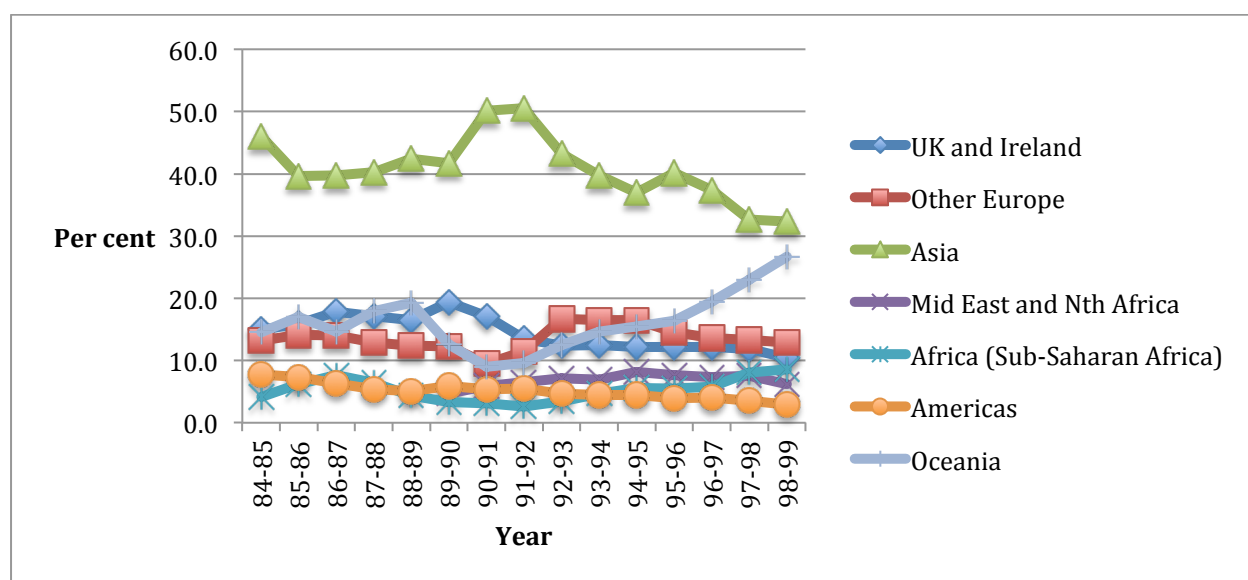
Source: DIEA, 1979; ABS, 1981; 1983; 1985

Under pressure from ASEAN nations to take on more refugees as their numbers swelled, Australia's immigration minister M.J.R. MacKellar announced in May 1978 that the nation's intake would be increased to 9,000, and then again in July 1979 to 14,000 (Mackie, 1997, p.27). By the end of 1982, Australia had accepted 69,877 refugees from Indochina: 57,770 Vietnamese and 12,107 from Laos and Cambodia (Viviani, 1984, p.128). Australia's participation in the international relief of Indochina brought approximately 160,000 Vietnamese refugees to the country by the mid-1990s (McCoy, 1997, p.136). This was the first substantial Asian immigration to Australia since the large Chinese influx in the 19<sup>th</sup> century, a major shift in the origin of Australia's immigrant intake (Jupp, 1998, p.22).

#### 4.2.4 Rise of Asian, African and Middle Eastern settlement

Later immigration to Australia would see a significant increase in the number of arrivals from Asia, the Middle East and Africa. Figure 4.1 shows that in 1967-68 immigrants born in these regions comprised less than 10 per cent of the total intake for that financial year; by 1983-84 Africa, Asia and Middle East-born represented 48.7 per cent of the annual immigrant intake, a significant change in under 20 years. It should be noted, however, that the increase in Asian arrivals was far greater than Africans – African settlers rose from 3.2 per cent of arrivals in 1967-68 to 5.2 per cent in 1983-84. Figure 4.2 shows that from 1990-91 to 1996-97, Asian, African and Middle Eastern immigrants represented over 50 per cent of permanent settlers annually, cementing the shift away from British and European settlement.

**Figure 4.2: Permanent Settler Arrivals Annually by Region of Birth<sup>15</sup>, 1984-85 to 1998-99**

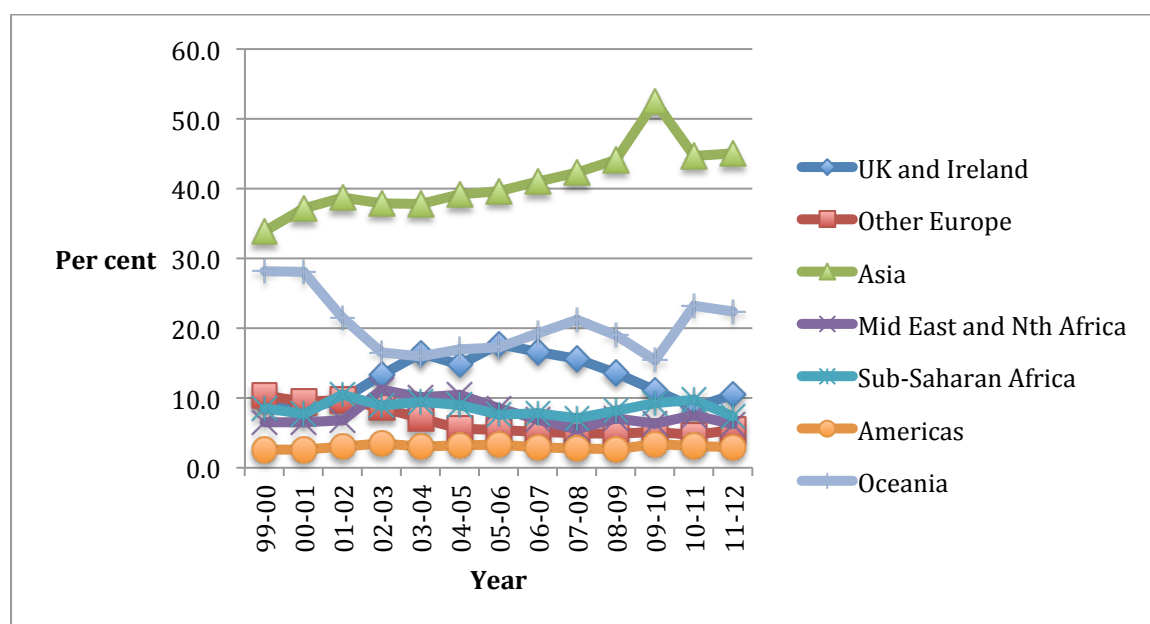


Source: ABS, 1986; 1987; 1989; 1991; 1993; 1995; 1997; 1999

<sup>15</sup> Prior to 1989-90, Immigrants born in the Middle East are included in 'Asia', while immigrants born in Northern Africa are included in 'Africa.'

While Asia-born comprised 50.1 per cent and 50.6 per cent of arrivals in 1990-91 and 1991-92 respectively, this fell to 37.4 per cent in 1996-97; while African and Middle Eastern immigrants rose from 8 per cent to 15.6 per cent. European and British arrivals represented only 23.3 per cent of permanent settlers in 1998-99 – a significant change from 1967-68, when they accounted for 81.8 per cent. Arrivals from Oceania (primarily New Zealand) also rose greatly, from 4.7 per cent in 1967-68 to 26.7 per cent in 1998-99. As Figure 4.3 shows, this remained consistent from 1999 to 2012, with Oceania-born representing from 15.4 per cent to 28.2 per cent of all permanent settlers annually.

**Figure 4.3: Permanent Settler Arrivals Annually by Region of Birth, 1999-2000 to 2011-12**



Source: ABS, 2012a

Immigration of European and British settlers continued to represent smaller portions of intakes from 1999 to 2012, falling to 13.3 per cent for the first time in Australia's history in 2010-11. British and Irish immigrants represented a historical low of 8.4

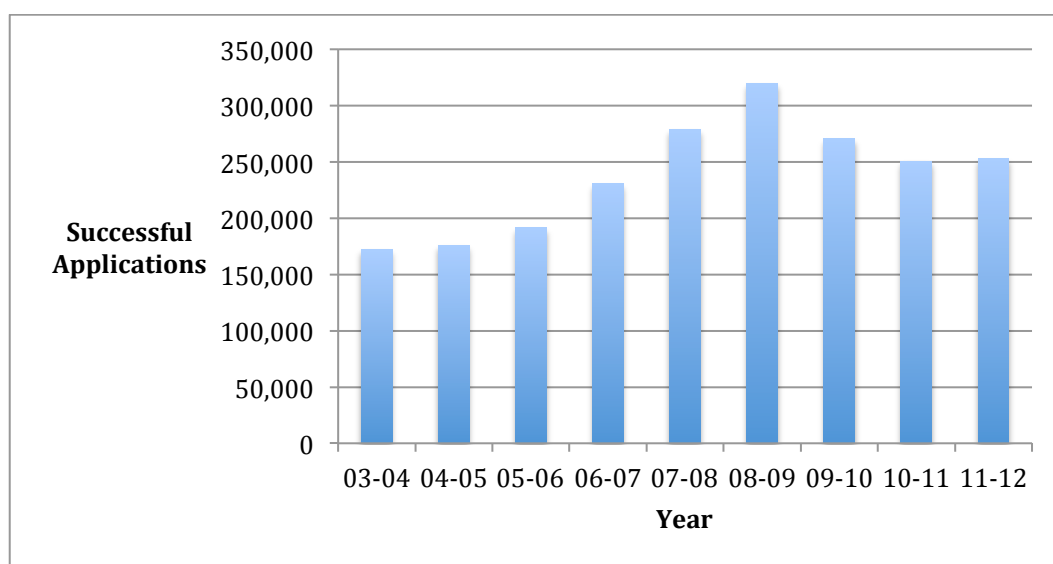
per cent of permanent settlers in 2000-01, the first time that British and Irish arrivals failed to comprise at least 10 per cent of all permanent settlers annually; this would occur again in 2001-02 (9.8 per cent) and 2010-11 (8.6 per cent). However, this coincides with the shift in paradigm from permanent to temporary settlement since 1996. Since then, British and European settlers have been more likely to be in temporary streams (Khoo et al., 2011).

Asia remained the primary source of permanent settlers annually from 1999-2000 to 2011-12, providing more than a third of all immigrants during that period, and more than half in 2009-2010. Immigration from Africa and the Middle East sustained its growth from the 1990s, representing between 12.6 per cent and 20.1 per cent of permanent settler arrivals annually from 1999-2000 to 2011-12. Africa and Middle East-born immigrants were more numerous than Britain and Europe-born arrivals for the first time in 2010-11. The origin of Australia's permanent settler arrivals has significantly changed over the past 50 years, shifting from British and European settlers representing over 80 per cent of all immigrants annually to just 15.9 per cent in 2011-12. Meanwhile Asian, African and Middle Eastern arrivals have risen from less than 10 per cent of all permanent settlers annually to 58.6 per cent in 2011-12. Oceania-born have also risen from 4.7 per cent in 1967-68 to 22.4 per cent in 2011-12. Another significant change is the shift away from permanent settlers (dominating arrivals for approximately fifty years following the Second World War), toward skilled, temporary immigrants (Hugo, 2006, p.110).

#### 4.2.5 Rise of temporary settlement

Temporary migrants are now a crucial part of Australia's immigrant intakes; for example, in 2011 temporary visa arrivals represented 49.5 per cent (101,809) of Australia's net overseas migration (ABS, 2013). The introduction of the long-stay, temporary entry 457 visas in August 1996 – which, according to Kinnaird (2006, p.50): "...involved a radical deregulation of Australia's temporary entry regime..." – played a major role in this change, as has a large increase of foreign students. At 30<sup>th</sup> of June 2005, a total of 599,629 people (excluding New Zealanders) were present in Australia on a temporary basis; over 200,000 of these were overseas students, with Australia now one of the top five destinations for foreign students (Hugo, 2006, pp.110-111). From 2003-04 to 2011-12, a total of 2,142,090 overseas student visas were granted, as Figure 4.4 shows.

**Figure 4.4: Successful Overseas Student Visa Applications, 2003-04 to 2011-12**

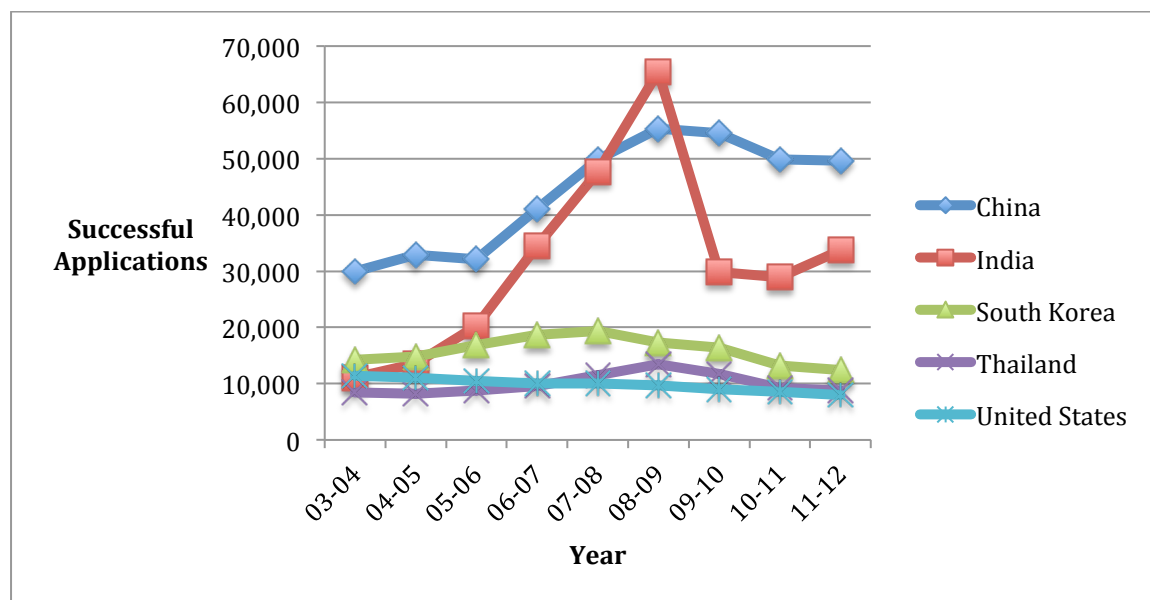


Source: DIAC, 2010a; 2012a

The temporary immigration of overseas students peaked in 2008-09; the 253,056 issued in 2011-12 (a decline of 21 per cent from 2008-09<sup>16</sup>) nonetheless represents a 47 per cent increase from 2003-04. Europe has also been a key provider of temporary migrants, providing about half of Australia's temporary arrivals from 2003-4 to 2008-9; though most are skilled or on working holiday maker visas, not students (Khoo et al., 2011, p.554).

A significant number of student arrivals between 2003-04 and 2011-12 were from China and India, as Figure 4.5 shows. China provided 18.5 per cent of all overseas students during this period, and India 13.3 per cent. The number of Indian student arrivals annually peaked in 2008-09, but numbers have since declined.

**Figure 4.5: Successful Overseas Visa Applications, Top 5 Source Countries, 2003-04 to 2011-12**



Source: DIAC, 2010a; 2012a

<sup>16</sup> According to DIAC (2012b, p.56), the recent decline in student visas is due to several reasons, including global financial uncertainty, college closures, the rise of the Australian dollar and reforms to both the student visa program and the skilled migration program.

China again surpassed India to be the main source of overseas students in 2009-10. Asia has provided the majority of overseas students during the last 9 financial years (DIAC 2010a; 2012a); 4 of the top 5 sources during this period were Asian countries. In 2011-12, 13 of the top 15 sources were Asian nations or states, providing 60.5 per cent of overseas students that financial year (DIAC 2010a; 2012). Notably, of the top 15 sources, only one (the United States) was English-speaking (DIAC 2010a; 2012a).

### **4.3 Government Immigrant Settlement Policy**

#### **4.3.1 Assimilation**

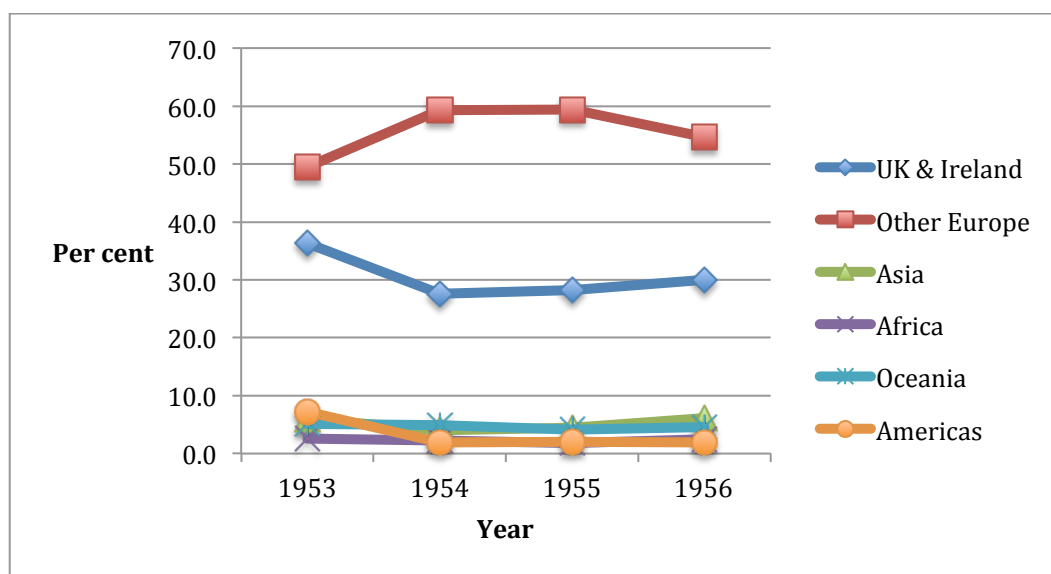
CALD immigrants have been commonly confronted with antagonistic attitudes by Anglo-Australians (Smolicz, 1997, p.177). This bigotry was largely fuelled by fears that non-British arrivals would erode Australia's Anglo-Celtic values and that they would endanger the economic pursuits of Anglo-Australians (Price, 1963, pp.212-214). However, public opposition to immigration from Southern Europe softened after the Second World War, due to CALD Europeans taking jobs unwanted by Anglo-Australians and at award wage rates (Borrie, 1954, p.19). Nonetheless, most Australians opposed increasing immigration in the mid-1950s; according to Gallup Polls in 1954, 1955 and 1956, 10 per cent or less per year believed immigration levels were too low, while 44 or 45 per cent felt they were too high (Betts, 1999, p.114). Australia's policy of assimilation ensured that its Anglo-Celtic identity was maintained. Non-British post-Second World War arrivals were expected to rapidly integrate into Australian society by policy makers and Anglo-Australians (Price, 1963, p.216). Officially, it was agreed that: "...Australia must be kept preponderantly British in its institutions and the composition of its people" (Harold Holt, as quoted in Markus, 1994, pp.157-158). Assimilation involved CALD immigrants learning

English and substituting it for their native languages; avoidance of forming cultural organisations; and abandoning cultural traditions, practices and beliefs for the accepted 'Australian' way of life (Price, 1963, p.216; Jupp, 1998, pp.134-136).

#### **4.3.2 Resisting assimilation**

Many CALD immigrants resisted assimilation; particularly Southern Europeans, considered inferior to other Europeans by Anglo-Australians (Castles, 1992, p.551). Southern Europeans were more determined to maintain their identity due to distinctive cultural differences with Anglo-Australians, and the influence of communist parties in Italy and Greece (Castles, 1992, p.551). European immigrants were able to maintain their identity, assisted by forming communities and residing in the same suburb (Castles et al., 1998, p.370). Southern Europeans (especially Italians) often identified closely with their town or region of origin, and formed networks to maintain the culture of those towns and regions (Price, 1963, pp.47-48). Immigration from Europe (and especially Southern Europe) peaked in the mid-1950s; as Figure 4.6 displays, non-British and Irish European immigrants outnumbered British and Irish arrivals by almost 2 to 1 between 1953 and 1956. Annually, between one third and one half of permanent settlers between 1953 and 1956 were from Southern Europe – most numerous were Italians (20.7 per cent of settlers during this period) and Greeks (7.5 per cent) (CBCS, 1955; 1956; 1957a; 1958; Rose, 1958, p.525).



**Figure 4.6: Permanent Settler Arrivals by Region of Origin, 1953 to 1956**

Source: CBCS, 1955; 1956; 1957a; 1958

Between 1947 and 1966, Australia's Southern European population increased by approximately 462,600 (CBCS, 1970). Over 90 per cent resided in urban areas, using their numbers to form communities within specific suburbs (Price, 1968a, p.5). In the case of Melbourne, Stimson's (1970, p.126) analysis of 1961 Census data revealed that CALD European groups had concentrated their settlement in three areas – Southern Europeans in the inner city suburbs, Central and Eastern European refugees in the outer west and north-west suburbs, and Dutch and German immigrants in the outer eastern and south-eastern suburbs. A clear example is Collingwood, a suburb of Melbourne – by 1971 residents of Greek heritage made up 21 per cent of the total population of Collingwood, and almost half of the overseas-born population; at the time Greek immigrants represented only 1.3 per cent of the population nationally, and 2.3 per cent of Victoria's population (DIEA, 1981, pp.2, 4, 184). Immigrants in 1971 represented 27 per cent of Adelaide's population, 26 per cent of Melbourne's and 24 per cent of Sydney's (as well as 13 per cent having an overseas-born parent), further

emphasising their tendency to settle in Australia's capital cities (Burnley, 1976, pp.25, 171). Burnley (1976, p.195) argued that the concentration of immigrants in certain suburbs was due largely to socio-cultural factors, rather than economic disadvantage. This included maintaining ties to others from the same region or village in the homelands, as well as having the numbers to sustain cultural organisations (Burnley, 1976, pp.195-200).

CALD European immigrants would gather weekly in churches (as most mainland European immigrants followed a different religion to Anglo-Australians, and thus services could be performed in their native languages), town halls, social clubs, and sporting clubs (Jordan et al., 2009, pp.382-383). These meeting places served an important purpose, allowing immigrants to meet others from the same group, speak their native language without fear of antagonism, trade stories of the homelands and form social networks, as well as participate in activities such as dancing or sport (Jordan et al., 2009, pp.382-383). Immigrant networks and communities grew through chain migration, where settlers encouraged relatives and friends to immigrate, or brought over their families (Burnley, 1998, p.50).

Another key factor enabling Southern Europeans to resist assimilation was the role of the wider family group. All blood relatives, including distant cousins, were an important part of networks in some areas of Southern Europe; a tradition maintained after arriving in Australia (Price, 1968a, p.7). Southern Europeans commonly helped relations by paying for their passage to Australia and securing them accommodation and employment (Price, 1968a, p.7). This reduced intermarriage between CALD immigrants and Anglo-Australians, which, according to Price (1963, p.256), could be

seen as another facet of assimilation. Intermarriage did occur however, as single CALD immigrant men outnumbered single CALD immigrant women (Price, 1968a, p.11). CALD settlers became socially segregated from Anglo-Australians, forming their own communities and using them to adjust to life in an alien and hostile environment.

### **4.3.3 Multiculturalism**

By 1971 there were an estimated 1,340,030 settlers from non-English speaking nations living in Australia – approximately 10.5 per cent of the population, numerous enough in most States and Territories to be considered influential on the outcome of political elections (ABS, 2008b; Castles, 1992, p.554). The Australian Labor Party attempted to enlist CALD immigrants as voters and even candidates by rejecting assimilation for multiculturalism. Embracing multiculturalism played a role in Labor's victory in the 1972 Federal election (Jakubowicz and Moustafine, 2010, p.62). Labor appealed to CALD voters by forming 'ethnic' branches of the party in the 1970s; by 2010, 17 of 230 branches of the party in Victoria were ethnic (Jakubowicz and Moustafine, 2010, p.62). The Australian Liberal Party-Country Party coalition, re-elected to government in 1975, also chased the CALD vote by developing their own multicultural policies, culminating with the 'Galbally Report' on immigrant programs and services, released in 1978 (Jupp, 1998, p.138).

The Galbally Report was produced in response to the rise of immigration from SE Asia and the decline of arrivals from mainland Europe (Cox, 1996, p.9).

Multiculturalism was first defined in a 1977 Australian Ethnic Affairs Council Report, which concluded that Australia should work towards achieving 'cultural

pluralism,' with: "...a voluntary bond of dissimilar people sharing a common political and institutional structure" (AEAC, 1977, p.18). The Whitlam government's decision to implement the recommendations of the Galbally Report and introduce multiculturalism as policy was strongly supported by CALD immigrant groups and eventually accepted by the Labor opposition; state governments also adopted multicultural policies following pressure from CALD communities (Jupp, 1998, pp.138, 141).

Under multiculturalism, the rights of all CALD settlers to maintain their cultural identity were protected. This was to promote inter-cultural relations and understanding; it also ensured that the needs of immigrants would be met by special services, though self-help was encouraged (Galbally, 1978). The Galbally Report was the first government document to be published in multiple languages, reflecting its importance to Australia's CALD communities (Jupp, 1998, p.139). Multiculturalism would be an integral part of Australian national and state government policy until the Federal election victory of John Howard's Liberal-National Party coalition in March 1996 (Jakubowicz, 2007, p.9).

Australian multiculturalism is distinctive from other models of multiculturalism, such as Canada's. Policy makers paid little attention to the Canadian model when developing Australia's version, despite adopting the term multiculturalism (Lopez, 2000, p.223-224; Jupp, 2007, p.80). As Jupp (2007, p.81) states:

"Australian multiculturalism puts less emphasis on civil rights and constitutional protections than does the American variety. It puts far less emphasis on cultural maintenance than in the Canadian case. It does not endorse distinct cultural development, as in South Africa."

Australian multiculturalism instead emphasises access to special services and programs, to facilitate the integration of CALD immigrants into mainstream society (Jupp, 2007, pp.81-82; Galbally, 1978).

#### **4.3.4 Attacks on multiculturalism**

Multiculturalism had been criticised since its implementation, despite bipartisan support (Ford, 2009, p.12). Some social commentators claimed multiculturalism was insufficient in improving the social and economic position of CALD settlers in Australian society, and that the privileges enjoyed by Anglo-Celtic Australians were still firmly established (Ford, 2009, p.12). Liberal-National Party coalition members regularly attacked the Labor government's multicultural policies and immigration programmes from 1983 onwards; however, bipartisan support for multiculturalism did not officially end until a speech by coalition leader John Howard on 30<sup>th</sup> June 1988 (Jupp, 2007, pp.103, 106). Multiculturalism was heavily criticised by right-wing commentators during the mid to late 1980s (Ford, 2009, pp.12-13). Nonetheless, all Australian governments supported multiculturalism until Howard's election in March 1996 (Jupp, 1998, p.139).

Howard attacked Australia's multicultural policies and programmes long before his election as Prime Minister (Jupp, 2007, p.107). Moreover, Howard believed that Australia could not be truly united under multiculturalism (Jupp, 1998, p.147). After his election, Commonwealth agencies ceased to use the term 'multiculturalism' in their titles and policies, and by September 1996 the Office of Multicultural Affairs and the Bureau of Immigration, Multicultural and Population Research were disbanded; however, all state governments maintained their multicultural agencies

(Jupp, 1998, p.139). Though multiculturalism officially remained government policy during Howard's term as Prime Minister until 2007, it was weakened and Howard refrained from mentioning multiculturalism until 2001, when he withdrew his criticisms and stated that he favoured a slight increase in immigration (Jupp, 2007, p.117).

Kevin Rudd's Labor party was elected to government in November 2007. Despite previously criticising Howard for his views on multiculturalism, Rudd followed his predecessor in avoiding use of the term (Karvelas, *The Australian*, 15<sup>th</sup> September 2010). Labor's lack of commitment to multiculturalism, a key to the policy of previous Labor governments, was heavily criticised in the media (Georgiou, *The Age* [Melbourne], 10<sup>th</sup> October 2008). In December 2008, the Rudd government formed the Australian Multicultural Advisory Council (AMAC) in response, to increase social unity between the various cultural groups in Australia (Narushima, *The Age* [Melbourne], 18<sup>th</sup> December 2008).

Rudd did not implement a new multicultural policy, nor did Julia Gillard after replacing Rudd as Prime Minister in June 2010 - this was despite the AMAC releasing a report on recommendations for multicultural policy in April 2010 (AMAC, 2010). After Labor won the 2010 Federal Election Gillard renamed the position of Secretary for Multicultural Affairs (created by Rudd) to 'Secretary for Immigration and Citizenship,' which led to criticism from politicians, commentators and the Federation of Ethnic Communities Council Australia (Karvelas, *The Australian*, 15<sup>th</sup> September 2010). In February 2011, the Gillard government released

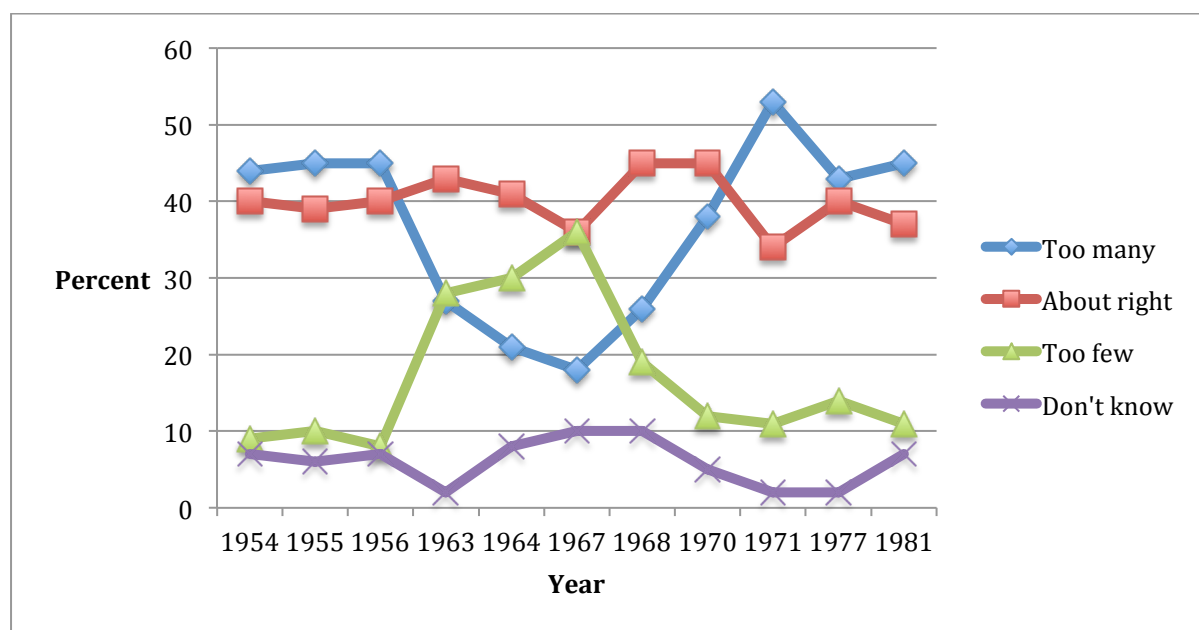
an outline of Australia's new multicultural policy, along with a response to AMAC's recommendations (DIAC, 2011a; 2011b).

Gillard was replaced by Rudd as Prime Minister in June 2013, and then he was subsequently defeated by Tony Abbott's conservative coalition in the September 2013 Federal Election. Abbott's government does not have a Minister for Multicultural Affairs, and he has stated that multicultural affairs and settlement services will now be controlled by the newly created Department of Social Services instead of the Department of Immigration – indicating that Abbott, like the previous coalition Prime Minister John Howard, is unlikely to support multiculturalism during his term – despite stating that he favoured it pre-election (Kenny, *SBS Radio* [Sydney], 19<sup>th</sup> September 2013). It is clear that multiculturalism remains controversial in Australia well into the 21<sup>st</sup> century, despite continued immigration from non-English speaking nations.

#### **4.3.5 Changing attitudes towards CALD immigration**

Since the first major postwar CALD settlement, Australian attitudes toward immigration have shifted numerous times according to a study by Betts (1999). During the mid 1950s, as Figure 4.7 shows, a rise in immigration from Southern Europe resulted in most Australians stating immigration levels were too high or about right; few felt that immigration should be increased.

**Figure 4.7: Australian Gallup Polls on Attitude to Immigration, 1954 to 1981**



Source: Betts, 1999, p.114

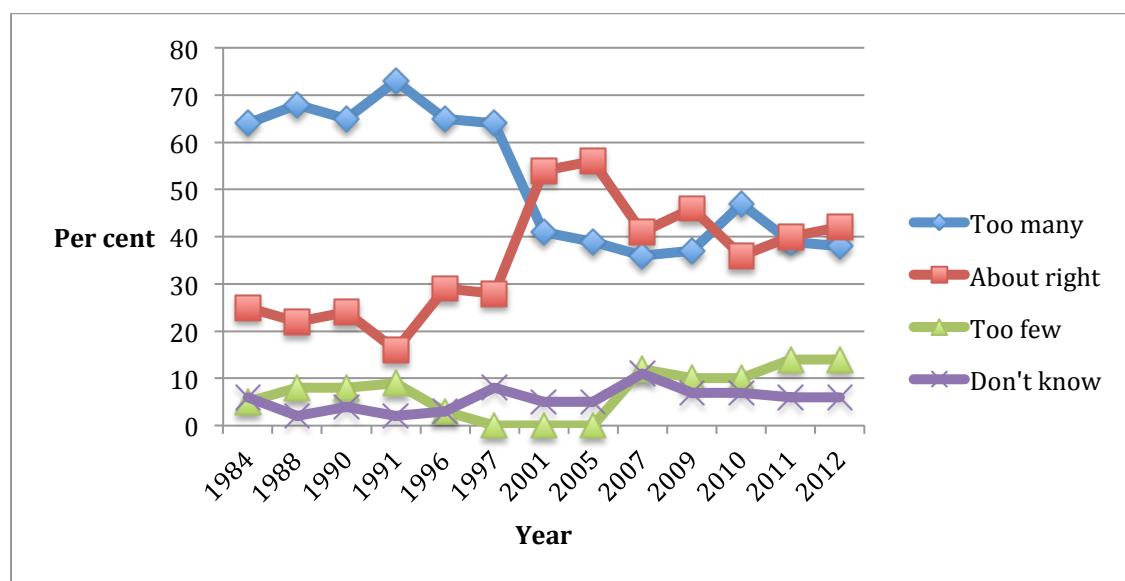
However, by the mid 1960s, the population had become more favourable towards further immigration from Europe; by 1967, there had been a clear change in public attitude towards immigration, allowing for the implementation of multicultural policies and the continued dismantlement of the White Australia Policy. According to the Gallup poll, there was a significant drop in support for increasing immigration in 1968, which would continue to decrease into the 1970s, as immigration from Asia surpassed the declining number of arrivals from Europe.

Public support for increasing immigration further declined in the 1980s and 1990s, as Figure 4.8 shows, with less than 30 per cent stating that they felt immigration levels were 'too low' or even 'about right' in 1991. Jupp (2007, p.120) attributes the increase in opposition to displaced resentment, stemming from rising unemployment levels. Burnley (2001, p.5) states that the environment movement of the 1980s led to many embracing the opinion that high levels of immigration negatively impacts



ecosystems near cities by increasing suburban sprawl – and thus leads to higher housing prices and demand. Nonetheless, this undoubtedly played a role in the 1996 election victory of Howard’s conservative coalition, as well as the rise of Pauline Hanson’s populist, xenophobia-driven One Nation Party (Jupp, 2007, p.122; Betts, 1999, p.314; Markus, 2001b, p.146).

**Figure 4.8: Comparable Polls on Attitude to Immigration, 1984 to 2012<sup>17</sup>**



Source: Betts, 1999, p.114; Markus and Arnup, 2009, p.31, Markus, 2012, p.28

Figure 4.8 also shows that early in the 21<sup>st</sup> century, public attitude towards immigration became far more favourable than during the mid-1990s. It is clear that immigration and settlement policy remain key issues in Australia, with immigration likely to increase due to a shortage of workers – owing largely to Australia’s aging population, low fertility and decline in young labour market entrants (Castles et al., 2013, p.117).

<sup>17</sup> Respondents who answered ‘about right’ or ‘too few’ were combined for 1997, 2001 and 2005.

#### **4.3.6 Implications of the study for settlement policy**

This thesis argues that soccer clubs have played an important role in the adjustment of CALD immigrants to Australia since the Second World War, and that they continue to do so for many new arrivals. Soccer clubs, acting as a crucial social and cultural space for CALD settlers, can be included in settlement policy, where they are currently neglected. Collins (2013, p.168) suggests that Australian immigration policy, which prioritises the economic and political benefits of short-term migration, needs to be amended in order for Australia to embrace growth through large scale, permanent settlement with a greater emphasis on humanitarian and social concerns.

This thesis argues that soccer clubs, acting as cultural organisations, can play a key role in assisting the social and cultural adjustment of CALD immigrants from refugee and humanitarian backgrounds, and therefore can be incorporated into settlement policy as an institution which can assist the settlement process. Collins (2013, p.172) in fact recommends that the government makes a substantial investment in infrastructure, including recreational and leisure facilities. Collins (2013, p.173) further argues that the programmatic content of Australian multicultural policy must be restructured, moving away from stereotypical concepts of ethnic identity toward cosmopolitanism, in order to represent the:

“...fluidity and global connectedness, alliances and identities of contemporary immigrant communities in Australia, particularly of second-generation youth.”

No sport matches the global appeal of soccer or its relationship with CALD immigrants in Australia; therefore, the thesis investigates immigrant participation in soccer in order to ascertain the role it can play in Australian multicultural policy.

## 4.4 Study Area: Adelaide, South Australia

### 4.4.1 South Australian context

The State of South Australia has been selected as the major area for this project, primarily because its population has been significantly influenced by international immigration since the Second World War, as shown in Table 4.3. While the State's Australia-born population increased by 568,269 from 1947 to 2011, Australia-born residents only comprised 73.3 per cent of the total population in 2011, compared to 93.3 per cent in 1947. Between 1947 and 1966, South Australia's Australia-born population grew by 243,406. However, they accounted for 77.4 per cent of South Australia's total population – a decline of 15.9 per cent in less than 20 years – while the total population grew by 445,802 between 1947 and 1966. Almost half of this increase was a net gain of immigrants, from 43,552 to 245,948.

**Table 4.3: Change in the Percentage Distribution of the South Australian Population by Place of Birth, 1947 to 2011 (Census years)**

<b>BIRTHPLACE</b>	<b>1947<sup>18</sup></b>	<b>Per cent</b>	<b>1966</b>	<b>Per cent</b>	<b>1986</b>	<b>Per cent</b>	<b>2011</b>	<b>Per cent</b>
<b>English speaking</b>	<b>637,491</b>	<b>98.7</b>	<b>972,504</b>	<b>89.1</b>	<b>1,193,510</b>	<b>88.5</b>	<b>1,321,776</b>	<b>82.8</b>
Australia	602,521	93.3	845,927	77.4	1,033,166	76.6	1,170,790	73.3
UK and Ireland	32,710	5.1	122,030	11.2	146,587	10.9	125,741	7.9
New Zealand	1,374	0.2	2,188	0.2	7,895	0.6	12,848	0.8
USA and Canada	485	0.1	1,581	0.1	4,139	0.3	6,187	0.4
South Africa	401	0.1	778	0.0	1,723	0.1	6,210	0.4
<b>Non-English Speaking</b>	<b>8,494</b>	<b>1.3</b>	<b>119,347</b>	<b>10.9</b>	<b>137,913</b>	<b>10.2</b>	<b>201,062</b>	<b>12.6</b>
Other Europe	6,695	1.0	110,375	10.1	105,148	7.8	82,176	5.1
Asia and Mid East	1,443	0.2	6,398	0.6	26,989	2.0	100,873	6.3
Other Africa	132	0.0	1,831	0.2	2,609	0.2	11,068	0.7
Other America	67	0.0	269	0.0	1,348	0.1	4,387	0.3
Other Oceania	157	0.0	474	0.0	1,819	0.1	2,558	0.2
<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>646,073<sup>19</sup></b>	<b>100</b>	<b>1,091,875<sup>20</sup></b>	<b>100</b>	<b>1,348,047<sup>21</sup></b>	<b>100</b>	<b>1,596,569<sup>22</sup></b>	<b>100</b>

Source: ABS, 2008b; 2012c

<sup>18</sup> Does not include full-blooded Aboriginal persons.

<sup>19</sup> Includes 88 people 'Born at sea.'

<sup>20</sup> Includes 24 people 'Born at sea.'

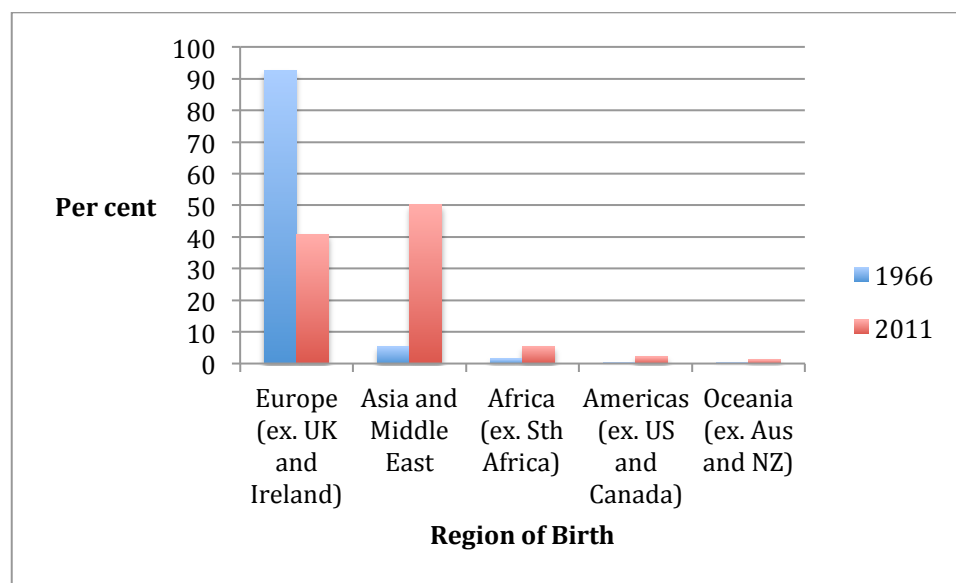
<sup>21</sup> Includes 16,624 people 'Not stated.'

<sup>22</sup> Includes 73,731 people 'Not stated,' 'At sea' and 'Inadequately described.'

The largest gains were of immigrants born in the UK and Ireland, growing by 89,320. Similarly, South Australia's European (excluding UK and Ireland) population grew by 103,680, representing over 10 per cent of the total population, while it had only comprised slightly more than 1 per cent in 1947; by the 2011 census, however, this had dropped to 5.1 per cent. The Asia, Middle East and Africa-born (excluding South Africa) populations also grew significantly during this period, as the White Australia Policy was gradually dismantled. In the 2011 census, these groups represented 7 per cent of South Australia's population.

In 1947, 98.7 per cent of South Australia's population was born in an English-speaking country; however, by 1966, residents born in non English-speaking nations represented 10.9 per cent of the population. This has since remained stable, but the origins of the residents within the non English-speaking born population has shifted away from a predominance of Europeans towards Asians, Middle Easterners and Africans. South Australia's non-UK and Ireland-born European population has steadily declined since peaking at 110,785 in 1976, dropping by 28,609 to 82,176 in 2011. Figure 4.9 indicates that in 1966 non-UK and Ireland-born Europeans represented 93 per cent of persons born in non English-speaking nations living in South Australia. However, by 2011 Europeans (excluding UK and Ireland-born) only represented 40.9 per cent, while Asians and Middle Easterners had grown from 5 per cent to 50 per cent, and Africa-born (excluding South Africa-born) had grown from 2 per cent to 5.5 per cent.

**Figure 4.9: South Australia's Population Born in Non English-speaking Countries by Region of Birth, 1966 and 2011 Comparison**



Source: ABS, 2008b; 2012c

#### 4.4.2 Adelaide context

Post-Second World War immigrants have tended to settle predominantly in Australia's capital cities, and Adelaide, the capital of South Australia, is no exception to this phenomenon (Hugo, 1995, p.4). Adelaide attracted large numbers of working-class immigrants in the 1950s and 1960s with its developing industrial enterprises (Freeman and Jupp, 1992, p.4). Some 80 per cent (197,100) of South Australia's overseas born population resided in the metropolitan area in 1966, with a further 13 per cent (30,986) in other urban areas; only 7 per cent (16,920) lived in rural areas (CBCS, 1970). This is a significant divergence from the distribution of the Australian born population at the time, where 52 per cent (530,816) lived in the Metropolitan area and 34 per cent (347,308) resided in rural areas (CBCS, 1970).

Table 4.4 shows that the largest overseas born groups in Adelaide in 1966 were from Britain or mainland Europe – the regions which dominated Australian immigrant

intakes in the 1950s and 1960s – with many arrivals intending to settle permanently (B. Murray, 2006, pp.77-78).

**Table 4.4: South Australia – Ten Largest Overseas Born Populations of Metropolitan Area, 1966**

<b>Birthplace</b>	<b>People</b>	<b>Per cent Overseas Born Population</b>	<b>Per cent Metro Overseas Born Population</b>	<b>Per cent State Birthplace Population</b>
England	77,624	31.6	39.4	82.9
Italy	26,932	11	13.7	87.3
Scotland	13,236	5.4	6.7	75.4
Germany	12,418	5	6.3	76.6
Greece	11,824	4.8	6	80.7
Netherlands	8,678	3.5	4.4	69.7
Poland	6,133	2.5	3.1	84.6
Yugoslavia	4,635	1.8	2.4	73
USSR <sup>23</sup>	3,186	1.3	1.6	91.5
Latvia	2,410	1	1.2	87.5

Source: CBCS, 1970

Postwar European immigrants settled almost exclusively in the inner city and north-western suburbs of Adelaide as was the case in most other major Australian cities, where they formed significant concentrations (Stimson, 1974, p.157). However, in Adelaide, Southern Europeans – predominantly Italians – settled in outer suburbs and along the Torrens River as market gardeners, while English immigrants settled in the expanding outer suburbs in the north, northeast and south, such as Elizabeth and Salisbury (Stimson, 1974, pp.157-158; Webber, 1992, p.174). Notably 91.5 per cent of South Australia’s USSR (including Ukraine)-born population settled in the metropolitan area, compared to 80 per cent of the total overseas-born population. Other overrepresentations included Italy-born and Latvia-born, while Netherlands-born and Yugoslavia-born were significantly underrepresented. It should be noted, however, that the Dutch are known as Australia’s ‘invisible’ immigrants, as they have

<sup>23</sup> Includes Ukraine.

assimilated into Australian culture more rapidly than other CALD groups and were not involved in Dutch community activities (Bell, 1981, pp.6, 21). A strong Yugoslav community was also present in the Riverland area (Price, 1963, pp.165-166).

Census data from 1976<sup>24</sup> indicates that Adelaide's USSR and Ukraine-born populations settled most prominently in the local government areas of Woodville (19.8 per cent of all USSR-born and 29.1 per cent of all Ukraine-born in South Australia), Enfield (14.5 per cent and 18.4 per cent) and Port Adelaide (13.4 per cent and 11 per cent); therefore, 47.7 per cent of South Australia's USSR-born population and 58.5 per cent of South Australia's Ukraine-born population settled within three metropolitan LGAs (DIEA, 1981, p.219).

However, while some metropolitan areas featured visible CALD European immigrant presences – such the suburb of Payneham, where Italians represented 49.9 per cent of the overseas-born population, or Norwood and its surrounding areas, known as Adelaide's 'Little Italy'<sup>25</sup> (DIEA, 1981, p.196; Chessell, 1999, p.1) – prior to 1972, Adelaide's largest number of immigrants, by far, was British (Jupp, 2007, p.32). By 1966 Adelaide's largest overseas-born population was England-born, representing 39.4 per cent of all overseas-born living in the metropolitan area, and almost triple the next largest immigrant population. English, Scottish, Welsh and Northern Irish arrivals accounted for 47.8 per cent of the metropolitan overseas-born population (CBCS, 1970).

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<sup>24</sup> This is the earliest available data released by ABS on distribution of immigrants from USSR and Ukraine by local government area.

<sup>25</sup> In 1999, Adelaide's Italian Consulate, Italian Chamber of Commerce, Coordinating Italian Committee and *Il Globo*, an Italian-language newspaper, were all based in or near Norwood, as well as several other Italian community clubs, health services and other professional services; its Catholic schools featured large numbers of students of Italian descent (Chessell, 1999, p.1).

By 1971 Adelaide's overseas born population were highly segregated, with suburbs such as Para Hills, Salisbury Plains and Elizabeth having over 50 per cent of their population born overseas; conversely, eastern, southern, coastal and hills area suburbs had very small overseas born populations (Stimson and Cleland, 1975, p.114). Many middle class English immigrants settled in the suburbs of Tea Tree Gully, Brighton and Glenelg, while English working class arrivals took up residence in Elizabeth and Whyalla (Jupp, 1998, p.97). British and Irish immigrants represented 42.7 per cent of Elizabeth's population in 1971 (DIEA, 1980, p.161).<sup>26</sup> Notably, 6 of the 7 LGAs with the highest concentrations of British and Irish immigrants in 1971 were outer Northern, North Eastern and Southern suburbs (DIEA, 1980, p.161).

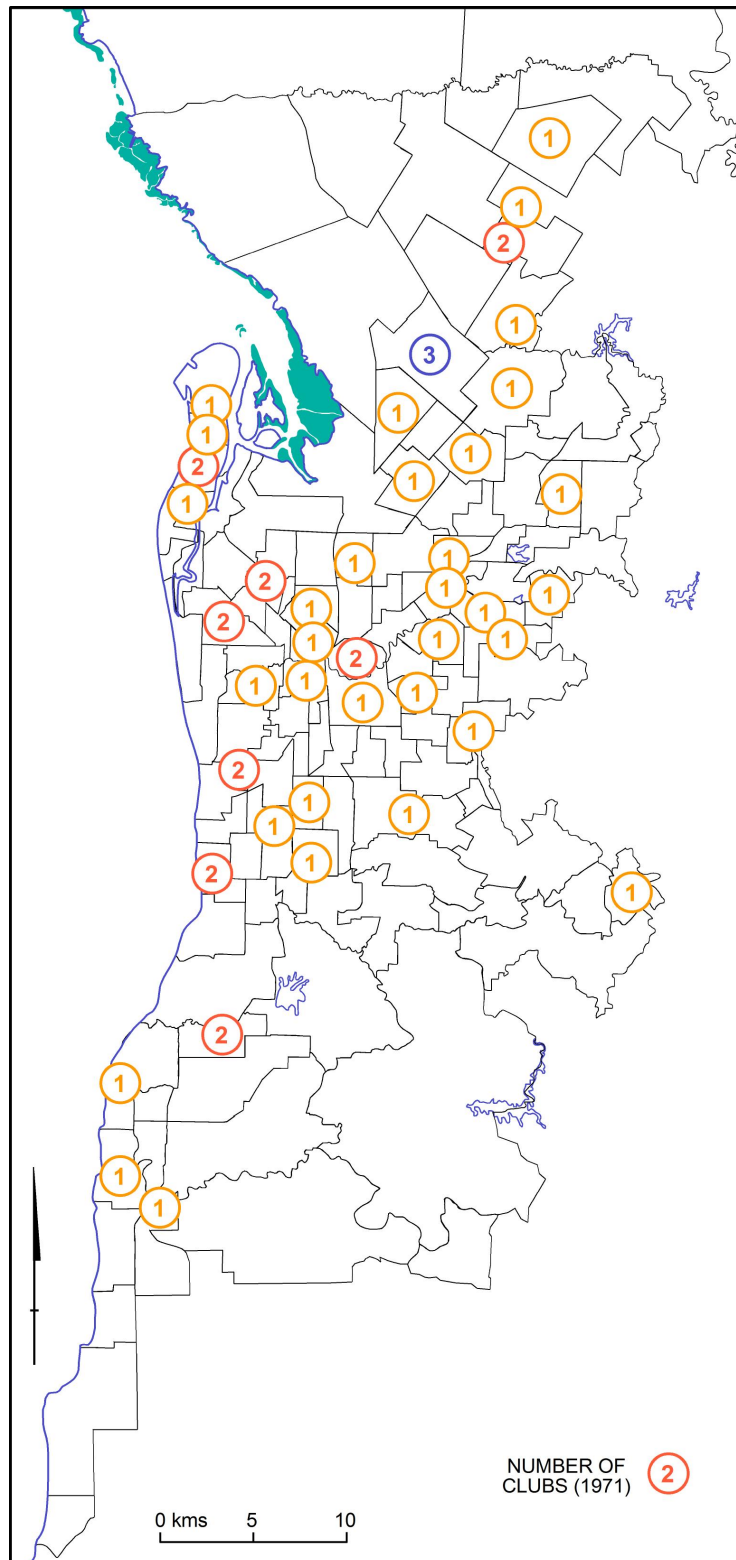
Figure 4.10 shows that 18 state league and amateur league soccer clubs had been established in these suburbs in 1971, suggesting the level of importance of the sport to these immigrants. Inner city suburbs, which featured high CALD European populations, generally had less than 6 per cent of their population born in Britain (Stimson and Cleland, 1975, p.116). The presence of many soccer clubs in the inner city and north-western suburbs indicates that CALD European communities also held soccer in a high regard. A decline in South Australia's manufacturing industry in the 1980s resulted in a downturn in arrivals compared to other states (Dawkins et al., 1992, p.124).

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<sup>26</sup> This is the earliest available data released by ABS on distribution of immigrants from UK and Ireland by local government area.



**Figure 4.10: Location of Soccer Clubs in Adelaide Metropolitan Area and Outer Suburbs, 1971**

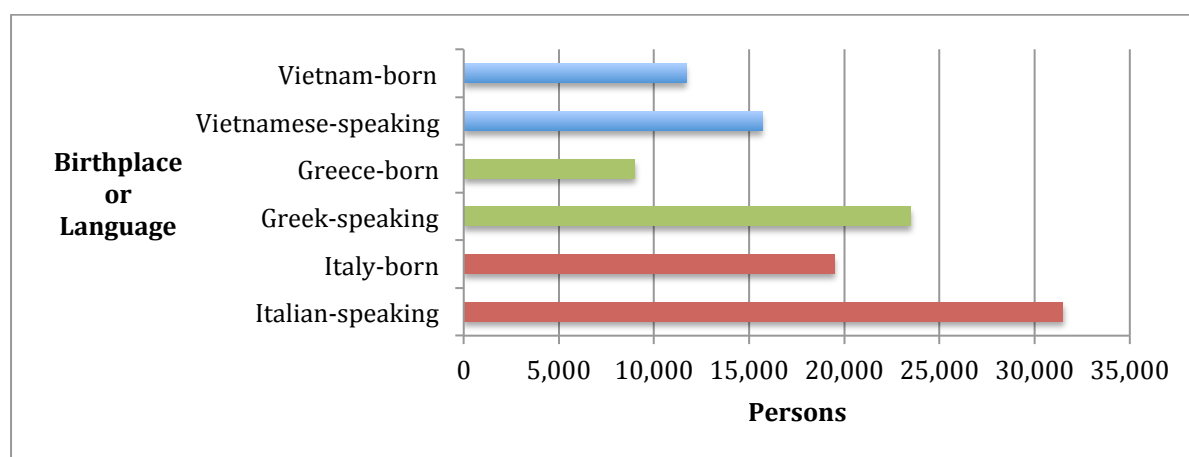


Source: Harlow, 2003, pp.183, 250-266; Soccer Year Book, 1973, pp.80-81

#### 4.4.3 Second generation

The impact of immigration from Southern Europe to Adelaide between 1947 and 1966 was reflected in the 2011 census, which, as Figure 4.11 shows, indicated that there were only 8,989 people born in Greece living in Adelaide at the time, while 23,479 people spoke Greek at home – a difference of 14,490, meaning that 61.7 per cent of Adelaide’s Greek-speaking population were not born in Greece. Similarly, while 31,496 people spoke Italian at home, Adelaide’s Italy-born population numbered 19,494; therefore 38.1 per cent (12,002) of Adelaide’s Italian-speaking population was born outside of Italy. The legacy of increased immigration from Asia during the 1970s was also noticeable in the census findings, with 25.3 per cent (3,966) of Adelaide’s Vietnamese-speaking population (15,675) born outside of Vietnam.

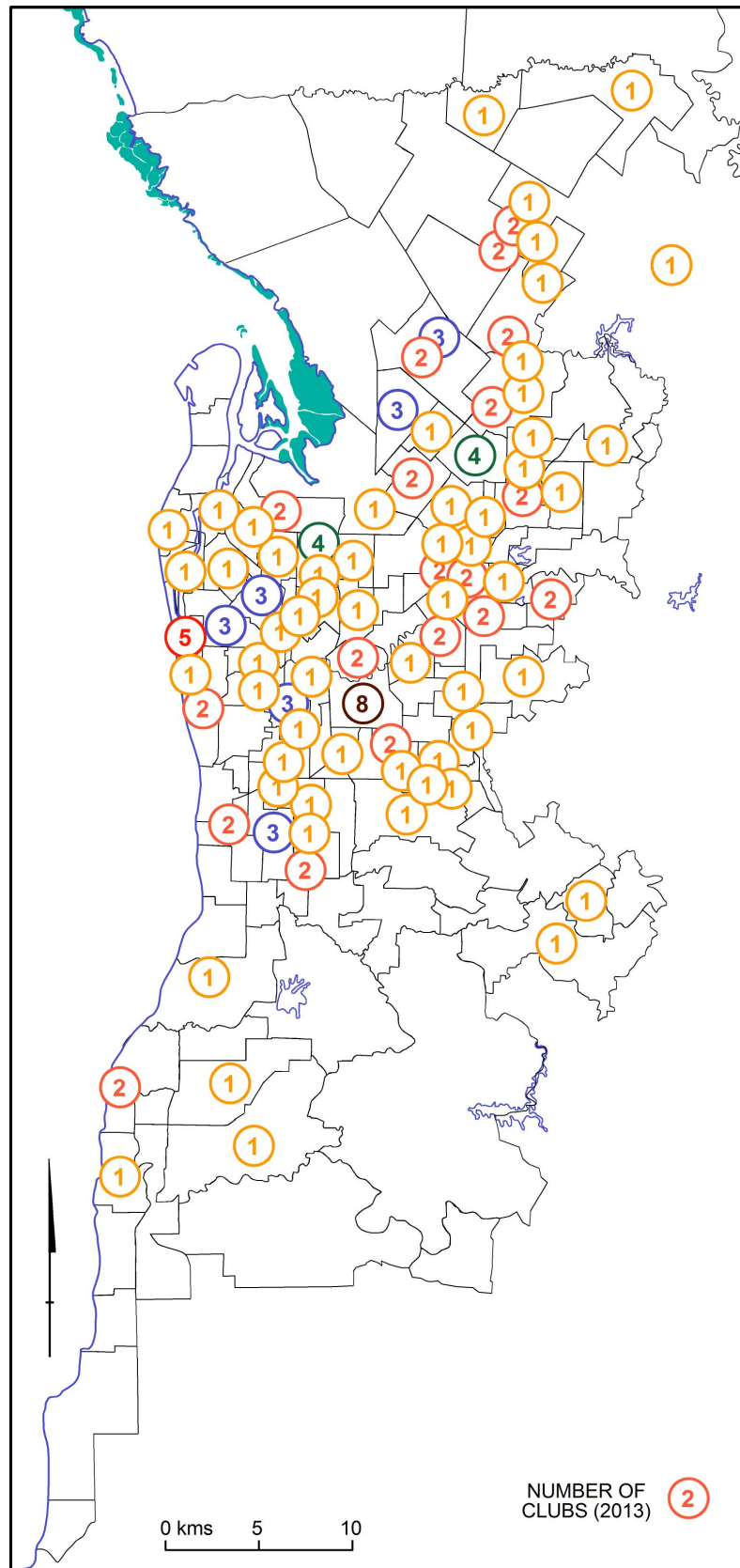
**Figure 4.11: Adelaide – Selected Overseas Born Populations and Languages Spoken at Home, 2011**



Source: ABS, 2012c

Figure 4.12 shows that the number of soccer clubs has greatly increased from 1971 to 2013, with women’s soccer playing a key role in this; notably, there have been significant rises in the inner city and north-western suburbs, suggesting the importance of soccer participation to second generation CALD Europeans.

**Figure 4.12: Location of Soccer Clubs in Adelaide Metropolitan Area and Outer Suburbs, 2013**



Source: FFSA 2013a; 2013b, SAASL, 2013

South Australia's population growth is still heavily influenced by immigration, as Table 4.5 shows, with net overseas immigration more than doubling the natural increase each year from 2006-7 to 2009-10, as well as counteracting high losses to interstate out migration annually. However, this comes after 20 years of low immigrant intakes – changes in Australia's international migration policy are responsible for this upturn, especially the emphasis on skilled migration (Hugo, 2009, p.78; Hugo et al., 2013, p.41).

**Table 4.5: South Australia – Components of Population Change, 2005-06 to 2011-12**

<b>Year</b>	<b>Natural Increase</b>	<b>Net Overseas Migration</b>	<b>Net Interstate Migration</b>	<b>Total Change</b>
<b>2005-6</b>	5,857	9,813	-3,658	<b>15,374</b>
<b>2006-7</b>	6,926	14,638	-4,499	<b>17,906</b>
<b>2007-8</b>	7,366	15,324	-4,676	<b>18,191</b>
<b>2008-9</b>	7,219	17,984	-2,964	<b>20,527</b>
<b>2009-10</b>	7,352	15,252	-3,366	<b>19,640</b>
<b>2010-11</b>	6,795	8,667	-2,613	<b>12,849</b>
<b>2011-12</b>	7,629	11,274	-2,357	<b>16,528</b>
<b>2005-12</b>	<b>49,144</b>	<b>92,952</b>	<b>-24,133</b>	<b>121,015</b>

Source: ABS, 2011c

It should also be noted that South Australia's population historically has grown at a much slower rate than that of most other states, due in no small part to interstate out migration (Hugo, 2002, p.31). Immigration has accounted for 76.8 per cent of South Australia's population growth since 2005-6; during this time, if not for immigration, South Australia's population would have grown by just 28,063.

#### **4.4.4 Current trends**

The impact of net interstate migration losses is especially important when it is considered that Adelaide, like most Australian cities, features an aging population

(Jupp, 2007, p.172). Although this is common to most developed nations, Australia's situation is precarious due to the postwar 'baby boom' generation on the precipice of retirement; the number of baby boomers leaving the workforce will outnumber young Australians transitioning from education to work, while also causing great demands on aged care and health services (Hugo and Harris, 2011, p.294). The large size of Adelaide's baby boomer population can be seen in the 2011 census: 27.5 per cent were aged 55 or older (ABS, 2012c). Interstate migrants are selectively aged 15-29 and in key occupations, further exacerbating this issue (Hugo, 2002, pp.31-32; Bell, 1997). However, there has been a recent shift in the background of international arrivals, away from traditional family and humanitarian entrants, toward young, skilled, professionals (Hugo, 2004a, pp.1-2). Table 4.6 shows that skilled immigrants represent 62.8 per cent of permanent settler arrivals to South Australia since 2001-02.

**Table 4.6: Permanent Skilled Settler Arrivals to South Australia, 2001-02 to 2010-11**

<b>Year</b>	<b>Skilled Arrivals</b>	<b>Per cent Permanent Settlers</b>
2001-02	1,721	38.6
2002-03	1,876	40.1
2003-04	3,118	50.6
2004-05	4,669	53.1
2005-06	7,842	66
2006-07	8,977	68.9
2007-08	9,149	70
2008-09	9,069	67.5
2009-10	10,742	70.5
2010-11	7,116	60.7
<b>Total</b>	<b>64,279</b>	<b>62.8</b>

Source: DIAC, 2012b

The number of skilled arrivals in the peak year of 2009-10 increased by over six times the 2001-02 figure, before declining by 34 per cent in 2010-11; some 7,116 persons, representing a 313 per cent increase in permanent skilled immigrant arrivals from

2001-02. In relation to Australia's overall skilled immigrant intake, South Australia received the equivalent of half its share in 2002-03; significantly, this increased to more than its share by 2006-07 (Hugo, 2009, p.79). Another trend has been the increase of permanent humanitarian settlers in South Australia over the last decade. Table 4.7 shows that South Australia's share of Australia's humanitarian settlers has risen from 4.7 per cent in 2001-02 to 10 per cent in 2010-12; this also represents a 141 per cent rise in the number of humanitarian settlers over that period. This increase is due to a special request by the Premier of South Australia to DIAC for South Australia to take on more humanitarian entrants (Hugo, 2009, p.79).

**Table 4.7: Permanent Humanitarian Settler Arrivals to South Australia and Australia, 2001-02 to 2010-11**

<b>Year</b>	<b>South Australia Arrivals</b>	<b>Australia Arrivals</b>	<b>Per cent of Australia Arrivals</b>
2001-02	576	12,316	4.7
2002-03	698	12,119	5.8
2003-04	867	13,547	6.4
2004-05	1,787	12,925	13.8
2005-06	1,519	13,685	11.1
2006-07	1,330	12,788	10.4
2007-08	975	12,604	7.7
2008-09	1,107	13,412	8.3
2009-10	1,098	13,757	7.9
2010-11	1,386	13,799	10
<b>Total</b>	<b>11,343</b>	<b>130,952</b>	<b>8.7</b>

Source: DIAC, 2012b

While immigration alone is not a solution to the issues facing Adelaide, it can play an important role in decreasing the dual impact of ageing baby boomers and the departure of young South Australians interstate (Hugo, 2002, p.41). It is therefore important that new arrivals are able to adjust quickly to life in South Australia so as to make the optimum contribution to society. It will be argued in this thesis that soccer

plays an important role in their settlement experiences, much as it has in the past for CALD European immigrants.

#### **4.5 Conclusion**

This chapter has presented an overview and discussion of post Second World War immigration to both Australia and South Australia, and the significant impact it has had on Australia's population, society and settlement policies. Since the end of the Second World War, Australia has been transformed economically, socially and culturally by immigration, from a predominantly British nation to a far more diverse, multicultural one. Australia's postwar immigrants have arrived from many different regions, and in distinct waves. Skilled, temporary immigration has also risen significantly in the last two decades, a significant shift from the emphasis on permanent settlement in the 20<sup>th</sup> century. Settlement policy has undergone major changes since the Second World War, with assimilation being replaced by multiculturalism as official policy in the 1970s.

Public attitudes toward immigration levels and those from non-English speaking nations have also shifted multiple times since the Second World War. Initially, the mainstream population was resistant to increasing immigration from non-British sources for fear that it would erode Australia's status as a culturally British nation. However, during the 1960s opposition to both CALD European and Asian immigration dropped significantly, leading to the end of the White Australia Policy, the implementation of multiculturalism, and the first major Asian immigration to Australia since the 19<sup>th</sup> century. However, during the 1980s and 1990s public opposition to current or increased immigration levels grew, as did criticism of

multiculturalism – culminating in the election victory of John Howard’s conservative coalition and its lower emphasis on multicultural policies and services. Immigration and settlement policy remain controversial issues in Australia.

This chapter has also discussed the reasons why Adelaide was chosen as the primary study area for the survey. Like most Australian capital cities, Adelaide has been significantly changed by postwar immigration, with most new arrivals settling in the metropolitan area. Adelaide has a growing Asian and African immigrant population, while the legacy of postwar settlement from mainland Europe and Indo China can be seen in the census data presented. Immigration is still crucial to Adelaide, with settler arrivals more than doubling growth from 2006-7 to 2009-10, although South Australia still has high net migration losses to interstate. Adelaide, like most Australian cities, features an ageing population; to remedy this, there has been a recent increase in skilled immigration, with Adelaide now receiving more than its proportionate share of skilled immigrants to Australia. Humanitarian settlement has also increased significantly in the last decade. It is clear that the adjustment of these and future new arrivals is crucial to Adelaide’s social and economic growth; this thesis argues that participation in sporting clubs, and especially soccer clubs, plays a key role in this important issue.



## CHAPTER 5

### SOCCER AND IMMIGRANTS IN AUSTRALIA

#### 5.1 Introduction

According to a (somewhat dubious)<sup>27</sup> global survey conducted in 2006 by Fédération Internationale de Football Association (FIFA), the world governing body of soccer, an estimated 260 million people played the sport, as shown in Table 5.1. This represented an increase of 22.3 million from the 2000 survey, while 5 million were involved as officials. Notably, over 90 per cent of participants were male.

**Table 5.1: Estimated Number of Soccer Players and Officials Globally, 2000 and 2006**

<b>Participants</b>	<b>2006 (millions)</b>	<b>2000 (millions)</b>
Male Players	238.6	220.5
Female Players	26	21.9
Male Youth Players	18.7	15.8
Female Youth Players	2.9	2.2
Referees and Officials	5	4.3
<b>Total</b>	<b>265</b>	<b>242</b>

Source: Kunz, 2007, p.14

As Sugden and Tomlinson state (1994, p.4):

“Soccer is accessible because it can be played in impoverished fashion in just about any circumstances, and without the need for sophisticated or expensive equipment. It can flourish in small-sided spontaneous games on public parks, in confined spaces in the inner-city, in corners of school play areas, with balls of various sizes and clothes or other random objects for goal posts.”

<sup>27</sup> According to Kuper and Szymanski (2009): “[FIFA] is a bit vague about how exactly it got ahold of the figures, saying it used ‘the standard practice of a questionnaire as well as an online tool’... Reading between the lines of the survey, it seems that more than a fifth of national FAs didn’t even bother to take part” (p.102).

Furthermore, as argued by Hognestad (2009, p.360): “[Soccer] is to many people a constant in lives that otherwise tend to change continuously.” These are two significant reasons why soccer has resonated with immigrants to Australia.

Sport has played a key role in the development of a national identity in Australia, and achievement in sport is held in high esteem in Australian society (Caldwell, 1976; Vamplew, 1994; Adair, 2010, Kell, 2000). This chapter shows that soccer has remained on the fringes of Australian sporting culture since its establishment, as it has had a reputation of being a game dominated by immigrant participation (Hay, 2005; 2006a; Mosely, 1997a; Kallinikios, 2007, pp.1-4). Soccer’s accessibility is perhaps a major reason for its connection with immigrants; another is soccer’s position as a dominant game in the homelands of many of settlers who have arrived in Australia since the Second World War (B. Murray, 2006; Kunz, 1985, p.127). As Les Murray (2006, p.37), who arrived in Australia in 1957 from Hungary, described:

“Of all the things that stunned me about Australia as a young migrant, the most disappointing was the diminutive role played by [soccer] in the lives of the people... I had come from a country and a part of the world where football was the major – if not the only – sporting preoccupation.”

The boom period of the sport’s growth in Australia is linked directly to the influx of working-class male arrivals from mainland Europe following the Second World War (Kallinikios, 2007). As discussed in Chapter 3, immigrant soccer clubs served as a connection to the homeland in the destination country, enabling interaction with others of similar backgrounds and engagement with cultural heritage – this issue has been ignored by many Australian studies of immigrant settlement.

Table 5.2 shows that in terms of attendance and the number of professional-level matches played, soccer is currently the 2nd most prominent football code in South Australia, which has no professional rugby league or union team. In Victoria soccer is 3rd in attendance but 2nd in games played, in Queensland it is fourth in attendance and third in games played, while in WA and NSW it is 4th in attendance and 2nd in games played. Only 1 professional soccer match was held in Tasmania in 2012/13, and none in the ACT or the Northern Territory. Australian Rules was the most widespread code in 2013, with professional matches held in all 8 states and territories, though 51 per cent of games were in Victoria. Similarly, 65 per cent of rugby league matches were held in NSW, while only 1 game was played in each of the Northern Territory and WA. No rugby union matches were played in SA, Tasmania or the Northern Territory.

**Table 5.2: Average Home Match Attendances for Highest Level of Football Codes by State, 2013 Regular Season (2012-13 Regular Season for A-League)<sup>28</sup>**

State	Australian Rules		Rugby League		Soccer		Rugby Union	
	Attendance	Games	Attendance	Games	Attendance	Games	Attendance	Games
SA	30,264	22	N/A	0	9,592	14	N/A	0
VIC	40,005	100	16,301	12	15,832	26	11,442	8
NSW	20,680	19	15,371	117	13,576	53	15,651	7
WA	35,158	22	20,221	1	8,746	14	12,631	7
QLD	17,221	23	19,493	37	13,417	13	31,848	8
TAS	12,740	6	N/A	0	6,238	1	N/A	0
ACT	8,352	3	10,226	12	N/A	0	14,287	8
NT	7,733	2	8,050	1	N/A	0	N/A	0
<b>Australia</b>	<b>32,212</b>	<b>197</b>	<b>15,924</b>	<b>180</b>	<b>12,963</b>	<b>121</b>	<b>17,331</b>	<b>38</b>

Source: AFL, NRL, A-League and Super Rugby attendance figures

Table 5.3 shows that while Australian Rules more than doubled soccer's participation numbers in South Australia, and nearly doubled it in Victoria and Western Australia,

<sup>28</sup> The A-League runs its season across the Australian summer, while Australian Rules football, rugby league and rugby union run their seasons in the Australian winter.

soccer was the most played football code in New South Wales and Queensland. Historically, the two Rugby codes are prominent in those states, while Australian Rules football has dominated participation and interest in Victoria and South Australia (Mosely and Murray, 1994, p.213). The Register (*The Register* [Adelaide], 24<sup>th</sup> April 1905) suggests this was the case at least as early as 1905.<sup>29</sup>

**Table 5.3: Participation ('000s) in Football Codes and Cricket by State, 2005-06<sup>30</sup>**

Sport	SA	VIC	NSW	WA	QLD	TAS	ACT	NT
Australian Rules	36.9	132.5	N/A	50.3	28.4	11.5	-	3.1
Rugby League	-	-	49.5	-	37.0	-	-	2.5
Soccer	17.2	76.7	59.7	26.6	63.0	8.1	6.7	-
Cricket	30.1	113.8	85.9	41.2	46.4	10.1	4.8	3.2
Rugby Union	-	-	44.7	-	-	-	-	-

Source: ABS, 2007b<sup>31</sup>

## 5.2 British Immigrant Origins of Australian Soccer (1880-1947)

### 5.2.1 Overview

Key questions of this study are what is the extent to which soccer clubs have aided the adjustment of immigrants to life in Australia on the one hand, and what is the extent of the impact immigrants have had on the sport in Australia on the other. It is impossible to answer these questions without first developing a basic understanding of the history of soccer in Australia and its unique relationship with immigrants. Soccer has historically been viewed in Australia as a sport for immigrants – even from its earliest history, the sport has been strongly linked to immigration (Hay, 2005,

<sup>29</sup> “Queensland and New South Wales, like New Zealand, will have none of the new thing [Australian Rules football]. They follow the Rugby code... In Adelaide [soccer] attracts only a comparative [sic] handful [sic] of enthusiasts, many of whom gained their experience in England” (The Register, *The Register* [Adelaide], 24<sup>th</sup> April 1905).

<sup>30</sup> This is the most recent data available from ABS for cricket and football code (except soccer) participation in specific states; later reports do not include this information (ABS 2010a; 2012d).

<sup>31</sup> Some statistics were not available due to data collection issues / sport considered statistically irrelevant to study due to low participation numbers.

p.45). Initially soccer was played and supported mainly by arrivals from the United Kingdom and Ireland (Mosely and Murray, 1994, p.214). The extent of British and Irish participation in soccer in Australia would lead locals to deride the sport as a game for immigrants rather than ‘true’ Australians, labelling soccer as a ‘pommie’<sup>32</sup> game, a ‘Scotch’ (sic) game and ‘pommyball’ (Mosely and Murray, 1994, p.214; Mosely, 1997a, p.155).

### 5.2.2 First appearance of soccer in Australia

Soccer arguably still exists on the fringes of Australian sporting culture, despite having been played at least since 1880; newspaper reports suggest the game first appeared as early as 1829 (Hay, 2005, p.45).<sup>33</sup> Unikoski (1978, p.306) states that British soldiers played soccer in Australia in the 1830s. In 1882 a soccer association was established in New South Wales, becoming the first colony or state (along with Natal) outside of Britain to do so (Hughes, 2006, p.8). British immigrant miners appear to have had a strong influence on the early growth of soccer, as a retrospective news report from 1921 indicates (J.S., *Sydney Morning Herald*, 29<sup>th</sup> April 1921, p.8):

“Wherever miners from the North of England congregated, there would be found ‘Soccer’ football. One recalls that in the early eighties the Newcastle miners, immediately after work was over, would hasten to a football field.”

Soccer was a working class sport, appealing to working class arrivals from Britain, while other sports such as cricket and rugby union were more closely linked with the middle and upper classes (Hay, 2006a, p.168).

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<sup>32</sup> An Australian derogatory term for English persons.

<sup>33</sup> Most research on the history of soccer in Australia gives 1880 as the starting point for the sport, as the first officially recorded game was played that year (Mosely and Murray, 1994, p.214).

A Victorian newspaper article from 1883 (*The Argus*, *The Argus* [Melbourne], 17<sup>th</sup> August 1883, p.7) noted that soccer: "...has only quite recently been introduced here;" the article also suggests that a major reason for soccer's establishment in Australia was that: "...it would afford the opportunity for international matches with British teams." A report in a South Australian newspaper (J.A.L., *The Mail* [Adelaide], 25<sup>th</sup> July 1925, p.13) states: "The first serious attempt to introduce soccer was made in 1891;" a number of soccer clubs emerged in the subsequent years, and a state association was first formed in 1905, while another report in a West Australian newspaper indicates that soccer's inception there occurred in 1896 (Right-Half, *The West Australian*, 16<sup>th</sup> July 1935).

### **5.2.3 Soccer: the immigrant game**

The origin of soccer being labelled in Australia as a sport for immigrants was born largely out of the participation of arrivals from Britain. The majority of soccer clubs established around the end of the 19<sup>th</sup> century and beginning of the 20<sup>th</sup> were patronised by arrivals from England and Scotland (Hay, 2005, pp.49-50). The names of some clubs were overt displays of ethnic identity, such as 'Caledonians' and 'Celtic' (Hay, 2006a, p.169). These clubs provided a point of difference for working class settlers to other ethnic institutions, such as social clubs, which according to Jupp (1998, p.43) catered increasingly to middle class and second-generation immigrants. Jupp (1998, p.57) argues that Australian society was tolerant of Celtic cultural institutions due to:

"...their common allegiance to the crown and their common origins in the British Isles, where they had already been subject to English cultural domination in varying degrees."

Early newspaper reports indicate that soccer helped British immigrants to adjust by providing them with a social space to interact with other British settlers, and also helping to ease their homesickness with an activity from the homeland; one article (*The Advertiser* [Adelaide], 17<sup>th</sup> October 1902, p.6) comments that:

“Men who have learned ‘soccer’ at home will be glad of an opportunity to see the familiar game again...”

This factor may have played a role in the British immigrant domination of the sport, which was visible even 33 years after soccer’s inception in Australia; for example, only one member of the Victorian team in a 1913 soccer match between Victoria and New South Wales was Australia-born (*Northern Territory Times and Gazette*, *Northern Territory Times and Gazette*, 9<sup>th</sup> October 1913). A Scottish ethnic festival held in Brisbane later that year featured a five-a-side soccer tournament, contested by 15 teams (*The Brisbane Courier*, *The Brisbane Courier*, 22<sup>nd</sup> November 1913).

There are numerous examples of the media emphasising that soccer is a foreign or immigrant’s sport, unpopular with ‘true’ Australians. In 1883 the *North Melbourne Advertiser* (*North Melbourne Advertiser*, 6<sup>th</sup> April 1883, p.3) indicated that while soccer was enjoyed by British ex-pats, it did not appeal to the mainstream:

“There were many old Scotchmen and Englishmen who declared the game a treat to witness, but many of our colonists thought the play very tame...”

The *Argus* (*The Argus* [Melbourne], 26<sup>th</sup> July 1884, p.5) attacked the sport as being:

“...more Scotch [sic] than anything else in its origin... No English Association team that could at present be organised here would deserve the title ‘Australian,’ since the majority of those who play the game acquired the rudiments of it north of the equator.”

In 1905 the secretary of Western Australia's governing body for Australian Rules football declared that: "We are making a determined fight to set back the foreign styles of football – Rugby and British" (*The West Australian*, *The West Australian*, 10<sup>th</sup> June 1905, p.8). An opinion piece in the *Barrier Miner* (*Barrier Miner* [Broken Hill], 13<sup>th</sup> May 1912, p.3) argued:

"The arrival of so many immigrants has set the English styles of football going great guns in cities where the Australian game was practically the only one played. ...be prepared to hear the cry of 'Australia for the Australians' shouted aloud from the housetops if an attempt is made to make soccer the national brand of football."

#### **5.2.4 Global expansion of soccer**

In the mother country of Britain, soccer evolved during the late 19<sup>th</sup> century into a popular, professional sport; despite Australian media attacks on the immigrant domination of soccer, this development was nonetheless highlighted in newspapers. For example, one report (*The Advertiser* [Adelaide], 11<sup>th</sup> May 1895, p.4) stated that:

"It is most difficult for Australians to realise the hold taken by [soccer] on the working classes of the North of England. Every club of any standing is now a registered company, earning immense sums, but compelled to pay them away in salaries to keep up the strength of the team, and consequently the power of attracting gate money. The newspapers teem with facts and figures relating to the public favourites, and in the columns devoted to sport the once all-engrossing pastime of horse-racing is hard pressed for space."

Australia's first national governing body for soccer, the Commonwealth Football Association (Australia), was founded in 1912 (Hay, 2006b, p.115). The *Mercury* reported that this coincided with soccer's growth elsewhere: "[Soccer] already had a firm hold on the Continent of Europe, and it was rapidly spreading to other countries" (*The Mercury*, *The Mercury* [Hobart], 30<sup>th</sup> December 1911, p.9). The associations of Belgium, the Netherlands, France, Denmark, Switzerland and Sweden, as well as the



Madrid Football Club, had formed FIFA in 1904, the world's first governing body for soccer (FIFA, 2010a). FIFA's membership was entirely European until South Africa joined in 1909, followed by Argentina and Chile in 1912 and the United States in 1913 (FIFA, n.d.). A soccer competition featuring national teams was held for the first time at the 1908 Olympics; club sides had competed in 1900 and 1904 but only in a demonstration (Radnedge, 2002, p.97). A newspaper report (*The Mercury*, *The Mercury* [Hobart], 9<sup>th</sup> March 1912) suggests that attempts were made to send an Australian soccer team to the 1912 Olympics.

### **5.2.5 CALD immigrant soccer players and clubs**

British immigrants dominated soccer participation and support from the founding of the code in Australia until after the Second World War; however, teams comprised entirely or partially of immigrants from non-British origins did exist from the 1920s onwards, while others played for the established 'Anglo' clubs. A team of Chinese-Australians played for probably the first time in Darwin in 1924 (*The Advertiser* [Adelaide], 2<sup>nd</sup> January 1924). The team was reported as playing a series of matches against visiting sailors the following year (*Northern Territory Times and Gazette*, *Northern Territory Times and Gazette*, 28<sup>th</sup> July 1925). Soccer's growing popularity within Darwin's Chinese-Australian community led to the formation of the Chinese Soccer League in January 1927, comprising 3 teams of Chinese immigrants (*Northern Territory Times and Gazette*, *Northern Territory Times and Gazette*, 11<sup>th</sup> January 1927a). These teams also played against Anglo-Australian clubs (*Northern Territory Times and Gazette*, *Northern Territory Times and Gazette*, 25<sup>th</sup> March 1927b). The *Northern Territory Times* (*Northern Territory Times*, 5<sup>th</sup> April 1929a) indicates that only 1 Chinese club was still active in 1929, though it (*Northern Territory Times*,

*Northern Territory Times*, 16<sup>th</sup> April 1929b) later suggests the Chinese club may have fielded an additional team consisting of Malay and Filipino players, as well as a team of 'whites' and a fourth team of players of mixed backgrounds.

Pre war CALD European settlers would have found solace from racism and prejudice in soccer clubs (Richards, 2008, p.138). The Maltese community of Mackay, containing approximately half of Queensland's 950-strong Malta-born population, established a club in 1926 (Chetcuti, 2001, p.582; Mosely and Murray, 1994, p.222). The Advertiser (*The Advertiser* [Adelaide], 12<sup>th</sup> March 1929) reported in 1929 that Adelaide's Maltese community had formed a club and was seeking permission to join the South Australian Soccer Association. Jewish immigrants in Melbourne formed Hakoah in 1927 (Hay, 2005, p.5). The Sydney Judean Soccer League was formed in 1928 in Sydney while another Hakoah was established there in 1939 (Mosely, 1997a, p.156; Mosely and Murray, 1994, p.222). Another Jewish club, Maccabeans, was active in Perth in 1931, as was Zora, patronised by Czechoslovakians (The West Australian, *The West Australian*, 25<sup>th</sup> May 1931).

Immigration from Italy increased significantly in the 1920s and 1930s (Alcorso, 1992, p.14), with the Italian population of Australia rising from 8,135 in 1921 to 26,756 in 1933, reaching 33,632 by 1947 (CBCS, 1921, p.49; 1933, p.732; 1947, p.642). Italian clubs emerged prior to the Second World War, including Savoia in Melbourne in 1930 or 1931, Club Italia in Sydney in 1937, Savoia in Adelaide in 1940 and another in Broken Hill in 1939 (Mosely, 1997a, p.156; Mosely and Murray, 1994, p.222). Italian immigrants approached the Port Pirie Soccer Club in 1939 requesting to form a team under that club's jurisdiction (The Advertiser, *The Advertiser* [Adelaide], 7<sup>th</sup>

July 1939a). Italians also played for Anglo clubs, such as Lorenzo, who played for Melbourne Welsh in 1926, and Faldini and Squassoni who represented Innisfail in 1931 (Hay, 2005, p.5; *Townsville Daily Bulletin*, *Townsville Daily Bulletin*, 21<sup>st</sup> September 1931). Anglo-Australians also played for CALD immigrant teams, such as the Longmuir brothers representing Melbourne's Savoia in 1933 (*Morwell Advertiser*, *Morwell Advertiser*, 1<sup>st</sup> June 1933). These examples suggest that soccer not only served as a haven from prejudice and racism, but also an opportunity to interact with other groups (Jupp, 1998, p.61).

Clubs representing other CALD immigrant minorities also existed, such as Napredak, a Yugoslavian team from Broken Hill, while players of other European and Asian origins also appeared for existing clubs (*Barrier Miner*, *Barrier Miner* [Broken Hill], 17<sup>th</sup> May 1941). A member of the Swiss Consular Staff, Schaufelberger, played for St Kilda, while a player clearly of Dutch origin, van den Drishe, represented Melbourne Thistle alongside Lorenzo in 1926 (Hay, 2005, p.5; *The Argus*, *The Argus* [Melbourne], 16<sup>th</sup> August 1926). In Queensland's 1929 soccer season, Latrobe fielded Zar Korotcoff and Len Viertel, while Lumchee represented Norman Park (*The Brisbane Courier*, *The Brisbane Courier*, 26<sup>th</sup> April 1929). Another Asian-Australian player, R. Yuen, represented St John's in Townsville's 1936 season, while F. Fang Yuen played for Hornets in Cairns in 1937 (*Townsville Daily Bulletin*, *Townsville Daily Bulletin*, 2<sup>nd</sup> May 1936; *Cairns Post*, *Cairns Post*, 2<sup>nd</sup> July 1937).

Broken Hill's soccer league featured a number of CALD immigrant players in 1931: Camalero, Benardi, Dobonovich, Scobel, Deboni, Peryak, Fpipfaniou and Dorizzi (*Barrier Miner*, *Barrier Miner* [Broken Hill], 31<sup>st</sup> July 1931). Mosely and Murray

(1994, p.222) also state that Greek arrivals played in Melbourne in 1932, but they do not appear to have formed their own club. However, a team made up entirely of Greek settlers, the Apollo Athletic Club, was formed in 1935; *The Argus* (*The Argus* [Melbourne], 12<sup>th</sup> April 1935a) states this as being the first involvement of Melbourne's Greek community in organised sport. Another Greek club was Hellenic, which played in Adelaide in 1939 (*The Advertiser*, *The Advertiser* [Adelaide], 6<sup>th</sup> April 1939b). Thompson (2006, p.59) noted the existence of a Chinese team, Chung Hwa, and a Dutch East Indies team in the lower divisions of the New South Wales Soccer League in 1945.

In many cases CALD immigrants did not participate in soccer for sustained periods. One such example is a team in Western Australia named Sparta in 1933, which featured a mixture of Anglo-Australians and CALD Europeans (Bystander, *Western Argus* [Kalgoorlie], 30<sup>th</sup> May 1933). By 1935 the team was composed only of Anglo-Australians, though in 1936 the Sparta junior team featured Yugoslavians (*The West Australian*, *The West Australian*, 20<sup>th</sup> August 1935; Spectator, *Western Argus* [Kalgoorlie], 30<sup>th</sup> June 1936). Melbourne's Savoia survived less than 5 years, though a junior association Savoia team appeared in 1939 (*The Argus*, *The Argus* [Melbourne], 16<sup>th</sup> March 1935b; 24<sup>th</sup> April 1939). A number of CALD immigrants played in Townsville in 1937, including Baski, Bordujenko, Theodossio, Barpoutis, Weinheimer, Sponza, Pogoresky and Kriticos (*Townsville Daily Bulletin*, *Townsville Daily Bulletin*, 10<sup>th</sup> July 1937). However, the following season only Theodossi, Pogoresky, Barpoutis and Kriticos returned (*Townsville Daily Bulletin*, *Townsville Daily Bulletin*, 23<sup>rd</sup> April 1938a; 3<sup>rd</sup> June 1938b). During the Second World War, Melbourne's Hakoah merged with an Anglo-Australian club and fielded several

Anglo-Australian players, while immigrants of varied backgrounds represented the All Nations Stars in Broken Hill in 1944 (The Argus, *The Argus* [Melbourne], 22<sup>nd</sup> June 1942; Barrier Miner, *Barrier Miner* [Broken Hill], 5<sup>th</sup> June 1944). These examples indicate that soccer helped settlers adjust to life in Australia, and having adjusted, perhaps no longer felt the need to participate.

### 5.3 The Impact of European Immigration on Soccer (1947-1963)

#### 5.3.1 European immigrants and the growth of soccer

Table 5.4 shows that during the early post Second World War intakes many CALD European settlers were young men; in 1954, 63 per cent of Australia's non-British and Irish Europe-born male population were aged under 45. Many arrived alone and in need of companionship, which soccer clubs could provide (Mosely, 1997a, p.163).

**Table 5.4: Mainland Europe-born Males Aged 15-44, Australia 1954 Census**

Age Group	Mainland Europe-born Males	Per cent of Mainland Europe-born Males	Sex Ratio
15-19	12,446	4.1	129:100
20-24	29,021	9.7	213:100
25-29	44,705	14.9	167:100
30-34	45,405	15.1	158:100
35-39	27,964	9.3	173:100
40-44	30,206	10	191:100
<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>189,747</b>	<b>63</b>	<b>171:100</b>

Source: CBCS, 1957b

Soccer was familiar to CALD European settlers, with the sport being a dominant game in most European nations by the early 1950s (Warren et al., 2003, p.34).

According to B. Murray (2006, p.79):

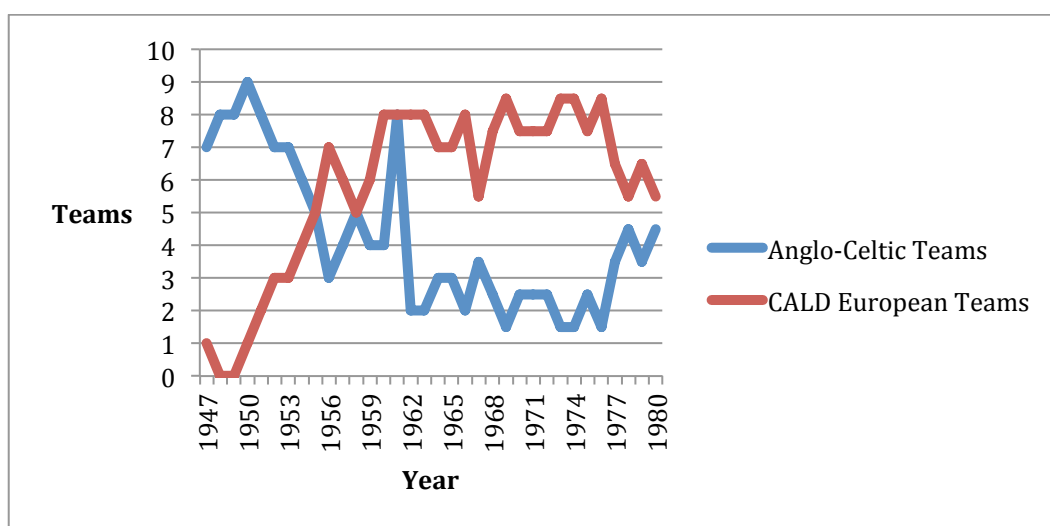
“One of the first things these newcomers did, having found somewhere to live and a job to get by, was to seek out a soccer club.”

CALD Europeans were expected to assimilate into the dominant British culture, and thus had very few avenues available to them to express their heritage and speak in their native language; soccer provided both (Hay, 2006b, p.173). As Mosely (1997a, pp.155-156) states:

“If immigrants found it difficult to find a voice at work, school, in the church and in government, they were able to give full vent to their feelings at the [soccer].”

According to Warren et al. (2003, p.xviii), many CALD European settlers were denied access to existing (Anglo-Celtic) soccer clubs due to their poor English skills, leading them to form their own clubs. Figure 5.1 shows that by 1955 CALD European clubs represented half of the teams in South Australia’s first division.

**Figure 5.1 Comparison of Anglo-Celtic and CALD European-formed<sup>34</sup> Soccer Clubs Comprising South Australia’s First Division Soccer League, 1947 to 1980**



Source: Harlow, 2003, pp.174-190, 250-266

<sup>34</sup> Teams formed by Anglo-Celtic Australians and CALD Australians that had merged were counted as half a club for each group.

From 1961 to 1981, CALD European teams represented more than half of the clubs in South Australia's first division, indicating the domination of immigrant clubs during the postwar period and the impact of their participation (B. Murray, 2006, p.79). The slight decline in numbers in 1977 is due to West Adelaide and Adelaide City (temporarily) leaving to participate in the National Soccer League.

### **5.3.2 Perceptions of soccer by Australian natives**

The influence of postwar European settlers resulted in soccer being ridiculed as 'wogball' (Hay, 2005, p.2). The CALD immigrant-driven growth of soccer in Australia concerned those who viewed the sport as 'foreign,' and thus as harmful to 'Australian' culture as the immigrants who played it. In States and Territories where Australian Rules football was dominant, many schools and education departments banned soccer (Mosely and Murray, 1994, p.224). Victorian Australian Rules clubs sought exclusive leases on their grounds to prevent soccer clubs from using them (Kallinikios, 2007, pp.102-103; Andersen, *The Argus* [Melbourne], 23<sup>rd</sup> February 1955). The 1956 Australian Olympic soccer team approached Australian Rules club Collingwood to train on their ground; Collingwood's infamous response was: "They can train in the gutter for all we care" (Ted Smith, as quoted in Montagnana Wallace, 2004, p.34)

The domination of CALD immigrant-formed teams and the passionate behaviour of players and supporters were used to demonise both in the media (Kallinikios, 2007, pp.81-83). For example, Ken Moses (*The Argus* [Melbourne], 7<sup>th</sup> June 1955, p.18) wrote that:

“Soccer is a struggling sport... Unfortunately the game is at present relying on national teams<sup>35</sup> to make up its first division lists. And it is among these national teams that most of the trouble is breaking out. Unless the controllers of this sport can curb this bloodthirsty outlook of some players, the sport will fade right out.”

In 1950, the Queensland Times reported that immigrant players in Melbourne would be warned by a representative of the governing body of soccer in Victoria not to attack referees; the report quotes an official as stating:

“It might be all right for the South American countries to kill the referee after the match, but we do not want it happening here,” (Queensland Times, *Queensland Times*, 14<sup>th</sup> April 1950, p.1).

### **5.3.3 New South Wales’ immigrant soccer revolution (1957-1959)**

Table 5.5 shows that by 1954 in New South Wales, like for most Australian States and Territories, CALD European settlers represented a small but notable portion of the population; though CALD Europeans were slightly underrepresented in New South Wales compared to other States and Territories, only Victoria had a larger population of CALD Europeans. Despite this, New South Wales did not experience the domination of its first division of soccer by CALD European teams. Two policies prevented newly formed CALD European clubs from playing at the highest level in New South Wales: that clubs represent a specific district; and that matches are held at an enclosed ground of suitable quality (Thompson, 2006, p.66). As most of Sydney’s major suburban districts were already home to Anglo-Australian clubs, who had also secured the best grounds for themselves, this made it virtually impossible for CALD immigrant clubs to join the NSW first division (Thompson, 2006, p.66).

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<sup>35</sup> The use of the term ‘national teams’ likely refers to clubs formed by a single CALD immigrant group, indicating that they were viewed by the mainstream population and media as representing a nation other than Australia, and hence the use of this term is attacking the ‘Australian-ness’ and questioning the loyalties of the immigrants who patronised these clubs.



**Table 5.5: Non-British and Irish Europe-born Populations of Australian States and Territories, 1954**

<b>State</b>	<b>Non-British and Irish Europe-Born Population</b>	<b>Per cent of Australian Non-British and Irish Europe-Born Population</b>	<b>Per cent of State Population</b>
NSW	157,248	32	4.6
VIC	162,013	33	6.6
QLD	50,774	10.3	3.9
SA	53,022	10.8	6.7
WA	53,854	11	8.4
TAS	9,656	0.2	6.7
NT	1,102	0.2	6.7
ACT	3,190	0.6	10.5
<b>Australia</b>	<b>490,859</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>5.5</b>

Source: CBCS, 1957b

This was despite, in terms of playing ability, the superiority of the CALD immigrant clubs compared to most of the Anglo-Australian teams playing in the first division (Murray, 2011, p.243). The immigrant-formed clubs viewed their exclusion from the top division as the act of a hostile administration, reflecting the intolerant attitudes of Anglo-Australian society towards CALD immigrants and the policies of the Australian government, which similarly frustrated European settlers – attempting to join a community who expected them to culturally assimilate but ultimately did not want them (Thompson, 2006, p.71; Jupp, 1998, pp.104-105).

The refusal to promote second division champions Hakoah led their president Walter Sternberg to form a rival administration and league, the New South Wales Federation of Soccer Clubs (NSWFSC) in January 1957 (Murray, 2011, pp.243-244; *The Argus*, *The Argus* [Melbourne], 19<sup>th</sup> January 1957). In addition to the CALD immigrant-formed clubs, some Anglo-Australian clubs were convinced by the strength of the immigrant clubs and the potential to grow the game and applied to join the new administration (Warren et al., 2003, p.36). Only one CALD immigrant-formed club,

Sparta Prague, (a breakaway group from the Prague club that joined the newly formed NSWFC), played in the existing competition (Thompson, 2006, pp.71-72).

The NSWFC applied for affiliation with the national governing body of soccer, the Australian Soccer Football Association (ASFA) in order to be recognised as an official soccer competition; the existing NSW soccer association opposed this, and in March 1957 the ASFA rejected the application (Thompson, 2006, pp.72-73). As a result, the NSWFC was not recognised by FIFA and its players were not permitted to play representative soccer for their country, nor were NSWFC clubs allowed to play against touring teams from overseas (Warren et al., 2003, p.36). However, this exclusion proved in reality to be a boon for the NSWFC, as it was not obliged to adhere to FIFA regulations. Therefore, NSWFC clubs did not have to pay a transfer fee or buy out the contract of a player it wished to sign from another club. Clubs began actively searching for players to recruit in Europe, offering to bring them to Australia as sponsored or assisted immigrants; in effect, the government was now paying for the player acquisitions of the NSWFC clubs (Thompson, 2006, p.77).

Players who immigrated to Australia while under contract at European clubs were banned by FIFA from playing in official competitions, but this did not apply to the rebel NSWFC league. By 1959, Prague had signed 5 Austrian international players (Warren et al., 2003, p.37). The arrival of these players led the Austrian football association to lobby FIFA to settle the dispute between the ASFA and the NSWFC so that the transfer fees owed to their clubs would be paid (Thompson, 2006, pp.79-80). On the 3<sup>rd</sup> of March 1959 the ASFA offered full control of soccer in New South Wales to the NSWFC, with a new state governing body to be formed and the

NSWFSC to be granted 6 of 12 seats on the board; this was agreed to 6 weeks later by the AFSA, the NSWFSC and the previous NSW soccer administration (Thompson, 2006, p.79). In just over 2 years, CALD immigrant groups had overhauled NSW's soccer administration and driven the sport towards professionalisation. It should be noted that Hughes (2003) has previously presented an extended discussion of this important period in New South Welsh and Australian soccer history.

#### **5.3.4 Expulsion from FIFA and readmission (1960-1963)**

FIFA announced on the 7<sup>th</sup> of April 1960 that Australia was suspended from soccer internationally until £46,000 in transfer fees was paid (Thompson, 2006, p.84; Mosely and Murray, 1994, pp.226-227). Overseas national teams and clubs were no longer permitted to tour Australia; tours were crucial to soccer, helping to finance the sport and raise its profile (Mosely and Murray, 1994, p.227). Following AFSA's failure to negotiate with FIFA, the NSWFSC formed a rival governing body, the Australian Soccer Federation (ASF) in November 1961 to challenge AFSA for control of the sport (Kallinikios, 2007, pp.67-68; Thompson, 2006, p.84).

The CALD immigrant-led soccer revolution in New South Wales had resulted in similar upheavals in other states (Mosely and Murray, 1994, p.226). NSWFSC-type federations emerged in Western Australia in 1960 and Queensland in 1961, while in South Australia 8 clubs – 7 were formed by CALD immigrants – broke away from the South Australian Soccer Football Association (SASFA) to form their own league in 1961, though they were still considered to be affiliated with SASFA (Mosely and Murray, 1994, p.226; Harlow, 2003, pp.28-29; B. Murray, 2006, p.103). Demanding club-based control of soccer in South Australia, the rebel league established the South

Australian Federation of Soccer Clubs; the 2 organisations merged on the 9<sup>th</sup> of October 1962, forming the South Australian Soccer Federation (Harlow, 2003, pp.30-31). In late 1961 the 12 Victorian top division clubs formed the Victorian Soccer Federation (VSF) to challenge the Victorian Amateur Soccer Football Association for control (Kallinikios, 2007, p.69). At a meeting of Victorian clubs in February 1962, the VSF was chosen to administrate soccer; clubs also elected to align the governing body with the ASF (Kallinikios, 2007, pp.75-76).

By 1962 the ASF, supported by CALD immigrant-led soccer federations in various states, had assumed control of the sport in Australia; however, ASFA was still considered the official governing body by FIFA (Thompson, 2006, p.86). Inaction by ASFA led FIFA to declare that the ASF would be recognised as the governing body of Australia if it adopted the FIFA charter and paid transfer fees amounting to £53,000 (Thompson, 2006, pp.86-87). After negotiations with FIFA the amount was reduced to £18,500; Australia's international ban was lifted on the 1<sup>st</sup> of July, 1963 (Mosely and Murray, 1994, p.227; Behrent, 2011, pp.3-4).

This section has shown that soccer was restructured from an amateur game to a professional sport due to the influence of postwar CALD European settlers. As Mosely (1997a, p.163) states:

“The [CALD] immigrant core of Federation football succeeded in taking control of Australian soccer just sixteen years after the first ‘displaced persons’ arrived from Europe.”

This reflects Australia's transformation from a monocultural British country to a multicultural nation.

## **5.4 The Socceroos and the National Soccer League (1964-Present)**

### **5.4.1 Background**

Readmission to FIFA meant that Australian clubs had to follow FIFA regulations, and therefore had to pay transfer fees to import players from Europe. As most clubs could not afford star European players, they instead signed cheaper players from Britain and Ireland. This was also partially due to British immigrants being required to pay only £10 towards their travel costs, at least until the early 1970s (Murray, 2011, p.249).

Most of these signings were lower division players and not of the calibre of their European predecessors; thus the standard of play declined (Murray, 2011, p.249).

This especially affected NSW crowds, where fans were accustomed to watching the talented European players signed illegally (Thompson, 2006, p.89). Soccer required a new impetus; this emerged through the development of Australia-born star players and attempting to qualify for the FIFA World Cup finals (Murray, 2011, p.249).

### **5.4.2 FIFA World Cup finals (1965-1976)**

The FIFA World Cup finals is one of the biggest sporting events in the world, with the 2010 edition amassing a global television audience of over 3.2 billion<sup>36</sup>, and selling over 2.9 million tickets (KantarSport, 2011, p.8; FIFA, 2011a, p.42). Australia first attempted to qualify for the 1966 finals. Reflecting Australia's status as a culturally British nation, only 1 player in the 20-man squad – captain Les Schienflug – was born outside of Australia, England, Scotland and Ireland (though Steve Herczeg's origin is unknown); 13 players were British and Irish immigrants (Hay, 2008; Warren et al., 2003, pp.65-67). However, the coach and staff were CALD Europeans – indicating a desire for Australia to be represented by an Anglo-Celtic

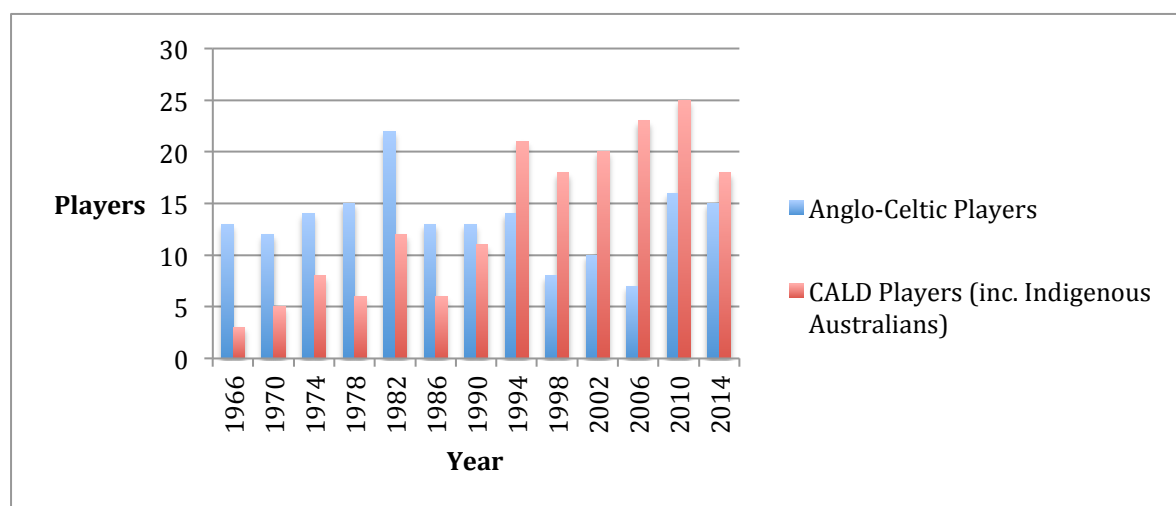
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<sup>36</sup> Based on viewers who watched at least 1 minute of the finals.

team despite the superior technical knowledge of CALD immigrants (Warren et al., 2003, pp.65-67). Australia failed to qualify, suffering a heavy defeat to North Korea.

In 1967 Australia sent a team to Vietnam for a tournament intended to boost the morale of Vietnam War participants (Hay, 2011). The team featured 9 CALD players and won the tournament, Australia's first soccer honour (Warren et al., 2003, pp.82-83; Murray, 2011, pp.251-252). Australia qualified for the 1974 World Cup finals; of the 22-man squad, 6 had CALD heritage and 17 played for CALD immigrant-formed clubs (FIFA, 1975, p.76). However, as Figure 5.2 shows, the impact of CALD European participation on Australian soccer became clear when the second generation came of age. Since 1994, of Socceroos to participate in FIFA World Cup matches, 45.5 per cent or less have had Anglo-Celtic heritage. Notably, only 23 per cent of the team who contested the 2006 World Cup campaign were wholly Anglo-Celtic.

**Figure 5.2: Comparison of Players of Anglo-Celtic and CALD<sup>37</sup> Heritage Used in Australia's FIFA World Cup Matches<sup>38</sup>, 1966 to 2014**



Source: Kruger, 2002; FIFA, 2006; 2010b; 2013a

<sup>37</sup> Includes indigenous Australians and Australians of mixed Anglo-Celtic and CALD heritage.

<sup>38</sup> Includes both FIFA World Cup qualifying and finals matches, where applicable.

Though eliminated in the first round, the Socceroos' appearance at the 1974 finals helped to generate a new wave of interest in soccer domestically. The media covering soccer as though it were a mainstream Australian sport resulted in an increase in participation nationally (Warren et al., 2003, p.215; Mosely and Murray, 1994, p.228). However, the sport remained unappealing to Anglo-Australians; most state leagues were still dominated by a small number of CALD immigrant teams, and Australia's best players were spread across the nation, diluting the standard of play (Warren et al., 2003, p.217). Crowd numbers declined in 1975 despite the influence of the World Cup; the supporter bases of some CALD immigrant clubs were literally dying out and not being replaced by a new generation (Warren et al., 2003, p.217). It also suggests that, as stated by Les Murray (2006, p.50), indicated by Nikolich (1999) and argued by Unikoski (1978, p.311), soccer clubs played a significant role in the adjustment of CALD immigrants, to the point where participants no longer required the support of clubs and 'moved on.'

Sydney Hakoah president Frank Lowy – a classic example of the 'immigrant entrepreneur' (Aldrich and Waldinger, 1990) – conceived a plan to implement a national soccer competition, which he and St George-Budapest president Alex Pongrass presented to potential participating clubs in 1975; 7 of the 9 clubs attending the meeting had been formed by CALD European immigrants (Solly, 2004, p.26; Murray, 2011, p.255). After drawn out negotiations, administrative issues and politics – which would become synonymous with Australian soccer – the proposal to launch the competition was accepted by the ASF in June 1976 (Warren et al., 2003, pp.219-220; B. Murray, 2006, pp.120-122; Thompson, 2006, p.108; Solly, 2004).

### 5.4.3 National Soccer League (1977-1988)

The National Soccer League (NSL) was established in 1977, becoming the first national competition of any football code in Australia's history, and the second of any sport after cricket's Sheffield Shield (Warren et al., 2003, p.218). Table 5.6 shows that CALD European immigrant communities formed 12 of the 14 teams participating, a clear indication of the dominance of CALD European clubs and the impact of CALD European immigrants on the sport nationally. To make the sport more appealing to mainstream Australians, the ASF stipulated that clubs participating in the NSL did not use their ethnic names (Solly, 2004, p.47). This move was driven by Lowy, despite the protestations from many within his own club, and ASF president Sir Arthur George (who was of Greek heritage). Both believed that broadening the appeal of the sport to mainstream Australians and women was crucial (Solly, 2004, p.27). This represented the first of several attempts to 'de-ethnicise' soccer. The move contrasted with official settlement policies, which had been gradually shifted away from assimilation towards multiculturalism.

**Table 5.6: Origin of Participating Clubs in the 1977 NSL Season**

<b>Team</b>	<b>Parent Club</b>	<b>Formed</b>	<b>Origin</b>
Adelaide City	Juventus	1946	Italian
Brisbane City	Azzurri	1952	Italian
Brisbane Lions	Hollandia-Inala	1957	Dutch
Canberra City	Canberra City	1977	Australian
Eastern Suburbs Hakoah	Hakoah	1939	Jewish
Fitzroy United	Alexander	1958	Greek
Footscray JUST	Footscray JUST	1950	Yugoslavian
Marconi-Fairfield	Club Marconi	1958	Italian
Mooroolbark United	Mooroolbark United	1962	Dutch and British
South Melbourne	Hellas (Melbourne)	1959	Greek
St George	St George-Budapest	~1950	Hungarian
Sydney Olympic	Pan-Hellenic	1957	Greek
West Adelaide	Hellas (Adelaide)	1962	Greek
Western Suburbs	Western Suburbs	Unknown	British

Source: Thompson, 2006; Hay, 2006b; Harlow, 2003



The ban on ethnic names did little to de-ethnicise the NSL, with clubs still patronised by the CALD communities. Fans continued to chant in their own languages and display banners with ethnic slogans and logos (Solly, 2004, p.123). The ASF initially banned a journalist for using the ethnic names of the clubs in his reports, though by the end of the season many Sydney-based journalists had done similarly without reproach (Solly, 2004, p.125). By the early 1980s crowds dropped to an average of 4,000, so the ASF lifted the ban on club names (Thompson, 2006, p.261).

Immigration from mainland Europe declined considerably in the 1980s, replaced by arrivals from Asia (Jupp, 2007, p.39). Having adjusted culturally, socially and economically to Australia, it is likely that many original supporters of the CALD immigrant-formed clubs no longer required a social space to engage with others of the same background or maintain a connection to their cultural heritage – Nikolich (1999), for example, notes that his club had to constantly seek out new players as older ones moved on. With many participants having adjusted and no new arrivals to replace them, many clubs became financially unviable (Murray, 2011, pp.257-258). This forced several clubs to withdraw from the NSL (Thompson, 2006, p.263).

#### **5.4.4 Moving into the mainstream (1989-2004)**

The NSL switched from winter to summer in 1989, moving away from direct competition with Australian Rules football, rugby league and union; however, the move had little impact on crowd sizes (Skinner et al., 2008, p.397). Nor did any further attempts to de-ethnicise Australian soccer alter the perception that it was an immigrant's sport, noted by Marconi club president and ASF board member Tony Labbozzetta (as quoted in Solly, 2004, p.51) as driving away sponsors:

“There was a perception it was a ‘wog’ game... Admittedly, most of the people who were involved at the forefront had ‘wog’ names.”

Such measures included NSL general manager Stefan Kamasz ordering clubs to play the Australian national anthem before all games after he had attended a match in Sydney where the Yugoslavian anthem was played (Solly, 2004, p.39).

In 1996, Soccer Australia chairperson David Hill attempted to draw on the popularity of Australian Rules football in Melbourne by convincing 2 of the AFL’s biggest clubs, Collingwood and Carlton, to field teams in the NSL (Solly, 2004, p.101).

Collingwood took control of Heidelberg, a club removed from the NSL after failing to meet the basic entry criteria. Heidelberg’s supporters brought Macedonian flags to the games and chanted in Greek, alienating the club from Collingwood’s AFL fans; the club folded after one season (Solly, 2004, p.101-102). Carlton, despite strong on-field performances, attracted a meagre following and the club folded during its fourth season (Hay, 2006b, p.127). Collingwood and Carlton were part of Hill’s plan to introduce new ‘glamour’ (and non-ethnic) clubs to the NSL, including Northern Spirit (Sydney) and Perth Glory (Solly, 2004, pp.101, 103). Establishing these clubs coincided with the election of Howard’s conservative coalition in 1996. Howard believed that a truly Australian culture was impossible under multiculturalism, and as Hallinan and Hughson (2009, p.2) state, the existence of CALD immigrant clubs did not conform to his vision for Australia (Jupp, 1998, p.147).

Despite some initial successes, aside from Perth Glory the new clubs failed to sustain large supporter bases (Hay, 2006b, pp.126-127). Brisbane Strikers, another ‘mainstream’ club established prior to Hill’s reforms, won the 1997 NSL Grand Final

in front of over 40,000 fans; however, their first home game the following season drew just 4,000 (Watt, 2005). The new clubs signed well-known players to attract fans, causing payments to increase so much that even large crowds would not cover wage bills. Most clubs averaged crowds of approximately only 3,500; Northern Spirit lost money despite averaging 15,000 (Solly, 2004, p.103). Soccer was precariously placed in Australia at the end of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, a sport still seen as being dominated by CALD groups.

During Howard's first term as Prime Minister, CALD soccer clubs were again pressured by Soccer Australia to de-ethnicise. This included banning ethnic names, insignia, colours and banners, under the threat of expulsion; clubs again resisted (Hallinan and Hughson, 2009, p.2; Solly, 2004, p.108). Hill resigned in 1998, later remarking that:

“What we should have done is wiped the slate clean and started again... ..I tried to change the [NSL], and inject the Perth Glorys [sic]. But it didn't work because the core of it was too rotten as a product. It was too ethnocentric” (as quoted in Solly, 2004, p.112).

The NSL folded at the conclusion of the 2003/4 season, with only 2 teams attracting viable crowds: Perth Glory and Adelaide United, a new club based on the Perth Glory model (Thompson, 2006, pp.270-273; Murray, 2006, p.127).

In 2002, Soccer Australia chairperson Ian Knop, with the backing of the Australian Sports Commission, lobbied Howard to officially endorse widespread changes to soccer in Australia (Solly, 2004, p.217). Sports minister Rob Kemp initiated an inquiry into the sport, which he, according to Solly (2004, p.218): “...wanted to be forward-looking, rather than trying to get to the bottom of the problems in the past.”

David Crawford, the former national chairman of an accounting firm and director of several of Australia's largest companies, was selected to head the inquiry committee (Solly, 2004, p.219). The following year extensive reforms to soccer began, led by Frank Lowy, based on the findings of the 'Crawford Committee' and financed by \$15 million of Howard government funding (Solly, 2004, pp.3-9; Murray, 2011, pp.274-277). A key Lowy reform was the establishment of a new soccer competition featuring clubs representing cities rather than ethnicities (Thompson, 2006, p.150). It could be argued that the A-League was an attempt to remove the ethnic CALD immigrant image of soccer by creating a competition for homogenous teams, given Howard's monocultural policies and his involvement with, including the funding of, soccer's reforms (Hallinan and Hughson, 2009, p.2).

#### **5.4.5 Moving into Asia (2005-present)**

Another Lowy reform moved Australia from the Oceania Football Confederation to the Asian Football Confederation (AFC). The shift allowed A-League teams to compete in the AFC Champions League, an annual continental tournament featuring the best clubs from Asia and viewed by millions (Fink, 2007, p.206). The chairperson of an A-League club believed the move would bring more money into the sport via Australian businesses eager to promote their products in Asia:

“As we go to Asia and play the Asian Champions League games, any Australian company with Asian affiliations is getting an added benefit of exposure in massive marketplaces” (Geoff Lord, as quoted in Lynch, *The Age* [Melbourne], 19<sup>th</sup> August 2007, p.1).

The move into Asia also represents an opportunity to engage with Australia's Asian immigrant communities. Asian immigration has continued throughout the remainder of the 20<sup>th</sup> century and into the 21<sup>st</sup>, as discussed in Chapter 4. The move may see a

rise in interest and participation among Australia's Asian immigrant communities.

The representative of a governing body of soccer raised this issue in their interview:

#### 5.4.6 CALD immigrant legacy (2005-Present)

Soccer's immigrant links remain despite an attempted shift into the mainstream under Lowy's reforms. A-League club Brisbane Roar was established by Queensland Lions, a Dutch immigrant club formed as Hollandia-Inala in 1957; the Roar wear orange uniforms to match the Dutch national team (Queensland Lions FC, 2013). A-League club rosters feature many first and later generation CALD immigrants; as Table 5.7 shows, Adelaide United's 2013/14 squad features 9 players born overseas and 10 Australia-born but eligible to represent other nations based on their heritage.

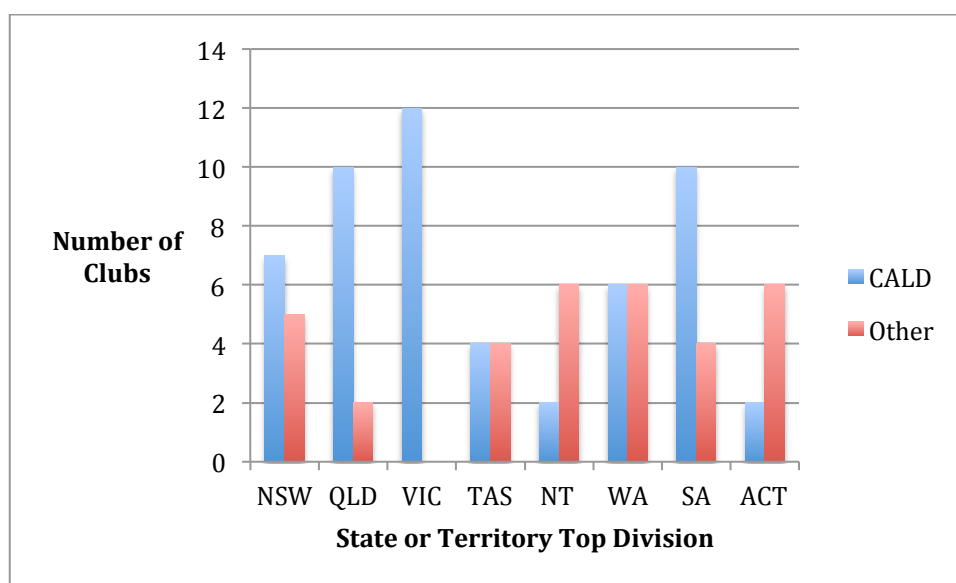
**Table 5.7: Roster of Adelaide United in 2013-14 with International Eligibility**

<b>Player</b>	<b>Birthplace</b>	<b>International Eligibility</b>
Eugene Galekovic	Australia	Australia, Croatia
Osama Malik	Australia	Australia, Sudan
Nigel Boogaard	Australia	Australia, Netherlands
Jonathan McKain	Australia	Australia
Jordan Elsey	Australia	Australia
Cassio de Abreu	Brazil	Australia, Brazil
Tarek Elrich	Australia	Australia, Lebanon
Marcelo Carrusca	Argentina	Argentina
Michael Zullo	Australia	Australia, Italy
Isaias Sanchez	Spain	Spain
Bruce Djite	US	Australia, US, Ivory Coast, Togo
Antony Golec	Australia	Australia, Croatia
Teeboy Kamara	Liberia	Australia, Liberia
Cameron Watson	Australia	Australia, Scotland
Jacob Melling	Australia	Australia
Daniel Bowles	Australia	Australia
Steven Lustica	Australia	Australia, Croatia
Sergio Cirio	Spain	Spain
Jake Barker-Daish	Australia	Australia, Barbados
Paul Izzo	Australia	Australia, Italy
Jeronimo Neumann	Argentina	Argentina
Fabio Ferreira	Portugal	Portugal
Awer Mabil	Kenya	Kenya, Sudan, Australia

Source: FFA, 2013; Transfermarkt, 2013

Further highlighting soccer's CALD immigrant legacy, the Socceroos teams competing at the FIFA World Cup finals in 2006 and 2010 featured 12 and 11 players of CALD European immigrant heritage respectively. Additionally, Tim Cahill (2006 and 2010 World Cup) and Archie Thompson (2006 World Cup) are of CALD Oceanian descent (FIFA, 2007, p.161; 2011b, p.222; *The Guardian*, *The Guardian* [London], 2<sup>nd</sup> October 2009; Thompson and Winkler, 2010, pp.4-5). While there are no CALD immigrant teams playing in the A-League, the State and Territory semi-professional soccer leagues still feature clubs established by CALD European communities, as displayed in Figure 5.3.

**Figure 5.3: Number of CALD Immigrant-formed Soccer Clubs Playing in the Top Division of Australian State and Territory Soccer Leagues, 2013 Season**



Source: FFSA, 2013a; FFV, 2013; FNSW, 2013; Football West, 2013a; Football Queensland, 2013; FFT, 2013; Capital Football, 2013; FFNT, 2013

The Australian media continues to frame soccer as an ethnic and un-Australian sport. For example, right-wing commentator Andrew Bolt (*Herald Sun* [Melbourne], 28<sup>th</sup> June 2006) criticised Australians of Italian, Croatian and Greek descent for supporting

those nations in their matches against Australia, as part of an attack on multiculturalism, linking sporting loyalties to rioting and protests:

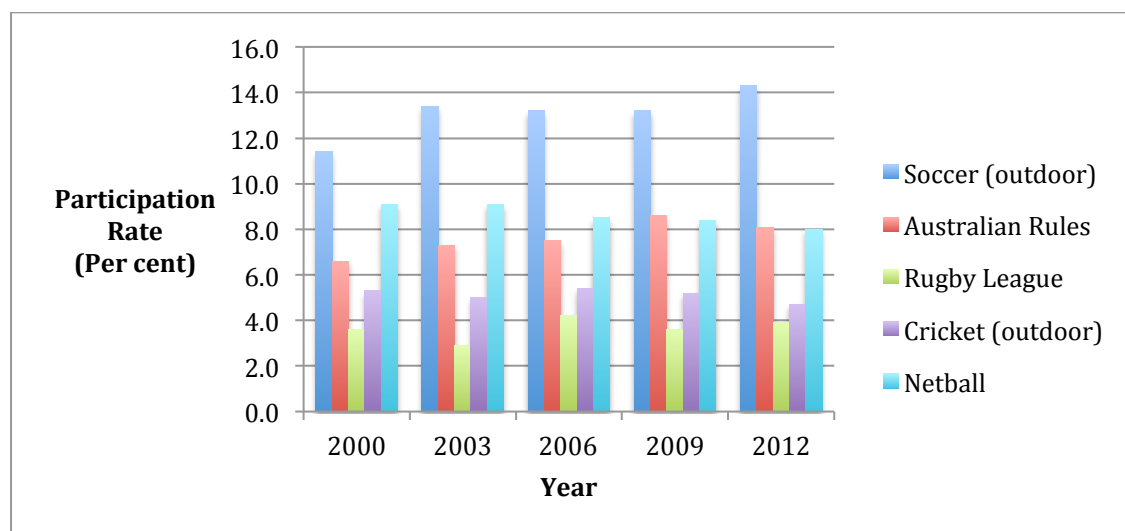
“You may even be right to dismiss this barracking for Croatia and Italy as harmless. As just sport, stupid. But is it also a warning? Consider: A month after the September 11 terror attacks, thousands of French Muslims booed their national anthem at a soccer match between France and Algeria. Last year thousands of the country’s five million Muslims rioted for a week, burning thousands of cars. Consider: when Mexico played the United States in Los Angeles in 1998, many of 90,000 fans flew Mexican flags, threw rubbish at the US players and jeered the national anthem. This year almost a million Latinos marched against proposed laws to stop illegal immigration from Mexico, with many waving signs such as ‘This is stolen land.’”

Incidents involving CALD European teams continue to attract attention from the mainstream media. For example, a spate of news reports ensued following violence at a match between an A-League team and a CALD immigrant club, under headlines such as: “Violence Rocks Soccer Match...” (Smithies, *The Daily Telegraph* [Sydney], 23<sup>rd</sup> August 2012) and “More Violence at Sydney Soccer Match” (Taylor-Kabbaz, 2012). Rebecca Wilson (*The Daily Telegraph* [Sydney], 25<sup>th</sup> August 2012, p.1), a journalist known for her attacks on soccer (e.g. Wilson, *The Daily Telegraph* [Sydney], 15<sup>th</sup> November 2008), under the headline “Ending the ethnic turf wars played out on Australia's soccer pitches is David Gallop's first task,” argued that:

“Soccer here is on the brink of ruin because the power bases of the sport around Australia remain with those who think soccer is a good a place as any to continue wars.”

Despite media and mainstream criticism, (outdoor) soccer currently enjoys high participation rates among children aged 5-14 compared to other popular sports. Figure 5.4 shows that in 2012, 14.3 per cent of children aged 5-14 participated in (outdoor) soccer, the highest level recorded for the sport; almost twice that of Australian Rules football and more than three times for (outdoor) cricket.

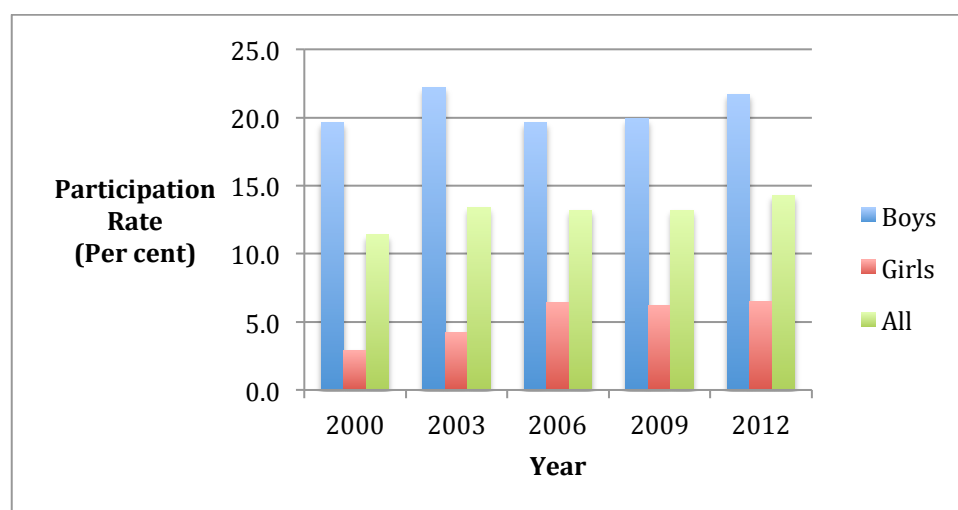
**Figure 5.4: Selected Participation Rates in Sport by Type, Children 5 to 14, 2000 to 2012**



Source: ABS, 2000; 2003; 2006; 2009; 2012e

However, as Figure 5.5 shows, (outdoor) soccer participation rates are much higher for boys than girls, though female participation was at 6.5 per cent in 2012, a significant increase from 2000 (2.9 per cent), and continually increasing since 2000, except in 2009.

**Figure 5.5: Participation Rates for (Outdoor) Soccer, Children 5 to 14, 2000 to 2012**



Source: ABS, 2000; 2003; 2006; 2009; 2012e



#### 5.4.7 CALD immigrant club chronology

It is clear that CALD immigrants have had a significant impact on soccer in Australia, much as the sport itself has been crucial for their adjustment. This is perhaps best detailed by examining the chronology of a single club's formation and development. An analysis follows of the first 50 years of the Beograd Sports and Social Club, a soccer club formed by Yugoslavian immigrants in 1949. The details are taken from Nikolich (1999, pp.vi, 1-5, 20-21, 51, 54, 62, 69, 109, 125, 169, 180, 189, 205, 234).

15<sup>th</sup> September 1949 to 16<sup>th</sup> October 1949 – Some 980 Displaced Persons arrive in Melbourne, Victoria from Naples, Italy; travel via train to Migrant Transit Camp in Bonegilla, Victoria. A small group of the DPs from Yugoslavia (mostly Serbians) volunteer to work for Engineering and Water Supply Department in Adelaide, South Australia. While exploring the city, 2 DPs discover CALD immigrants congregating, including Serbians. They discuss forming a soccer club with the Serbians.

October and November 1949 – Further discussions are held at the residence of a member of the Serbian community regarding forming a team for 'getting together and socialising.' A rapid increase in potential players interested in joining the club expedites the application to join the state soccer competition in April 1950. This clearly shows that soccer was seen as an important aspect of CALD immigrant life, as less than two months after arriving in Australia, some settlers were helping to form a soccer club – both for keeping fit and as an opportunity to mix with other immigrants.

19<sup>th</sup> November 1949 – The 'Soccer and Sporting Club' is formed and a club committee is appointed. Approximately 20 people attend the meeting, mostly single immigrant men from Yugoslavia, though one female is heavily involved in the social side of the club. The name Beograd is chosen as a reminder of the old country.

24<sup>th</sup> December 1949 – In its first game, a friendly against a club formed by CALD immigrants in the Woodside Immigrant Camp, Beograd fields a full team of Yugoslavian players. Beograd wear uniforms provided by Olympic, a club formed by Greek settlers, while Italian immigrant club Juventus had guided the preparation of their application to join the league – clear examples of different CALD groups mixing through soccer and generating social capital. Some 300 attended as spectators.

31<sup>st</sup> December 1949 – Approximately 500 attend Beograd's second game, a friendly against Port Adelaide. Included in the crowd are Yugoslavians and others, including Polish settlers who approached Beograd for help in forming their own club.

January 1950 – Beograd joins South Australia’s second division. Club dances and picnics are organised by a female member, assisting the club financially as well as enabling many young, single males to mix with female immigrants.

1950 – Beograd begins playing in the state soccer competitions. Female club members collect gate takings while the mostly male crowd watches the game. The growth of the Yugoslavian community increases both the number of players available to the club and its supporter base. Other CALD groups without a club supported Beograd. The 2-year contracts many participants had with the Australian government ended; these immigrants began to apply for permanent residence, and as a result spent less time at the club. While most were replaced by new DPs, this indicates that the club was seen as a means for immigrants to help ease their settlement into life in Australia. Women also played a vital, ‘behind the scenes’ role at the club, securing important funds for the club through picnics and dances held regularly throughout winter.

1952 – Many more players and members whose government contracts expire move on from the club as they attempt to gain permanent residency and citizenship. Beograd fielded mostly Yugoslavian players, as well as some Anglo-Australians and other CALD immigrants who had joined Beograd from other clubs – an example of how a soccer club allows different groups to mix. Two senior club officials buy a cottage near the club’s training ground and use it as lodging for recently arrived players, further highlighting the important role Beograd played in the lives of CALD immigrants.

1954 – Beograd is relegated back to the second division after losing players to other clubs, interstate migration and permanent residency. The club restructures in order to avoid folding; the organising committee, run by female immigrants, becomes more involved in the club.

1955 – Beograd relocates to the suburb of Woodville West after an invitation by the local council. This allowed the club to move closer to its members, who had predominantly settled in the Western suburbs.

1958 – Beograd again struggles after losing players to other clubs and permanent residency. Nonetheless, the club continues to field teams of almost entirely Yugoslavian immigrants; many are recent arrivals.

1960 – Beograd joins the soccer revolution and breakaway competition led by CALD immigrant-formed clubs.

1969 – Beograd’s senior teams begin to feature second generation Yugoslavians; the club also fields more non-Yugoslavian players as the number of new arrivals from Europe declines. The majority of the club’s supporters and leadership remains Serbian.

1975 – As significant immigration from Europe had ceased, the first generation moved on and many members of the second generation having other priorities, the club fields teams featuring many non-Yugoslavians.

1979 – Despite low finances and players moving to other teams, Beograd changes the club colours from Yugoslavian to Serbian, losing some non-Serbian members as a result. This could be seen as an attempt by the club to reassert its connection to the Serbian community and its position as a social space where Serbian immigrants could reaffirm their ethnicity.

1988 – Beograd reasserts its connection to the Serbian community by introducing the traditional ‘Slava’ celebration, held every year henceforth. The club also adopts St. Ilija as its patron saint.

1992 – In order to comply with a directive from the state governing body of soccer, Beograd changes the name of its soccer teams to White City Woodville; the club itself remains Beograd. The first team features 7 Serbians, 4 Italians, 4 Anglo-Australians, a Greek and a Dutch player.

Mid to late 1990s – Females take on more prominent positions in the club, such as treasurer and office administrator, however there is no women’s team. The lack of second-generation involvement with the club is clear in the youth teams, which feature players of varied backgrounds. The club remains run by the Serbian community. In 1999 for its 50<sup>th</sup> anniversary, Beograd hosts a tournament for all Serbian soccer clubs in Australia.

It is clear that Beograd played an important role in the lives of CALD immigrants, acting as a social space where they could mix at both games and club functions and practice cultural maintenance. While many immigrants moved on from Beograd after a couple of years, others encouraged their children to participate, ensuring that the club would survive the eventual decline of immigration from Europe. The changing role of women in ethnic communities is also highlighted by the employment of female immigrants as key members of the club’s staff.

Table 5.8 shows that postwar immigration from mainland Europe has had a significant impact on soccer in Australia, and soccer has potentially played a key role in the adjustment of many CALD European settlers. Changes in the type and origin of immigrants to Australia has resulted in several clubs patronised by persons of a single or similar ethnicity declining in strength or folding, while new semi-professional clubs representing Asian, African or Middle Eastern communities have

not emerged. Nonetheless, the presence of African players in the A-League suggests involvement by these groups in the sport.

**Table 5.8: Summary Model – Postwar Australian Immigration and Soccer**

<b>PERIOD</b>	<b>IMMIGRATION TRENDS</b>	<b>SOCCER CLUB TRENDS</b>
1947 – early 1970s	Low and middle skill levels; intakes dominated by arrivals from UK, Europe and Middle East; recruitment of a workforce for postwar industrialization; Displaced Persons program and assisted package schemes.	Emergence of numerous clubs formed by CALD immigrants ('ethnic' clubs); clubs used by CALD settlers to congregate with others of the same or similar backgrounds; allow for interaction between different groups, both CALD and Anglo-Australian.
Early 1970s – mid 1990s	Introduction of separate migration streams: family, skill, refugee, other; first significant non-European migration since 19 <sup>th</sup> century; waves of Asian immigration from different regions; rise in African immigration; decreasing immigration from Europe (especially mainland).	First generation Europeans move on from clubs having adjusted; lack of support from second generation sees some clubs fold; no significant emergence of non-European CALD soccer clubs; national league formed featuring several strong CALD clubs; attempts to de-ethnicise soccer.
Mid 1990s – present	Further shift towards immigration from Africa and Middle East; Asia still prominent source; shift from permanent settlement to temporary; introduction of long-stay 457 visas; significant increase of students.	Major reforms including new national league featuring no 'ethnic' teams; CALD immigrant teams still participate in state competitions; no emergence of new immigrant teams at semi professional level.

Source: Castles and Miller, 2003; Richards, 2008; Nikolich, 1999; L. Murray, 2006, pp.50-51; Price, 1975; Viviani, 1984; Unikoski, 1978, p.311; Warren et al., 2003, p.217; McCoy, 1997; ABS, 2012a; Kinnaird, 2006, p.50

## 5.5 Conclusion

Soccer in Australia has been linked to immigration since its earliest history, beginning in 1880 with British and Irish settlers who imported the sport from their homeland.

This continued with post Second World War arrivals from mainland Europe forming soccer clubs soon after settlement. Despite sport playing a key role in Australia's cultural development, soccer was seen as a foreign, un-Australian game. CALD Europeans used soccer clubs as a social space where they could express and maintain their ethnicity, congregating with others of a similar background and discussing the

homelands in their native languages. This participation enabled them to ease their homesickness and, as will be argued in this thesis, played a crucial role in the settlement experiences of many CALD European immigrants.

The influence of CALD European immigrants on soccer in Australia is clear, with the quick rise of settler-formed clubs in Australian state leagues leading to a nation-wide revolution. Despite attempts by soccer's administrators to 'de-ethnicise' the sport and the failure of the NSL, the legacy of postwar CALD European participation in soccer is still visible, with Socceroos and A-League teams regularly fielding players of CALD European immigrant descent. As Australian soccer moves into Asia at the start of the 21<sup>st</sup> century, the potential for the sport to engage new arrivals from Asia and other regions has emerged.

## **CHAPTER 6**

### **RESEARCH METHODOLOGY**

#### **6.1 Introduction**

This chapter outlines the methodology used in this study. Firstly, the approach taken to gain an understanding of the role sport can play in immigrant settlement experiences will be discussed. This will be followed by an overview of the research design, the methods employed and a justification for the adoption of a multiple methods approach. The limitations of the study, including the problems faced by most migration studies, such as a lack of a comprehensive sampling frame, will be detailed. The key stakeholders and experts interviewed will be introduced with an explanation for their selection. Comments will also be made on difficulties faced during fieldwork.

#### **6.2 Methodological Approach**

##### **6.2.1 Quantitative and qualitative research**

Within the scope of the social sciences, there exist two distinctive modes of research: structured ‘quantitative’ research and unstructured ‘qualitative’ research. These are often combined in a ‘mixed methods’ approach, especially in migration studies.

Explicitly analytical in nature, quantitative research is underpinned by a philosophy of rationalism, objectivity, and is utilised with the intent of the researcher, according to Kumar (2011, pp.20, 394): “...[quantifying] the extent of variation in a phenomenon, situation, issue etc.,” in order to make generalisations within a larger population.

When conducting quantitative research, data are collected in numeric form, for example by distributing structured questionnaires where all respondents are asked the

same questions, and results are invariably analysed as pure statistics (Neuman, 2006, pp.41-44). It should be noted, however, that structured surveys often contain qualitative information, including open-ended questions requiring the respondent to provide a narrative of their answer or opinion (which are then coded) – one of many examples of the two modes overlapping in studies.

Qualitative research represents a less structured approach, grounded in the philosophy of empiricism, and is employed with the aim of providing more in-depth analyses through small samples (Kumar, 2011, pp.20, 394). As Faugier and Sargeant (1997, p.791) state: "...qualitative sampling designs are nongeneralizable, but provide maximum theoretical understanding of a social process." When undertaking a qualitative approach to research, data is normally collected in the form of words or images instead of numbers, for example through in-depth, informal or semi-structured interviews (Neuman, 2006, pp.41, 46). However, in many cases qualitative research incorporates a form of numerical analysis (Richards and Morse, 2007, p.29). Most migration studies utilise both qualitative and quantitative methods to understand the processes involved in migration decision-making and movement (Castles, 2012, p.21).

### **6.2.2 Multi-strategy research**

Historically, scholars adopting a traditional positivist approach utilise quantitative methods, while those taking on more recent perspectives, for example humanism, use qualitative methods (Philip, 1998, p.262). However, the use of a combination of qualitative and quantitative methods by researchers has, despite criticisms, been increasing since the early 1980s (Bryman, 2004, p.454). Within the scope of multi-

strategy research (the mixed methods approach), the competing methods of quantitative and qualitative research are viewed as compatible and able to support each other.

Philip (1998, p.264), in her research on human geography, had used mixed methods to: "...[address] a broad research question from a number of angles," including a postal survey with coded (quantitative) and open-ended (qualitative) responses, face-to-face interviews, analysing government policy documents and reading newspapers. This is sometimes described as *triangulation*, where different approaches are used within the one study to clarify, verify or add conceptually or theoretically to the findings of the other (Richards and Morse, 2007, p.91). It is assumed that a triangulation approach to research will enhance the confidence in a project's findings by enabling the researcher to corroborate by comparing the sets of data (Bryman, 2004, p.454). If all data sets suggest a similar conclusion, the significance of this conclusion is strengthened; however, the possibility of a failure to corroborate also exists, presenting the conundrum of how to proceed. A researcher may elect to define one set of results as definitive over the other, though this is clearly not an ideal resolution; the researcher may re-examine their data to find discrepancies and reasons why the different sets do not corroborate (Bryman, 2004, pp.454-456).

Scholars tend to favour a mixed methods triangulation approach when analysing the relationship between sport and immigrants. Price and Whitworth (2004, pp.169-170), for their study of Latino immigrant-run soccer leagues in metropolitan Washington, analysed English and Spanish language newspapers, attended matches, distributed a survey among players including closed and open-ended questions, and conducted



face-to-face interviews with Bolivian village leaders and returned migrants. Similarly, Watson (2000, pp.114-115), in assessing the community programs of professional soccer clubs in England, conducted both short, structured questionnaires and detailed semi-structured interviews, as well as utilising participant observation and undertaking informal discussions with community officers. The implementation of a mixed methods approach is appropriate for such studies, as quantitative components generate data on the scale and spread of the social influence of sports participation on immigrant communities, while qualitative components help provide an understanding of the impacts on individuals and small networks within the communities (Castles, 2012, p.21).

The aims of the present research and the success of these two studies persuaded the author to adopt a multi-strategy approach to gain a comprehensive understanding of the role sport plays in the adjustment of immigrants to destination societies. This incorporated using questionnaires, with closed and open-ended responses, and semi-structured interviews with key informants and stakeholders, as well as the substantial analysis of secondary materials.

### **6.2.3 Probability and non-probability sampling**

Two main types of sampling designs are used in the social sciences: probability, which aims to ensure that all elements within a population have an even chance of being selected within the sample (Kumar, 2010, p.393), and non-probability, which is implemented in instances where some (or all) elements within a population are unknown or are unidentifiable, and the sample size is undetermined; it is therefore commonly utilised in qualitative research (Neuman, 2006, p.220). Probability

sampling demands an accurate and complete sampling frame – rarely available in migration research. This is because in almost all cases there are no lists of the names and addresses of all migrants, or particular groups of migrants. This is a particular issue for studies of dispersed, self-settled immigrants, preventing researchers from adopting the ‘textbook ideal type’ of sampling; this is also the case for this study (Bloch, 2007, p.213).

Non-probability sampling is more subjective, implying that certain elements within the population have a greater chance of being selected in the sample than others (Bryman, 2004, p.541). In probability sampling individuals are more commonly selected at random from a list of numbers and targeted with phone calls or letters (Feild et al., 2006, pp.567-568); this technique is known as ‘random sampling,’ where all individuals in a population have an equal chance of being selected. In non-probability sampling, respondents are ‘selected’ through advertising and referrals, or ‘non-random’ techniques; the study also becomes more open to bias on the part of the researcher (Bryman, 2004, p.568; Neuman, 2006, p.220).

#### **6.2.4 Purposive sampling**

One type of non-probability sampling is *purposive*, or *judgemental*, where the researcher selects respondents who have expert knowledge or valuable personal experience regarding the research topic, based on their own judgement (Kumar, 2010, p.207). As Brewer and Hunter (2006, p.93) state: “...purposive sampling relies on the researcher’s prior theoretical and empirical understanding of the universe with respect to the issue under study...”

Purposive sampling is the most commonly recommended sampling technique for researchers conducting qualitative research structured around interviewing (Bryman, 2006, p.333). Purposive sampling is utilised when investigating an element of a population that is difficult to identify or acquire, such as illicit drug users (Topp et al., 2004, p.34). The technique is also ideal for projects where the researcher wishes to identify and conduct in-depth analysis of specific cases, or whenever no complete sampling frame exists (Neuman, 2006, p.222). Therefore, purposive sampling is useful for studies of dispersed and self-settled immigrants, given the unavailability of a comprehensive, accurate sampling frame.

As no master list of soccer participants exists from which to randomly sample, the author has determined that candidates for the face-to-face semi-structured interviews will be selected through purposive sampling, to gain an in-depth understanding of the relationship between soccer clubs and immigrant adjustment.

### **6.2.5 Snowball Sampling**

*Snowball* (also known as *network*, *chain referral* or *reputational*) is another effective form of non-probability sampling when a complete list of cases is unavailable (Neuman, 2006, p.223). A researcher begins with a single or small number of respondents, then is referred to other cases known to a respondent, interviews them and then asks for further referrals; this continues until the saturation point is reached, or the researcher is satisfied with the sample size or information obtained (Kumar, 2010, p.208).

Snowball sampling was conceptualised to overcome the issue of sampling in situations where it is difficult to locate elements within a population (Faugier and Sargeant, 1997, p.792). For some research projects, the snowball technique may be the only viable method of generating a sample, such as for shifting populations; it is often used in migration studies, where referrals are usually strong (Browne, 2005, p.51; Bryman, 2004, p.102). Snowball sampling was used for the structured survey component of this project. The approach adopted was modified; initially, key groups of respondents were identified and then snowballing was done within these groups. This was due to the lack of a 'master list' of immigrants who participated in Australian soccer clubs.

#### **6.2.6 Secondary data**

Analysis of secondary data forms an important part of the study. Secondary sources consulted include ABS census data on birthplace, residential location, ancestry, qualifications, and language used at home, as well as data on permanent and temporary immigration numbers and the participation of immigrants in sport. However, the breakdown of sports participation data is limited to 'main English-speaking countries' and 'main non-English speaking countries.'

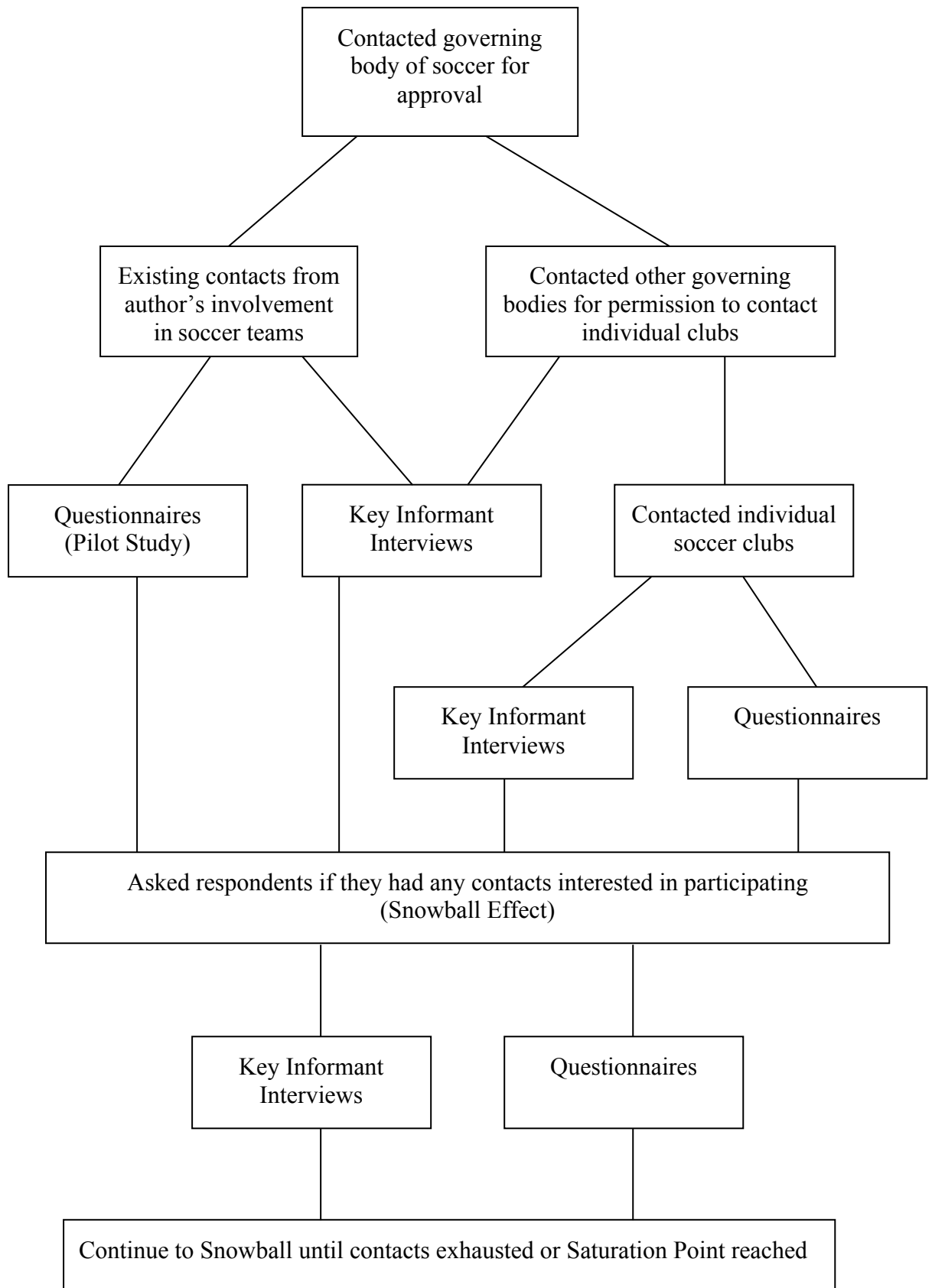
Newspaper and magazine articles, biographical and historical works on Australian soccer, and websites of soccer organisations and clubs were used and also assisted the identification of potential key informants for the study. Secondary sources were used in previous chapters to analyse immigration to Australia since the Second World War, the position of sport in Australian society, and the link between soccer and immigrants.

### 6.3 Study Design

To meet the aims and objectives of the study, the following design was operationalised:

- A structured survey questionnaire containing 69 coded and open-ended questions divided into four sections: “Background,” “Identity,” “Involvement with Soccer Clubs,” and “Australia and Soccer.” As displayed in Figure 6.1, the surveys were distributed to first and later generation immigrants to Australia, through soccer clubs willing to participate in the project and the snowball method, beginning with contacts known to the author. It was expected that approximately 500 questionnaires would be distributed in the hope that between 120 and 200 would be completed. A pilot study of 10 respondents was conducted in order to determine if any amendments were required. A breakdown of the questionnaire is presented in the next section, while a copy of the final version is included in Appendix 10.1.
- Semi-structured interviews were to be undertaken with selected key informants and stakeholders to expand the scope of the data generated by the structured surveys. Some key informants were identified prior to the commencement of the fieldwork while others emerged through the snowball technique; some of these were follow-up interviews done after completing a survey, as their answers suggested a deeper understanding or experience of the role sport plays in adjustment. Candidates for a semi-structured interview were contacted initially via letter, e-mail or phone. Some 17 key informants were interviewed. Information on participating key informants, and justification of their selection, is presented in Section 6.5

**Figure 6.1: Flow of Research in the Study**



## **6.4 Survey of Immigrants Questionnaire**

### **6.4.1 Survey overview**

The survey component was constructed based in part on earlier research on identity and immigration in English-speaking nations; particularly the surveys by Waters (1990, pp.171-176) and Crispino (1980, pp.167-177), which served to provide a basic foundation for the section on identity; findings of other studies in this area also contributed to this section's development. Studies conducted in the United States on CALD immigrant participation in soccer (e.g. Price and Whitworth, 2004; Trouille, 2008; 2009) were influential as there is little precedent for such a study in Australia. The background demographics section was formed from secondary data sources (e.g. ABS, 2007a; 2007b).

Sections of the survey on involvement with soccer were conceived from both prior research on immigrants and soccer in English-speaking nations, including Australia, as outlined in Chapters 2 and 3, as well as non-academic work on Australian soccer, predominantly Warren et al. (2003), Harper et al. (2005) and L. Murray (2006). The personal experiences of the author, a second-generation CALD immigrant previously involved with South Australian soccer clubs, were also of considerable use when designing the questionnaire.

### **6.4.2 Target population**

The target population was first and later generation immigrants to Australia – that is, immigrants, the children of immigrants and the grandchildren and great grandchildren of immigrants – of any background, aged 18 and over, who have been (or are) involved with soccer. This did not include professional A-League teams, which

feature the minority of elite players in Australia; clubs outside of the A-League are semi-professional, where paid participants do not rely on soccer as their main source of income, or wholly amateur. The sample was to have included both male and female immigrants typical of the European-dominated post-war intakes and the recent increases in arrivals from Asia, Africa and the Middle East.

#### **6.4.3 Survey location and sampling strategy**

The sample was taken almost exclusively from immigrants residing in Adelaide, South Australia. As stated in Chapter 4, South Australia has been significantly impacted by international migration since the Second World War, with Adelaide – like most Australian capital cities – having a major concentration of CALD immigrants (Hugo, 1995, p.4). At the time the fieldwork was conducted, 27 of the 30 semi-professional soccer clubs and 90 of the 101 amateur soccer clubs in South Australia were located in Adelaide<sup>39</sup>, with the majority of those involved with these clubs likely to be living in this area. It should be noted that CALD immigrant participation in soccer has also been influential in rural areas such as the Riverland (e.g. Trifonoff, *Riverland Weekly*, 30<sup>th</sup> August 2010).

Following clearance from the university's human research ethics committee, permission to conduct this study was sought first from the national governing body of soccer, then the State's two governing bodies of soccer. Permission was also sought from the governing bodies of soccer in Victoria and the Australian Capital Territory. Individual clubs were then contacted requesting their participation in the study. Unfortunately, only a small number of clubs agreed or allowed research to be

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<sup>39</sup> Figures based on soccer club locations as stated by FFSA and SAASL on their websites.



conducted with their personnel (with no assistance from the club). Common responses included that clubs were not interested, too busy, or, notably, uncomfortable with the study given the negative perceptions of CALD immigrant participation in soccer.

All other subjects were acquired through snowball sampling. Snowballing was conducted through contacts made at clubs and organisations as well as those already known to the author. Where possible interviews were conducted in person, however, in many cases the respondent preferred to complete the questionnaire themselves, for their convenience or due to a lack of trust in discussing personal information directly with the author. Table 6.1 shows that respondents acquired through snowballing were more likely to return their questionnaires completed than those contacted directly through soccer clubs. This is perhaps due to a higher degree of trust in the author and the ethics of the study.

**Table 6.1: Distribution of Structured Surveys and Response Rate**

<b>Source</b>	<b>Distributed</b>	<b>Completed</b>	<b>Response Rate (Per cent)</b>
Pilot Study	10	10	100
Snowballing	227	80	35.2
Soccer Club 1	30	0	0
Soccer Club 2	50	0	0
Soccer Club 3	30	17	56.7
Soccer Club 4	100	11	11
Soccer Club 5	50	5	10
Soccer Club 6	20	4	5
Soccer Club 7	20	0	0
Soccer Club 8	50	0	0
<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>587</b>	<b>127</b>	<b>23.6</b>

Potential respondents gained through approaching soccer clubs were in most cases not put in contact with the author directly by the club. Instead, the author was invited to

attend matches, club functions or training sessions and given permission to ask players, staff and members if they would be interested in participating. Due to time constraints and an unwillingness to agree to face-to-face interviews, most questionnaires were collected by the club and returned to the author at a later date. Just over 10 per cent of questionnaires distributed at soccer clubs were returned, perhaps reflecting the sensitivity of clubs regarding the issue of ethnicity and cultural maintenance in soccer.

Some respondents were asked to undertake a semi-structured interview to expand upon key points raised in their structured questionnaire. The author conducted all semi-structured key informant interviews in person, and many of the structured questionnaires when possible; the survey was not distributed online. Though online surveys can be coded instantly, the number of open-ended questions in the survey greatly reduced the benefit of uploading it, as large portions of data would have to be entered and coded manually. The collected data was entered into SPSS (Statistical Package for Social Sciences) for analysis.

#### **6.4.4 Questionnaire**

A copy of the structured questionnaire is included in Appendix 10.1. The survey was divided into four sections: 'Background,' 'Identity,' 'Involvement with Soccer Clubs,' and 'Australia and Soccer.'

**The first section**, containing nine questions, sought to ascertain basic demographic details about the respondents, including age, occupation, suburb of residence, country of origin, date of arrival in Australia (if applicable) and the birthplace of the

respondent's parents. These questions were asked to determine the scope of the sample and to establish the characteristics of respondents. The suburb of residence was asked to determine whether or not the participant lives in an area associated with having a migrant presence of a particular background. It was also a means of revealing the geographical spread of the sample. Occupation and highest level of education were asked to divide the sample into different socio-economic backgrounds and to determine whether certain conditions influence participation in soccer. The birthplace of the subject's parents was asked to differentiate second-generation immigrants from subsequent generations. A question on the ethnic background of the respondent's parents was posed in order to determine if a parent was of a different ethnic background to the family's primary identity.

**The second section**, containing 23 questions, investigated ethnic identity, attempting to determine the strength of a respondent's connection to their cultural heritage and how this connection is maintained. A person's attachment to their ethnic identity is influenced by, among other factors, the ethnic composition of their neighbourhood (Rogler et al., 1980, p.195). As noted in Chapter 4, Australia's CALD immigrant population is far more spatially integrated than America's, and therefore participation in an 'ethnic' soccer club may have a stronger influence on cultural maintenance (Johnston et al., 2007, p.733). Potentially, participation in a soccer club may influence cultural maintenance in first or later generation immigrants (Waters, 1990, p.17).

Ethnicity is extremely difficult to measure; ethnic identity is often a situational or malleable concept with no specific classifications (Fearon, 2003, p.197).

Nonetheless, in this instance ethnicity will be measured on a nationalistic level; that is, 'Italian' as a group, rather than sub-divisions within Italians, such as 'Calabrese' or 'Abruzzese.' Respondents were not instructed to consider ethnicity in this manner; that almost the entire sample did so suggests that this is the correct coding of ethnicity for the scope of this study. This is also the case for the Australian census, which, as noted in Chapter 1, uses the ASCCEG developed from the findings of the Borrie report (ABS, 2011b; Borrie, 1984). The ASCCEG determines ethnicity on the self-perceived group identification approach as this measures the extent people connect with a specific ethnicity; it also allows for the response 'Australian,' and thus the concept of an Australian ethnicity to be classified (ABS, 2011b).

Respondents were asked what they considered to be the primary ethnic identity of their family and how they and their parents felt about their identity. There are also questions regarding language used at home by the respondent and their parents, whether they regularly read non-English language newspapers, whether they maintain contact with relatives living overseas and the number of times they have been overseas to visit family. Respondents were asked whether they are or have been members of an ethnic organisation; the same was asked regarding their parents. Respondents were asked to name the organisations; the listing of soccer clubs was noted. Migrant associations in Australia have been viewed by some researchers as a means of preserving ethnic identity and traditions among younger members of CALD immigrant communities, and responses may provide some insight as to whether soccer clubs continue to perform this role (Sherington, 1990; Bottomley, 1975; Tsounis, 1975).

Other questions asked of respondents included the percentage of friends from the same ethnic background and how frequently they mix with others of their ethnicity. This was to determine if the respondent was more comfortable associating within their ethnicity. Respondents were then asked if their partner is of the same ethnicity while those single were asked whether it is important that a potential partner is of their ethnicity. Respondents were then asked if they believed their parents wanted their partner to be of their ethnicity. If they have children, respondents were asked if they identified with the respondent's ethnicity and whether it is important if they do. These questions all relate to cultural maintenance within the respondent's family and the importance of their family maintaining this connection. Interaction with others may reinforce cultural values (and stereotypes), and as soccer provides CALD groups with the opportunity to encounter different groups in the form of a contest, it may influence identity and cultural maintenance (Sanders, 2002, p.328; Bale, 2003, pp.17-18). The pilot testing indicated all of these questions would provide strong indications of respondents' ethnic identity and cultural maintenance, and therefore were retained.

The final two questions of the section assessed the connection respondents felt towards Australia. The first allowed for a statement to be selected that best describes their attitudes towards being Australian. The choices were: 1) I consider myself to be Australian; 2) I consider myself half-Australian; 3) My ethnic heritage comes before Australia; 4) I am only living in Australia. The respondent was then asked if it was their intention to emigrate in future to the nation most closely associated with their identity. These questions will be used to weigh a respondent's identity against their sense of being Australian. Most questions in this section were conceived based on the

survey used by Waters (1990, pp.171-776) to gauge American CALD immigrants' connection to their identity against their sense of being American, and also from the questionnaire having been pilot tested in an Australian context.

**The third section** of the questionnaire, containing 22 questions, is concerned with participation in a semi-professional or amateur Australian soccer club. Should the respondent not have directly participated in a club, and are answering the questionnaire as a result of their connection to soccer itself, they are asked to skip this entire section of the questionnaire. Respondents were asked what their roles at the club were, how long they were associated with the club, how regularly they attended its matches, and if their parents or other family members were also involved. The respondent was then posed questions regarding the make up of their club in terms of ethnicity – were the club's supporters of a similar or mixed backgrounds; were the club's players of a similar background or mixed backgrounds; did the respondent believe that the club had a reputation of being an exclusively ethnic club; and if so, did the respondent believe the reputation to be accurate.

Respondents were asked if they wanted their children to be involved with the club, in order to determine an intention to maintain a connection between their family and the club. They were then asked if there is an Australian soccer club they especially disliked – if so, they were asked to name the club and state if they had been involved in a confrontation with its participants. This was to help identify whether respondents felt that ethnic tensions between clubs still exist (B. Murray, 2006); or that interstate (or intercity) rivalry has become prevalent following the founding of the A-League.

Respondents were also asked if their partner was involved with their club, and if they were involved before they became their partner. Respondents were then asked if they felt more comfortable at their soccer club than elsewhere, and if so, why this was the case. The survey inquired if respondents had friends involved with their club, and if they were a first-generation immigrant to Australia, did they feel that being involved with the soccer club helped them to adjust; and if so, why. These questions were formulated based on the narrative accounts of immigrant involvement in soccer clubs of L. Murray (2006), Harper et al. (2005), and Warren et al. (2003), who discussed the importance of CALD immigrant-formed soccer clubs as a social space, similar to the findings of studies conducted in the United States, such as Price and Whitworth (2004).

**The final section** of the questionnaire, comprising 15 questions, investigated the connection of respondents to soccer clubs in Australia and overseas, as well as national teams. As suggested by some American studies (Price and Whitworth, 2004, p.167; Martinez, 2008; Brown, 2007; Apostolov, 2012), supporting overseas clubs and national teams could indicate a feeling of attachment towards their homeland. Hence, questions were asked to compare the level of support for overseas national teams and clubs to Australian clubs and the Australian national team. The section begins with two questions on supporting Australian clubs – did the respondent support a club not in the A-League, and if so, would they continue to support the club if it joined the A-League. These questions were conceived based on the notion of a divide among Australia soccer supporters and were aimed at investigating whether this schism of ‘old bitters’ and ‘Euro-snobs’ is grounded in ethnicity (Tuckerman, *The Roar*, 16<sup>th</sup> July 2009a; Tuckerman, *The Roar*, 13<sup>th</sup> October 2009b). The respondents

were asked if they supported a club overseas, and if so to name which one they felt most passionately about, including the country and league it plays in, as well as the length of time they have supported it.

Respondents were then asked if the national soccer team they follow most closely was Australia, with three options – yes; no, Australia is second to another team; or I don't care about the Australian national team. This was in order to discern if the respondent felt more passionate about another country's team than Australia, or if the Australian team meant nothing to them. Data collected here should provide an insight into feelings towards being Australian and how closely respondents identify with Australian culture, based on what teams they support.

The questions were included based on studies in the United States, such as Brown (2007), which discuss the relationship between supporting overseas teams and clubs over American teams and the relevance of this to identity. Respondents who answered with the second and third options were subsequently asked which national team they felt most passionately about. If they had a partner, they were also asked which team their partner supported, which was repeated for their children. For both partners and children, the respondent was asked if the team the family member follows is different from their own and whether they ever encouraged them to follow their team instead. This was asked in order to discern if respondents used soccer as a means of encouraging cultural maintenance within their family. The final question regarded the participation of the Australian men's national team at the 2006 FIFA World Cup finals – the most recent significant event in Australian soccer at the time of survey distribution. Respondents were asked how important the participation of



the Australian team in the tournament was to them, with four options for a response: of great importance, somewhat important, not very important, and of no importance at all. This was in order to indicate the level of connection the respondent felt towards the Australian team, and thus Australian soccer and culture.

#### **6.4.5 Pilot survey**

After receiving permission from the national governing body of soccer to proceed with the study, but before undertaking the main body of fieldwork, the author conducted a small group of structured interviews using 10 contacts from within his own network; this took place in February and March 2008. The rationale for conducting the pilot study is that little empirical work of this kind had been done in Australia. This helped to refine the questions asked in the questionnaire. Opinions of the respondents were sought regarding the content of the questionnaire, particularly if they felt that any questions could be interpreted as inappropriate. However, based on the feedback received, only minor revisions were required. A small number of questions had extra options added; for example, the question regarding which international team the respondent's children support – 'my child does not support a team' was made a selectable answer given the young age of some children.

#### **6.4.6 Fieldwork**

The bulk of the fieldwork was carried out from April 2008 to October 2011 in the metropolitan areas of South Australia, as well as in Victoria and Canberra. It was initially intended that fieldwork would be completed in 2008, however delays and low response rates resulted in the continuation of the fieldwork until 2011. Where possible interviews were conducted face-to-face in order to ensure the respondent

clearly understood the questions. However, if this was not possible – and in many cases it was not – the questionnaire was distributed to the subject and collected at a later date. The questionnaires generally required 15-30 minutes for the respondents to complete. Most had no difficulties answering the questions, as the majority of the interviewees were fluent in English. Where necessary, family members and teammates assisted with translations or explanations.

The majority of questions included in the structured interviews were closed to ensure results were easy to code and process. However, it was necessary to include open-ended questions to explore the connection a person may have regarding involvement with a club, and the impact soccer had on their adjustment. Unfortunately, a few respondents declined to elaborate on their experiences.

## **6.5 In-depth Interviews**

A total of 17 semi-structured interviews were completed with a range of respondents, selected for their experiences with immigrants and sport. The interviews were conducted between March 2008 and October 2011 in South Australia, Victoria and the ACT. The importance of making the interviewees as comfortable as possible was noted; as stated by Watson (2000, p.115):

“[When relying] on a limited number of qualitative interviews to reveal significant amounts of data it [is] important that the quality of interviews [is] maximized. In this context, establishing a good rapport with interviewees [is] a vital element of the interviewing process.”

Every effort was made to ensure this was the case, including consulting many of the sources used in the creation of the questionnaire, as well as the author’s own

experiences. Table 6.2 lists the key informants and their respective characteristics and associations.

**Table 6.2: A List of Key Informants and their Position(s) Held**

NUMBER	POSITION
1	First generation migrant of Southern European descent, played semi professional soccer in 1960s, former committee member
2	First generation migrant of Southern European descent, played semi professional soccer in 1950s and 1960s, former committee member
3	First generation migrant of North African and Middle Eastern descent, played and coached soccer at semi professional and amateur levels in 2000s
4	Current amateur level soccer club chairperson
5	First generation migrant of Scottish descent, played soccer at professional, semi professional and amateur levels from 1970s to 2000s
6	First generation migrant of Asian descent, played semi profession and amateur soccer in 2000s
7	First generation migrant of South American descent, played and coached amateur soccer in 2000s, committee member
8	Current semi professional level soccer club chairperson
9	Current semi professional level soccer club chairperson
10	Current amateur level soccer club official
11	Current amateur level soccer club secretary
12	Australian soccer historian
13	Current State or Territory amateur soccer association official
14	Current State or Territory governing body of soccer official
15	Current State or Territory governing body of soccer official
16	Current State or Territory governing body of Australian Rules football official
17	Cricket writer, first generation migrant of Asian descent

Key informants 1 to 6 were follow-up interviews from the survey, while the remaining respondents were specifically sought due to their experiences and knowledge on soccer and immigration, as well as cricket and Australian Rules football – ‘Australian’ sports. Contact details were available publicly for key informants 8 to 17; an e-mail or letter requesting their participation was sent to them, while others were sourced by following up contacts provided by respondents. A small number of candidates declined to participate or did not respond to attempts to contact them.

While key informant interviews were formulated based on the subject's background or area of expertise, most included similar questions. Prior to each interview a list of questions relevant to the subject's knowledge were compiled, drawing from a set of questions that were intended to be uniformly applicable to the interviews conducted; examples of these questions include:

- *In your opinion, what impact has the establishment of soccer clubs by migrants had on the growth of soccer in [relevant State or Territory] since the Second World War?*
- *In your opinion, why have migrants most closely associated with soccer in comparison to other sports and social activities?*
- *In your opinion, what role have soccer clubs played in the lives of migrants since the Second World War?*
- *Do you believe that soccer clubs still play a significant role in the lives of migrants today?*
- *Has your [club or organisation] ever attempted to engage local Asian / African migrant communities specifically?*
- *Do you believe that soccer clubs would be ideal places for new migrants, regardless of origin, to help them adjust to life in Australia?*
- *What role do women play in your [club or organisation]?*

Questions specific to each subject's unique situation were also included, especially for those interviewed for their knowledge of sports other than soccer. A technique known as 'reflexive interviewing' was used, where the interviewer reacts to responses in order to form questions during the interview to generate high quality of data; which is paramount when working with a small number of respondents (Hammersley and Atkinson, 2007). Key informant interviews were conducted at a time and location chosen by the respondents, normally in their place of work. Interviews were recorded, with the prior consent of the interviewee, on microcassette tape and later transcribed into Microsoft Word documents. Key points made by the subjects during the interviews were highlighted and used in tandem with the results of the structured survey to build upon and critique data generated by the questionnaires (triangulation).

## **6.6 Limitations and Biases of the Study**

As with most migration studies the present research was not able to access an accurate representative sampling frame of the immigrants being studied. Accordingly the respondents studied were not able to be selected in a random way and the results can in no way be considered as being statistically representative of immigrants associated with soccer clubs in Australia. Moreover it was restricted to the state of South Australia. Nevertheless the researcher is confident that informed comments can be made regarding the impact of involvement in sporting organisations, which have wider application to the Australian context.

The ways in which the survey population is not representative need to be noted. Respondents tended to be better educated than the overall population, while almost half were employed in higher status occupations. This is more indicative of recent immigrants to Australia (not including refugees) compared to the postwar European arrivals who were more commonly associated with participation in soccer clubs. Additionally, the project has a gender bias towards males; as discussed in Chapter 5, historically far more men have been involved with soccer clubs than women. Effort was made to interview as many female respondents as possible, and Key Informants were asked about the involvement of women to remedy the imbalance as best as possible.

As will be discussed in Chapter 7, the majority of questionnaire respondents were of European background; likely due to the long history of CALD European immigrant participation in South Australian soccer, as noted in Chapter 5. As a result, the findings are biased towards Australians of European descent, and may not accurately

reflect the settlement experiences of migrants of African, Asian or South American descent, though the sample and Key Informants did include immigrants of these backgrounds. Efforts were made at generating a wider response among non-European immigrants, however soccer clubs comprised entirely or mostly of African and Middle Eastern immigrants in Adelaide declined to participate, as did all but one Asian immigrant team. This team did not give permission for the author to directly interview its players and staff aside from one Key Informant interview.

### **6.7 Difficulties Experienced in Conducting Fieldwork**

Numerous problems were encountered while undertaking the fieldwork. From the outset identifying a target population would always restrict the maximum sample size, however other difficulties emerged over the course of the research.

After receiving clearance from the human ethics committee, consent was sought from a governing body of soccer to proceed with the project via letter. This letter was sent on the 26<sup>th</sup> of October 2007 (see Appendix 10.4) and a follow-up letter was sent on the 25<sup>th</sup> of January 2008 (see Appendix 10.5), informing them that if no response was received in two weeks consent would be assumed to be given and the research would proceed. On the 12<sup>th</sup> of February 2008 the governing body responded via e-mail, giving their approval and offering assistance in making introductions and checking records (see Appendix 10.6). Hence, the commencement of the fieldwork was delayed by approximately four months. After approval from the governing body had been obtained, and the completion of the pilot study, permission to contact semi-professional and amateur level clubs in South Australia, Victoria and the ACT was sought through other governing bodies of soccer. A succession of letters was posted

between February 2008 and July 2011, with a slow response in most cases; one governing body did not respond at all.

Problems emerged from attempts to contact soccer clubs, as some 60 semi-professional level clubs in three states and territories were contacted for interviews and assistance in gaining other respondents.<sup>40</sup> Only 3 clubs agreed to contribute to the project; of those 3 clubs, 2 required the input of the author's contacts within the clubs to convince them to take part. All other requests were ignored or declined. The small number of clubs involved with the project made it very difficult to expand the sample size outside of the snowball technique. Amateur level clubs were generally more forthcoming, however, and of the 30 clubs contacted, 7 agreed to participate, and 5 followed through on their offers of assistance. Nonetheless, the potential scope of the project was restricted by the unwillingness of organisations to participate. As noted, ethnicity in Australian soccer clubs and organisations remains a sensitive issue. That ethnicity is often viewed as a negative facet of CALD immigrant participation in soccer undoubtedly played a role in the unwillingness of soccer clubs and organisations to participate in the study.

Although a large number of questionnaires were distributed through the contacts made during the fieldwork, getting them completed and returned proved very difficult in many instances. In most cases the respondent stated that they did not have time to complete the questionnaire while the author was present. In these instances, arrangements were made for the collection of questionnaires, via post or returned in person. A large number were never returned, and attempts to contact the respondents

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<sup>40</sup> See Appendix 10.3 for an example of a letter sent to soccer clubs.

or clubs to enquire about the questionnaires were often ignored, or they asked to be given more time, in some cases repeatedly over the course of many months. Again, reluctance of individuals, organisations and clubs to participate in the study due to the negative perceptions of ethnicity in Australia soccer may have significantly impacted on the number of questionnaires returned.

## **6.8 Conclusion**

The outline of the study of the impact of participation in soccer clubs on immigrants to Australia was presented in this chapter. The approach taken to the research undertaken in this study was discussed, including the mixed methods design used, as well as the sampling and triangulation. As noted, the primary components of the fieldwork included a structured survey of 127 immigrant respondents, mostly residing in Adelaide, South Australia. Also a series of 17 key informant interviews were carried out in three states and territories. The difficulties in undertaking the fieldwork were also discussed, with the slow response of most organisations delaying the progress of the study and hampering efforts to procure as many respondents as possible.



## CHAPTER 7

### CHARACTERISTICS OF SOCCER PARTICIPANTS

#### 7.1 Introduction

This chapter analyses the demographic characteristics of the 127 respondents who participated in the structured survey. This is to compare the characteristics of the sample to those of Australia's immigrant population and discern if there are any significant trends among the sample – all immigrants who have participated in soccer – relating to adjustment and identity that differs from the overall immigrant population.

Soccer is a popular activity in South Australia, with approximately 17,200 participants in 2005-06, while also attracting approximately 69,900 spectators in 2009-10 (DIEA, 1979; ABS, 2007b; 2010b). Furthermore, FIFA (Kunz, 2007, p.11) estimates that 265 million people globally played or officiated soccer in 2006, suggesting the sport is exceptionally popular worldwide and would appeal to many immigrants, regardless of background. Immigration remains crucial to Australia's long-term economic growth, as does the social and economic integration of new arrivals into Australian society (Neerup, 2011). This thesis argues that soccer plays a key role in the adjustment of some immigrants to Australia; the survey results are analysed to discern how soccer assists adjustment and influences cultural maintenance, and whether there are key differences among different groups and later generation immigrants.

## 7.2 Demographic Characteristics

### 7.2.1 Age and sex

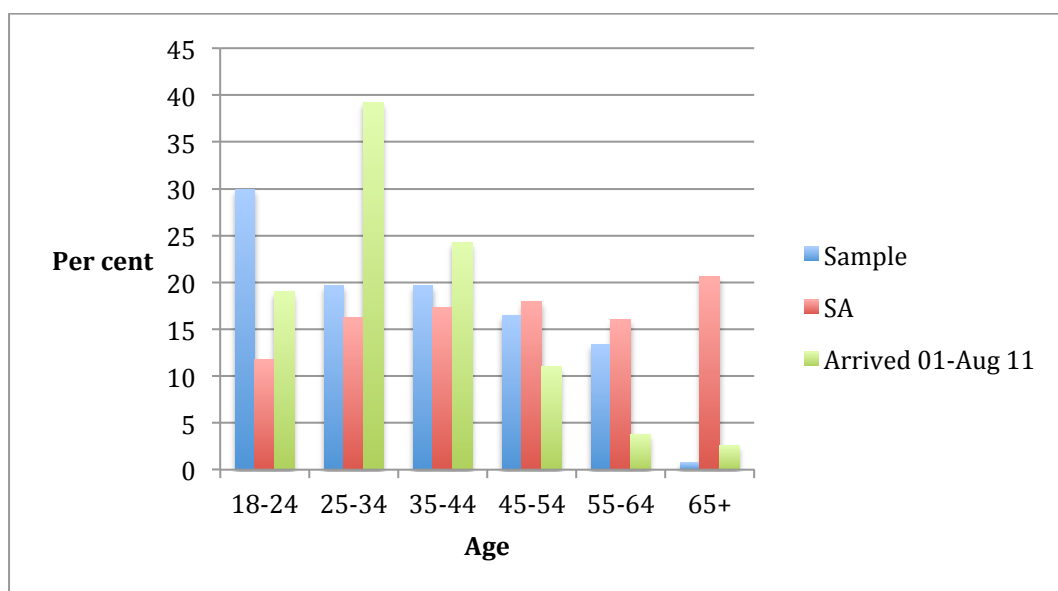
Some 90 per cent of the survey respondents were male, which is expected, as the FIFA data presented in Chapter 5 showed that approximately 90 per cent of soccer players and referees worldwide are male (Kunz, 2007). In Australia, approximately 80 per cent of the 401,000 (outdoor) soccer players are male – a strong bias compared to all sports in Australia, where 45 per cent of players are female (ABS, 2010a; 2010c). This is despite women playing soccer in Australia at least since 1925, and competitions being established in most states by 1974 (Watson, 1994, p.7).

There are almost twice the number of males (46,300) attending soccer matches in South Australia as females (23,600), and the number of male senior first-grade South Australian soccer teams (142) is more than double the number of female teams (62) (ABS, 2010b; FFSA, 2013a; 2013b; SAASL, 2013). According to Hay (2006a, p.178), soccer crowds throughout the 20<sup>th</sup> century were overwhelmingly male. Nikolich (1999) noted that the female members of his soccer club served ‘behind the scenes’ roles, such as organising social functions, running the canteen and collecting gate takings. The relationship between soccer and CALD immigrants in Australia, combined with the position of women in CALD immigrant families historically, may be responsible for the imbalance between male and female participants, however there has been no in-depth research on this issue – which will be explored further in Chapter 8, utilising key informant responses (Vasta, 1995).

Figure 7.1 shows that younger age groups were overrepresented in the sample compared to the population of South Australia, with 69 per cent of respondents under

45 years old, compared to 45.3 per cent of South Australians 18 and older. The age distribution of respondents is more representative of recent immigrants to South Australia, as would be expected; 82.5 per cent of arrivals from 2001 to August 2011 were under 45 at the time of the 2011 Census (ABS, 2012c). These figures reflect sports participation rates in Australia, which generally decrease with age, from 79 per cent for persons aged 15-17 to 48 per cent for those aged 65 or older (ABS, 2010a).

**Figure 7.1: Age Distribution of Respondents, South Australians (18+) and Arrivals to South Australia, 2001 to August 2011 (18+)**

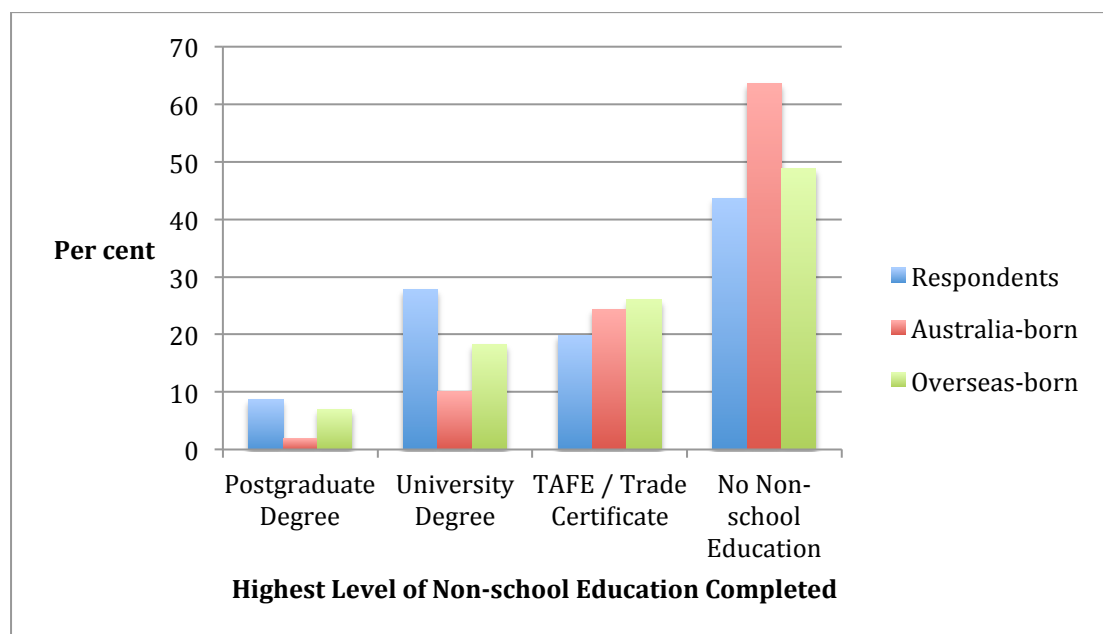


Source: Immigrant Survey, 2011; ABS, 2012c

### 7.2.2 Education

Figure 7.2 shows that 57 per cent of respondents had completed a non-school qualification; this is consistent with Australia's overseas-born population. The 2011 census indicated that 51 per cent of the overseas-born held a non-school qualification, compared to 36 per cent of Australia-born. That the group is young is also a key factor, as 56.2 per cent of Australians aged between 20 and 44 held a non-school qualification in 2011, according to the census (ABS, 2012c).

**Figure 7.2: Non-school Qualifications of Respondents, Australia's Australia-born Population and Overseas Born Population<sup>41</sup> (n=126)**



Source: Immigrant Survey, 2011; ABS, 2012c

Emphasising that the sample is a highly skilled group, 94 per cent of respondents had completed high school, while only 50 per cent of Australia's overseas-born and 36 per cent locally-born populations had done so. This indicated that, in terms of education, most respondents are more indicative of recent immigrants to Australia (not including refugees), who are selectively skilled compared to the postwar arrivals that drove soccer's boom period in Australia (Hugo, 2009; Price, 1963; Kallinikios, 2007).

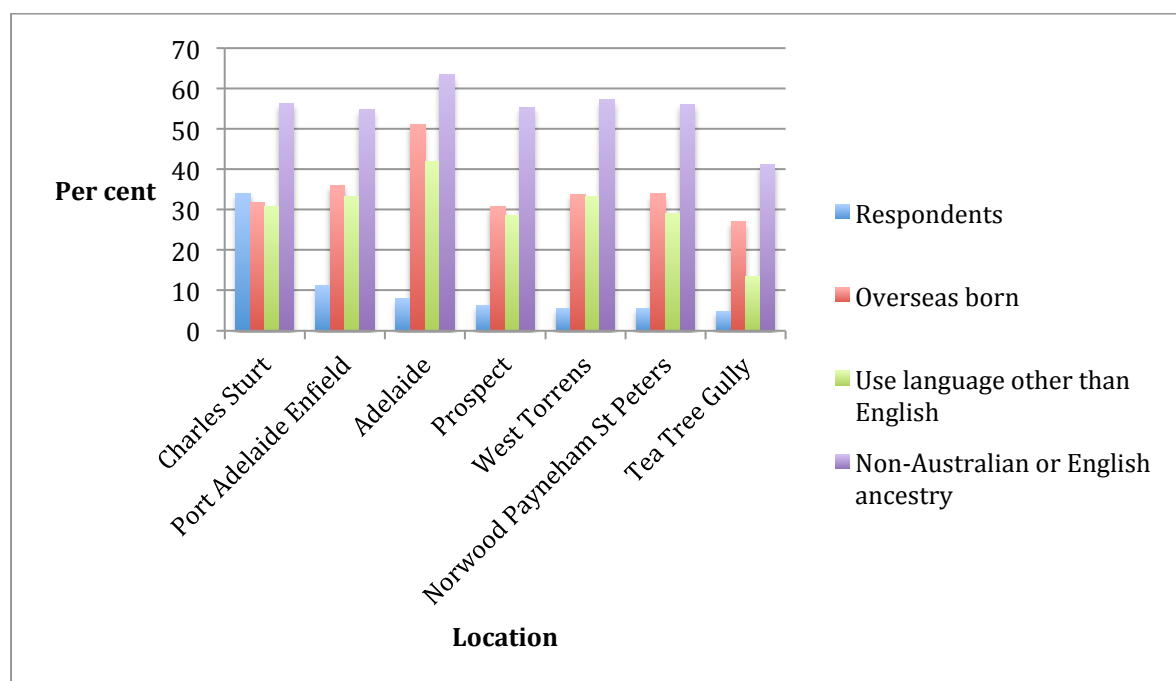
### 7.2.3 Residential location

The 68 suburbs represented in the sample were collated into the local government areas (LGAs) of South Australia. Figure 7.3 shows that the top 7 source LGAs for respondents have a larger percentage of their populations born overseas than the State as a whole; furthermore, the top 6 source LGAs have a larger percentage of residents

<sup>41</sup> Does not include 'inadequately stated' or 'not stated.'

who use a language other than English and are not of Australian or English ancestry. This indicates a relatively high number of CALD immigrants and Australians of CALD background in these LGAs, hence their representation here. Charles Sturt had the most respondents with 34.1 per cent. This bias is likely due to the participation in the study of several clubs based there.

**Figure 7.3: Respondents' Residential Location, Overseas Born Population, Use of Language Other than English, Ancestry Other than Australian or English, Selected LGAs and South Australia (n=126)**



Source: Immigrant Survey, 2011; ABS, 2012c

#### 7.2.4 Generational distribution

Some 36 per cent of respondents were first generation immigrants, while second generation immigrants – Australia-born with one or both parents overseas-born – represented 53 per cent of respondents. Only 9 per cent were third (both parents Australia-born, one or more grandparents overseas-born) or later generation. The largest group, by decade, of first generation immigrants (28.6 per cent) arrived in

2000 or later. However, the second largest group (21.4 per cent) arrived in the 1950s and the third largest (19 per cent) in the 1960s; this is likely due to immigrants from these periods bringing about soccer's boom period and still being involved with or connected to soccer in some way (Kallinikios, 2007). The lower numbers from the 1970s, 1980s and 1990s coincide with the decline of immigration from the European mainland during this time, while the increase in arrivals from other areas, such as South East Asia, did not translate into the same level of participation in soccer for immigrants of those origins (McCoy, 1997).

The majority of first generation respondents were born in the UK (38 per cent) or Southern or Eastern Europe (31 per cent). Furthermore, 45 per cent of respondents' parents were born in Southern or Eastern Europe, indicating a significant number of second-generation immigrants with this heritage. Of the individual nations, England was the most common place of birth (24 per cent). Italy was the second most common (11 per cent), while Italy-born parents were as numerous within the sample as Australia-born (both 20.2 per cent). This is consistent with South Australia's immigrant population in 2011; England is the most common country of birth (after Australia), with 29.2 per cent (102,680) of South Australia's overseas-born population England-born, and Italy the next most common with 5.9 per cent (20,708) (ABS, 2012c). Asia (7 per cent) and North Africa and the Middle East (11 per cent) are overrepresented in the sample compared to South Australia's overseas-born population, where they represent 26.3 per cent (92,509) and 3.3 per cent (11,655) respectively, while no respondents were born in Sub-Saharan Africa, which was the birthplace of 4 per cent (13,988) of South Australia's overseas-born population in the 2011 census (ABS, 2012c).

### 7.2.5 Occupation

The 42 occupations of respondents were collated into categories outlined by the Australian Standard Classification of Occupations (ASCO)<sup>42</sup>, with some 34.6 per cent of them ‘Professionals,’ including accountants, engineers, teachers and sales executives. The second largest group was ‘Associate Professionals’ (14.2 per cent), comprising managers and supervisors in various industries. These occupations, held by 48.8 per cent of respondents, are indicative of relatively high socioeconomic living standards. According to the 2011 census, 13 per cent of Adelaide residents were considered high-income earners (\$1,250 per week), indicating an overrepresentation of this group within the sample (ABS, 2012c). However, Australia’s current immigration intake – both permanent and temporary settlers – is very highly skilled (Hugo, 2011, p.50).

### 7.2.6 Language

Some 73 per cent of respondents spoke only English at home, and given that 36 per cent were born overseas, this suggests a high level of sociocultural adjustment within the sample. First generation respondents (78 per cent) were more likely to speak only English at home than second or later generation respondents (70 per cent). Some 38 per cent of respondents who only used English were born overseas, compared to 16.2 per cent of South Australia’s population (ABS, 2012f). While 38 per cent of the first generation immigrants within the sample were born in the UK, 60 per cent were born in non-English speaking nations – indicating that overseas-born respondents were highly adjusted.

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<sup>42</sup> Excluding respondents who gave their occupation as “Student,” “Retired” or “Professional footballer.”

Some 14 per cent of respondents regularly read newspapers printed in a language other than English, roughly equivalent to half of the respondents who use a language other than English at home<sup>43</sup>. This indicates a significant use of languages other than English among respondents. As language has a high level of influence on cultural maintenance among CALD immigrant groups, this suggests that soccer clubs have played a role in cultural maintenance for some respondents (Stevens, 1985).

Of the 123 respondents who recorded the language(s) used by their parents, 50 per cent stated that their parents spoke only English at home, while 10 per cent of parents spoke a combination of English and another language, and 40 per cent spoke in languages other than English. As this is a far smaller portion of English speakers than the respondents themselves, it further suggests a high level of adjustment among the respondents; it also concurs with the argument that language is generally one of the quickest cultural traits to be lost through immigrant generations (Waters, 1990, p.116; Stevens, 1985).

## **7.3 Ethnic Identity**

### **7.3.1 Identity in Australian multiculturalism**

The Australian model of multiculturalism has been successful in minimising tension between groups, allowing CALD immigrants to maintain cultural traditions and form ethnic organisations (Castles, 1992, pp.558-559). Multiculturalism represented a fundamental shift from the prior policy of assimilation, which was based on the concept that Anglo-Celtic culture was superior to all others. As argued by Colic-Peisker (2002, pp.32), to CALD immigrants in Australia, ethnic identity is:

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<sup>43</sup> Including those who speak both English and another language at home.



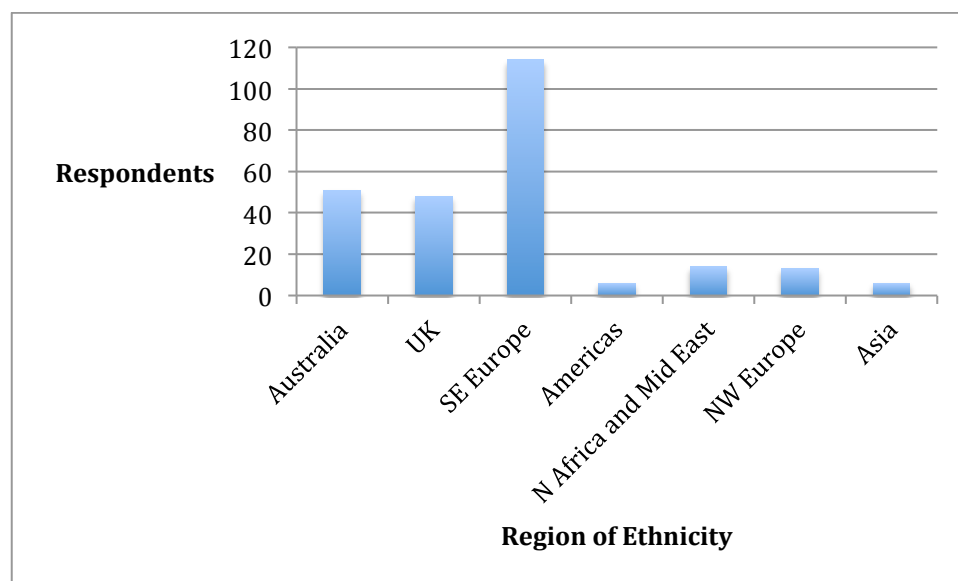
“...an important element of the maintenance of a sense of community and belonging in people who never really felt integrated into the mainstream Australian community.”

As maintaining a connection to ethnic identity influences adjustment, it is crucial to examine ethnicity within the sample.

### 7.3.2 Ethnicity of family

Figure 7.4 shows that 54 per cent of respondents stated that their family’s ethnicity emanated from Southern or Eastern Europe. Italian (28 per cent) was the most common individual<sup>44</sup> ethnicity, and Greek the second most numerous (14 per cent). Australian (13 per cent) and British (17 per cent) were underrepresented in the sample compared to Australia’s total population, where English (29.3 per cent), Australian (26.5 per cent) and Scottish (6.2 per cent) comprise 61 per cent of ancestries, while Italian only represents 5 per cent (ABS, 2012c).

**Figure 7.4: Ethnicity of Respondents by Region (n=126)**



Source: Immigrant Survey, 2011

<sup>44</sup> Some respondents stated multiple ethnicities, such as a mix of Italian, Greek and Australian.

The bias toward Southern and Eastern Europeans is likely due to the impact of postwar CALD European immigrant participation on the growth of soccer in Australia (B. Murray, 2006).

### **7.3.3 Ethnicity by immigrant generation**

Respondents who considered their family to be ethnically Australian represented only 13 per cent of second-generation immigrants. Therefore, 87 per cent of the 69 second-generation respondents, having lived in Australia for an assumed minimum of 18 years<sup>45</sup>, believed that their family still primarily associated with their ethnic heritage. Of third and later generation respondents, 41.7 per cent considered their family Australian; understandably greater as their family had assumedly been present in Australia long enough to produce at least two new generations, with one member of the youngest generation at least 18 years old; however, 58.3 per cent still associated with their family's ethnic heritage.

Some 86 per cent of Italians were second or later generation immigrants. This indicates that the sample's Italians are representative of second generation Italians in Australia generally, who act as 'cultural custodians' (Vasta et al., 1992, pp.216, 223). This also corresponds with census data, which showed that while 0.9 per cent (185,402) of the population in 2011 was Italy-born, 3.3 per cent (916,121) had Italian ancestry (ABS, 2012c). Similarly, most Greek respondents were Australia-born, 67 per cent being second generation. Respondents who stated that the ethnicity of their family was British ("British," "English," "Scottish" or "Anglo-Saxon") were mostly first generation immigrants (77 per cent). Only 4 second-generation respondents

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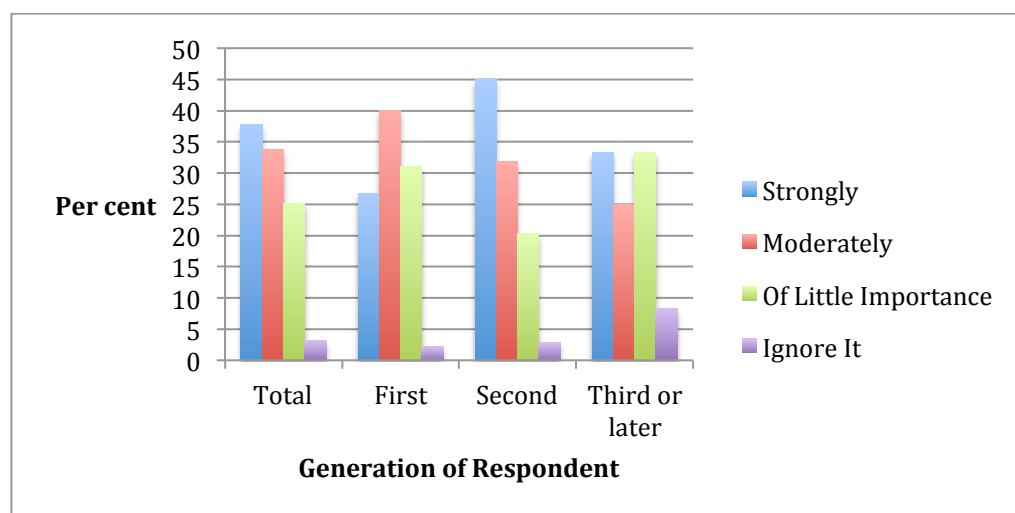
<sup>45</sup> The minimum of 18 years is due to the fact that respondents had to be at least 18 years old to participate, however it is possible that the respondent may have left and returned to Australia during their youth.

considered their family to be British. Given that 28 respondents stated that at least one parent was born in Britain, and removing the 17 first generation respondents, it can be assumed that at least 7 respondents with British heritage do not consider their family British. This indicates that later generation British immigrants are unlikely to maintain their ethnic identity – stemming from the concept of Australia as a nation founded on Anglo-Celtic principles, where people of British descent are considered Australian rather than a separate ethnic group (Smolicz, 1997, pp.176-177).

### 7.3.4 Connection to ethnic identity

Figure 7.5 displays that 72 per cent of respondents felt a strong or moderate connection to their ethnicity; this is consistent with the argument that CALD immigrant communities maintain cultural traditions within English-speaking nations such as Australia, despite the previous implementation of assimilationist policies (Waters, 1990, pp.1-6; Castles, 1992, p.52).

**Figure 7.5: Connection to Ethnicity by Generation (n=127)**



Source: Immigrant Survey, 2011

Interestingly, a smaller percentage (27 per cent) of first generation immigrants felt strongly about their ethnicity than all respondents; this may be due to the length of time the respondents have spent in Australia, as 62 per cent of first generation respondents arrived in Australia prior to 1990, with their connection to their ethnicity diluting over this time. It also suggests Les Murray's (2006, p.51) assessment that participation in a soccer club formed by CALD migrants played a major role in his adjustment applies here.

Some 45 per cent of second-generation respondents felt strongly (45 per cent) or strongly and moderately combined (77 per cent) about their ethnicity – greater than for both the first generation and the sample as a whole. Also, 59 per cent of the third or later generation respondents stated that they felt strongly or moderately about their family's ethnicity. This indicates the occurrence of 'new ethnicity,' where cultural ties are maintained and developed in the host country, noted as occurring among second and later generation CALD immigrants in English speaking nations, including by second generation Italians in Australia (Waters, 1990, pp.6-8; Pascoe, 1992, pp.96-97). It also suggests that Van Rheenen's (2009, p.791) argument that San Francisco's soccer league has enabled CALD communities to assemble for a common goal and compete for cultural space may also be applicable to Australia, both in the 1950s and 1960s and the present.

Of the most numerous ethnicities, most Italians felt strongly (57 per cent) or moderately (31 per cent) about their ethnicity. This suggests Italians maintain a connection to their ethnic identity more commonly than other groups. Indeed, Italian culture has been the main alternative to Anglo-Australian culture since 1950 and until

1980 (Pascoe, 1992, pp.96-97). The results further indicate the connection to Italian ethnicity is maintained throughout later generations, as 86 per cent of Italian respondents were of second or later generation. This confirms the notion of the second generation of Italian immigrants being the ‘cultural custodians’ of Italian ethnicity within the sample and suggests that Italians have used soccer clubs to unify their communities and create a cultural space in Australia (Vasta et al., 1992, pp.216, 223; Van Rheenen, 2009, p.791).

While Greeks were less likely to have a strong connection to their ethnicity than Italians (39 per cent), 95 per cent of Greek respondents felt strongly or moderately about their ethnicity. Greeks, like Italians, were far more likely to have either a strong or moderate connection than the overall sample (72 per cent). This is consistent with the notion that Greek immigrants maintain strong ties to their ethnicity long after settlement (Tamis, 1990). Greek immigrants are highly unlikely to disassociate from their heritage across later generations; 72 per cent of Greek respondents within the sample were second or later generation (Tamis, 1990, p.493). This suggests Greeks, like Italians, used soccer to unite their communities and create a cultural space (Van Rheenen, 2009, p.791).

Of Southern or Eastern European respondents<sup>46</sup>, 51 per cent stated that they felt a strong connection to their cultural background, a much larger portion than the overall sample (38 per cent). A further 41 per cent had a moderate connection; again greater than for the overall sample. These results suggest that immigrants from Southern and

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<sup>46</sup> This includes respondents who stated their family’s primary ethnicity as “Italian,” “Greek,” “Croatian,” “Serbian,” “Polish,” “Maltese,” “Greek Cypriot” and “Portuguese,” as well as those who stated an Southern or Eastern European ethnicity in combination with other ethnicities - “Australian / Greek,” “Dutch and Italian,” and “a mix of Italian / Greek / Australian.”

Eastern Europe are more likely to have a strong or moderate connection to their identity than other immigrants. CALD immigrants from Europe, and especially Southern Europe, have historically been more determined than other CALD groups to maintain their ethnicity (Castles, 1992, p.551). Ethnic institutions, CALD immigrant social networks, connection to town or regional culture and the importance of the wider family group have all played a role in this – and, as these findings suggest, so have soccer clubs, which can help communities to congregate and create their own cultural space in the host country.

As 85 per cent of respondents who considered their family to be at least partially Southern or Eastern European are second or later generation, the findings suggest that cultural maintenance also occurs throughout later generations for this group. It is clear that soccer clubs play a role in second and later generation immigrants developing and maintaining cultural ties to the ethnic homelands (Van Rheezen, 2009, p.791).

Of the respondents who identified as British, 64 per cent believed that their family's cultural heritage was of little importance. Only 9 per cent of British respondents felt a strong connection to their ethnicity, and 18 per cent a moderate connection. Despite 17 per cent of respondents identifying as British, 73 per cent felt little or no connection to their heritage. British immigrants adjust more easily to life in Australia than other immigrant groups, owing largely to Australia's British heritage, adoption of English as a de facto national language and similar cultural traits (Jupp, 1998, p.154; Appleyard, 1960, p.25). By 1991 English settlers were both culturally and structurally assimilated, and did not differ markedly from the Australian average in

social terms, while Scots, Welsh and Northern Irish were also close to the norm (Jupp, 1998, p.98).

Of the 16 respondents who considered their family's identity Australian, 50 per cent felt their ethnicity was of little importance to them, and 50 per cent felt a strong or moderate connection to being culturally Australian. This suggests that in some cases immigrants not only abandon their family's cultural heritage over later generations – 14 of the 16 respondents who identified their family as Australian were second or later generation immigrants – but also adopt Australian cultural practices and identify as Australian in its place. There is strong evidence, such as high rates of intermarriage and naturalisation, to suggest an absence of rigid barriers between ethnic groups and Australian society (Castles et al., 1998, pp.110-112). Since postwar CALD settlement Australian culture has become far more diverse and sophisticated than simply an extension of British culture, and therefore identifying as 'Australian' may incorporate CALD immigrant values rather than strictly Anglo-Saxon or Anglo-Celtic practices (Castles et al., 1998, pp.118-119).

### **7.3.5 Ethnic identity of parents**

Some 54 per cent of respondents stated that their parents identified as being of Southern or Eastern European ethnicity, while a further 8 per cent had parents of Southern or Eastern European ethnicity mixed with ethnicities from other regions. As 78 respondents had at least one parent of Southern or Eastern European heritage, this suggests that 10 respondents did not identify with the Southern or Eastern European background of at least one of their parents, despite the assertion that cultural maintenance is common among Southern or Eastern European Australian families

(Vasta et al., 1992, pp.216, 223). However, immigrants who have adjusted culturally and consider themselves (in this case) as being Australian have not necessarily abandoned their original ethnic identity (Waters, 1990, p.53).

A total of 22 (18 per cent) respondents had parents of British origin and 6 reported their parents to be of British heritage mixed with other ethnicities; as 22 respondents identified as British, this suggests that British cultural ties are actively maintained by immigrants despite the notion that British settlers adjust culturally faster than CALD migrants (Appleyard, 1960, p.25). However, 17 British respondents were first generation and hence may identify as British, while their children identify as Australian.

The parents of 75 per cent of respondents felt a strong or moderate connection to their ethnicity, compared to 72 per cent of respondents – though 48 per cent of parents felt strongly, compared to 38 per cent of respondents. This suggests that while attachment to a cultural identity may diminish over generations, it nonetheless remains to at least a moderate degree in most cases. A greater percentage of Southern or Eastern European parents felt strongly about their ethnicity than the overall sample, 55 per cent compared to 48 per cent. A further 36 per cent felt moderately, 9 per cent more than all parents. This is roughly equivalent to Southern or Eastern European respondents, 51 per cent of whom felt strongly and 41 per cent moderately – suggesting that Southern or Eastern European parents influence cultural maintenance in their children and that soccer clubs play a key role in this. Similar to British respondents, 65 per cent of British parents felt their ethnicity was of little or no



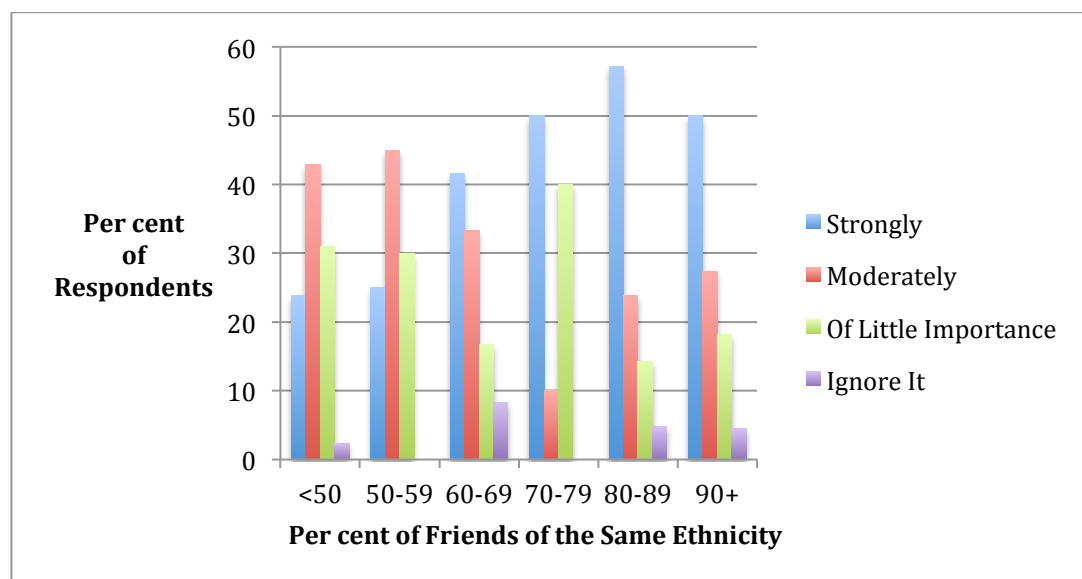
importance to them, emphasising that British immigrants assimilate rapidly into Australian culture.

## 7.4 Patterns of Social Interaction

### 7.4.1 Ethnicity of friends

A person's connection to an ethnic identity is influenced by interaction with others, who may associate them with a certain group based on their appearance, surname and mannerisms (Waters, 1990, pp.66-68). A person views their social network as a community; this 'membership' of a community can impact a person's identity (Di Leonardo, 1984, p.133). Therefore, regular interaction with others who identify as of the same background suggests a stronger connection to an ethnic identity. Figure 7.6 shows a clear relationship between having greater percentages of friends of the same background and a stronger connection to ethnicity.

**Figure 7.6: Friends of the Same Ethnicity by Connection to Ethnicity (n=127)**



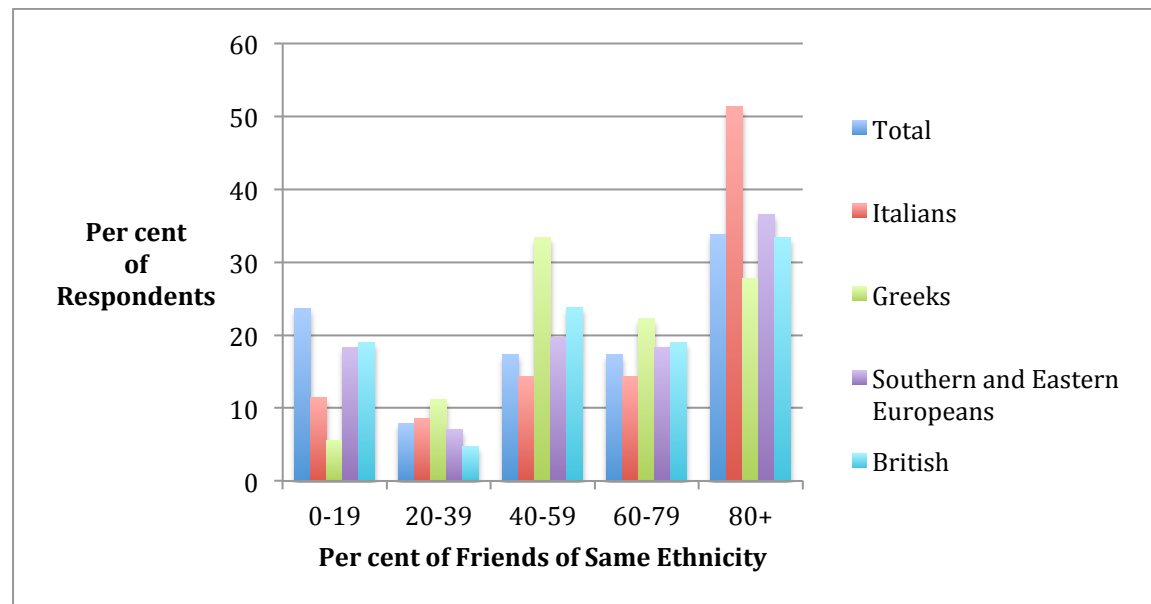
Source: Immigrant Survey, 2011

This indicates that associating mostly with members of the same cultural group – such as within a CALD immigrant-formed soccer club – can increase cultural maintenance and influence a person’s attachment to their ethnic identity. Some 35 per cent of second generation respondents and 43 per cent of third or later generation respondents stated that 80 per cent or more of their friends were of the same ethnic background; this suggests that, despite a high level of cultural adjustment among the sample, many respondents still feel a strong connection to the heritage of their parents or grandparents, and this both influences and is influenced by the people they associate with. It indicates that soccer clubs, while assisting the cultural adjustment of participants, can also influence cultural maintenance.

Italians were more likely than respondents overall to associate with others of the same ethnicity, with 77 per cent stating at least half of their friends were ethnically Italian, as shown in Figure 7.7. Some 52 per cent of Italians stated that 80 per cent or more of their friends were also Italian while only 11 per cent noted that less than 20 per cent of their friends were Italian. This suggests that Italians are more likely to socialise within their ethnicity, and less likely to have a diverse group of friends than other groups, including Greeks – while 78 per cent of Greeks stated that at least 50 per cent of their friends were Greek, only 28 per cent reported that 80 per cent or more of their friends were. The role of parents in charging the Italian second generation with maintaining Italian culture has seemingly resulted in Italians prioritising including other Italians in their circle of friends, with soccer clubs potentially playing a role (Vasta et al., 1992, pp.216, 223). Some 76 per cent of British respondents reporting 50 per cent or more of their friends were British; this is likely due to the large number of Anglo-Australians. According to the 2011 census, 25.9 per cent of Australians are

of English ancestry, 7.5 per cent of Irish ancestry and 6.4 per cent of Scottish ancestry; Australians of Italian ancestry, the largest CALD group, represent 3.3 per cent of the population (ABS, 2012c).

**Figure 7.7: Friends of the Same Ethnicity, Overall and Selected Groups (n=127)**



Source: Immigrant Survey, 2011

#### 7.4.2 Frequency of social interaction within ethnic group

Respondents were asked how often they mixed with others of the same ethnicity, with 79 per cent of the sample mixing within their own ethnicity on at least a weekly basis. Southern and Eastern European<sup>47</sup> respondents (84 per cent) were slightly more likely than respondents overall to socialise at least weekly with others of their own ethnicity. Italians and Greeks were both more likely than Southern and Eastern Europeans overall to regularly mix within their ethnicities, with 94 per cent of both groups doing so at least weekly. This again indicates a high level of cultural maintenance among Greek and Italian participants in soccer clubs within the sample. British respondents

<sup>47</sup> Including those with Southern or Eastern European heritage mixed with other backgrounds.

(63 per cent) were more likely than all other ethnic groups to socialise within their ethnicity daily.

### **7.4.3 Ethnicity of partners**

Intermarriage is significant to studies of immigrant adjustment, as it indicates the level of integration among ethnic groups (Price, 1993a, p.6). Some immigrants opt to marry outside of their ethnicity in order to integrate themselves into Australian life, or because they do not wish to continue certain cultural traditions; others are forced to due to a lack of available partners (Penny and Khoo, 1996). Some 50 per cent of respondents had a partner of their own ethnicity. Southern and Eastern Europeans (57 per cent) were slightly more likely to than the overall sample. Castles et al. (1998, p.37) found a decrease in intermarriage among second generation Southern and Eastern Europeans due to the ease of meeting a partner through ethnic institutions. The results indicate this continues, and that soccer clubs may play a role. Greeks (73 per cent) – specified by Castles et al. (1998, p.37) as a group with decreased levels of intermarriage – were far more likely than Italians (57 per cent), respondents overall and all Southern and Eastern Europeans to have a partner of the same ethnicity. The partner of 56 per cent of British respondents were also British, though this may be due to the availability of potential ‘British’ partners.

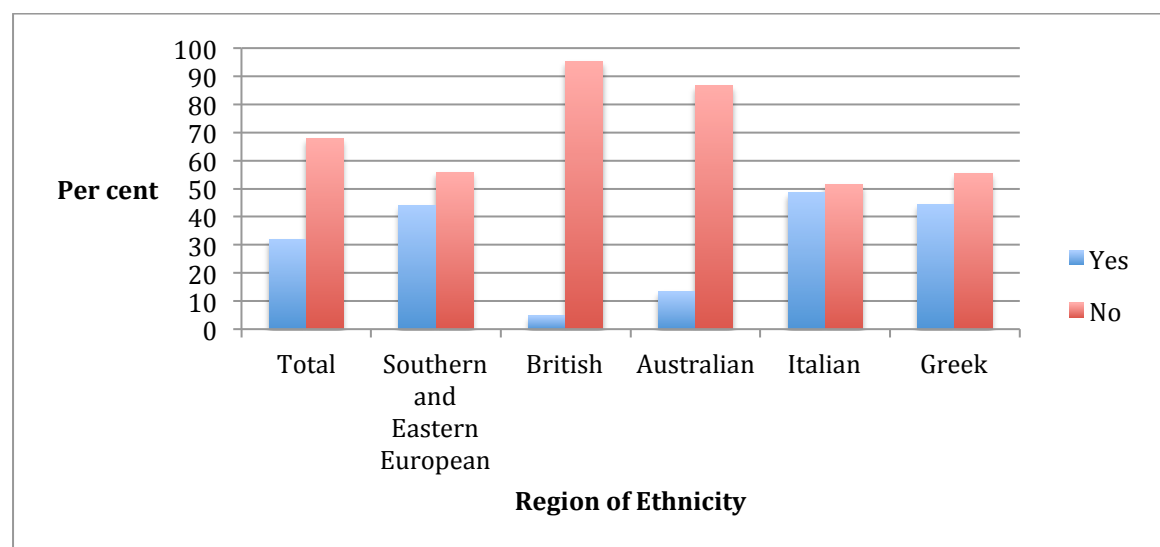
## **7.5 Cultural Maintenance**

### **7.5.1 Influence of parents on cultural maintenance**

Cultural maintenance is the effort made by immigrants to retain their cultural heritage while living within a society possessing its own cultural norms and standards (Borrie, 1954, p.192; Crispino, 1980, p.7). Cultural maintenance is part of the ‘immigrant’s

dilemma,' where the desire to be accepted by the host society is balanced against the unwillingness to abandon the ways of the old country (Boekestijn, 1988, p.90). This causes tension between the mainstream and CALD groups, especially if assimilation is the host nation's settlement policy (Jupp, 2007, pp.20-21). Figure 7.8 shows that parents of Southern and Eastern European respondents (especially Italians and Greeks) were more likely than parents of respondents overall to want their children to have a partner from their own ethnic group, and far more likely to than British or Australians. These results indicate parents influence intermarriage among the second generation (Castles et al., 1998, p.37).

**Figure 7.8: Did Respondents Want their Children to Have a Partner from their Own Ethnic Group, Overall and Selected Groups (n=125)**

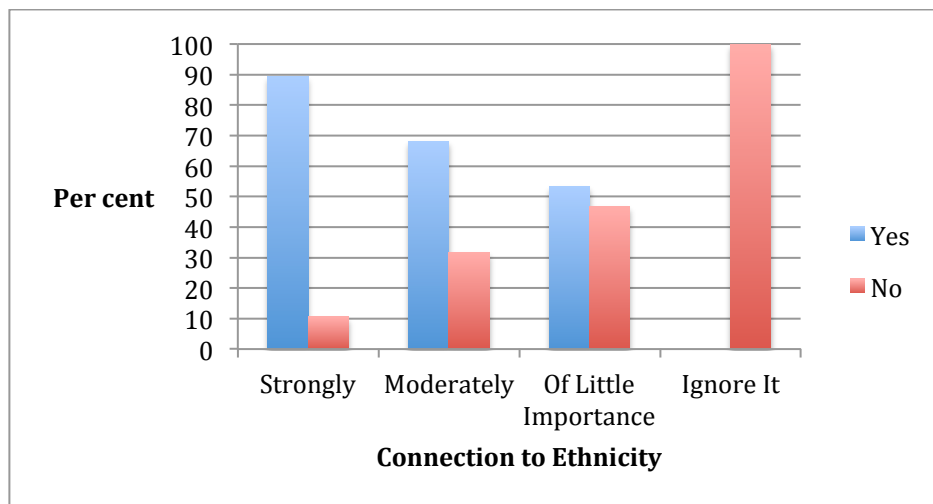


Source: Immigrant Survey, 2011

Figure 7.9 shows respondents with a stronger connection to their heritage were more likely to have children who identified with their ethnicity. This indicates that immigrants with a strong bond to their ethnicity are likely to encourage cultural maintenance among their children. Notably, the children of 10 of 12 Italians and 11 of 12 Greeks identified with their ethnicity; further indications of cultural

maintenance within these groups. All 5 English respondents reported that their children also identified as English, however this may be due to the similarity between English culture and what is perceived by Anglo-Celtic Australians as mainstream culture (Jupp, 2007, p.19).

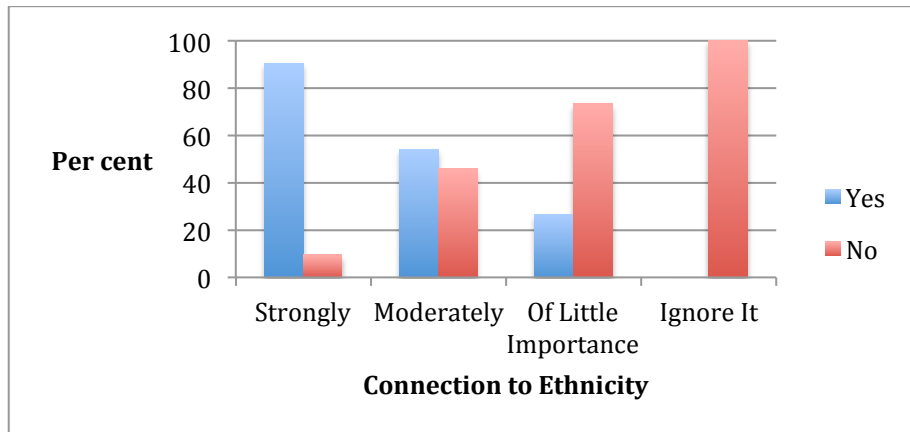
**Figure 7.9: Children’s Identification with Ethnicity by Respondents’ Relationship with Ethnicity (n=57)**



Source: Immigrant Survey, 2011

Respondents were also asked to state whether it was important to them that their children identify with their ethnicity. Figure 7.10 displays that responses, when compared to the respondent’s own connection to their ethnicity, closely resemble those shown in Figure 7.9. This indicates that parents play a role in cultural maintenance among their children. Some 75 per cent of Southern and Eastern Europeans believed it to be important that their offspring identified with their ethnicity, including 92 per cent of Italians and 67 per cent of Greeks. Only 30 per cent of British respondents stated it was important that their children identify as British, emphasising the dissemination of British culture over generations.

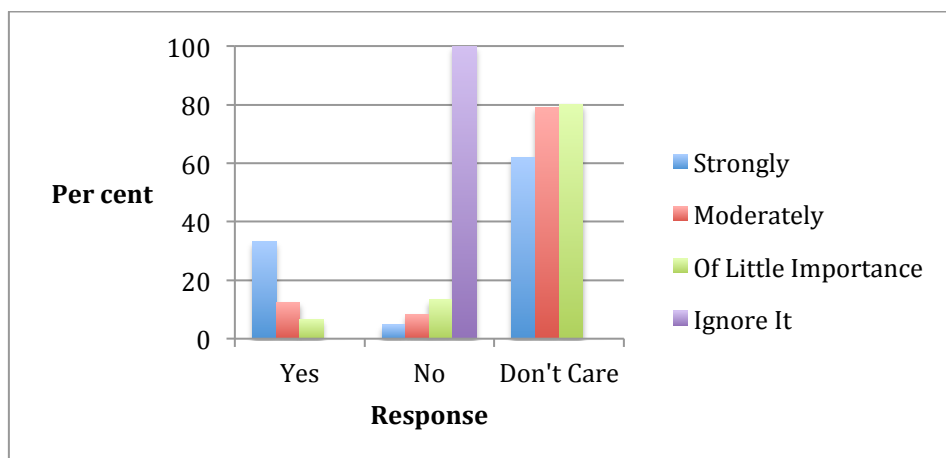
**Figure 7.10 Importance of Respondents' Children Identifying with Ethnicity by Respondents' Connection to Ethnicity (n=61)**



Source: Immigrant Survey, 2011

Respondents were asked if they wished for their children to have a partner of their own ethnicity. Of the 61 respondents with children, 72 per cent stated that they did not care indicating that for most cultural maintenance did not include limiting their children's potential partners to their own ethnic group. However, as Figure 7.11 displays, respondents with a strong connection to their ethnicity were more likely to state that they wished their children to have a partner of their own ethnicity.

**Figure 7.11: Respondents' Wish for Children's Partners to be of their Ethnicity by Connection to Ethnicity (n=61)**



Source: Immigrant Survey, 2011

This included 4 Italians and 4 Greeks, again emphasising the trend of cultural maintenance within these two groups.

### **7.5.2 Attitude towards ‘Australianness’**

Australianness – the identification with Australian nationality– is measured by gauging the degree of pride, belonging and happiness felt by a person towards being Australian (Markus et al., 2009, pp.116). Numerous factors influence Australianness, including cultural, social and economic participation in Australian society, Australian society’s acceptance or discrimination of the person, the person’s opinion of social justice within Australian society, as well as the trustworthiness of the Australian government and Australians generally (Markus et al., 2009, pp.116-122)

Some 73 per cent of respondents felt Australian. Respondents with a strong connection to their ethnicity were more likely (24.6 per cent) to feel half-Australian than respondents overall (18.9 per cent), however just 8 per cent stated their ethnicity came before Australia or that they had no connection to being Australian. In addition to other factors such as language use and education, the results indicate that the sample is overall highly adjusted to life in Australia, despite trends of cultural maintenance in some groups, especially Italians and Greeks. Furthermore, 74 per cent of Italians and 89 per cent of Greeks felt Australian, while the remaining Italians and Greeks felt half-Australian

The results suggest that despite high levels of cultural maintenance, Italians and Greeks are adjusted to Australian life and culture and consider themselves to be either Australian or half-Australian. This concurs with the argument of Vasta (1992a,



p.167) that second generation Italian settlers have become ‘cultural brokers,’ accepting Australian cultural norms and speaking English while maintaining a bond to their ethnicity. Respondents were asked if they intended to emigrate to the nation associated with their ethnicity. Again, there is little evidence to suggest soccer clubs stimulate nationalistic or anti-Australian sentiments, as 79 per cent of respondents had no intention of migrating to their cultural homeland, while 17 per cent were unsure.

### **7.5.3 Contact with family overseas**

Ben-Moshe and Pyke (2012, p.10) argued that:

“...contemporary diasporas in Australia are strongly connected to homelands and are increasingly transnational in their orientation... This is a departure from earlier generations of migrants where migration was largely a one-way process of emigration and settlement and being part of a diaspora inferred a sense of permanent departure and severance from the homeland...”

Some 62 per cent of respondents kept in contact with family overseas. Southern and Eastern Europeans (59 per cent) were slightly less likely than the overall sample to do so. All Asians, Northern Africans and Middle Easterners stayed in contact with family overseas, as did 83 per cent of Northern and Western Europeans and 76 per cent of British respondents. These results indicate that Southern and Eastern Europeans within the sample are more representative of earlier generations of immigrants, having lower levels of contact with the homeland than other groups, who conform with Ben-Moshe and Pyke’s (2012, p.10) contemporary diasporas. These results also further suggest Southern and Eastern Europeans involved with soccer clubs are highly adjusted to life in Australian society.

Some 67 per cent of respondents had visited relatives overseas, indicating that if respondents stay in touch with their overseas relations they are likely to visit them. Southern and Eastern Europeans (66 per cent) were approximately as likely as the overall sample to have done so; this included 89 per cent of Greeks and 60 per cent Italians – Italians were noted by Ben-Moshe and Pyke (2012, p.7) for keeping in contact with overseas relations and having high rates of travel to Italy. British (68 per cent) were also almost as likely as the overall sample to have visited relatives, while all Northern and Western Europeans had visited their relatives – further indicating these groups conform to Ben-Moshe and Pyke's (2012) model of contemporary diasporas. Respondents who had visited relatives were asked to state the number of times they had done so; with the exception of Southern and Eastern Europeans (only 34 per cent had visited relatives on multiple occasions), the sample conforms to Ben-Moshe and Pyke's (2012) model of contemporary diasporas, with 52 per cent doing so on at least 2 occasions, while 8 per cent had visited relatives overseas 5 or more times.

#### **7.5.4 Ethnic club membership**

Social and cultural organisations formed by CALD immigrants (sometimes referred to as 'ethnic clubs') play an important role in CALD communities, serving to maintain a closeness among arrivals from a particular country, region or village as well as providing a cultural space in which members can speak in their native tongue and continue cultural traditions from the homelands (Price, 1963, p.245). Some 40 per cent of respondents held membership at an ethnic club. By region, Southern and Eastern Europeans (55 per cent) were the most likely to have membership, while only 23 per cent of British respondents did so. Notably, 50 per cent of Italians and 72 per

cent of Greeks were members. These results suggest cultural organisations are held in higher regard by Greeks (including second and later generations) than other groups, indicating clubs play a role in cultural maintenance in Greek communities, while British immigrants, due to the similarities between British and Australian mainstream culture, do not rely on them to such a degree.

Some 45 per cent of respondents stated that their parents were members of ethnic clubs. By region, Southern and Eastern European parents (58 per cent) were the most likely to have been members. The parents of 83 per cent of Greek respondents were members of a club, further highlighting the importance of ethnic institutions to Greeks. Interestingly, 33 respondents listed a soccer team among their clubs, as did 16 respondents whose parents had been involved with clubs – suggesting they viewed soccer clubs as playing a similar role in cultural maintenance as other ethnic institutions.

## **7.6 Conclusion**

This chapter has interpreted the results collected from Sections A and B of the structured survey. The demographic information of the 127 survey respondents, as well as their cultural heritage and connection to their family's ethnic identity, has been outlined and compared to the current immigrant population of South Australia as well as existing literature on CALD immigrants in Australia and their cultural traits.

Since the implementation of multiculturalism, Australian culture has become far more sophisticated than simply an offshoot of British or Anglo-Celtic culture and now incorporates values introduced by CALD immigrants (Castles et al. 1998, pp.118-

119). The high rate of intermarriage and naturalisation among CALD groups is evidence of a lack of barriers between Australian and other cultures (Castles et al., 1998, pp.110-112). Hence, it is possible for Australians of CALD descent to identify as Australian while maintaining cultural traditions – cultural adjustment does not require the original culture to be completely replaced (Waters, 1990, p.53). The findings suggest this is indeed the case for many second and later generation Australians of CALD European heritage, and that soccer clubs play a role in this. The sample appears highly adjusted compared to immigrants overall in South Australia (ABS, 2012c). However, there appears to be high levels of cultural maintenance, especially among Southern and Eastern European, Italian and Greek respondents.

It has been argued that CALD Europeans in Australia are more likely than other immigrant groups to maintain cultural ties with their ethnic heritage (Castles, 1992, p.551). The results suggest the level of cultural maintenance within the sample is consistent with this notion. Many factors contribute to this phenomenon – such as the establishment of ethnic institutions, which play an important role in CALD European communities (Price, 1963, p.245). It could be argued that soccer clubs also fulfil this role; evidence of this includes respondents noting soccer clubs as ethnic institutions they or their parents belong to. These results indicate that the case of soccer clubs in San Francisco providing social space for CALD groups, as argued by Van Rheenen (2009, p.791), is also applicable to Australia.

Allowing immigrants to practice cultural maintenance is an important aspect of multiculturalism, as it actually reduces tension between groups (Castles, 1992, pp.558-559). The accounts of L. Murray (2006, p.51) and Nikolich (1999) both

indicated that CALD immigrant-formed soccer clubs play a crucial role in the cultural adjustment of their participants, and the survey results provide further evidence that this is indeed the case. The number of Southern and Eastern Europeans included in the sample suggests the importance of soccer clubs to these groups, and that soccer clubs play a crucial role in their social wellbeing.

Di Leonardo (1984, p.133) argued that CALD immigrants view their social network as a community, which can influence their ethnic identity – this notion is supported by the findings of the study, which show that later generation Southern and Eastern Europeans (especially Italians and Greeks) frequently socialise within their own ethnic group and a large portion of their network is comprised of people of their ethnicity. Italians in particular have a high percentage of Italian friends, indicating a high level of cultural maintenance, as does the large number of respondents who reported having (or parents that wished for them to have) a partner of the same ethnic background.

## **CHAPTER 8**

### **SPORT, IMMIGRANT ADJUSTMENT AND CULTURAL MAINTENANCE**

#### **8.1 Introduction**

This chapter focuses on the role played by sport in the adjustment of immigrants to Australia, and the impact of sport participation on cultural maintenance. Drawing on both quantitative data from the survey and in-depth qualitative discussion from key informants, three key research questions are addressed. The first section analyses why postwar immigrants have associated more closely with soccer than other sports. The potential benefits of participating in soccer clubs for immigrants of various backgrounds are examined, as is the manner in which female immigrants participate in soccer, and how this has changed since the postwar soccer boom driven by CALD European immigrants (Mosely, 1997a; Kallinikios, 2007). The second section addresses the issue of the impact of soccer clubs influencing cultural maintenance. There is a common perception in Australia that soccer clubs encourage insular behaviour and strengthen ties to ethnicity (Vamplew, 1994, pp.214-218). The final section analyses whether sport can be useful in assisting the settlement of CALD immigrants from more recent waves, including Asians, Middle Easterners and Africans (ABS, 2012a). Both soccer and ‘Australian’ sports, such as cricket and Australian Rules football, will be discussed as potential vehicles for engaging these groups and influencing their adjustment experiences.

## **8.2 The Role of Sport in the Adjustment of Immigrants to Australia**

### **8.2.1 Soccer and immigrants in Australia**

Soccer in Australia has been heavily influenced by the participation of immigrants since its establishment – initially, by British and Irish settlers, and later by postwar, CALD European settlers (Hay, 2006a; Mosely, 1997a). Despite this, soccer has largely been ignored in academic analyses of immigrant adjustment. The focus has rather been on the role of institutions such as churches, businesses and cultural organisations, while soccer clubs rarely enter such discussions (Martin, 1978, p.34; Tsounis, 1975, p.32; Price et al., 2005, p.64). This section will redress this neglect by examining the impact of participation in soccer clubs on postwar immigrant adjustment.

All key informants who were asked about soccer's connection with immigrants agreed that soccer's popularity in the homeland was crucial. Since most European immigrants played, or were familiar with, soccer before migrating, it provided an opportunity to engage with something familiar in an alien place. Crucially, many postwar migrants from mainland Europe were male and of a sport playing age; for example, in 1954, 63 per cent of Australia's non-British and Irish Europe-born male population were aged under 45 (CBCS, 1957b). The chairperson of a club indicated that the participation of new arrivals resulted in soccer clubs playing a role beyond providing an opportunity to play sport to immigrant communities:

*“I think initially there is something that is welcome to them, that is known. Many of the sports played in South Australia they weren’t really familiar with, and... because of that, the different communities in the migrant groups tended to stick together and form their own clubs... getting that mateship or community spirit amongst their own ethnicity... [They] stuck together, helped each other out, and formed relationships with people within their community, and from there they could succeed in life in general in Australia, especially... in the 50s and 60s when they came out”*  
(Key Informant 8).

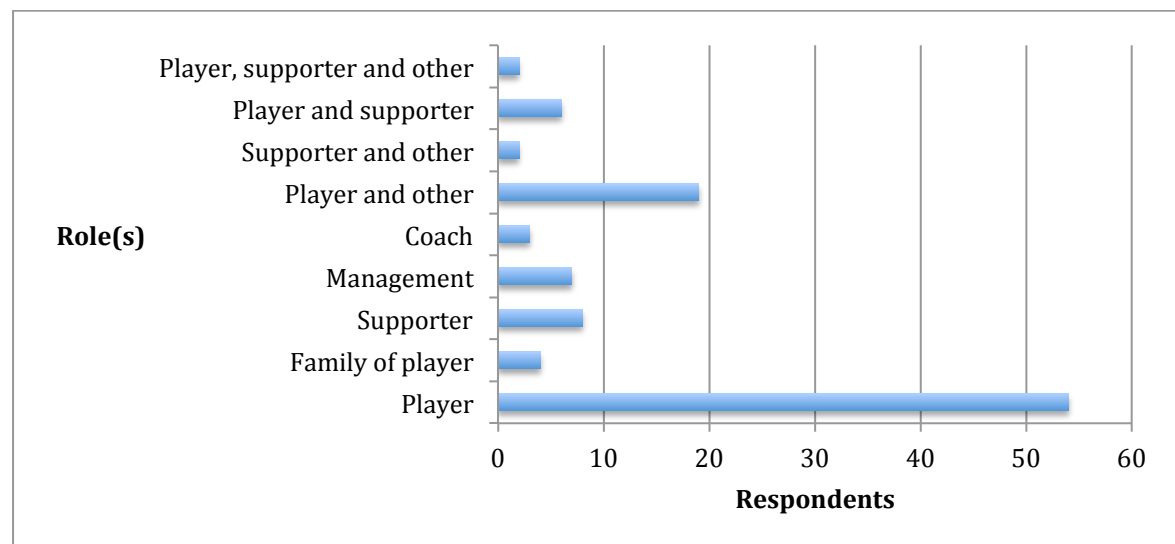
In fact, immigrants were active in forming new soccer clubs, often with strong ties to the homeland, as indicated by the names of the clubs and the colours they wore. For example, Polonia Adelaide wore red and white, the colours of the Polish flag, while Eastern Districts (forced to change its proposed name of Napoli Sports Club) played in blue, also worn by the Italian national team (Harlow, 2003, pp.174, 180). These cultural ties to home nations were common, with the Polonia club maintaining its name and colours despite the soccer team changing its name to Croydon Kings, and Eastern Districts (now known as Adelaide Blue Eagles) still wearing blue uniforms and the parent club named Azzurri – Italian for ‘blue;’ also the nickname of the Italian national team – and the colours of the Italian flag are subtly embedded in the club logo. It is clear that immigrant-formed soccer clubs became crucial institutions for new arrivals, where members of CALD immigrant communities were able to gather with others of a similar background and common interests. This coincides with the findings of Price and Whitworth (2004, p.168), which showed that immigrant soccer leagues in the United States performed a similar role in Latino communities.

Some 50 per cent of respondents who immigrated after 2000 joined a soccer club the year that they arrived. This supports Bill Murray’s (2006, p.79) conclusion that CALD immigrants sought out soccer clubs almost immediately after settlement (as discussed in Chapter 5). Some 88 per cent of recent arrivals were players, indicating



that immigrants are more likely to join a soccer club soon after settlement if they intend to play the sport. However, playing soccer is not necessary to be involved in clubs; key informants<sup>48</sup> indicated that there were a multitude of non-player roles available to immigrants who wish to be involved. Figure 8.1 shows that 49 per cent of respondents had undertaken non-playing roles at their club – 23 per cent in solely non-player roles, 28 per cent in addition to playing.

**Figure 8.1: Role(s) Performed by Respondents at Soccer Clubs (n=105)**



Source: Immigrant Survey, 2011

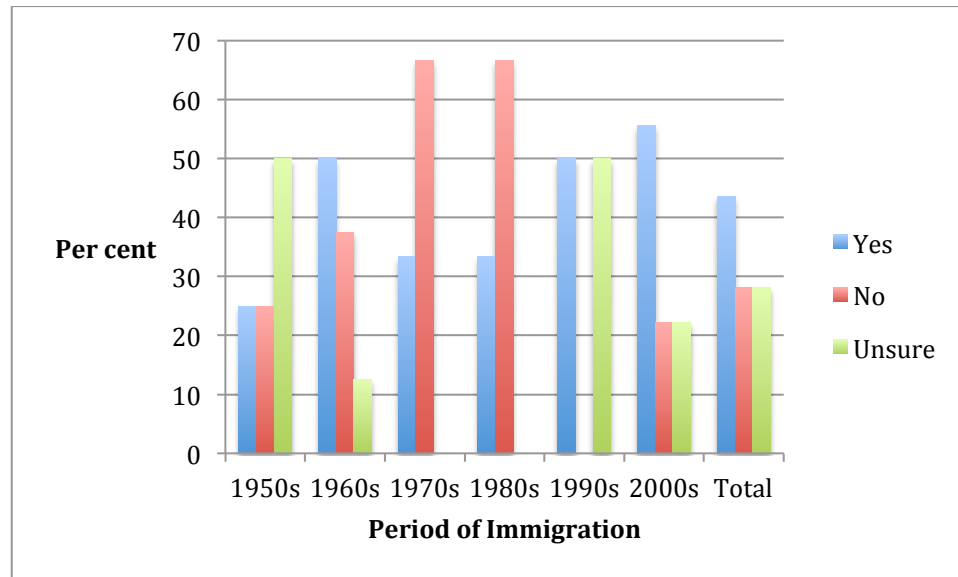
### 8.2.2 Soccer clubs and social capital

Figure 8.2 shows that 46 per cent of first generation respondents stated that their involvement with a soccer club assisted their adjustment to life in Australia, while the rest were split equally between being unsure and believing that their participation had not helped them adjust. Of respondents who had arrived since 2000, some 56 per cent

<sup>48</sup> Key informant 4 revealed that of the 500+ people involved with their amateur club, around 50 were coaches and other backroom staff. Key informant 8 stated that their semi-professional club employed about 7 paid coaches and trainers, 1 paid office manager, junior coaches (who were paid a pittance), as well as utilising around 100 volunteers in various roles.

felt that participating in a soccer club had helped them to adjust – indicating that soccer clubs can play an important role in the lives of more recent arrivals.

**Figure 8.2: Did Involvement with Soccer Assist Adjustment by Period of Arrival (n=39)**



Source: Immigrant Survey, 2011

Respondents who believed that their involvement in a soccer club had influenced adjustment were asked to state why this was the case. The main reasons centred on creating and expanding their social networks. Unikoski (1978, p.49) argued Australian sports clubs are part of a wider network, linked both to the mainstream population and outside of it, while Lock et al. (2008, pp.323-324) stated that Australian soccer clubs provided migrants with much-needed access to a network within their own groups, generating (bonding) social capital – this clearly was (and is) the case in Australia. It again begs the question why soccer clubs are not mentioned in the voluminous literature relating to immigrant social networks in Australia. The soccer club as a major source of social capital was a common theme among survey respondents and key informants:

*“Met friends and made friendships. Able to learn English lang [sic]. Gained confidence, and future work. Was good to establish links with people especially coming from another country” (Respondent 97).*

This highlights the important role soccer clubs can play in the lives of immigrants, as Sanders (2002, pp.347-349) argued that immigrant social networks significantly influence the ability of CALD immigrants to gain employment through the social capital they generate.

It is apparent that soccer clubs play a role consistent with Putnam and Goss’ (2002, pp.6-7) assessment that participation in a social network encourages trust among members. Cox and Caldwell (2000, p.52) argued that trust is central to the generation of social capital; clearly participation in soccer clubs has been crucial to this process for immigrants in Australia. The findings also coincide with Aguilera and Massey’s (2003, p.674) assertion that American community-sponsored soccer clubs generated social capital for Mexican immigrants, in the form of exchanging information while at matches, often leading to employment opportunities. The club grounds became a social space where immigrants could regularly congregate to expand their contacts beyond their existing social network and generate (mostly bonding) social capital; clearly, Australian soccer clubs also provide this space for immigrants (Aguilera and Massey, p.674; Lock et al., 2008, pp.323-324).

Similarly, the findings support Seippel’s (2006) hypothesis that sport can help immigrants to build self-confidence, through reinforcement of identity – especially in the case of clubs formed by a single ethnic group – and recognition. Seippel (2006, p.175) states that participation in voluntary organisations (including sports clubs):

“...provides communicative structures and builds narratives necessary for supporting feelings of belonging and empowerment, resulting in a strong identity and thereby trust towards those involved...”

All of these dimensions of social capital associated with participation in soccer are of significance in the Australian context.

### **8.2.3 Bridging social capital**

It is conceivable that soccer clubs play a role in breaking down cultural barriers as they become patronised by a more diverse group, exposing participants to other groups. As argued by Burdsey (2006, p.493) in the case of British Asians, participation in soccer clubs allows for a synthesis of the cultures of the host nation and that of CALD immigrants to form a new identity. Burdsey (2006, p.493) goes on to state that: “...football may become an increasingly important site in which this can be demonstrated.” Kleszynski (2013, pp.109-110) later adapted Burdsey’s argument to the situation of Latin American immigrants in the US, which indicates that soccer’s role in the identity of immigrants is applicable in diverse scenarios.

Several respondents noted that soccer clubs enabled them to build friendships, both with Australians as well as with people of other ethnicities. This is indicative of the role of soccer clubs in generating both bridging and bonding social capital (Putnam and Goss, 2002, p.11). It is also contrary to the conventional stereotype in Australia of soccer being a vehicle for ethnic exclusivity, and a barrier to adjusting to life in Australia – for example:

“...it is futile to deny that the Balkanised [Victorian league], with almost all of its 14 clubs boasting a tie to a migrant community, is not a breeding ground for sectarian strife” (Lynch, *The Age* [Melbourne], 23<sup>rd</sup> August 2005)

“For as long as anyone cares to remember, soccer in Australia has been dogged by off-field violence... Administrators... go into absolute self-denial if anyone dares to mention the violence is endemic or ethnic-based. It is, of course, all of the above” (Wilson, *The Daily Telegraph* (Sydney), 25<sup>th</sup> August 2012).

In fact, almost all respondents indicated that soccer allowed them to make friends from other groups – for example:

“[Soccer] *Broke down barriers. Socialising at pubs after training [and] games helped to bond. Training, playing and socialising are contributing to understanding each others [sic] cultures*” (Respondent 75).

This statement indicates that participation in a soccer club offered opportunities for social interaction outside of the club, through meeting other participants after completing on-field duties; it is also another example of a soccer club providing access to bridging social capital. As defined in Chapter 1, bridging social capital is the benefits generated by relationships formed within groups of people of varied backgrounds and identities (Putnam and Goss, 2002, p.11). Putnam (2000) argued that bridging social capital is more valuable than bonding social capital (the benefits of mixing with others of a similar background) because it is the result of trust and co-operation between different groups, thus promoting inclusiveness – a crucial factor in the adjustment of CALD immigrants. Therefore, participation in soccer clubs has played an extremely important role in the settlement experiences of some migrants.

This again underlines the failure of existing scholarship in Australia to recognise and analyse the role of sporting institutions in the adjustment of immigrants from diverse backgrounds. Some respondents explicitly indicated that soccer helped them socialise with Australians and understand Australian culture:

*“It helped me get along with the locals and open my eyes to their lifestyle. As well, it helps me build friendships that would not be able to be done without playing for the same team [sic]. People are helpful and tells [sic] you things that only the locals would know” (Respondent 77).*

*“Soccer enabled me to meet people of all nationalities and cultures. These people introduced me to the Australian way of life. Many of these people have become life long friends” (Respondent 76).*

Clearly, contrary to many public perceptions, CALD immigrant participation in soccer does not only serve to encourage insular behaviour and strengthen ethnic loyalties – however key informants did note that this was still occurring and an issue for some clubs. Lock et al. (2008, pp.324-326) argued that Australian soccer clubs have previously generated negative social capital, through not being inclusive of other groups and perpetuating public assumptions of problems with off-field violence. Their study however suggested the ‘de-ethnicisation’ of Australian soccer through a restructuring of state league competitions and the establishment of the professional A-League clubs based on local rather than ethnic loyalties, is the answer to ‘mainstreaming’ the sport and making it accessible for other groups (Lock et al., 2008, pp.334-335). However, this study shows there is inclusiveness occurring in Australian soccer clubs at the semi-professional and amateur levels.

The findings of this study do not necessarily conflict with the arguments of Unikoski (1978, p.47), Trouille (2008), Van Rheenen (2009) and Price and Whitworth (2004) that CALD immigrant participation in soccer is often utilised as an opportunity to express ethnic identity. In the group interviewed here, however, there is a greater focus on what Les Murray (2006, pp.50-51) argued in his autobiography, that immigrant engagement in soccer had more impact on assisting integration than in encouraging separateness. While the results presented in Chapter 7 showed clear

indications of cultural maintenance in the sample, particularly among Italian respondents, there was also significant evidence that the majority identified as Australian, either strongly or moderately, and the comments on participating in clubs reflect this.

#### **8.2.4 Two-way integration**

Day (1981), in his study of CALD immigrants in Canadian soccer clubs (where soccer is also not a mainstream sport), found participation actually increases the rate of integration. Similar to the prevalence of CALD Europeans in this study, Day's study included teams formed by Croatian, German, Greek, Italian, Portuguese, Dutch, Hungarian and Polish immigrants. Though the level of integration among different ethnicities varied, Day (1981, p.46) found that generally his sample was highly adjusted, with the majority of soccer participants speaking English 'very well,' while all clubs welcomed new members regardless of their backgrounds, resulting in: "...most teams [exhibiting] an ethnically mixed, integrated roster reflecting increasing levels of cultural assimilation..." However, he also found that despite this, only 1 club conducted meetings wholly in English, with 3 using only the language of the club's founders and the other 4 a mixture of English and their native tongue. This indicates that soccer clubs perform a dual role of enabling groups to practice cultural maintenance while also (in most cases) encouraging integration and inclusiveness. Day (1981, p.50) concluded that: "...ethnic soccer clubs in [Canada] appear to be promoting assimilation" – as found in this study.

Interestingly, the findings of this study suggest that soccer clubs are vehicles for two-way integration, with both CALD immigrants and members of the mainstream

population adapting to one another within the club – CALD immigrants by learning English and mainstream cultural practices, and mainstream Australians by removing cultural barriers and participating with CALD immigrants in a sport dominated by CALD immigrants since the Second World War. Soccer clubs can clearly play a role in societies that have implemented two-way integration policy models, such as in the European Union, as discussed in Chapter 1. Bosswick and Heckmann (2006, pp.22-25) noted that the two-way integration policies of the European Union were aimed at eliminating discrimination and xenophobia, as well as ensuring CALD immigrants were able to participate socially, culturally, politically and economically, while also having to learn the local language. As this study shows, soccer clubs can play a significant role in not only breaking down barriers between immigrant minorities and mainstream societies, but also educating new arrivals on the customs and culture of the host nation, as well as helping them develop their language skills.

Respondents born in Scotland and England stated that soccer itself was an important part of their adjustment experience, being something familiar to them in a foreign place, a point also argued previously by Mosely (1997a):

*“The game was a large part of my life in England and I was relieved that I could further my playing career here”* (Respondent 3).

For an immigrant from Sudan interviewed, soccer was a means of communication with members of other groups that he was otherwise unable to converse with:

*“Soccer became a common language when there was no language. It was a very good icebreaker”* (Respondent 48).



### 8.2.5 Soccer's role in immigrant adjustment

The research strongly indicated that soccer plays a role in the transition of immigrants socially and culturally. A common theme among responses was that soccer clubs had provided participants with a social space to interact with others, of both similar and varied backgrounds, around a common purpose. For example, a first generation European immigrant was asked if he thought being involved with his CALD immigrant-formed soccer club had helped older, single immigrants to settle:

*“I think so because all the migrants, including my parents and the people we knew, they had nowhere else to congregate, and that was part of the community, so they could get them all together and they felt like they belong somewhere, so apart from the church the soccer club was the next thing” (Key Informant 1).*

Another clear example of this was a statement from the chairperson of a soccer club formed by Abruzzese (Italian) immigrants:

*“The club – it was... the Abruzzese club... and it helped them establish the relationships with other people from the other parts of Italy and together they, through the club, helped each other out” (Key Informant 8).*

Others noted that soccer – being an activity familiar to many immigrants – assists in overcoming homesickness during settlement, for example:

*“...people play... for that contact of being around other players and it is a very networking thing to do. If you've played [in your homeland] and it's part of your... life, you more than likely want to play here because it's still that connection to home as well, so there's a bit of... homesickness attached to playing [soccer] as well. I know I certainly get [homesick]” (Key Informant 5).*

By being involved in a familiar activity with both Australians and other groups, soccer allows migrants to adjust gradually. In essence, soccer mixes the familiar with the new, helping participants to make the transition to the new. In Portes and Zhou's (1993) segmented assimilation model of adjustment, soccer can play a role in either assisting migrants to gradually acculturate and then integrate through exposure to Australian cultural values via a familiar activity, or (by generating social capital) it can impact on the socio-economic mobility of participants, while affording them a social space to practice cultural maintenance. This also fulfils an important role in multicultural models where there is an emphasis on accepting cultural maintenance while encouraging socio-economic integration – soccer clubs certainly can play a role in this process (Brown and Bean, 2011, p.95).

These responses also indicate that it is not ethnicity alone driving the sport's impact on the lives of immigrants; in many cases, it is the sport itself, which can then lead to further interaction with other groups:

*“[soccer] allows people to communicate and people just get along... you don't get [that] outside of a team environment and a club environment... And off the pitch as well... you get to know people... then you become [friends] with them...” (Key Informant 6).*

Clearly soccer has an impact on the lives of immigrants beyond their participation in the club itself as players, staff or supporters. Participation breaks down barriers between groups, widens social networks, creates relationships, allows migrants to find employment (leading to greater socio-economic mobility), educates new arrivals about local cultural values and can even assist them in learning the language. These factors are all crucial to the adjustment experience, especially for immigrants arriving

alone – as Junankar and Mahuteau (2005, pp.S38-S40) note, many CALD settlers are reliant on their existing network of family and friends for support (including finding employment) upon arrival. Soccer can supplement this to a degree, however only if the migrant seeks out a club initially.

Responses clearly showed that clubs composed of participants of both similar and diverse backgrounds influence adjustment; this was a theme common to all key informant interviews. One stated that his club had been the sole social outlet for players from Hong Kong:

“...[We’ve] *had some Hong Kong boys*... [For] *those two boys* [the club] *was... their only connection outside of their circle of friends from Hong Kong*... [The club helped] *them with their English as well*” (Key Informant 11).

This is another example of how soccer can be a gateway into a wider social network, with access to both bonding and bridging social capital, for CALD immigrants; it can also encourage two-way integration, as it provides a means for interaction on a personal level between CALD immigrants and members of the mainstream community. Sonderegger and Barrett (2005, p.342) asserted that adjustment is often stressful for new arrivals that have experienced emotional trauma prior to migration (such as refugees and humanitarian entrants) – soccer may be an ideal means of stimulating interaction with these migrants if soccer is a familiar activity to them. Furthermore, as soccer clubs clearly generate bridging social capital, it suggests that they encourage trust and co-operation among their participants, as well as social inclusiveness – as according to Putnam (2000), bridging social capital is only generated in such a scenario.

A strong example of the potential for soccer to influence adjustment was the response of the representative of a governing body:

*“[Participation in soccer clubs has] taught [immigrants] aspects about being involved in a broader community than just that ethnic community because... in a local league then they’re dealing with a whole range of people... A lot of our players are of, probably, working class... a lot of tradespeople. So if you need an electrician... Ivan in the Croatian club is a great electrician... But people who are not necessarily... of Croatian background but play for the Croatian club also have a greater insight into the sort of cultural, and the folk, aspects of the various clubs” (Key Informant 14).*

It is clear she believed that, in spite of immigrants being involved with ‘ethnic clubs,’ diversity within soccer leagues and competitions helped arrivals to understand not only Australian cultural values but those of other immigrants as well, and also generated bridging social capital through relationships established in other clubs.

### **8.2.6 Impact of soccer on the adjustment of female immigrants**

The number of South Australian males (46,300) attending soccer matches in 2009-10 was almost double that of females (23,600) (ABS, 2010a). There are currently more than double the number of male senior teams (131) in South Australia’s metropolitan soccer leagues than female senior teams (61). Consequently, 90 per cent of this project’s survey respondents were male. The survey provides some insights into gender roles in CALD communities and how this impacts on participation in soccer clubs, and also how effective soccer clubs are in assisting adjustment. Research on the role of women in Australian soccer has been extremely limited (Rosso, 2007, p.71). The fact that soccer, particularly when concerned with CALD immigrants, has been largely a male dominion in terms of playing and spectating, while women filled

‘behind the scenes’ roles – until recently – likely plays a role in this (Hay and Guoth, 2009, p.824; Hay, 2006b, p.166).

Two key informants, based on their experience of playing soccer in the 1960s and 1970s, confirmed that the participation of women at their club was restricted to the ‘behind the scenes’ roles, as noted by Hay and Guoth (2009, p.824):

*“They had a very active canteen... that was to promote more unison between [the supporters], give the spectators something to do and go [to] after the game... it may be sexist but women were in the kitchen and men were out drinking and enjoying the game... Women were in charge of [the social] aspect” (Key Informant 1).*

*“Back then really all they did, they didn’t have a [big] part in [the] running of the club other than maybe the canteen and the social side of things; organising maybe some functions and that” (Key Informant 2).*

While immigrant women largely did not play soccer key respondents nonetheless believed – as Hay and Guoth (2009, p.824) had previously argued – that they were crucial to the continued existence of many clubs and the social capital and other benefits they generated for immigrants:

*“Certainly if you go around to some of the older, ethnic clubs... the women are there, all the time, all sitting on the sidelines or in the kitchens... it’s very important... if they weren’t there then the men... may have disappeared by now” (Key Informant 13).*

*“Women have been important members of the club; they’ve been on committees and support staff since [the club was established]... and that has grown to women running sub-committees...” (Key Informant 8).*

Respondents suggested that the way in which women participate in soccer clubs has changed since the 1950s. Historically, women have participated in off-field roles most involving the social aspects of soccer clubs; this has since developed into women fulfilling more prominent off-field roles within clubs, as well as participating as players (Rosso, 2007):

*“We haven’t had a woman [chairperson] yet but we’ve certainly had... a woman [vice-chairperson], the secretaries of the club, which are important roles. And [in the last decade] we’ve incorporated women’s soccer into the club”* (Key Informant 8).

*“We’ve got more female presidents and secretary and committee members than ever before, so they’re getting involved in the administration arm of these clubs...”* (Key Informant 15).

The role of women in soccer has evolved so they now fulfil a greater range of roles in clubs, from player to coach to supporter to board member:

*“[In] our current set up, obviously [for] the women’s teams, every team has a [female] representative as part of the board, besides the standalone positions... There’s a parents’ group, which has two women and two men... who look after the junior girls... And the coaches... next year we’re hoping to have a female coach for every age group”* (Key Informant 4).

However, in the case of smaller clubs that do not have women’s teams, the role of women within the club remains as limited:

*“[There are no women involved] as players or committee members. We do have the partners of several of the guys that come out and support us and help us [with] fundraising events and stuff like that...”* (Key Informant 7).

The issue is perhaps best summarised by a response from the female key informant:

*“So we’ve come a long way and there’s still a long way to go, and the fact that... locally, that girl’s and women’s participation now, I would like to think, is part and parcel of the club environment, whereas maybe twenty years ago it was a challenge to get the clubs to accept a women’s team. Now it’s if you don’t have a women’s team then there’s something wrong”*  
(Key Informant 14).

Hay (2006b, p.166) argues the development of women’s soccer presents an opportunity to involve more families within the sport by encouraging the participation of women as players and in prominent off-field roles. The widening of the role of women in soccer clubs means that they can potentially play an even greater role in facilitating the adjustment of CALD immigrants among their generations of arrivals.

### **8.2.7 Key themes**

This section has established that participation in soccer clubs has influenced the adjustment of immigrants. Both larger groups of immigrants of a shared heritage and individuals have been able to access social networks through participation in soccer. Clubs have provided an opportunity to mix with others of the same heritage, as well as members of the mainstream population and other CALD groups. Soccer clubs can generate both bridging and bonding social capital (Putnam and Goss, 2002, p.11).

The situation in Australia is similar to that which Aguilera and Massey (2003, p.674) describe in the American context – clubs provide immigrants with social capital not available to them through their familial networks. Spectators conversing and exchanging information at matches results in the generation of social capital; but the interactions facilitated go well beyond this, resulting in stronger benefits. Table 8.1 summarises the major benefits that participation in soccer can provide immigrants as distilled from the results of this study. Soccer clubs can generate both bridging and

bonding social capital, offer CALD groups an opportunity to have positive interaction with the mainstream, overcome homesickness and loneliness, and offer a social space for migrants to maintain a connection to their heritage, beyond the first generation.

**Table 8.1: Major Benefits of Participation in Soccer Clubs for CALD Immigrants**

<b>Benefit of Participation</b>	<b>How This is Fulfilled</b>
Social Capital (Bridging and Bonding)	Soccer clubs generate both types of social capital by providing a social space where different groups can interact. This results in immigrants forming or joining networks and using them to find housing and employment, as well as developing their English skills and understanding mainstream Australian culture.
Interaction with Mainstream	Though often regarded as the ‘immigrant sport,’ soccer enables migrants to have positive interaction with mainstream Australians. This allows migrants to join wider social networks, as well as serving to further enhance their English skills and knowledge of Australian culture. In turn, mainstream Australians are exposed to diverse cultures and may become more accepting of other groups.
Overcoming Homesickness	Soccer enjoys unrivalled global popularity (Sugden and Tomlinson, 1994, p.4); as such, it is a sport known to many immigrants. The opportunity to participate in soccer, a familiar activity, may serve to ease the homesickness felt by many new arrivals during settlement. Clubs formed by immigrants of the same or similar backgrounds can also assist by providing access to a group with common cultural traits, language and ideals (Price and Whitworth, 2004, p.168).
Breaking Down Loneliness	Soccer is a social activity, regardless of the participant’s role. It allows for positive interaction with different groups and enables immigrants to socialise, build networks and form long-term relationships with other participants. Single immigrants may meet future partners at soccer clubs.
Cultural Maintenance	Soccer clubs formed or patronised by a group with the same or similar backgrounds can assist immigrants in maintaining a connection to their culture, even when official government settlement policy is assimilation. However, as stated by Les Murray (2006, pp.50-51) in his autobiography, cultural maintenance through ‘ethnic’ soccer clubs can in fact help to increase the rate of integration among immigrants. Cultural maintenance forms an important part of some multicultural policies, such as the Canadian model (Markus et al., 2009, p.95).

Source: Immigrant Survey, 2011; key informant interviews



There is also evidence of two-way integration occurring within some soccer clubs as a result of the participation of immigrants of various backgrounds and members of the mainstream society, with both groups adjusting to each other culturally through the interactions that occur within soccer clubs (Bosswick and Heckmann, 2006). CALD immigrants learn more about Australian cultural norms while mainstream Australians become more understanding of the cultures of other groups. As soccer becomes the common interest among those participating in a club, it allows social barriers to be overcome that would otherwise be in place. The results also indicate how the role of women in Australian soccer clubs has changed since the 1950s and 1960s, moving from (nonetheless crucial) 'behind the scenes' roles to playing, coaching and serving on committees as well as taking up administration roles in clubs – this is another issue in need of greater attention from scholars.

### **8.3 The Influence of Soccer Clubs on Cultural Maintenance**

#### **8.3.1 Overview**

The second study objective was to investigate the influence of participation in soccer clubs on influencing cultural maintenance. Many scholars have analysed how postwar CALD European immigrants resisted assimilation through cultural maintenance; Castles (1992, p.551), for example, argued that cultural maintenance was strongest among Southern Europeans, due largely to distinctive cultural differences to the mainstream. This was especially so for Italians and Greeks, who showed prominent characteristics of cultural maintenance. Communities and social networks were crucial to cultural maintenance among Southern Europeans (Castles et al., 1998, p.370); as soccer clubs could be considered to be key components of

immigrant networks, this section will analyse the impact of participation in soccer on cultural maintenance (Price and Whitworth, 2004).

### **8.3.2 Negative perceptions of soccer**

The conventional stereotype in Australia is that immigrant participation in Australian soccer competitions is negative, encourages separatism and discourages involvement in wider Australian society. Some conservatives have used this in their criticisms of multiculturalism (Gorman, 2013, p.5). A strong example of this was the attack by right-wing commentator Andrew Bolt (*Herald Sun* [Melbourne], 28<sup>th</sup> June 2006) on Australians of CALD descent supporting the Greek, Italian and Croatian soccer teams that played Australia in 2006. As discussed in Chapter 5, Bolt linked this phenomenon to riots and protests in other nations, where CALD immigrants had similarly been seen supporting the nation of their heritage over the host nation's team, warning that cultural maintenance through soccer may have a similar outcome in Australia. Soccer presenter Andrew Orsatti responded to Bolt's article, arguing that Australia's assimilationist policies during the key periods of Southern and Eastern European settlement and the racist attitudes of the mainstream played a role in strengthening loyalties to the homelands:

“After decades of persecution, you can understand why so many Australians from various ethnic groups supported their heritage, not their home during the World Cup. ...many Australian-Italians, born, raised and living here today [have a choice of who to support]... They have enough reasons running through their veins, fuelled by a country that labelled them ‘wogs’ for too long” (Orsatti, *The World Game*, 13<sup>th</sup> July 2006, p.1).

Sports commentators and journalists have also highlighted the ethnic aspect of soccer, using incidents involving clubs formed by CALD immigrants to criticise both the sport and its participants and question their loyalties to Australia (B. Murray, 2006,

pp.101-103; Gorman, 2013, p.5). According to Bill Murray (2006, p.102), during the key period of Southern and Eastern European settlement, following any on or off-field incidents, immigrants were described by the media as ‘hot-blooded Latins’ who needed to assimilate, while their Anglo-Australian counterparts were presented as even-tempered. Later, in the 1996 during David Hill’s campaign to remove ethnic symbols from club merchandise, George Negus stated in an opinion piece that:

“Multiculturalism is a two-way process. In this case, it involves non-ethnic Australians benefitting from soccer’s old ethnic roots and the original ethnically-based clubs benefitting from and becoming part of non-ethnically based Australia” (as quoted in Gorman, 2013, p.3).

Despite using multiculturalism in his argument, it is clear that Negus believed that CALD immigrant-formed clubs needed to shed their cultural connections and assimilate into the mainstream; notably, he used ‘Australia’ only when referring to ‘non-ethnics.’

A more recent example is Rebecca Wilson’s (*The Daily Telegraph* [Sydney], 25<sup>th</sup> August 2012) argument that in 2012 Australian soccer was ‘on the brink of ruin’ due to CALD immigrants continuing ‘wars’ from the homelands, while echoing the view of her predecessors that fans of ‘Australian’ sports such as Australian Rules football are even-tempered:

“[Soccer] Administrators... go into self-denial if anyone dares to mention the violence is endemic or ethnic-based. It is, of course, all of the above... It all proved too much for outgoing boss, Ben Buckley, who was more accustomed to the good-natured banter of a Carlton/Collingwood rivalry in his former [Australian Rules football] gig... What [young soccer players] experience in Australia are... systems rooted in ethnic feuds” (Wilson, *The Daily Telegraph* [Sydney], 25<sup>th</sup> August 2012, p.2).

Wilson (*The Daily Telegraph* [Sydney], 3<sup>rd</sup> January 2014, p.2) again attacked soccer in an article following a brawl in December 2013 between supporters of Melbourne Victory and Western Sydney Wanderers, reiterating that the behaviour of soccer fans was not indicative of ‘Australians’: “...the innocents caught in the middle of it were shocked that this could happen in Australia.”

Negative perceptions of immigration and immigrants in Australia may also play a role in media attacks on CALD participation in soccer. As Papademetriou and Heuser (2009, p.22) state:

“Broadly speaking, public anxiety about immigrants and immigration has increased across the globe in the past decade. While well-documented increases in migration flows and stocks (especially illegal ones) are partly responsible, it is the rapid *pace*<sup>49</sup> of these changes that has been a key driver of anxiety.”

Given Australia’s status as a traditional immigration country and changes in both the source and type of new arrivals, it is unsurprising that soccer is commonly linked to criticisms of migrants by right wing commentators. The media is a strong influence on public opinion of immigration (Papademetriou and Heuser, 2009, p.23). This section will discern whether there are any negative impacts on settlement through participation in clubs, as suggested by the media and right wing commentators since CALD immigrants began to have an influence on soccer in Australia.

### **8.3.3 Soccer clubs and cultural maintenance**

Some key informants believed that clubs formed by a single ethnic group allowed immigrants facing cultural barriers to interact closely with others of the same heritage,

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<sup>49</sup> Papademetriou and Heuser’s emphasis.

easing homesickness and loneliness. Others viewed these clubs as being unnecessary, and potentially could encourage antipathy towards the host nation:

*“...it’s quite feasible for the third generation... to develop even some antipathy to Australia because of... sporting incidents or... total engagement in the club and then identifying with the homeland through the club...” (Key Informant 17).*

There exists little evidence from the survey results, however, that soccer clubs have encouraged participants to identify with their cultural homeland over Australia, as argued by right-wing commentators. Some 92 per cent of survey respondents identified as either Australian or half-Australian, including all Italians and Greeks – two of the groups Bolt had attacked, and noted by Castles (1992, p.551) as strongly resisting assimilation through cultural maintenance and the establishment of ethnic networks and communities.

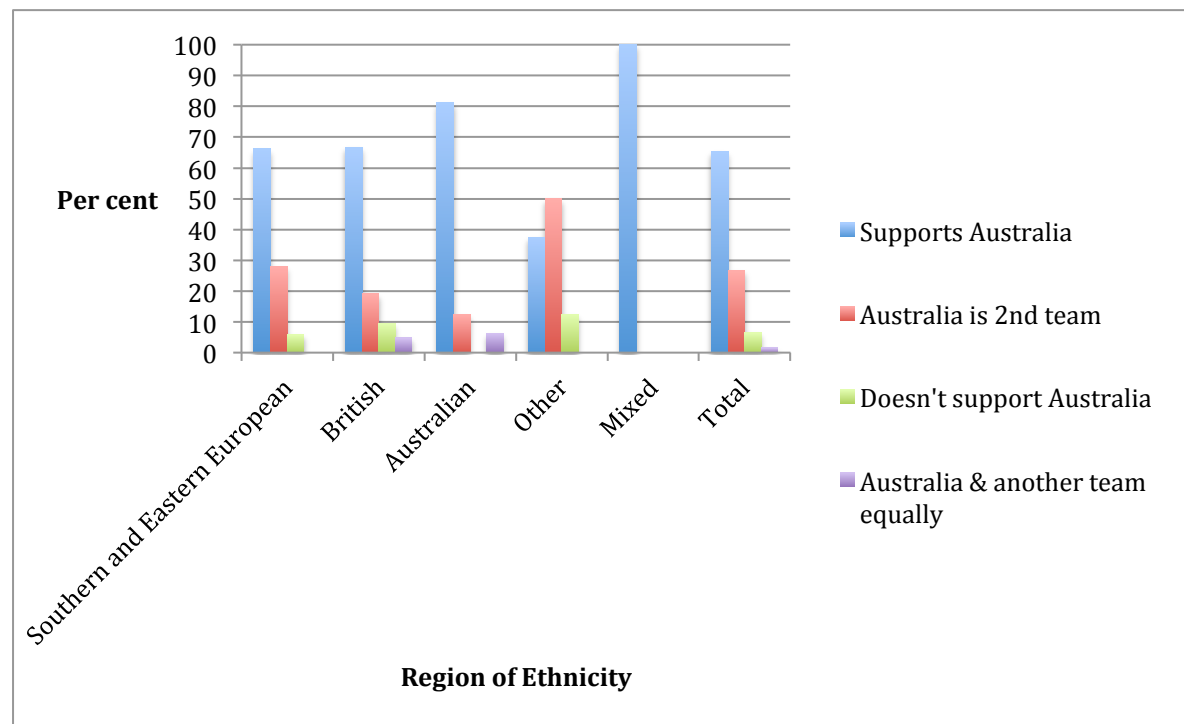
Furthermore, as Figure 8.3 shows, only 6.4 of respondents did not support the Australian men’s national soccer team – a phenomenon crucial to the argument of Bolt that soccer support is a gauge of separatism among immigrants, and a harbinger of violent behaviour, including rioting. However, Italians were the least likely to support Australia over another nation. The success of the Italian men’s team over the last 30 years<sup>50</sup> may be responsible for this; the case of success influencing supporter loyalties has been argued previously by Funk et al. (2002) and Wann et al. (1996). There is evidence to suggest this does not represent disloyalty to Australia, as all Italian respondents considered themselves either Australian or half Australian, nor

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<sup>50</sup> Won FIFA World Cup in 1982 and 2006, runners-up in 1994, third place in 1990, European championships runner up in 2000 (and in 2012, though that occurred after the survey component of the research had been completed).

does the phenomenon of immigrants supporting the soccer team of their homeland over Australia reflect an anti-Australian or anti-social attitude.

**Figure 8.3: Support of Australian Men's Soccer Team by Region of Ethnicity (n=124)**



Source: Immigrant Survey, 2011

Some key informants believed that clubs featuring participants of the same or similar backgrounds ('ethnic' soccer clubs) could potentially hinder positive engagement with other groups. This would prevent clubs from generating bridging social capital, which is especially important for immigrants with refugee backgrounds (Putnam and Goss, 2002). Previously, Australian soccer administrators had tried to force ethnic-based clubs to remove visible connections to their identity in the belief it would make the sport more appealing to the mainstream and other groups (Solly, 2004, pp.107-108). Key informant responses indicated that, despite potentially assisting some immigrants, ethnic-based clubs were unnecessary, for example:

*“...if you’re not from that particular ethnic background... they tend to be very closed and make it hard for people to get in there... I don’t see a real need for it... [Ethnicities] don’t really have anything to do with sports...”* (Key Informant 7)

*“...if they don’t have that opportunity to interact [with other groups] through soccer, because they are so insular [because of] having their own ethnic clubs, it is a great shame. And... you see a lot of violence... Sometimes it is an existing rivalry that they are bringing from their home countries... but sometimes it might be just the mentality and the scars that they carry with them, especially if they’re refugees...”* (Key Informant 6).

The issue of ethnic clubs being somewhat closed to other groups is an important one; it is evidence that such clubs encourage cultural maintenance. However, this also contrasts with the point of Les Murray (2006, pp.50-51), where his (Hungarian immigrant-formed) club actually increased the rate of integration for its participants. Also, other responses suggested that clubs formed by a single ethnic group are declining in number, indicating there is some merit to the notion that clubs should aim to attract a more multicultural base – if only so they are able to survive after their original founders and members adjust and no longer need the club:

*“...if you want to go to an ethnic club, there are only a few available now. ...it’s unusual for a new club to develop with any sort of ethnic base, it’s just the old clubs... it may not be that far into the future when all of the clubs assimilate...”* (Key Informant 12).

*“There’s strong [ethnic] communities still, but as a place to go... or a community organisation that supports... bocce or football, or folk dancing... they’ve disappeared”* (Key Informant 14).

#### **8.3.4 Respondent participation in ‘ethnic’ soccer clubs**

Respondents were asked if the supporters and players at their club were of similar or mixed ethnic backgrounds – the most notable finding was that Italian respondents were far more likely (67 per cent) to state that their club featured supporters of similar

backgrounds than the overall sample (36 per cent). While this indicates cultural maintenance, it should be considered that the number of prominent Italian soccer clubs in South Australia is a key factor. Clubs formed by Italian settlers represent 5 of the 14 clubs in South Australia's highest division of soccer, including the top 4 teams, as shown in Table 8.2.

**Table 8.2: South Australian National Premier League Ladder, 2013 Season**

<b>Rank</b>	<b>Club Name</b>	<b>Formed</b>	<b>Origin</b>
1	NE Metrostars	1994	Italian
2	Adelaide Blue Eagles	1958	Italian
3	Adelaide City	1946	Italian
4	Campbelltown City	1963	Italian
5	Raiders	1952	Croatian
6	Cumberland United	1943	British
7	West Torrens Birkalla	1933	British
8	Western Strikers	1987	Italian
9	Para Hills Knights	1964	British
10	White City	1949	Serbian
11	Croydon Kings	1950	Polish
12	Adelaide Comets	1994	Greek
13	Adelaide Cobras	1972	Greek Cypriot
14	Enfield City	1946	British and German

Source: FFSA, 2013c; Adelaide Comets FC, 2013; Harlow, 2003

Adelaide City is a noted club in Australia, having won 17 first division titles and 16 state cup competitions, as well as 3 NSL championships and cups. In 1946, members of another Italian soccer club, Savoy – which had been formed and disbanded in 1940 – created Adelaide City (as Juventus) (Harlow, 2003, p.175). From 1947 to 1968, it won 9 first division championships. Clearly, Adelaide City was a source of pride to South Australia's Italian communities, and perhaps its success inspired the formation of other Italian clubs, such as Adelaide Blue Eagles (formed in 1958 by immigrants from Naples as Eastern Districts) and Campbelltown City, formed in 1963 (Harlow, 2003, pp.174, 179).



Respondents were also asked if their club had a reputation of being ethnic, and then if this reputation was accurate. While 64 per cent of respondents stated that their club did not have a reputation of being ethnic based, 67 per cent of Italians felt that their club did. Again, this may be affected by the existence of prominent soccer clubs in South Australia formed by Italians, including Adelaide City, Adelaide Blue Eagles and Campbelltown City.

In order to identify if the ethnic rivalries associated with soccer in Australia were still prevalent today, respondents were asked if there was an Australian soccer club they disliked above all others. Some 75 per cent of respondents stated that they did not dislike a particular Australian club. Italians (37 per cent) were the most likely group to dislike a certain team, while Southern and Eastern Europeans overall (34 per cent) were slightly more likely to than the overall sample. Furthermore, only 26 per cent named clubs not participating in the A-League – indicating that interstate rivalry (A-League teams from other states were the most common responses) is perhaps now more prevalent than ethnic rivalry. Regarding the issue of (ethnic) violence at soccer matches (as noted in Chapter 5), only 26 per cent of respondents who disliked a particular club had been in a confrontation with its supporters.

### **8.3.5 Key themes**

There was little evidence from the results to suggest that participation in ‘ethnic’ soccer clubs encourages antipathy towards Australia, or loyalty to the cultural homeland over the host nation. Following the international soccer team representing the cultural homeland over Australia’s does not correlate with identifying with another nationality. This issue is crucial to conservative attacks on ethnicity in

soccer; the research does not support the notion that participation in a soccer club is linked to violent, anti-social behaviour, such as rioting (Bolt, *Herald Sun* [Melbourne], 28<sup>th</sup> June 2006).

Some key informants believed that teams consisting of players of a single background potentially stimulate anti-social behaviour and cause on-field violence. For some groups, which face strong barriers to integration, it is possible that soccer can have a negative influence on their adjustment should they not be exposed to different groups other than as on-field opponents. Nonetheless, the notion that ethnic rivalries and related violence is still a significant issue in Australian soccer was not supported (Wilson, *The Daily Telegraph* [Sydney], 25<sup>th</sup> August 2012). Instead, it is indicated that many soccer clubs formed by immigrants of the same or similar backgrounds increased the rate and level of integration (L. Murray, 2006, pp.50-51; Nikolich, 1999) and encouraged the development of cultural pluralism, where participants both identify with their cultural heritage and as being Australian or half-Australian (Waters, 1990). Clearly 'ethnic' soccer clubs can play a role in cultural pluralism across immigrant generations, similar to other ethnic organisations (Jordan et al., 2009).

## **8.4 Sport and Recent Arrivals**

### **8.4.1 Background**

As discussed previously (in Sections 5.2 and 5.3), soccer in Australia has historically been dominated in terms of participation by working class British and mainland European immigrants, owing largely to these groups accounting for the majority of immigration to Australia during soccer's formative years and its boom period; the

latter occurred during the key period of mainland European settlement (Hay, 2006a, Kallinikios, 2007). However, British and European immigrants are no longer the most numerous among Australia's permanent settler intakes; in 2011-12, British and Europeans accounted for just 15.9 per cent of all permanent settler arrivals, while immigrants from Asia, Africa and the Middle Eastern represented 58.6 per cent and Oceania (mostly New Zealand) 22.4 per cent (ABS, 2012a).

Furthermore, there has been a recent shift away from permanent settlers to skilled, temporary immigrants and students, with Australia now one of the top five destinations for overseas students – over 2 million student visas were granted from 2003-04 to 2011-12 (Hugo, 2006, pp.110-111; DIAC, 2010a; 2012a). Notably, China and India provided 31.8 per cent of all temporary students during this period, while South Korea and Thailand were also top 5 source countries (DIAC, 2010a; 2012a). It is therefore important to develop an understanding of the role sport may play in the adjustment of these immigrants, and to analyse if it differs from the impact of sport – and particularly soccer – on their British and European predecessors, especially as there is a gap in the literature regarding this issue despite numerous works on Asian and African immigration to Australia (Coughlan and McNamara, 1997; Viviani, 1984; Jayasuriya, 2012; Cox et al., 1999; Fozdar, 2012; Correa-Velez et al., 2010).

The Centre for Multicultural Youth Issues (CMYI) (2007, p.7) Report argued that targeted sport programs help to build trust, support settlement and inclusion, and help young migrants to develop skills that can be used in other facets of their life. The Report nonetheless warns that sport can only assist immigrants where certain social barriers have been removed – such as ensuring that migrant youth have access to

housing and health services, employment and education pathways, community and family support, and that diversity and social inclusion is actively encouraged. That sport needed to be recognised and properly resourced by settlement services was also raised. Another important issue the Report raises is that new arrivals will most closely identify with others of the same or similar backgrounds and experiences, likely resulting in this being key to their participation in sport. This coincides with the experiences of Les Murray (2006, pp.50-51), who stated that being around other Hungarian immigrants at soccer matches was comforting for him, and may actually have enabled him to integrate quicker.

Cortis et al.'s (2007) Report on CALD female participation in sport argued that while sport in Australia is more accessible for women than in many other countries, there are still notable barriers. These include socio-cultural barriers, whereby it is not appropriate for women to participate in sport in some cultures. In 2012, the sports participation rate for female children (age 5-14) born in non-English speaking countries (31.1 per cent) was far lower than for female children born in English-speaking countries (63 per cent) (ABS, 2012e).

Like the CMYI Report, Cortis et al. (2007) argued that financial barriers were a significant issue. The Report found that participation in sport improves mental and physical health, as well as enabling participants to make friends and mix with other groups (bridging social capital) and retain cultural identity (cultural maintenance) – as this thesis has shown is the case for immigrants participating in soccer. This suggests that the findings may also be applicable to some other sports and activities, and for women as well as men.

The Settlement Council of Australia (SCOA) (2012, p.2) Report, also takes the position that participation in sport can be of great benefit socially to immigrants, identified the five most significant barriers to immigrant participation in sport – lack of funding, lack of communication and collaboration between sporting and settlement organisations, cultural sensitivity issues, lack of opportunities for women and lack of information regarding opportunities to be involved in sport. Like the CMYI Report, the SCOA Report noted that most sports participation programs were ‘ad-hoc’ and short-term, relying on philanthropic organisations and government funding; and that the programs need to be sustained for their participants to benefit fully from their involvement – this thesis has provided several examples of the positive impacts of longer term participation in soccer clubs. The SCOA Report also notes that cultural barriers can prevent or deter CALD participation in sport; this was raised by the other two Reports and discussed by key informants, as will be shown in this section.

#### **8.4.2 Asian, African and Middle Eastern immigrant participation in soccer**

Key informants representing State or Territory governing bodies of soccer estimated – with no access to data to quantify their answers – that less than 5 per cent of registered players in their competitions were Asian, Middle Eastern or African immigrants. However, both key informants and other sources indicated that African, Asian and Middle Eastern immigrants do actively participate in soccer, though it is often outside standard senior league competitions.

Of the Asian, African and Middle Eastern respondents within the survey (5 had immigrated since 2000 and were students), 3 stated that their involvement with a soccer club had helped them to adjust to life in Australia, while 3 were unsure. One

was of Northern African origin; he had written about the role soccer played as a common language in his questionnaire and then elaborated in his interview:

*“[Soccer’s] had a huge... impact on my life. I found in the beginning, coming here to Australia, it was really hard to make friends despite my prior knowledge of English... I think the problem was that... I didn’t really socialise the same way Australians do, in terms of pub culture and so forth. There really wasn’t a common denominator or an ice breaker until soccer came along... I would say easily a third... of my friends would actually be a result of playing soccer and [I’m] greatly indebted to them to this day because you get on the field and you’re no longer... a different looking person, you’re just a player... ...people get to talk to you a bit more, they sort of relate to you a bit more” (Key Informant 3).*

This response clearly shows that soccer influences the adjustment of CALD immigrants other than Europeans, as his English language skills did not enable him to instantly integrate into Australian society and the cultural differences – as raised in the SCOA Report – were too great to overcome. It also indicates that, while there may be financial or social barriers that prevent many new immigrants from becoming involved with a soccer club participating in a structured competition, there are benefits for those who do. A key informant believed his semi-professional soccer club would offer any immigrant, regardless of their background, instant access to a large community of people with a common interest:

*“Our club... would provide any migrant with the opportunity to form relationships and... friendships with different people. Whether you’re Italian, Chinese or Sudanese, if you join our club you immediately become a member of a 500-strong group and throughout that 500-strong group there’s going to be some people that will help you assimilate into mainstream life...” (Key Informant 8).*

However, welcoming immigrants to participate alone does not remove the barriers outlined in this section that prevent them from joining a club.

There were examples of more recent CALD immigrants to Australia utilising a soccer club as a social network and a gateway into the wider community, much like postwar European settlers did. The chairperson of a semi-professional soccer club believed that his club had made a big impact on the lives of new arrivals in the area:

*“Yes, and especially in the last few years with the Afghans and [other new arrivals] with the [local] council. We’ve got a few teams that are all nearly non-English speaking. A lot of them, from especially around this area and we’ve been doing that for the last three, four years... [We give] them an avenue to play a team game and... to socialise with everybody else – other nationalities and religions...”* (Key Informant 9).

However, there are key differences. In this case the immigrants required the assistance of an established soccer club and the local council to create the social space for them.

The interviews also revealed that soccer clubs can act as a social space where their participants can escape the social issues they may be facing, if only for a short time – the results have previously displayed that participation in soccer can ease homesickness, loneliness and otherwise improve mental well-being. For example, the representative of an amateur soccer club formed by the Vietnamese community felt that his club has helped to remedy some of the social issues facing Vietnamese youths (including second generation immigrants<sup>51</sup>):

*“...so many of our young people, they have got problems... We entertain them because they have at least got something... [It’s] good entertainment for them, at least. Especially [since] soccer is one of the traditional [sports] from [Vietnam]”* (Key Informant 10).

<sup>51</sup> “[Some] were born here, but most, majority, they follow their parents [to Australia from Vietnam]” (Key informant 10).

It is important to note that Vietnamese community leaders have previously investigated the potential use of soccer clubs for helping immigrants to adjust, however as McCoy (1997, pp.138-139, 143) points out the scholastic concerns of Vietnamese parents prevented many young Vietnamese immigrants from participating in soccer clubs, hence there was no ‘Vietnamese soccer boom’ during the key periods of Vietnamese immigration to Australia. A key informant confirmed this:

*“...most... Vietnamese, when they came to Australia... firstly with their parents, they [worked] for their life, their living, and they [looked] for a job, so [they only started playing sport] after a few years... In South Australia [we’ve] only just [organised] a club for players in the Vietnamese community” (Key Informant 10).*

For immigrants whose primary barrier to participation is financial, there were cases noted by respondents of semi-professional soccer clubs not charging registration fees – which can reach up to \$2,400 per season for junior players at semi-professional clubs – and supplying playing equipment such as boots, shin guards, goalkeeper gloves and team uniforms, normally paid for by the participants (Power and McDougall, *The Daily Telegraph* [Sydney], 27<sup>th</sup> December 2013). As one key informant explained:

*“All the clubs have said ‘we will welcome migrants,’ but three or four or five have... been proactive in terms of waivering [sic] participation fees and providing [equipment]” (Key Informant 3).*

However, as indicated by the chairperson of one such club, financially supporting CALD immigrants was heavily reliant on government funding:



“[The] *new arrivals... they only give them a grant once, so if they're left at your club – I think this year it's cost us about \$7,000 with all the new arrivals that the government didn't give us any money for...*” (Key Informant 9).

This is supported by the SCOA (2012, p.3) Report, which stated that the lack of government funding for programs targeting CALD immigrant participation in sport is an issue, as is the fact that the programs tend to be ‘one-offs.’ A clear example of this problem was the project based in Blair Athol (South Australia), which was both reliant on Federal government funding and limited in scope, as it centred on the construction of 3 futsal (indoor soccer) courts – requiring \$212,000 from the Regional Development Australia Fund – intended to encourage the 50 to 100 African children playing unstructured soccer in the area to participate in semi-structured competitions (Conlin, *The Daily Telegraph* [Sydney], 3<sup>rd</sup> December 2013).

#### **8.4.3 Unstructured participation in soccer**

Some key informants indicated that it was more common for CALD Asian and African immigrants to participate in soccer in an unstructured way, such as playing impromptu or pre-arranged games in parks or on university grounds in the case of students. These key informants believed that the structure of soccer competitions was a significant issue – this concurs with the previously discussed Reports. The inability of immigrants to commit to the structured nature of sport due to them concentrating on studies or work suggests that McCoy’s (1997) analysis of Vietnamese participation in sport is also relevant to other groups. Some key informants also felt that a lack of English skills was a deterrent in structured competition, as the Reports had suggested. An immigrant of North African descent added that the strong connection to a certain

ethnicity within some soccer clubs made it difficult for people not of that background to integrate into the club's culture and fully benefit from the experience.

Key informants suggested the implementation of a semi-structured competition to encourage participation, which would remove the cost barrier and the need to commit to training and playing every week at specific times; this would obviously be of great benefit to refugees and students, two key groups of current immigrants to Australia (DIAC, 2012). It would be beneficial to involve mainstream Australians in social competitions created for CALD immigrants, as this potentially creates an environment for two-way integration, as well as providing CALD immigrants with access to both bridging and bonding social capital (Bosswick and Heckmann, 2006, pp.22-25; Putnam and Goss, 2002, p.11).

There are numerous recent media releases and news reports of new arrivals forming amateur teams and holding their own unofficial competitions. One such example is the African communities of Cairns forming a team in 2011, Redlynch Gold, comprised of new arrivals from Sudan, Burundi, Uganda, Rwanda, Tanzania, Zimbabwe and the Democratic Republic of Congo. The concept behind the team was to:

“...bring the whole African community together, get closer with each other because we're all from different parts and we all speak different languages, but when we come together it's a really exciting thing” (Kelly Wetzel, as quoted in Davis, *ABC Far North Queensland*, 20<sup>th</sup> April 2011, p.1).

Another news report noted the emergence of African youth star players from unofficial competitions in Perth, including an 'African Nations Cup' and an annual 'Ethnic World Cup,' who later entered professional soccer career paths – both locally

and in Europe. The report also notes that at the 2011 NTC Challenge (a tournament featuring state sports academy teams), 7 of the 15-player team of the tournament were Africans, compared to only 2 in 2006 (Cockerill, *The Age* [Melbourne], 24<sup>th</sup> December 2011).

Other tournaments featuring new arrivals include the Australian Somali Championships, held annually in Melbourne. The 2013 edition featured ‘hundreds’ of players from across Australia and New Zealand, not only of Somali origin but from Kenya, Eritrea, South Sudan and Ethiopia, as well as some non-African Australians.

The purpose of the event was ultimately to:

“...make sure we can open up pathways to employment for these people who are participating but also developing the capacity of young people as the next level of leadership” (Stuart Gillespie, as quoted in Boreham, *SBS*, 26<sup>th</sup> August 2013, p.1).

Unite FC, a team of the best 15-18 year old players selected from the Australian Somali Championships, has travelled overseas to compete in international tournaments, featuring elite level teams (Australian Somali Football Association, 2012).

The establishment of tournaments for African migrants is becoming a common occurrence in Australian soccer, with state governing bodies of soccer supporting the competitions. Football West – Western Australia’s governing body of soccer, has established the Africa Down Under Cup, to be held in September 2014. The competition will comprise 8 teams formed by Perth’s African communities. It is however dependent on sponsorships from outside (corporate) sources – \$500 to cover a team’s playing kits, water bottles and soccer balls (Football West, *Africa Down*

*Under*, 29<sup>th</sup> August 2013b). Similarly, FFSA – South Australia’s governing body of soccer – held its own African Nations Cup in October 2013, featuring 10 teams representing Sudan, Tanzania, Somalia, Burundi, South Sudan, Ethiopia, Nigeria, Zambia, Ghana and Sierra Leone (FFSA, 2013d).

It is clear that while Asian, African and Middle Eastern immigrant participation may not be as prominent in structured competitions as for Europeans and Anglo-Australians, these groups – and especially Africans – are nonetheless participating in soccer. As noted by Ellis and Sharma (2013, p.371), unstructured play may be more appealing to African immigrants especially, as in youth soccer there is little structured play in Africa. Being unable or unwilling to commit to participating in structured competitions may limit the benefits of participating in soccer, as they are not becoming involved with a club over a sustained period, which several respondents have noted or otherwise indicated as being of great importance in developing their social networks and language skills.

#### **8.4.4 Gender**

SCOA (2012, p.2) and Cortis et al. (2007, pp.8-9) both raised the issue of significant socio-cultural barriers for some female immigrants in sport – notably those from cultures where women are generally expected to perform roles within the home only. Cortis et al. (p.9) also noted that female-only facilities were required for participants from some cultures – of which there are a currently a limited number in Australia outside the elite level. This issue also emerged in the key informant interviews, perhaps most strongly evidenced by this statement from the representative of a

governing body of soccer (who was also the administrator of an elite level women's soccer team):

*“I have a bit of a joke with [our Indian players] every now and then, saying: ‘Where are your women? Why don’t you have a women’s team?’ And they laugh, and... women... sitting on the sideline... say ‘oh, we have to look after the children’ or ‘we can’t play.’ And I say ‘rubbish, you can play, anybody can play this sport.’ So we would like to engage with them as well... I know that of the new arrival African communities, the priority is for the women to... be at home, look after the children, get the food on the table, that sort of stuff. Very, very difficult to engage with them... So getting their kids involved in the community is important. The boys and the men will always go first – that’s a cultural thing – and then the girls, if the girls are allowed out of the home. I mean, you’re dealing with some psychological and social issues... Those people... have come from trauma and dreadful situations sometimes, so allowing girls out onto the street is a challenge... We need some role models, perhaps...” (Key Informant 14).*

The comment is somewhat reflective of the role of women in CALD European communities during the peak years of mainland European immigration to Australia, where women were expected to maintain the home while the men worked (Vasta, 1995, p.158). The SCOA (2012, p.6) Report also criticised government-funded programs targeting CALD immigrants for being engendered towards male immigrants, and suggested that the scope of such programs be broadened to include females. It also suggested that female social workers be dispatched to sporting events involving female CALD immigrants in order to ‘allay the fears’ of the immigrants’ families. The need for role models, however, was not among the recommendations made by the SCOA Report, and needs to be addressed in future research on this issue.

#### **8.4.5 Other sport**

Soccer is largely not seen in Australia as a mainstream sport and is often viewed or ridiculed as a CALD immigrant sport (Hay, 2006b). Therefore, it is also worth

investigating immigrant participation in 'Australian' sports as a means of stimulating positive interaction between CALD groups and mainstream Australians and thus access to bridging social capital (Putnam and Goss, 2002, p.11). In the case of South Australia, these sports include Australian Rules football and cricket, though soccer is now almost equal to cricket in spectatorship (ABS, 2010b).

Most key informants agreed that Australian Rules would not be appropriate for recent CALD immigrants, owing to the fact that it is largely unknown outside of Australia and is a far more physically confronting sport than soccer, while cricket would only be suitable for arrivals from nations where it is a dominant sport, such as India, Pakistan and Sri Lanka (Rumford, 2007). Cricket players, including Australian international representative Usman Khawaja, former asylum seeker Fawad Ahmed, Clive Rose (all of Pakistani heritage) and Gurinder Sandhu (of Indian descent) can serve as role models for Australia's South Asian communities (The Indian Express, *The Indian Express*, 22<sup>nd</sup> August 2012; Saltau, *The Age* [Melbourne], 2<sup>nd</sup> November 2012; Jones, *The Age* [Sydney], 15<sup>th</sup> January 2011). Lisa Sthalekar, who became the first cricketer of Indian descent to represent Australia internationally in 2001, may also serve as a role model for female immigrants of South Asian background (The Indian Express, *The Indian Express*, 22<sup>nd</sup> August 2012).

A representative of a governing body of Australian Rules interviewed ran specialised clinics to introduce African children (boys and girls) and men to Australian Rules football, intended as a means of assisting their settlement experiences through exposure to mainstream Australian sporting culture. The programs for children involved running clinics where African children could learn the basic skills required

to play Australian Rules, as well as visiting multicultural schools to host training sessions and games. The programs for African men involved training a group of participants as a team, finding them local amateur teams to play for, and assigning African men to semi-professional Australian Rules clubs as volunteers. The key informant felt that the sport offered CALD immigrants the opportunity to interact with Australians, particularly for African children:

*“...African kids at recess and lunch, they go out and kick the soccer ball around while all the Aussie kids [play Australian Rules football]... You go to a school... and all the Aussie kids are off to one side and all the multicultural kids are off to the other side... So, if we’re teaching them a little bit about [Australian Rules in our specialised programs], they learn a little bit more about Australian culture and they might even be able to join in with the [Australian] kids at recess and lunch, [then] join a club” (Key Informant 16).*

This statement indicates a perception that soccer, as an ‘immigrant game,’ does not offer the opportunity to interact with mainstream Australians, and hence access to bridging social capital – however, the results showed evidence of two-way integration in soccer clubs. Furthermore, African children here must learn a sport unknown to them, instead of one they would likely be intimately familiar with (Johnston et al., 2007, p.713). However, the key informant also raised the issue of discrimination and racism as a barrier to the participation of Africans in Australian Rules football:

*“Africans... [arrive at a club] and say ‘we want to play’ and... they [don’t want them]... they say... ‘we don’t have any space here.’ [The club] where we are training at the moment... embrace it. They’ve got... African kids playing juniors. That’s where I train my African men... So, you’ve just got to make it really... comfortable... You’ve got to embrace them... [and] talk to them. I think it is a perfect place [for immigrants to adjust] because... there’ll be fifty Aussie guys there... Straight away they’ve got a network of fifty people... [Australian Rules] clubs are brilliant places for Africans to learn about Australia and meet new people, but... it’s certainly very hard getting them in there” (Key Informant 16).*

This statement clearly indicates that bigotry is also a barrier to participation for CALD immigrants. Cortis et al. (2007, pp.39-40) also raised this issue; though they noted that discrimination, while potentially highly damaging to the settlement experience, was not widespread in Australian sport. This statement however indicates that it is something Australian Rules football clubs need to address to encourage the participation of new immigrant groups in the sport.

Like cricket, Australian Rules football has role models for these groups, including Sudanese professional player Majak Daw and his sisters Sarah and Angelina, who play for an amateur club (Rolfe, *Herald Sun* [Melbourne], 27<sup>th</sup> October 2013). Others include Tendai Mzungu (of Zimbabwean heritage) and Ahmed Saad (Egyptian) (Duffield, *The West Australian*, 22<sup>nd</sup> February 2012; Windley, *Herald Sun* [Melbourne], 7<sup>th</sup> July 2012). Previously, Ranga Ediriwickrama (of Sri Lankan heritage) had represented Geelong's professional team (Cresswell, *Geelong Advertiser*, 19<sup>th</sup> November 2008). Professional Australian Rules club Port Adelaide Power also launched a 'Football and cultural awareness' program, which aims to teach both male and female African students aged 5-17 the basics of Australian Rules football over a 10 week period. The program was designed to encourage new arrivals to "...embrace a sport that is integral to the Australian way of life" (Alipate Carlile, as quoted in Port Adelaide Football Club, *PortAdelaideFC.com.au*, 3<sup>rd</sup> April 2013, p.1).

#### **8.4.6 Key themes**

While sport is an appropriate vehicle for assisting the adjustment of immigrants common to recent intakes, such as Africans and Asians, there are significant barriers restricting opportunities for new arrivals to participate in organised sport. These



barriers are cultural, financial and linguistic; this is supported by the findings of the SCOA (2012) Report on CALD immigrant participation in sport, as well as by Cortis et al. (2007) regarding the barriers hindering female CALD engagement. Hence, it is far more common for new arrivals to limit their participation to pick-up games in parks or one-off events such as 'international' tournaments, rather than to associate with a club.

There are, however, many benefits for new arrivals in participating in sporting clubs. Therefore, it is imperative that measures be taken to remove the barriers preventing CALD immigrant participation in sporting clubs, which should include financial support. However, as stated by the SCOA (2012, p.3) Report, government spending tends to be aimed towards the elite level and at sports favoured by Australians, while ignoring the grassroots level of sports such as soccer, which would positively affect a far greater number of new arrivals. While Australian Rules football, for example, would provide many benefits to CALD immigrants, including access to bridging capital. Soccer is capable of providing bridging and bonding social capital, as well as encouraging two-way integration.

## **8.5 Conclusion**

This chapter has provided a detailed analysis and discussion of data collected from the structured survey and key informant interviews framed around three of the project's objectives. This chapter has analysed how soccer clubs influence immigrant adjustment. Soccer's popularity in the homelands of immigrants is crucial to its impact on settlement experiences.

Soccer clubs are important institutions where CALD settlers can congregate with others of the same or similar backgrounds, as previously shown in American studies. Some 46 per cent of first generation respondents stated that involvement with a club had influenced their adjustment to life in Australia. Soccer clubs can generate both bridging and bonding social capital for their participants, through interaction with other groups. Soccer clubs can also stimulate two-way integration, breaking down barriers between CALD immigrants and the mainstream. Clubs formed by immigrants of single ethnicity can also help to ease the homesickness of participants and thus help them to gradually adjust. Female immigrants have been, and in some cases still are, restricted to behind the scenes roles at clubs. This is often a cultural issue.

The chapter has also investigated the impact participation in a soccer club has on cultural maintenance and identity formation. There is little evidence to suggest that soccer clubs encourage loyalty to cultural homelands over Australia, despite clear signs of cultural maintenance and contrary to media reports. Sometimes clubs formed by a single ethnic group suffer from anti-social issues, however generally these clubs actually help adjustment by easing homesickness and breaking down loneliness.

The potential benefits of participation in soccer and other sports for more recent arrivals, such as African and Asian groups, also show that there are strong barriers to the participation of new arrivals, including cultural (especially for female immigrants), financial and linguistic. Currently, unstructured play, including pick-up games in parks and on university grounds, as well as specially organised tournaments and teams, are common ways new arrivals – especially Africans – participate in

soccer. Other sports, such as cricket and Australian Rules football, may offer opportunities to interact with the mainstream, however, they are likely to be unfamiliar to most immigrants, and familiarity with soccer is a key reason for its influence on adjustment.

The key themes to emerge from the findings have been distilled and analysed, and will be used to inform theory and policy in the concluding chapter. The fourth objective, along with the implications and recommendations for theory and policy, based on the findings detailed in this chapter, are discussed next.

## **CHAPTER 9**

### **IMPLICATIONS AND CONCLUSIONS**

#### **9.1 Introduction**

This chapter summarises the major findings and the theoretical and policy implications. The limitations of the research are examined and suggestions for future studies on the relationship between sporting clubs and adjustment are made.

#### **9.2 Sport and the Adjustment of Immigrants**

To investigate the role of sport in immigrant adjustment four specific objectives were formulated. The first was to determine the role sport, and especially soccer, has played in the adjustment of immigrants to Australia since the Second World War.

The results of this study confirm that participation in soccer clubs has indeed been a major influence on the settlement experiences of a significant number of new arrivals from different backgrounds. Of the first generation immigrants interviewed, 44 per cent believed that their involvement with a soccer club had directly helped them adjust to life in Australia. According to these respondents, participating in soccer helped develop their English language skills and to better understand Australian culture (in addition to the cultures of other groups) – thus increasing, rather than decreasing, the rate of integration into Australian society. Many respondents stated that their participation in a club allowed them to not only build relationships with other migrants but also mainstream Australians.

Soccer clubs also helped participants to gain employment through contacts made at the club and improve their personal self-confidence. This is a clear indication that

involvement with soccer has provided a significant number of immigrants access to both bridging and bonding social capital, as has been shown in other nations (Putnam and Goss, 2002, p.11; Aguilera and Massey 2003, p.674). The responses also suggest that soccer clubs in the 1950s and 60s were an integral part of CALD European ethnic communities, confirming Unikoski's (1978, p.49) argument that Australian soccer clubs were part of a wider social and cultural network among the communities.

It was found that soccer provides immigrants with a familiar activity that can ease homesickness, or provide access to a larger community. Survey responses indicated that some immigrants felt most comfortable when at their soccer club. The survey also displayed that participating in soccer clubs was often made a priority; previously, Bill Murray (2006, p.79) identified that many postwar immigrants almost immediately after settlement had sought soccer clubs to play for or support. The research suggests that this phenomenon is also occurring among more recent arrivals, such as Asians, Africans and Middle Easterners (ABS, 2012a).

The research revealed that soccer clubs provide some CALD immigrants with their only opportunity to socialise, regardless of their English language skills – such as in the case of students from Hong Kong, as reported by one club, who had no social interaction with other groups outside of soccer. Other respondents also stated that their soccer club was their primary outlet for socialisation, while they had made few friends at university or work. This is extremely important as studies such as Mori (2000) have shown that social interaction and support is key to the adjustment and mental health of CALD immigrants in English speaking nations, and especially younger immigrants arriving from war-torn nations or refugee backgrounds

(Sonderegger and Barrett, 2004, p.354). Mori (2000, p.143), who focussed on international students in the US, found that students often face social and psychological adjustment issues but generally do not seek out counselling services, often due to cultural differences. The results suggest that soccer, as a familiar activity, can play a significant role in easing these problems and thus positively influence academic performance.

Approximately 90 per cent of soccer players and referees worldwide are males, according to FIFA (Kunz, 2007), so soccer is not as relevant to female immigrant settlement experiences as it is for males. Prior to the recent growth of women's soccer, both within Australia and worldwide, women were limited to background roles at soccer clubs, such as running the canteens and social functions in the early postwar years, before a small number of female presidents, chairpersons and secretaries emerged in the 1980s. This is most likely the reason for research on women's participation in Australian soccer being extremely limited (Rosso, 2007, p.71; Hay and Guoth, 2009, p.824; Hay, 2006a, p.166).

Nonetheless, the rise of women's soccer globally over the last 20 years suggests that there is potential for the sport to provide similar social benefits to adult female immigrants through participation (Voice of America, *Voice of America*, 29<sup>th</sup> June 2011). The growth of women's soccer in English-speaking destination countries coincides with the changing role of women in many immigrant communities (Vasta, 1992b, p.154; Fortier, 2000, pp.118-130). There is, however, a multitude of roles to be performed at soccer clubs other than playing, including coaching and managing teams. These roles may similarly afford immigrants the opportunity to mix with other

groups, though more so within clubs comprised of participants of diverse backgrounds.

The psychological trauma experienced by many refugees is a significant barrier to the participation of refugee women in soccer (Robinson et al., 2006). The position of women in some CALD immigrant communities should also be considered as a potential barrier (Vasta, 1992b; Vasta, 1995; Dexter, 1987; Anderson, 1974). This issue has previously restricted women to performing background roles at CALD immigrant formed soccer clubs, such as organising club picnics, dances and other social events, selling raffle tickets and raising funds for the club, and participating in beauty pageants (Nikolich, 1999, pp.55, 70).

### **9.3 Influence on Cultural Maintenance**

The second objective was to examine the influence of participation in soccer clubs on cultural maintenance. There is a common perception in Australia that soccer clubs – particularly those formed by CALD immigrant communities – are a divisive social force and stimulate anti-social behaviour among their participants (Vamplew, 1994, pp.214-218). The media continues to criticise soccer as being a space to play out ethnic issues and grudges (Wilson, *The Daily Telegraph* [Sydney], 25<sup>th</sup> August 2012). Right wing commentators, such as Bolt (*Herald Sun* [Melbourne], 28<sup>th</sup> June 2006), have used soccer's connection with CALD groups as part of their attacks on multiculturalism, linking cultural maintenance to anti-social behaviour. Bale (2003, p.14-17) argued that sporting contests sometimes result in territorial behaviour among the participants, often stemming from pre-existing enmities. An example of this is the ethnic tensions between Serbians and Croatians, which often resulted in violence in

Australian soccer competitions between teams representing these groups, as well as in other sports such as tennis (Doherty et al., *The Age*, 16<sup>th</sup> January 2007).

Despite this issue, there was little evidence from the survey responses to suggest that participation in soccer encourages anti-social behaviour, loyalty to the cultural homeland over Australia, or that Australia's soccer leagues are currently being widely used to enable CALD immigrants to continue ethnic issues or conflicts. There was nonetheless strong evidence of cultural maintenance among Southern and Eastern European respondents, and especially Italians and Greeks. However, based on the results there was no connection to anti-social behaviour or increasing loyalty to the cultural homeland over Australia; indeed, almost all respondents stated they considered themselves to be Australian or half-Australia. As argued by Castles (1992, pp.558-559), allowing CALD immigrant groups to maintain cultural traditions actually reduces tension between groups; thereby suggesting that most soccer clubs formed and largely patronised by a single ethnic group are in fact performing a positive and important role in influencing the adjustment of immigrants, especially as the groups integrate into Australian society and interact with other groups through participation.

#### **9.4 The Impact of Sport on Adjustment of Recent Immigrants**

The third objective was to analyse the potential influence of sport on the adjustment of Asian, African and Middle Eastern arrivals. Historically, soccer in Australia has been associated with immigrant communities – initially British and Irish settlers during the game's formative years and later CALD European arrivals, resulting in the postwar soccer boom and its professionalisation (Hay, 2006a; Kallinikios, 2007).



However, European immigrants no longer dominate Australia's permanent immigrant intakes; instead, arrivals from Oceania, Africa, Asia and the Middle East are now far more numerous, representing 81 per cent of all permanent settler arrivals in 2011-12 (ABS, 2012a). More recent immigrants are not only different in terms of ethnicity to their European predecessors, but also in education and employment. The temporary immigration of students and skilled workers has also dramatically increased since the end of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, many from Asian nations (Hugo, 2006, pp.110-111; DIAC, 2010a; 2012a). Hence, an important question relates to whether soccer also is influencing the adjustment of recent immigrants from different regions.

The findings indicate that soccer can also play an important role in the adjustment of immigrants from these groups, especially as it provides them with a familiar activity where the barriers of cultural differences and language are not as significant as in other aspects of their lives – this was indicated by both soccer club administrators and the respondents themselves. Both however noted that funding was an issue, especially at the semi-professional level, as many migrants would not be able to afford the costs of participating, such as registration fees, equipment and travel. Some respondents and club representatives noted that previously government funding had provided clubs with short-term financial assistance for participants from these groups, though long-term the burden was on the clubs to continue to provide free registration and equipment to new arrivals.

At the time of the interviews, all 3 soccer administrators estimated that African and Asian players represented less than 5 per cent of players in their competitions, while other respondents indicated these groups are more likely to participate in soccer in

unstructured ways, such as pick up games on university grounds or in parks.

However several news reports and media releases suggest that the participation of Africans, in particular, is more significant than informants have indicated, and is increasing. These instances include different African groups uniting to form a team (Davis, *ABC Far North Queensland*, 20<sup>th</sup> April 2011); unofficial ‘African nations cup’ and ‘ethnic world cup’ competitions, some of which are supported by soccer administrators (Cockerill, *The Age* [Melbourne], 24<sup>th</sup> December 2011; Football West, *Africa Down Under*, 29<sup>th</sup> August 2013; FFSA, 2013); a national tournament for Somali immigrants (Boreham, *SBS*, 26<sup>th</sup> August 2013); and even African selection teams travelling overseas for tournaments and tours (Australian Somali Football Association, 2012).

More recent arrivals would not be familiar with ‘Australian’ sports such as Australian Rules football and cricket, save for immigrants from nations such as India and Pakistan that have been profoundly influenced by cricket (Majumdar and Mangan, 2004; Valiotis, 2005; Bose, 2006). Male and female South Asian immigrants are currently playing elite level cricket in Australia, indicating a potentially strong connection with these groups (The Indian Express, *The Indian Express*, 22<sup>nd</sup> August 2012). However, it is difficult to recommend that most new arrivals be encouraged to participate in these sports instead of soccer.

Nonetheless, an administrator of Australian Rules football programs for African immigrants believed that his sport offered immigrants willing to participate the rare opportunity to mix with mainstream Australians and thus potentially generate bridging social capital, the benefits of co-operation and trust between different groups

– crucial to the integration of CALD groups (Putnam and Goss, 2002, p.11). These programs included finding positions for African men as volunteers at semi-professional Australian Rules clubs in order to help them engage with Australians and an Australian sport; forming and training a team of African men to play the sport; and holding clinics for young African boys and girls, aged 8-11, teaching them the basic fundamentals of Australian Rules football. Professional club Port Adelaide Power ran a similar program, which aimed to teach African students the fundamentals of Australian Rules over a 10-week period. The administrator nonetheless indicated that racism and an unwillingness to engage new arrivals was a major issue at many amateur level Australian Rules clubs, compared to the welcoming attitude of most soccer clubs.

## **9.5 Theoretical Implications**

This study has drawn mainly from two areas of scholarly endeavour: immigrant adjustment and the sociological impacts of sport on societies and groups; alternative perspectives have been discussed in relation to both. The primary area of research to which this study has aimed at contributing is the literature on immigrant adjustment – specifically within Australia. As such, the literature on the sociological influence of sport has been exploited in order to utilise its concepts within the framework of immigrant adjustment. This section will highlight the theoretical contributions that this thesis has made to immigrant adjustment literature.

In the classic assimilation model, participation in soccer clubs can be seen as having an impact on the early stages of the assimilation process, as outlined by Gordon (1964). In earlier ‘Anglo-conformist’ versions of the model, applicable to Australia

during the main European immigrant intakes from 1947 to the mid 1960s (where assimilation was official policy), soccer clubs served to help immigrants resist or lessen the rate of the first stage of assimilation (cultural). Participants were able to mix specifically with others from the same origin, which may not have been afforded to them in the workplace or at school, where they were expected to assimilate by speaking English and following Australian cultural norms, or to shun rather than embrace their differences. Of course, simply by playing soccer – regarded as a ‘foreign’ sport in Australia – instead of playing cricket, Australian Rules football or either form of rugby could be seen as an act of resisting assimilation.

More contemporary versions of the classic assimilation model stress the need for the majority population to adapt to the presence of immigrant groups – in these versions soccer, based on the findings, can serve as a midway point where immigrant groups have positive interaction with the mainstream population while participating in a familiar activity, thus increasing the rate of cultural assimilation. Responses showed that soccer clubs generate bridging as well as bonding social capital, allowing participants to learn Australian cultural norms and develop their English skills through socialising at their soccer clubs – something not possible if there was no positive interaction or relationships developed with mainstream Australians. Some respondents indicated that they or members of their club had little or no interaction with mainstream Australians and other groups outside of their soccer club.

Soccer clubs can also be seen as increasing the rate of structural assimilation in more contemporary models – the research clearly showed that participation in clubs leads to the creation of lasting relationships, personal or professional, among participants from

both CALD groups and the mainstream population. Several respondents stated that they made friends from other groups at soccer clubs, who they would not have been able to connect with elsewhere in their lives.

In the ethnic disadvantage model, the persistence of ethnic identity long after settlement is seen as a failure of CALD immigrant groups to structurally assimilate (Brown and Bean, 2011, p.94). Soccer clubs within this model could be seen as playing a role in enabling CALD immigrants to maintain their ethnicity throughout the settlement process and into later generations, even as they become more familiar with the culture and language of the host nation and identify as Australian. However, there was little evidence that the connection to ethnic identity negatively affected the socioeconomic opportunities for any study participants, as most respondents were highly skilled, which is also a key part of the ethnic disadvantage model (Brown and Bean, 2011, p.94).

The role of soccer clubs in influencing the adjustment of their participants is perhaps most easily incorporated in the segmented assimilation model. In this model, where groups assimilate at varied rates due to different circumstances and influences, soccer clubs can both allow for cultural maintenance and structural assimilation among their participants, as the results clearly show. Most respondents appeared highly adjusted – 73 per cent spoke only English at home, 94 per cent had completed high school and only 17 per cent were employed in positions suggesting low income. Even in cases where there are indications of soccer clubs influencing cultural maintenance in not only first generation immigrants but later generations as well (87 per cent of second generation respondents felt their family still associated with their ethnic heritage; 77

per cent felt strongly or moderately about their ethnicity), there is strong evidence this is not a barrier to structural assimilation – which would be contradictory in both the classic assimilation and ethnic disadvantage models.

## **9.6 Policy Implications and Recommendations**

### **9.6.1 Implications for national government policy**

Government settlement policies have a major impact on the way immigrants adjust or assimilate to life in the host nations (Brown and Bean, 2011, p.95). The results show that soccer clubs can act as a social conduit, easing the transition by providing a familiar activity where migrants can also have positive interaction with members of other groups and the mainstream society. Soccer clubs can also act as a social space where immigrants and their descendants can practice cultural maintenance and publicly express themselves as belonging to a particular ethnic identity. It is clear that soccer clubs can have a significant influence on the adjustment of immigrants and therefore play a role in settlement policy. The study's implications for settlement policy, as well as recommendations for changes to better incorporate sport into official policies, are discussed in this section.

Reports published by SCOA (2012) and CMYI (2007) state that sport can have a positive influence on the lives of new arrivals. The CMYI (2007, pp.7-8) Report argued that while targeted sports programs for CALD immigrants helped to build trust between groups and encouraging social inclusion, the short-term nature of most sports-based programs was insufficient, and that sport should be properly resourced and recognised as playing a role in integration by settlement services. The SCOA (2012, p.3) Report concurred, adding that any funding directed into sport targeting

CALD immigrants is generally to ‘Australian’ sports (which many immigrants would be unfamiliar with), and at the elite level, benefitting a small minority of participants.

That sport is not currently a component of the Australian government’s structured Onshore Orientation Program is one example of policy makers overlooking the significant influence sport can have on adjustment (DIAC, 2011c). Sport is only listed in the program outline under youth issues, along with recreation, arts and music; and in cultural issues; there is no detail beyond this (DIAC, 2011c, pp.19, 22). A 2003 government review of settlement services for immigrants and humanitarian entrants stated that 2 of the 3 most important indicators of settlement were: “social participation and wellbeing,” and: “physical wellbeing” – both of which can be exponentially improved through sport, yet here it is virtually ignored by an official government settlement program (DIMIA, 2003, p.63; SCOA, 2012, pp.1-2). Suggestions for how sport can be incorporated into the Onshore Orientation Program will be discussed in Recommendation 1.

Participation in sport is not included or considered in the National Framework for Settlement Planning (DIMA, 2006, p.6), a government plan to:

“...provide a more strategic and coordinated approach to settlement planning at a national level, thus improving the ability of governments, service providers, community organisations and other settlement stakeholders to plan for the arrival and settlement of new entrants.”

This is despite the overview stating:

“The success of the settlement experience relies on both the willingness of Australian society to welcome new arrivals, and the commitment of those arrivals to establishing a life in Australia” (DIMA, 2006, p.1).

This study has demonstrated that sport, and especially soccer, provides an environment for two-way integration among new arrivals and mainstream Australians. Suggestions for how sport can be incorporated into the National Framework for Settlement Planning will be discussed in Recommendation 1.

Sport is identified – albeit anecdotally – as being a key part of immigrant settlement in a DIAC (2012c, p.13) Report on settlement policy reforms – it is listed as an example under ‘Participation in community life,’ a ‘key settlement indicator’ in the Report’s conceptual framework for understanding settlement outcomes. There’s also a photo included in the Report of young immigrants playing Australian Rules football and mention of an Indian migrant’s son being a cricket enthusiast – notably, both are seen as mainstream Australian sports (DIAC, 2012a, pp.12, 18). Despite this, government policy and funding continues to neglect sport in performing this role in the lives of new arrivals (SCOA, 2012, pp.3-4). Sport potentially may be of use in Complex Case Support (CCS), a program designed to assist immigrants in critical need of intensive help (such as refugee youths, a problem group), as a report identified emotional wellbeing and physical health as the second and third most common issues in CCS referrals (DIAC, 2010a); especially so as CCS clients are largely refugees or special humanitarian entrants, and sport is one of the few opportunities for these immigrants to mix with other groups.

Sport is briefly mentioned in the government’s current multicultural policy, which identifies participation in sport as a ‘proven strategy’ in assisting the development of social and community cohesion (DIAC, 2011c, p.8). The program detailed in the policy, the Multicultural Youth Sports Partnership Program, is described by the



Australian Sports Commission as forming: "...a key part of Australia's multicultural policy" (Australian Sports Commission, 2013, p.1). The program is designed to:

"...create sustainable opportunities for youth from new and emerging communities and [CALD backgrounds] to participate in sport and physical activity within local communities" (Australian Sports Commission, 2013 p.1).

However, it is aimed only at engaging CALD immigrant youth through government projects and grants of between \$5,000 and \$50,000 (\$300,000 total per annum over 3 years) to organisations that:

"...demonstrate capacity to develop strong partnerships to deliver sustainable sports participation programs for youth from CALD backgrounds, and to assist in integrating them into *mainstream*<sup>52</sup> sporting activities" (Australian Sports Commission, 2013, p.1).

The research shows that participation in sport can have a significant impact on the lives of adult CALD immigrants, yet there is a clear need for a multicultural sporting dimension to be incorporated into the national discourse and reports on reducing discrimination and increasing integration, as well as increasing sports participation among more recent arrivals. Recommendations to help achieve this will be suggested and discussed in the following section.

### 9.6.2 Recommendations for the national government

#### **Recommendation 1:**

Based on the preceding discussion of government settlement policy, it is recommended that sport is included as a component of programs aimed at improving both social participation and wellbeing and physical health of immigrants.

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<sup>52</sup> Author's emphasis

Sport is currently not considered in important national government settlement programs such as the Onshore Orientation Program (OOP) or the National Framework for Settlement Planning (NFSP) (DIAC, 2011c; DIMA, 2006). Instead, the OOP stresses the importance of ensuring migrants find access to social services, employment, housing, education, transport as well as education on money management and Australian law; youth issues, cultural issues and ongoing settlement and social help are also key components (DIAC, 2011c, pp.14-15). Responses indicated that sport could play a role in assisting immigrants in many of these aspects of settlement. Sport can be incorporated into the OOP as a social activity for new arrivals, by introducing them to local sports clubs and assisting them in becoming members, volunteers or players. This should be done while the club's players are training to give immigrants an opportunity to actively participate if they wish to. Sport could also involve groups of immigrants participating in the program, rather than just individuals. CCS program immigrants can be introduced to local sporting clubs in a similar manner.

**Recommendation 2:**

In order to encourage the continued participation of new arrivals in organised sport, the national government needs to ensure immigrants are able to financially sustain their involvement.

Sporting clubs and organisations could also be incorporated into the NFSP, where they are currently not represented. In the Settlement Planning Flowchart included in the policy, 'non-government stakeholders,' which interact with the Refugee Resettlement Advisory Council and DIMA State or Territory Planning Units, include migrant and humanitarian communities, settlement service providers and employers and employer groups (DIMA, 2006, p.7). The incorporation of sports organisations

into the NFSP as non-government stakeholders can provide them, through interaction with the mentioned bodies, with access to immigrants identified as requiring assistance or orientation – who otherwise may not have an opportunity or inclination to join a sporting club.

The SCOA (2012, p.3) Report stated that a key issue impeding immigrant participation in sport is a lack of government funding; this is supported by the findings of this study. The costs associated with participating in sports can be a strong deterrent to new arrivals, particularly those from a refugee background; this is a critical issue in the case of refugees given the many barriers they face in adjusting to life in Australia. At the higher non-professional levels of sport, registration fees can price participation well out of the reach of many immigrants. Currently, the Settlement Grants Program does include ‘referring’ new arrivals to local sports clubs in order to help “...decrease social isolation and increase interaction with other groups” (DIBP, 2013, p.1). Financial support must go beyond this however, as it would be extremely difficult for most new arrivals, and especially refugees and refugee youth, to continue participation without funding.

As noted previously, to this end a minority of semi-professional South Australian soccer clubs, backed by a 1-year funding program from local governments, have waived player registration fees and provided equipment, such as boots and shin pads, in order to accommodate groups of refugee players. However, as noted in the SCOA (2012, p.3) Report and confirmed by key informants, these programs were reliant on the financial support of local government – as well as national and state sporting bodies, and philanthropic organisations like the aforementioned Sports Without

Borders and Football United, who themselves require funding assistance. Without additional resources, as confirmed by one key informant, these programs were a significant financial burden on the clubs.

Football United runs sporting programs aimed at developing social cohesion in areas featuring high proportions of refugees, CALD immigrants and indigenous children; it has identified that soccer in particular is ideal for assisting integration for all groups and both genders (Football United, 2009a). Football United's 5-year national plan, 'Playing for Change,' aimed to:

“...deliver inclusion, health, educational and social benefits directly to over 15,000 CALD, refugee, Indigenous and low SES children, youth and their families (Football United, 2009b, p.1).”

This was to be done by developing 60 programs that would provide 'expanded delivery' of opportunities to youth and children to participate in soccer; through partnerships with key stakeholders in the local Education and Community Sectors, in order to ensure potential programs met local needs and were logistically viable (Football United, 2009b). The programs were then to be integrated into schools and community organisations in order to ensure their sustainability and that the schools and organisations were able to facilitate them, while continual research and monitoring was done to ensure programs were appropriate in each case and adjusted as necessary. Notably, 79 per cent of program participants stated that they otherwise would have been unable to participate in a soccer club (Football United, 2009b).

Another philanthropic body is Sports Without Borders, which aims to support young immigrants who are or want to be involved with sport. The key aims of Sports

Without Borders include developing links between private, public and community organisations and funding bodies to help develop an understanding of barriers that prevent young refugees and immigrants from participating in sport, as well as to help overcome them (Sports Without Borders, 2009). In 2012, Sports Without Borders ran 3 programs, 2 funded by the Victorian Government and one by the Federal government (Sports Without Borders, 2012). The first simply aimed to educate the refugee participants (aged 18-26) of 5 soccer clubs on the Victorian legal system. Of the other 2, the SWB DIAC Project, run with the assistance of local migrant organisations including the Eastern Melbourne Migrant Information Centre, educated 50 new arrivals aged 12-21 per year (over 2 years) on the benefits of participation in sport and enrolled them in local sports clubs, while SWP DPCD Project, with the assistance of 5 LGAs, trained 100 new arrivals aged 12-21 over 20 months to develop leadership skills and then use the skills to organise local sporting events for their communities (Sports Without Borders, 2012).

Another significant issue is that the funding programs are generally short-term (SCOA, 2012, p.3). After the grants expired, clubs participating in these programs were faced with significant financial burdens in order to continue to enable the new arrivals to continue to play (without paying fees). At the amateur level there are also many costs involved in forming or running teams, in addition to playing fees, which could preclude new arrivals from participating, as indicated by participants in the Football United national plan. Additionally, the program developed as part of Australia's multicultural policy only targets immigrant youth, whereas this study has shown that sport can also profoundly impact the lives of adult immigrants. This is also a concern with the Football United national plan, which seemingly only engages

adult migrants only as the ‘family’ of the youth and children who participate, and for the 2 of the 3 Sports Without Borders programs, which involved immigrants and refugees aged 12-21. While young migrants and families are important, programs must also incorporate or target single adult new arrivals that would otherwise be isolated and unable to participate in a club.

## **9.7 Limitations and Suggestions for Further Research**

This study has made a contribution to research on immigrant settlement in Australia; it has showed that participation in organised sports, and especially soccer, can have a significant influence on the adjustment of immigrants. However, there were limitations to the scope of this study, primarily due to the lack of co-operation from organisations and soccer clubs. Nonetheless, these limitations present opportunities for future research.

### **9.7.1 Co-operation of clubs and organisations**

The unwillingness of soccer clubs and organisations to participate was a major constraint to the scope of the study. The governing body of semi-professional soccer in South Australia did not respond to the multiple attempts to contact them in order to gain approval to conduct the research, as well as participate in the study in the form of key informant interviews – which would have added greater depth to the findings.

While this was remedied by the participation of the representatives of 3 other governing bodies, it may have also influenced the participation of semi-professional clubs in South Australia – only 3 semi-professional clubs out of the 30 contacted agreed to participate, and 2 of them agreed due to the influence of contacts known to the researcher at the clubs.

The sensitivity of clubs and organisations towards the study focussing on ethnic participation in Australian soccer may also have proven a significant deterrent; this is despite the Participant Information Sheet and letters sent to clubs and organisations stating that one of the goals of the study was to show the benefits of ethnic clubs to a multicultural society. It is suggested that future studies refrain from using the term ‘ethnic club’ in communications to clubs and organisations, instead perhaps stating the study is investigating the benefits of CALD immigrant participation – or simply participation.

### **9.7.2 Data limitations**

The lack of co-operation of clubs and organisations likely also contributed to the sample’s bias towards adjusted, better-educated and high income earning immigrants, and Europeans. As noted in Chapter 6, efforts were made to incorporate clubs formed by Asian, African and Middle Eastern immigrants in the study however these were largely unsuccessful. Therefore the survey results and outcomes of the study may not be an accurate representation of the impact participation in soccer clubs has on immigrants from these backgrounds, or those with lower levels of education and socioeconomic status. It is recommended that future studies on immigrant participation in soccer target areas associated with these groups for survey distribution.

For studies in South Australia, Figure 4.12 (a map of the location of soccer clubs in metropolitan Adelaide and outer suburbs) could be used in correlation with ABS census data and information from the local governing bodies of soccer (such as club information indexes, as the name of a club may indicate the predominant background,

if any, of its participants) to determine the most appropriate clubs to be included. This would provide a data set with which to compare the results of this study and determine if the settlement experiences of immigrants interviewed are applicable to immigrants from a wide range of backgrounds.

As there was limited secondary data with which to compare the findings of the survey on CALD participation in sport, it is recommended that future ABS sports data collections develop more detailed information on the ethnicity and cultural background of participants. This would be extremely useful in analysing how different groups participate in sport, at what ages, sex imbalances and which sports they prefer. It would help to develop a wider picture of how various CALD groups engage with sport in Australia, far beyond the scope of this study – and the results could be compared to the findings of this study also to see if the emergent trends are applicable on a greater scale. It would also provide a better guide to government programs in sport as to where funding should be directed.

### **9.7.3 Social impact of sports participation on female immigrants**

As 90 per cent of the survey respondents were male, it would be extremely worthwhile for the role sport plays in the lives of female immigrants to be analysed in future studies, in order to compare the differences between males and females more comprehensively than was possible in this project. As stated by key informants, female immigrants potentially face more barriers to participating in sports than men, especially of a cultural or psychological nature, therefore it is imperative that their experiences be analysed.



#### **9.7.4 Social impact of sports participation on temporary immigrants**

The goal of this project was to develop an understanding of the role sports participation could play in influencing the adjustment of permanent immigrants. However, it would be worthwhile for a future study to be conducted on the impact of participation in sports on temporary immigrants. Some key informants noted instances of temporary immigrants (students) having little or even no social interaction outside of their weekly soccer games and club functions. Developing an understanding of the impact of participation in organised sports on the social and mental wellbeing of temporary immigrants may lead to further implications for policy makers, and possibly suggest that temporary immigrants should be encouraged to play a sport or participate in other team-orientated social activities while living in the host nation.

#### **9.7.5 Social impact of sports participation on other groups**

As the results of this study show that participation in organised sport can have a significant impact on the social experiences of immigrants, it would be worthwhile to examine if sport can have a similar effect on the lives of other groups, such as indigenous Australians. In the case of indigenous Australians, Maynard (2011, p.28) argued that: "...sport would offer Aboriginal people some hope of acceptance, understanding and survival," especially when it is considered indigenous Australians had developed a sporting culture prior to European settlement in 1788. Writing exclusively on indigenous involvement in soccer, Maynard (2011, p.182) concludes by appealing to the national governing body of soccer to make indigenous communities a high priority for engagement. An analysis of the social impact of

soccer on indigenous Australians, implemented in the manner of this project, could add considerable weight to his appeal to the game's policy makers.

## **9.8 Conclusion**

This final chapter, incorporating the major findings and the implications of the results for policy makers, has shown that participation in organised sports can have a significant impact on the social adjustment of immigrants to Australia. Participation in sport can play a key role in the adjustment of CALD new arrivals, refugees and humanitarian entrants, and continue to do so with the second generation. Sport, and especially soccer, presents an opportunity for all immigrants to develop their English skills, become accustomed to Australian cultural norms, greatly expand their social network, make contacts that can lead to employment or housing, and reduce homesickness by participating in or associating with a familiar activity – all of which can play a key role in assisting adjustment to life in Australia.

Cultural barriers, poverty, physical impairments and psychological issues may preclude new arrivals from participation in organised sport. Teams based around a single or similar ethnic groups may provide the majority of social benefits as multicultural teams, though the potential for insular and anti-social behaviour may also develop within these teams if proper guidance is not provided. It is paramount that sport organisations encourage clubs to engage outside of their own cultural bases, and recommended that teams of new immigrants also feature players or staff of various backgrounds in order to facilitate the conditions for the best possible impact on the settlement experiences of the participants.

## **10: APPENDICES**

### **10.1 Example of Questionnaire (Final Version)**



The Role of Soccer in the  
Adjustment of Migrants

**Please read the Participant Information Sheet before you start the survey.**

**You will need between 30 to 45 minutes to complete this survey.**

**There are 4 sections in this survey.**

**Please complete all sections in this survey.**

**Date: \_\_\_\_\_ (Please write down the date)**

**Section A: Background**

A1. How old are you? \_\_\_\_\_ Years

A2. In which country were you born? \_\_\_\_\_

A3. If you were not born in Australia, which year did you arrive? \_\_\_\_\_

A4. What is your current occupation? \_\_\_\_\_

A5. What is the highest level of education you have completed?

- Postgraduate
- University Degree
- TAFE Certificate / Trade School
- High School
- Did not complete High School

A6. Where do you live? (Please write down city / suburb and state)

\_\_\_\_\_

A7. What is the ethnic background of your parents?

\_\_\_\_\_

\_\_\_\_\_

A8. Were your parents born in Australia?

- Both were – *Go to question B1*
- One was
- Neither were

A9. If not Australia, where were your parents born?

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**END OF SECTION A**

**Section B: Identity**

B1. What do you consider to be the primary ethnic identity of your family?

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B2. How do you feel about your family's primary ethnic identity?

- Strongly; reflected in day-to-day life
- Moderately; attend ethnic festivals
- Of little importance to me
- I ignore it completely

B3. How do your parents feel about your family's primary ethnic identity?

- Strongly; reflected in day-to-day life
- Moderately; attend ethnic festivals
- Of little importance to them
- They ignore it completely

B4. What language do you normally speak at home?

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B5. What language do your parents normally speak at home?

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B6. Do you regularly read newspapers printed in a language other than English?

- Yes
- No

B7. Do you maintain contact (via phone, mail, Internet etc.) with relatives living overseas?

- Yes
- No

B8. Have you ever visited relatives living overseas?

- Yes
- No – *Go to question B10*

B9. Please write number of times you have been overseas visiting relatives: \_\_\_\_\_

B10. Are you, or have you ever been, a member of an ethnic organisation or club?

- I currently am
- I have been previously
- I never have been – *Go to question B12*

B11. Please name them: \_\_\_\_\_

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B12. Are your parents, or have they ever been, members of an ethnic organisation or club?

- They currently are
- They have been previously
- They never have been – *Go to question B14*

B13. Please name them: \_\_\_\_\_

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B14. Approximately what percentage of your friends are of the same ethnic background as yourself? \_\_\_\_\_ %

B15. How often do you mix with people of the same ethnicity as yourself?

- Every day
- Weekly (e.g. at a church, at a club)
- Rarely (e.g. only at ethnic festivals)
- Never

B16. Is your partner of the same ethnicity as yourself?

- Yes – *Go to question B18*
- No – *Go to question B18*
- I don't have a partner

B17. Is it important to you that your potential partner be of the same ethnicity as yourself?

- Yes
- No

B18. Do you think it is important to your parents that your partner is of the same ethnicity as yourself?

- Yes
- No

B19. If you have children, do they identify with the same ethnicity as you?

- Yes
- No
- I don't have children – *Go to question B22*

B20. Is it important to you that your children identify with your ethnicity?

- Yes
- No

B21. Do you want your children to have a partner of the same ethnicity as you?

- Yes
- No
- I don't care

B22. Which statement best describes your attitude towards being Australian?

- I consider myself to be Australian
- I consider myself half-Australian
- My ethnic heritage comes before Australia
- I am only living in Australia



B23. Do you ever intend to migrate to the nation most closely associated with your ethnic heritage?

- Yes
- No
- Unsure

### END OF SECTION B

### Section C: Involvement with Soccer Clubs

C1. Have you ever been involved with (i.e. a supporter, player, trainee, staff member, board member *or partner* to any of the above) a non-A-League Australian soccer club (at any level)?

- Yes, I have been involved with a club
- My partner has been involved with a club
- No – *Go to question D1*

C2. Please write down your role(s) [or your partner's role(s)] with the club: (NB: If you have been involved with more than one club, please answer all questions based on your relationship with the club most important to you)

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C3. How long have you been involved with this club? \_\_\_\_\_ Years

C4. How regularly do you attend its matches?

- Every week
- Only the home games
- Every now and then
- I never attend matches

C5. Was one or both of your parents also involved with the club in some way?

- Yes, one was
- Yes, both were
- No

C6. Were any other members of your family involved with the club?

- Yes
- No – *Go to question C8*

C7. Which family members were involved? (Please list as many as you know and their relation to you) \_\_\_\_\_

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C8. Does your club have supporters of a similar background, or of many backgrounds?

- Similar
- Mixed

C9. Does your club have players of a similar background, or of many backgrounds?

- Similar
- Mixed

C10. Do you believe your club has a reputation of being an exclusively ethnic club?

- Yes
- No – *Go to question C12*

C11. Do you believe this to be accurate?

- Yes
- Until recently
- No

C12. Do you wish for your children to be involved with your club?

- Yes
- No
- I don't care

C13. Is there an Australian soccer club you dislike above all others?

- Yes
- No – *Go to question C16*

C14. Please name the club:

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C15. Have you ever been involved in a confrontation with supporters of this club?

- Yes
- No





**Section D: Australia & Soccer**

D1. Do you support an A-League club?

- Yes
- No – *Go to question D3*

D2. If you support a non-A-League Australian club and it joined the A-League, which team would you support?

- My non-A-League club
- My A-League club
- I don't follow a non-A-League club

D3. Do you follow at least one club that plays in a league outside of Australia?

- Yes
- No – *Go to question D7*

D4. What is the name of the overseas club you feel the most passionate about?

(Please state the league and / or country the team presently plays in)

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D5. How long have you supported this club? \_\_\_\_\_ Years

D6. Is this club more important to you than any team in Australia?

- Yes
- No

D7. Is the international team you follow the closest Australia?

- Yes – *Go to question D9*
- No, Australia is second to another team
- I don't care about the Australian national team

D8. Which national team do you follow the closest?

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D9. If you have a partner, which national team do they most closely follow?

- Australia – *Go to question D11*
- Other
- I don't have a partner – *Go to question D12*

D10. Which national team do they follow the closest?

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D11. If their chosen national team is different from yours, do you ever encourage them to support your nation instead?

- Yes
- No
- It is the same as mine

D12. If you have children, which national team do they most closely follow?

- Australia – *Go to question D14*
- Other
- I have more than one child, and they support different national teams
- My children don't support a national team – *Go to question D15*
- I don't have children – *Go to question D15*

D13. What national team(s) do they follow the closest?

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D14. If their national team is different from yours, do you ever encourage them to support your nation instead?

- Yes
- No
- All my children support the same team as me

D15. How important to you was the Australian national team's involvement at the 2006 World Cup Finals?

- Of great importance
- Somewhat important
- Not very important
- Of no importance at all

### **YOU HAVE COMPLETED THE SURVEY**

**Thank you for taking the time to participate in the survey. We are grateful for the information you have provided us with.**

**Please contact me and / or my supervisors if you require more information about the study. Thank you for your help.**

#### **Contact Details**

Mr Justin Civitillo PhD Candidate Discipline of Geographical and Environmental Studies, University of Adelaide Office: Mobile: Email:	Professor Graeme Hugo PhD Supervisor Discipline of Geographical and Environmental Studies, University of Adelaide Ph: Email:	Dr Dianne Rudd PhD Co-Supervisor Discipline of Geographical and Environmental Studies, University of Adelaide Ph: Email:
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## **10.2 Participant Information Sheet**

This leaflet was included with all questionnaires and letters sent to clubs and organisations. It was also distributed to potential survey respondents and key informants.

*Participant Information Sheet*

**Role of Soccer in the Adjustment of Migrants to Australia**

My name is Justin Civitillo and I am conducting research as part of my PhD program in Human Geography at the University of Adelaide. My study is specifically looking at the adjustment and settlement of immigrants to South Australia and Victoria, with regards to the role played by participation in soccer clubs.

Immigration has been a key process in the development of Australia, which has resulted in our unique multicultural society. Immigrants enter Australia from a wide range of cultural backgrounds and therefore some may need assistance in settling into their new life here. Understanding the role soccer clubs have played in the adjustment process of previous migrants can help new arrivals become valued citizens in Australia.

This research project focuses on people who have been or are involved in some way with a state level soccer club, specifically migrants and their descendants. Ideally this study will include people involved at all levels in state league soccer clubs, from administrative staff and financial backers to players and coaches to supporters and the partners and families of all of the above.

The interview will take **between 30 to 45 minutes**. Please make sure not to provide any personal and/or confidential information during the interview.

**PLEASE NOTE:**

- Participation in this survey is completely voluntary and you may withdraw at any time
- The interview is strictly confidential and anonymous
- Permission will be sought if the interview is to be recorded via audio
- Results of this study are part of a research project that may be published but will not personally identify those involved
- Those who agree to participate in the study will need to sign a consent form
- One of the goals of this study is to show the benefits of ethnic soccer clubs to a multicultural society

Please do not hesitate to contact me and/or my supervisors, Professor Graeme Hugo and Dr Dianne Rudd, if you wish to obtain more information about the study. If you have any questions regarding your rights as a participant in the project or the University of Adelaide's policy on research involving human participants please contact the Human Research Ethics Committee's secretary on [REMOVED]. Thank you for your participation in this project as it will be of great value to my research and to future immigrants.

Regards,  
**Justin Civitillo**

**Contact Details**

Mr Justin Civitillo PhD Candidate Discipline of Geographical and Environmental Studies, University of Adelaide Office: Mobile: Email:	Professor Graeme Hugo PhD Supervisor Discipline of Geographical and Environmental Studies, University of Adelaide Ph: Email:	Dr Dianne Rudd PhD Co-Supervisor Discipline of Geographical and Environmental Studies, University of Adelaide Ph: Email:
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### **10.3 Example of Letter Sent to Soccer Clubs**

[Date]

[Contact]  
[Club name]  
[Address]

Dear Sir / Madam

My name is Justin Peter Civitillo and I am a PhD student in the School of Geographical and Environmental Sciences at the University of Adelaide. For my thesis, it is my intention to undertake a study of the adjustment of post-Second World War migrants to Australia, focusing on the role of sport in that adjustment, especially football. At present, there is a gap in Australian migration scholarly literature, which neglects to show the important role football in Australia has played in helping many immigrants adjusting to life in this country.

There has been research in the United States that has demonstrated that migrant participation in football has assisted adjustment, and I believe a similar study needs to be carried out here given the significant contribution of post-war migrants to football in Australia. Because there are limits on the resources I have available, my project involves a study of migrant involvement in football in South Australia and Victoria.

I am very much aware of the negative media attention that ethnic involvement in Australian football has accrued over the years. As I have stated, the purpose of this project is to explore and understand the social benefits of migrant participation in football, as per the recent studies done in the United States.

In order to undertake this research project I have first sought permission from the Football Federation Australia to contact representatives of clubs in both South Australia and Victoria. The FFA has given me their approval to proceed and have offered me any assistance I require (see attached).

Would it be possible to meet with you, or if more appropriate, a representative of your club, in order to speak about the role your club has played in the assistance of the adjustment of migrants? I also wish to conduct interviews (some face-to-face, some in written questionnaire form) with people involved with your club if this is possible.

At any stage I would be grateful for the opportunity to discuss my project with your club, and of course I would make available all of the results of the study to you. I can supply a more detailed account of my research project should you require one. Also, my primary supervisor, Professor Graeme Hugo, would be very happy to answer any questions that you have regarding the project (PHONE, EMAIL).

All aspects of this research will be subject to scrutiny by the University of Adelaide Human Ethics Committee. The confidentiality of all people involved in the study will be fully protected.

Yours sincerely

JUSTIN PETER CIVITILLO  
PhD Student

## **10.4 First Letter to Governing Body of Soccer**

26 October 2007

Football Federation Australia  
Level 7  
26 College Street  
SYDNEY NSW 2000

Dear Sir / Madam

My name is Justin Peter Civitillo and I am a PhD student in the School of Geographical and Environmental Sciences at the University of Adelaide. For my thesis, it is my intention to undertake a study of the adjustment of post-Second World War migrants to Australia, focusing on the role of sport in that adjustment, especially football. At present, there is a gap in Australian migration scholarly literature, which neglects to show the important role football in Australia has played in helping many immigrants adjusting to life in this country.

There has been research in the United States that has demonstrated that migrant participation in football has assisted adjustment, and I believe a similar study needs to be carried out here given the significant contribution of post-war migrants to football in Australia. Because there are limits on the resources I have available, my project involves a study of migrant involvement in football in South Australia and Victoria, though it may also become necessary to conduct research in New South Wales.

I am very much aware of the negative media attention that ethnic involvement in Australian football has accrued over the years. As I have stated, the purpose of this project is to explore and understand the social benefits of migrant participation in football, as per the recent studies done in the United States.

In order to undertake this research project I would like to first seek permission from the Football Federation Australia to contact representatives of clubs in both South Australia and Victoria. I would then progress to the relevant state bodies and then to specific clubs. Accordingly I am seeking your consent for my undertaking of this study. At this stage I would be grateful for the opportunity to discuss my project with the Federation, and of course I would make available all of the results of the study to the Federation. I can supply a more detailed account of my research project should you require one. Also, my primary supervisor, Professor Graeme Hugo, would be very happy to answer any questions that you have regarding the project (PHONE, EMAIL).

All aspects of this research will be subject to scrutiny by the University of Adelaide Human Ethics Committee. The confidentiality of all people involved in the study will be fully protected.

Yours sincerely

JUSTIN PETER CIVITILLO  
PhD Student

## **10.5 Second Letter to Governing Body of Soccer**

25 January 2008

Football Federation Australia  
Level 7  
26 College Street  
SYDNEY NSW 2000

Dear Sir / Madam

My name is Justin Civitillo and I am a PhD student in the School of Geographical and Environmental Sciences at the University of Adelaide. I previously wrote to you on the 26<sup>th</sup> of October 2007 (see attached) informing you of my intention to undertake a study of the adjustment of post-Second World War migrants to Australia, focusing on the role of sport in that adjustment, especially football. I also asked for your permission to contact representatives of clubs in both South Australia and Victoria, so that I could then progress to the relevant state bodies and then to specific clubs.

I am writing to you again as I have received no reply. If this letter is also not answered within two weeks, I will assume that I have your approval to go ahead with my research and contact the Football Federation Victoria and Football Federation South Australia so that I can proceed to the next stage of the project.

I would be happy at any stage of my research to discuss the project with the Federation, and of course I would make available all of the results of the study to you. I can supply a more detailed account of my research project should you require one. My primary supervisor, Professor Graeme Hugo, would be very happy to answer any questions that you have regarding the project (PHONE, EMAIL).

As previously stated, all aspects of this research will be subject to scrutiny by the University of Adelaide Human Ethics Committee. The confidentiality of all people involved in the study will be fully protected.

Yours sincerely

JUSTIN PETER CIVITILLO  
PhD Student



## **10.6 Response from Governing Body of Soccer**

(Received via e-mail, 12<sup>th</sup> February 2008)

Dear Justin

I refer to your letters of last year and January this year to Football Federation Australia (FFA). I apologise for the delay in responding but as they were not addressed to anyone, it has taken time to find the right 'home'. That is now me, and I only started with FFA earlier this year.

We are more than happy for you to proceed with your research. It is a subject about which I know quite a bit, as my own parents were part of that refugee intake post WW2 who established a local club. It should be a really fascinating area to research.

If there is any help that we can give you, or any introductions we can make, or if you would like us to check any details or records at any time, please do not hesitate to contact me.

Best wishes for your study.

Regards

Bonita Mersiades

P.S. If you see Professor Nick Harvey, please say hello!

**Bonita Mersiades**  
**Head of Corporate Affairs**

**T**  
**F**  
**M**

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