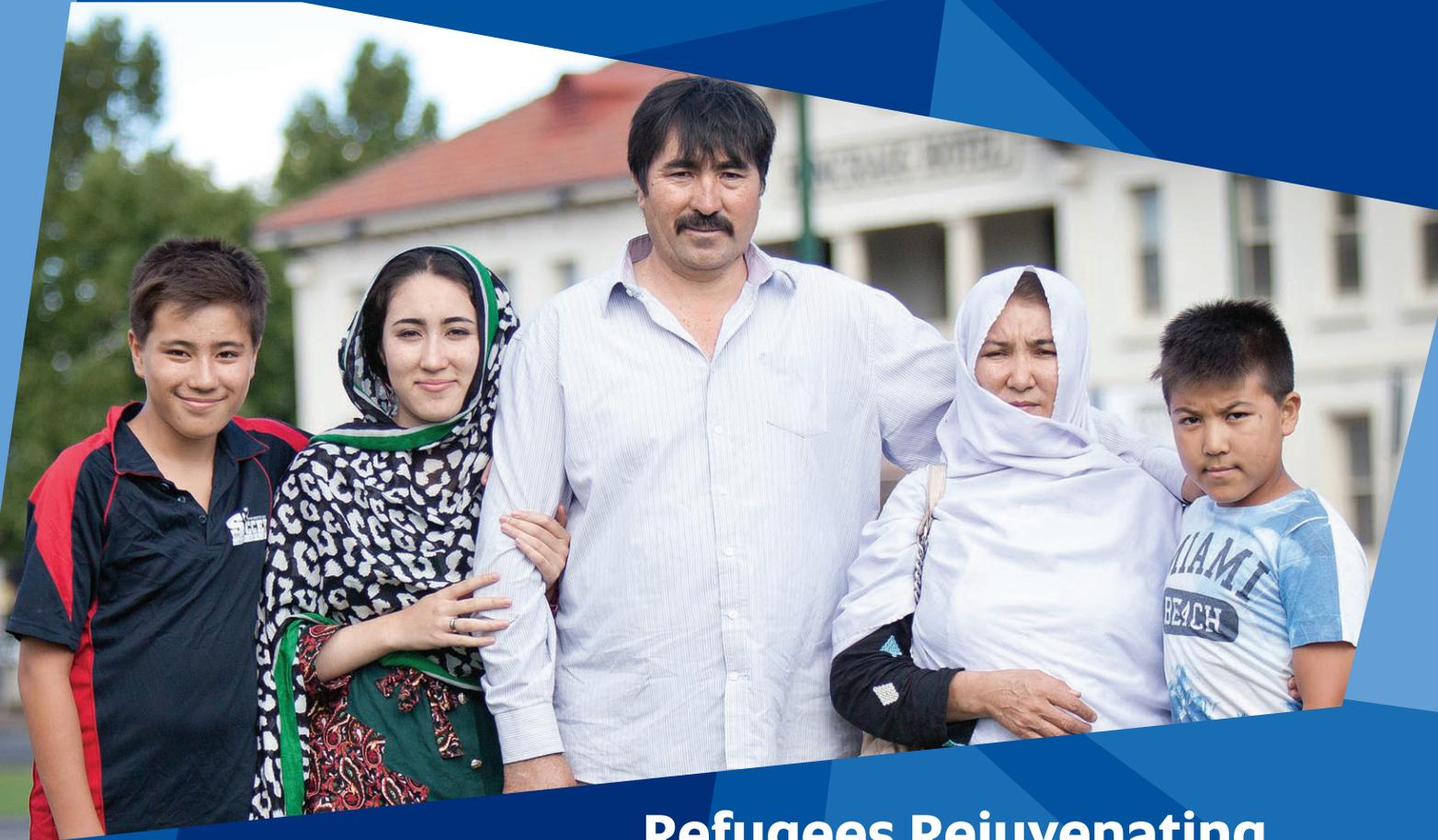




Charles Sturt
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South Australia



Refugees Rejuvenating and Connecting Communities

An analysis of the social, cultural and economic contributions of Hazara humanitarian migrants in the Port Adelaide-Enfield area of Adelaide, South Australia (Full Report)

Multicultural Communities Council of South Australia (MCCSA)



Multicultural Communities Council of South Australia

Refugees Rejuvenating and Connecting Communities Research Team



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Recommended citation:

Radford, David; Krivokapic-skoko, Branka; Hetz, Heidi; Soong, Hannah; Roberts, Rosie; Tan, George. 2021. *Refugees Rejuvenating and Connecting Communities: An analysis of the social, cultural and economic contributions of Hazara humanitarian migrants in the Port Adelaide-Enfield area of Adelaide, South Australia (Full Report)*, University of South Australia, Adelaide. © 2021 Copyright University of South Australia.

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ISBN 978-1-922046-34-5 .

DOI: <https://doi.org/10.25954/6046cb68b02bb>

For access to the summary, full and web versions of the report please see:

<https://www.unisa.edu.au/Refugees.Rejuvenating.Connecting.Communities-Report>

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Acknowledgements

There are many people that we need to acknowledge for their generous help and support to make the research project a success.

We express our gratitude to the Hazara and non-Hazara participants from the Port Adelaide-Enfield community who have generously given up their time to be interviewed for this research. There were a number of key individuals and social connectors within the Hazara and non-Hazara community who supported us including: Rahim Shah Zaidi, Hanif Rahimi, Yunus Noori, Mohammad Haidari, Jill Meldrum, Hamida Amiri, Meredyth Taylor, Christine Loveday, and Councillor Carol Martin. We want to thank Fida Hussain, in particular, who went out of his way to help and support the research team as well as provide valuable insight into the local Hazara community. A number of organisations were also instrumental in supporting the research including: Port Adelaide Enfield Council, Kilburn Community Centre, Mercy House of Welcome, Blair Athol Primary School, Lutheran Community Care and CaFE Enfield. We would like to acknowledge that the conversations with all participants have informed the findings in this report; however, as is the case in most research reports, some voices feature more prominently than others.

We are especially appreciative to Helena Kyriazopoulos and Megs Lamb and the Multicultural Communities Council of South Australia (MCCSA). MCCSA have supported the research financially, but more importantly, provided wise advice and encouragement throughout the project.

We are grateful for funding and administrative support from the URIPA Partnering Grant (UniSA) and for the institutional partnership with Charles Sturt University, without which the research would have not been possible.

We want to express our thanks to Michelle Toft and Levenike Renner from the Port Adelaide Enfield Council and to the staff at the State Library of South Australia who helped identify literature on the history of Port Adelaide.

We recognise the traditional lands of the Kurna people, the land on which this research was undertaken. We acknowledge and pay respect to Elders past, present and emerging and to the continuation of cultural, spiritual and educational practices of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander peoples throughout Australia.

A word from our community partner

The Multicultural Communities Council of SA (MCCSA) has a forty-five-year history of service to migrant communities following its establishment in 1995 with the merger of Ethnic Communities Council (est. 1974) and the United Ethnic Communities of South Australia (est. 1979). This was underpinned by a tradition of service going back to the 1949 establishment of the Good Neighbour Council, supporting migrants/political and war refugees to settle in Australia.

MCCSA currently represents over 120 ethnic organisations and is a member of the Federation of Ethnic Communities' Councils of Australia. With its vision of 'an equitable, cohesive and thriving South Australia', the Multicultural Communities Council of SA mission is 'to support and advocate for all people from culturally and linguistically diverse (CALD) backgrounds to realise their potential as active contributors to the economic, social and cultural life of South Australia'.

Over the years MCCSA has observed the changing nature of a multicultural South Australia and the nation. We support the view that migration has positively contributed economically, socially and culturally to the Australian society. This opinion has further been endorsed by numerous independent research studies over the past 30 years.

The MCCSA was pleased to partner with Dr David Radford and his team from the University of South Australia and Charles Sturt University, on a research study focusing on the contribution the Hazara community have made in the Port Adelaide- Enfield area of Adelaide.

The research used an ethnographic approach providing an insight into the Hazara migrants and how they interrelate with and contribute to the local community in the Port Adelaide – Enfield Local Council area of SA. The report also addresses some of the challenges migrant communities face in the settlement process, adapting to a host community whilst supporting their own to transition into the new way of life.

Refugees, Rejuvenating and Connecting Communities Report provides us with an understanding of the complexity of the migration experience, its impacts on communities and society and how one community has positively contributed to one of Adelaide's largest and diverse local government area.



Helena Kyriazopoulos

CEO
Multicultural Communities Council of SA
February 2021

Margaret Piper, AM

Commendation

By definition, refugees are survivors. They have fled a country in which they experienced persecution and, often after a dangerous journey, sought and obtained protection elsewhere. Doing this required courage, ingenuity, perseverance, tenacity and patience. All of these are qualities Australians profess to admire but rarely does the general public attribute them to refugees. That we do not means that we as a country risk overlooking a valuable resource in our midst.

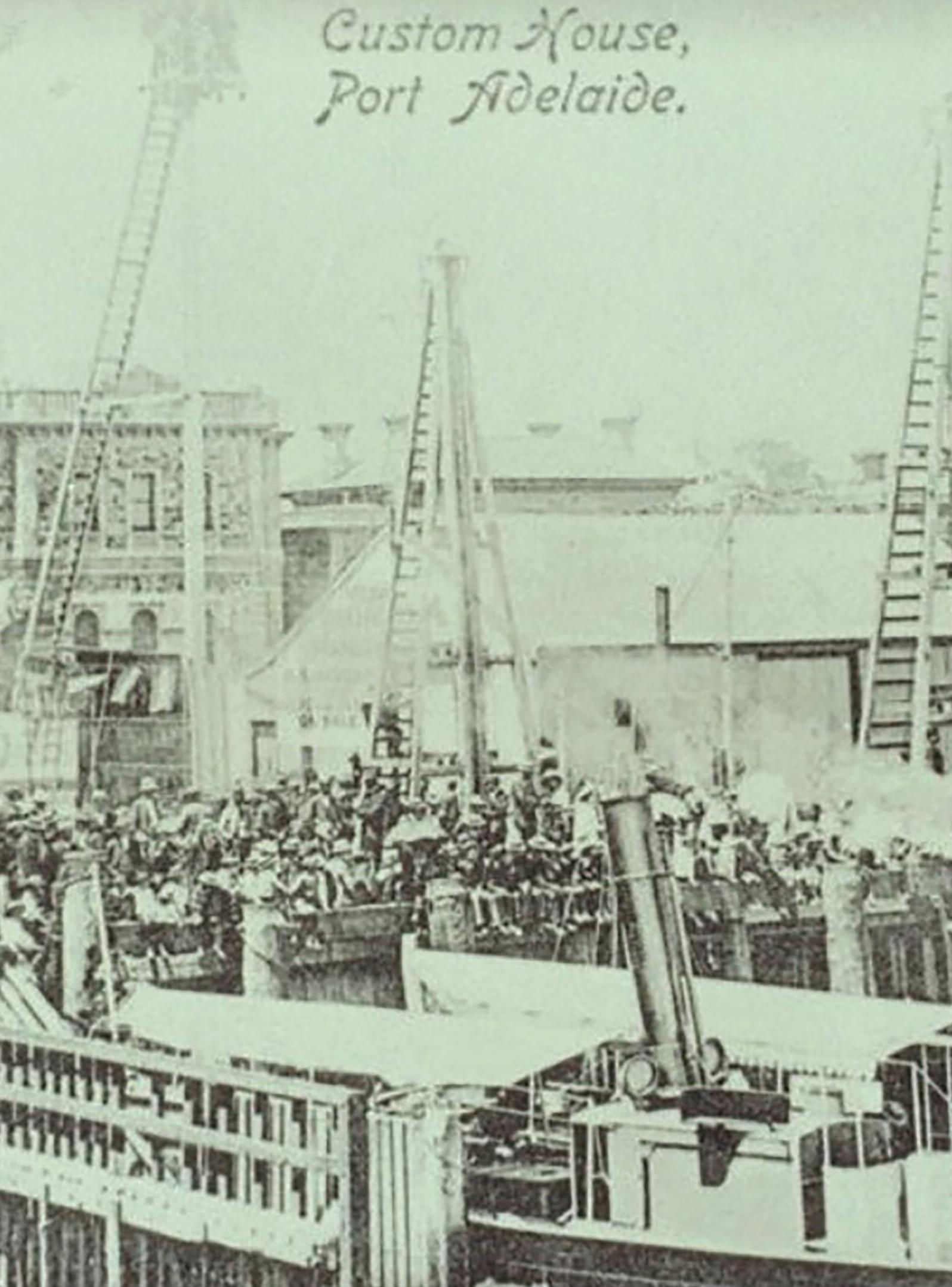
Refugees Rejuvenating and Connecting Communities is therefore an important reminder to all of us that refugees have much to contribute to all facets of our community. By focusing on a particular locality, the report is able to do a deep dive into how members of a new community have melded into the broader community and in so doing, contributed to and enriched it in so many ways.

The report also provides a fascinating insight into a community of former refugees not widely known within Australia. Afghanistan's Hazara minority ethnic group might claim a proud lineage, tracing their heritage to Genghis Khan and his troops, but for decades they have been subjected to severe persecution and violence not only in Afghanistan but also in neighbouring Pakistan. This is why they have had to travel so far to find a place that is safe and it is also why, having found it, they are so committed to making this their home and why they want to express their gratitude by contributing in every way they can.



Margaret Piper AM

*Custom House,
Port Adelaide.*



Executive summary

Negative Australian media and political discourse concerning humanitarian-background migrants¹ has portrayed them as a burden, cost or threat to the Australian community, and/or unable or unwilling to integrate into the broader Australian community because of their ('illegal') means of arrival, or their cultural, religious and educational characteristics. It has been argued, however, that people from refugee backgrounds make very positive economic, social and civic contributions to host societies (Hugo et al. 2011; Collins 2013).

The positive social, cultural and economic contribution of refugees can be clearly seen in the Port Adelaide Enfield Council region. The Port Adelaide Enfield Council is one of the most culturally diverse local government areas (LGA) in South Australia and has one of the largest Indigenous populations in Adelaide. Local stakeholders report that the Hazara-Afghans have had a transformative impact across the community including the economic rejuvenation of areas that were experiencing rapid socio-economic decline.

There are a number of key themes that resonate throughout this report. The first is that an individual engages or contributes to the local community in which they live in 'visible' and 'invisible' ways. For the most part contributions take place in everyday, banal, mundane or 'invisible' ways; and there are others who stand out in more overt, prominent or publicly 'visible' ways. We argue that we need to understand and acknowledge the contributions of humanitarian-background migrants, likewise, considering both 'visible' and 'invisible' contributions.

Second, there are those individuals and organisations who have the capacity to be social connectors, to bridge between communities. These individuals and organisations (from both refugee backgrounds and the local/wider community) are able to facilitate and positively promote ways that bridge between diverse communities.

Third, humanitarian-background migrants arrive with assets, abilities, knowledge and experiences to contribute to the communities they live in, and many proactively find ways to do so. A strengths-based approach to understanding refugee contributions to local

¹ The phrase 'humanitarian-background migrants' is used to be inclusive of both refugees and asylum seekers and also to indicate that this categorisation may not define a person's identity indefinitely. They may be from a humanitarian background but have multi-layered attachments and identifications (e.g., Hazara-Australian) that include but are not restricted to their experiences as refugees or asylum seekers.

communities counters a deficit-based approach which focuses on these individuals and communities as victims who need our help rather than as individuals and communities who have much to give.

Fourth, there is a conundrum for refugee communities who attempt to simultaneously strengthen, support and contribute to the development of their own communities or co-ethnic bonds, while strengthening, supporting and contributing to the local (and national) communities of which they are now a part. The report suggests that this is an ongoing, dynamic process that reflects both difficulties and opportunities.

Refugees rejuvenating and connecting communities emphasises the importance of integrating social and cultural practices of refugees, in addition to their economic contributions, to local communities that they live amongst. *Refugees rejuvenating and connecting communities* recognises that challenges and benefits are part of any migrant settlement process, reflecting social, cultural or economic inequalities/prejudice/capacities on the part of receiving communities or the (in)ability of new migrants to engage or interact with host communities.

Finally, *Refugees rejuvenating and connecting communities* deepens and broadens our knowledge of the potential transformative and rejuvenative impact that refugees can have on communities, including their own, adding valuable understandings of how this can be beneficial in other contexts across Adelaide, Australia and internationally.

Hazaragi language summary of the report

خلاصه تحقیق ده عنوان نقش مهاجرین ده طراوات بخشیدو و ده هم وصل کیدون اجتماعات

ای راپور ده باره یک اجتماع دارای سابقه مهاجرتی، یعنی افغان های هزاره، تحقیق مونه و توغ مونه که چی رقم هزاره ها ده منطقه پورت ادیلاید اینفیلد، ده ادیلاید، استرالیای جنوبی، مشارکت و همکاری کیده بخشی ازی جامعه جور موشن. پورت ادیلاید اینفیلد یکی از کلانترین جمعیتی ره که ده زیون غیر انگلیسی توره موگین و یکی از کلانترین جمعیت بومی (اصلی) ادیلاید ره ده خود خو جای دیده.

ای پروژه تحقیقی شامل مشاهده کیدو ده محل و مصاحبه کیدو قد باشنده های هزاره و غیر هزاره شده. ای راپور موفامه که زندگی کیدو و سهم گرفتو ده یک اجتماع فقط ده فایده رسیدونی اقتصادی توسط مهاجرین ده اجتماعات محل محدود نموشه بلکه ضروری استه که شرکت کیدو و همکاری اقتصادی، فرهنگی و اجتماعی ازونا هم دیده شونه.

چندین موضوع شامل ازی راپور استه: اول، افراد از راه های روزمره و راه های شناخته شده ده صورت عموم ده اجتماع محل خو مشارکت مونن و سهم میگردن. زیادترین سهم گرفتو و شراکت از راه های روزمره و ده خاموشی صورت میگره. بعضی افراد ده راه های شناخته شده ده عموم هم از دیگر کیده نمایان تر موشن. مو استدلال مونی که مشارکت و سهم گرفتونی مردم دارای سابقه مهاجرت هم باید امی رقم ارزیابی شونه، یعنی هم مشارکت و سهم گرفتون روزمره و هم سهم گرفتو و مشارکتی که بلده تمام نمایان باشه ده نظر گرفته شینه. دوم، افراد و سازمان هایی استه (هم از اجتماعات مهاجرین و هم از مردم محل) که میتینه اجتماعات گوناگون ره یک قد دیگه شی وصل کینن. ای افراد باید تشویق شینن و ازونا حمایت شینه.

سوم، مردم دارای سابقه مهاجرت قد توانایی ها، دانش و تجربیات خو مین تا ده اجتماعاتی که ده اونجی زندگی مونن مشارکت کینن. مو استدلال مونی که بلده درک کیدون مشارکت و سهم گیری مردم دارای سابقه مهاجرت ده اجتماعات محل ضروری استه که یک طرز فکری که ده اساس توانایی باشه ده پیش گرفته شینه. چارم، مشکلاتی هم ده سر راه مردم دارای سابقه مهاجرت که میخایند هم اجتماعات خودگون خو ره تقویه و حمایت کیده ده رشد ازو مشارکت کینن و ده عین زمان ده اجتماعات محلی (و ملی) که ده اونجی زندگی مونن هم مشارکت دیشته و او ره تقویه و حمایت کینن وجود دیره.

مردم دارای سابقه مهاجرت همیشه قربانی نین و نه اونا همیشه پناهنده استن. هزاره های شامل ده ای راپور نشان میدین که اونا خواهش دیرن که از برچسب یا تاپه پناهنده یا قربانی دورتر بورن. اونا هزاره استن مگر اونا ده عنوان استرالیایی اعضای جامعه استرالیاستن که مشارکت مثبت ده جامعه دیرن. توانایی هویت یا شناخت خود ازونا و پیوندهای هم قومی ازونا فرصت شناخت، تعلق، مشارکت، ارتباطات و سهم گیری زیادتر ازونا ره ده اجتماع محل شی و قد اجتماع کلان استرالیای فراهم مونه.



1. Introduction

This report addresses important questions and issues regarding the contributions and impact of humanitarian-background migrants to local communities. As will be outlined below, there has been considerable debate regarding the role and place of refugees in Australia at a political, media, academic and everyday social level. Common discourses suggest that refugees are a burden, cost or threat to society, but is this the case? An important response to these debates is to provide evidence-based information on how humanitarian-background migrants live in and become a part of the communities that they reside in. This report seeks to address some of these questions by undertaking a qualitative case study among one humanitarian-background community to explore the ways in which they have become a part of the local community. Specifically, it focuses on the Hazara Afghan² community in the Port Adelaide Enfield Council area of Adelaide, South Australia. The Port Adelaide Enfield Council has one of the most culturally diverse populations in Adelaide as well as having one of the largest Indigenous populations. Underpinning the research is an understanding that living and engaging in a community is multifaceted. Engagement must be considered in a holistic way that looks at social, cultural and economic factors. Engagement, contribution or impact cannot simply be measured or understood as a dollar figure, that is, how a group of people help the economic position of the community.

At the time of this research (2018–19), Australia has resettled approximately 12,700 refugees, is ranked third in the world for resettlement commitment, and second for per capita intake (Refugee Council of Australia 2020b). One of the largest Hazara diaspora communities has settled in Australia; the 2016 Census recorded 15,865 speakers of Hazaragi, a dialect of Farsi (Department of Home Affairs 2018a). Yet, within Australian public discourses, they are still subjected to deficit representations of their multiple identities as ‘the other’ despite having resettled in Australia for many years (Radford & Hetz 2020). Our project aims to provide a holistic picture of the twofold negotiated process of empowerment between the local community members and humanitarian migrants. Although the project draws from interviews and observational notes, and it is small-scale, it seeks to provide a deeper understanding of what it takes to build connections and positive settlement experiences of Hazara populations

² The homeland of the Hazara is Afghanistan. Their history of persecution in Afghanistan is explored in Chapter 2. Throughout the report, the term ‘Hazara’ rather than ‘Hazara Afghans’ is used.

through the everyday practices and webs of interconnections with members of a local community. As a team, we have taken an emic³ analysis of the perspectives of both Hazara and non-Hazara groups who themselves inhabit different equity groups and strata of the social hierarchy, and an etic⁴ third person objectivistic analysis of their involvement and relations with one another and other residents of the local council area.

The research takes the view that understanding the way that humanitarian-background migrants participate in local communities should reflect the way that any ordinary member of a community participates in their community. We are economic contributors but we are much more: we live and interact socially and culturally. We do this in very public, prominent or visible ways, but we also do so in banal, everyday, mundane ways. That is, we live, work, study, raise families, play sport, volunteer and shop in our neighbourhoods. The visible and ‘invisible’ participation in community life are both considered in the experiences of the Hazara community in the Port Adelaide Enfield Council area, which opens up fresh possibilities for understanding how refugee become a part of their communities.

This introductory chapter of the report provides a context and overview for the research undertaken. The report first provides a brief background to refugee settlement globally and in Australia more specifically. It then looks at the public discourses around refugees and asylum seekers in Australia. Finally, it provides a description of the design and methods used to undertake the research. The second chapter provides a historical overview of migrant settlement more generally, and the Hazara community more specifically, in the Port Adelaide-Enfield area. Chapter 3 describes the detailed population make-up of the Hazara Afghan community, drawing largely from the Australian Bureau of Statistics’ (ABS) Census of Population and Housing from 2006, 2011 and 2016. The report then explores the participation, contributions and impact of the Hazara community in the Port Adelaide-Enfield area through a holistic framework already outlined – the social, cultural and economic. Chapters 4 to 6 investigate the social and cultural (civic) sphere by looking at the role of community centres

³ An emic approach seeks to provide an understanding of social phenomenon from an *insider’s* or subject’s perspective or viewpoint (Headland, Pike & Harris 1990).

⁴ An etic approach seeks to understand an understanding of social phenomenon from an *outsider’s* or observer’s perspective or viewpoint.

(Chapter 4), sport (Chapter 5) and education (Chapter 6), while Chapter 7 investigates aspects of economic engagement. The report finishes with a conclusion including key findings.

Refugee resettlement globally

In 2018, there were a total of 70.8 million forcibly displaced people worldwide, including 41.3 million internally displaced people and 25.9 million refugees (United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees 2019). Total numbers have increased significantly over the last decade, with 43.3 million forcibly displaced people in 2009 (UNHCR 2019).

More than two thirds of refugees worldwide originate from only five countries: Syrian Arab Republic (6.7 million), Afghanistan (2.7 million), South Sudan (2.3 million), Myanmar (1.1 million) and Somalia (0.9 million) (UNHCR 2019). Nearly four out of five refugees live in countries neighbouring the country they have fled (UNHCR 2019). The top refugee-hosting countries are Turkey (3.7 million), Pakistan (1.4 million), Uganda (1.2 million), Sudan (1.1 million) and Germany (1.1 million) (UNHCR 2019).

Only 92,400 refugees were resettled in 2018; however, the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR) (2019) estimates that 1.4 million refugees required resettlement. In 2018, the main resettlement countries were Canada (28,100), the United States (22,900), Australia (12,700), the United Kingdom (5800) and France (5600) (UNHCR 2019).

Refugees in Australia

Australia resettles refugees through the Refugee and Humanitarian Program, made up of the offshore component for refugees outside of Australia and the onshore component for those who seek protection after their arrival in Australia (Department of Home Affairs 2020). Since 1945, more than 880,000 refugees and displaced persons have been resettled in Australia (Department of Home Affairs 2020).

As shown in the statistics above, Australia is one of the main resettlement countries. In 2018–19, there were 18,750 places in the Humanitarian Program and 18,762 visas were granted (Department of Home Affairs 2019). The majority of resettled refugees were from Syria, Iraq, Myanmar, Afghanistan, Bhutan, the Democratic Republic of the Congo and Ethiopia (Department of Home Affairs 2019).

A global comparison of Australia's contribution to resettlement needs to combine the protection numbers from asylum processes and from resettlement, which places Australia 14th overall, 20th per capita and 60th in relation to GDP (RCA 2020b). Since numbers fluctuate, a more accurate analysis compares statistics over a ten-year period; for the decade between January 2009 and December 2018, Australia is placed 25th overall, 29th per capita and 54th in relation to GDP (RCA 2020b).

In addition to the resettlement of offshore refugees, Australia has received asylum seekers, both by boat and by plane. For the last two decades, asylum seekers who arrive by boat have been met by a number of harsh policies aimed at their deterrence. Peaks in the number of arrivals by boat occurred between 1999 and 2002 and between 2009 and 2014 (RCA 2019b).

It must be noted that the numbers of asylum seekers who arrive by boat are relatively low in Australia. During the Australian peak in 2012 and 2013 there were 17,202 and 20,587 arrivals respectively (RCA 2019b). In 1999–2000 and 2000–01, Australia received just over 4000 asylum seekers by boat per financial year and in 2001–02, just over 3000 (RCA 2019b). From 2002–03 to 2007–08, Australia received a total of 301 arrivals, followed by just under 1000 in 2008–09 (RCA 2019b). In 2009–10, Australia received about 5300, in 2010–11 about 4700, and in 2011–12 just under 8000 (RCA 2019b).

In response to the first peak, Australia introduced Operation Relex in 2001 which forcibly returned a total of 614 boats (RCA 2019b). In response to the second peak, Operation Sovereign Borders was introduced in 2013 which, according to figures from September 2019, has intercepted 827 people on 34 boats (RCA 2019b).

Other policies include mandatory detention, including offshore detention, and offshore resettlement. In March 2020, there were 1373 people in Australian detention facilities, with an average number of 545 days in detention (RCA 2020d). In addition, Australia has sent asylum seekers who arrived by boat to offshore detention centres in Nauru and Manus Island (Papua New Guinea), a practice that began in 2001, was stopped in 2008 but recommenced in 2012 (RCA 2020a). Since August 2012, a total of 4177 people have been sent to Nauru or Papua New Guinea (RCA 2019a).

The current approach includes the issuing of temporary protection visas (TPVs) and Safe Haven Enterprise Visas (SHEV) to asylum seekers instead of permanent protection visas. TPVs were used between 1999 and 2008, and were reintroduced in 2013 (ASRC 2020). This type of

visa is issued for three years; at the end of the three-year period, the visa holder has to reapply for another temporary visa (ASRC 2020). While this visa type includes some medical and welfare services, it does not allow travel rights or family reunion (ASRC 2020). Importantly, this visa category means that visa holders face considerable uncertainty about their future, which can exacerbate distress and trauma (ASRC 2020). A SHEV visa is available for five years and is available to asylum seekers who intend to work or study in regional Australia (RCA 2020c). In contrast to a TPV, SHEV visa holders can apply for a permanent visa at the end of the five-year period; however, they must meet the requirements of the permanent visa and they must have worked or studied in a regional area for 42 months (RCA 2020c).

Refugee/asylum seeker discourses

For the last two decades, public debates on the topic of asylum seekers have been defined by significant anti-refugee/anti-asylum seeker and anti-Muslim rhetoric. These debates have been dominated by both major political parties and the mainstream media (Martin 2015; Peterie 2017), which has had considerable impact upon public opinion about the issue (Dunn et al. 2015; Hartley & Pedersen 2015).

Asylum seekers have been described as not genuine and as deviant because they fail to ‘wait’ offshore like ‘good refugees’ and instead ‘jump the queue’ to Australia (Peterie 2017; Rowe & O’Brien 2014). In 2013, the Australian government changed its official term from ‘irregular maritime arrivals’ to ‘illegal maritime arrivals’ (RCA 2018). Asylum seekers have further been portrayed as culturally different from Australians and therefore a threat to the Australian national identity and way of life (Martin 2015; Peterie 2017; Rowe & O’Brien 2014). Terror attacks in the United States, Bali, Madrid and London have created the ‘folk devil identity of the Muslim-terrorist-refugee’ (Martin 2015, p. 308), with asylum seekers described as criminals and potential terrorists but also as a threat to Australian sovereignty and the national interest (Peterie 2017; Rowe & O’Brien 2014).

Public discourses often make a distinction between (undeserving) illegal asylum seekers and (deserving) legitimate offshore refugees (Rowe & O’Brien 2014). While there is more goodwill towards offshore refugees, they are often subject to deficit discourses that portray refugees as a burden to Australia. Negative Australian media and political discourse concerning humanitarian migrants (refugees and asylum seekers) has portrayed them as a burden, cost or threat to the Australian community, and/or unable or unwilling to integrate into the broader

Australian community because of their ('illegal') means of arrival, or their cultural, religious and educational characteristics (Every & Augostinos 2008; Mummery & Roden 2007). These discourses are illustrated by the (contradictory and inaccurate) statement by former Minister for Immigration Peter Dutton in 2016 that refugees are often illiterate and innumerate and that they present a risk to Australia because they take Australian jobs and also because they remain dependent on welfare (Ramsay & Fiske 2016; Voon & Higgins 2016).

However, some studies have explored the settlement of refugees and the positive contribution they make to Australia (AMES & Deloitte 2015, 2018; Hugo 2013; Parsons 2013; RCA 2010). There is a growing body of research concerning refugee settlement focused on how receiving communities have responded to settlement challenges, identifying the needs of refugees and best practices for successful settlement (Taylor & Stanovic 2005; McDonald et al. 2008; Fozdar & Hartley 2012) and the intercultural dynamics that occur between local communities and migrants leading to forms of exclusion or inclusion (Reid et al. 2018; Wise 2014; Gawlewicz 2016). The limited research that is available on the contributions of refugees has predominantly considered their economic contributions to their local communities (AMES & Deloitte 2015). In this regard, two recent reports stand out. A 2015 Deloitte report investigated the economic impact of Myanmar Karen settlement in Nhill, Victoria (AMES & Deloitte 2015) reporting a staggering \$42.5 million contribution within five years of arriving. In another regional case study Stilwell (2003) did an economic evaluation by measuring the effects of income flows generated by employment of the refugees in a community. The incomes and expenditures generated by the Afghan presence are conservatively estimated at between \$2.4 million and \$2.7 million over the 18-month period with a broader fiscal impact on the national economy at about \$1.7 million over the same period (Stilwell 2003, p. 247).

Starting up their own businesses is one strategy adopted by many refugees to overcome blocked labour market mobility (Collins 2003a). It seems that a general narrative is that refugee entrepreneurs usually suffer unfavourable employment opportunity structures in their host countries, and therefore entrepreneurship emerges as an alternative to overcome this issue (Wauters & Lambrecht 2008; Bizri 2017). Those studies have emphasised that, as well as a means of employment, humanitarian immigrants/refugees consider setting up a business as an opportunity to 'integrate' into the community. The argument is that entrepreneurship offers newcomers a unique pathway to integration, blending economic independence with increased self-confidence and cooperation within communities.

Collins, Watson and Krivokapic-Skoko (2017) argue that, while there has been extensive research on the entrepreneurial experiences of many immigrants (cited in Collins et al. 2017), there has been limited research into refugee entrepreneurship in Australia or globally. Collins et al. (2017) have begun to address this gap in the Australian context by presenting findings about Hazara immigrant entrepreneurs in Adelaide. This research project aims to build on the findings of these reports but stresses the need for an integrative holistic approach that considers the social and cultural impact of humanitarian migrants, as well as the economic; striking at the heart of issues of migration, social integration, social cohesion and national identity/belonging.

This report therefore assumes that an evaluation of refugee contributions to host communities requires a holistic approach that considers three foci: social, cultural and economic. Evidence of refugees' contributions to their host communities is hard to ignore. This project highlights the importance of recognising the social and cultural contributions of refugees in addition to their economic contributions to the host communities. It further recognises that challenges and benefits are part of any settlement process, reflecting social, cultural or economic inequalities/prejudice/capacities on the part of receiving communities or the (in)ability of new migrants to engage or interact with host communities (Wise & Noble 2016; Radford 2016, 2017).

Research design and methods

Design

The project used a qualitative ethnographic approach between 2019 and 2020 that included participant observation and semi-structured biographical/life-history interviews with Hazara Afghan humanitarian migrants and other residents in the Port Adelaide Enfield Council area of South Australia. These methods were used in order to investigate the innovative social, cultural and economic contributions of the Hazara to their Port Adelaide-Enfield community. It also drew on already available background quantitative data pertinent for the research (e.g. the 2016 Census).

Methods

Participant and non-participant observation: Participant/non-participant observation are appropriate methods to study the lived reality of culturally complex social relations, observing people's behaviours in natural contexts, and can result in the production of new knowledge

about social relations, and in ground-breaking conceptual development of understandings of class, race, ethnic, and other group dynamics and relations (Brewer 2000). Observations took place in four primary social sites: business/economic (e.g. businesses on Prospect Road such as the Ghan Kebab House restaurant), sporting (e.g. Kilburn Football Club), social/civic participation (e.g. community centres: Mercy House of Welcome, Kilburn Community Centre), and education (CaFE Enfield, Blair Athol North Primary School). Activities noted included day-to-day activities and interactions as well as events/programs. Observation focused on themes around how the Hazara interact in everyday contexts: how they manage and negotiate social and cultural boundaries around age, gender, ethnicity, religion and migrant status (visa status, year of arrival); and what cultural resources and competencies they draw upon to facilitate creative, innovative and entrepreneurial practices and contributions.

Semi-structured biographical interviews: Semi-structured biographical/life-history interviews (Liamputtong & Ezzy, 2005; Denzin 1970) were conducted with Hazara and local community residents from the four social sites indicated above. The focus of the life-history narrative is on understanding ‘sociological questions about groups, communities, and contexts through individuals’ lived experiences’ (Marshall & Rossman 1999, p. 123). In-depth interviews were conducted with thirteen Hazara and five non-Hazara participants.

The interviews investigated the process and negotiation of cultural difference, cooperation and conflict related to the settlement and contributions of the Hazara across a broad range of community spheres indicated above: economic activities (e.g. business development, employment, investment, innovation), civic activities such as participation in community organisations/events, sporting contributions, and impact in education settings, and interaction with diverse Port Adelaide-Enfield residents. The interviews explored the interviewees’ perceptions and feelings about living in the community; experiences of social change since arrival; interactions with diverse others in formal/informal situations; perceptions and feelings about everyday strategies used to negotiate, social, cultural and economic boundaries; the ways that people negotiate cultural and religious difference; and experiences of and feelings about inequalities and disadvantage, and perceptions of their causes.

Pseudonyms have been used for interview participants throughout the report in order to preserve anonymity. However, we recognise that there are some individuals for whom it is difficult to preserve anonymity due to their prominent position within the Hazara and non-

Hazara community in the Port Adelaide Enfield Council area. Where this was the case, specific permission was sought to use their name and/or the name of their business or organisation.

An essential part of the research has been the partnership with our community partner, the Multicultural Communities Council of South Australia (MCCSA). As well as generously financially supporting the research, MCCSA have provided input and advice throughout the research process, from the early design of the research through to the report. This has enabled the research team from the University of South Australia and Charles Sturt University to engage with the local communities involved in the research more effectively and in a much more sensitive and nuanced way.

Community partner: Multicultural Communities Council of South Australia (MCCSA)

The Multicultural Communities Council of SA (MCCSA) has a 45-year history of service to migrant communities following its establishment in 1974. This was underpinned by a tradition of service going back to the 1949 establishment of the Good Neighbour Council. MCCSA represents 120 ethnic organisations drawn from established, new and emerging communities. MCCSA is a member of the Federation of Ethnic Communities' Councils of Australia.

With its vision of 'an equitable, cohesive and thriving South Australia', MCCSA's mission is 'to support and advocate for all people from culturally and linguistically diverse (CALD) backgrounds to realise their potential as active contributors to the economic, social and cultural life of South Australia'.

Over the years MCCSA has observed the changing nature of a multicultural South Australia and the nation. It understands that the needs of recent migrants differ in many respects to those of previous generations. In its role in reflecting and transmitting to governments the changing needs of immigrant communities, and where necessary meeting these needs, MCCSA plays a critical role in the immigrants' and society's well-being.

MCCSA aim to balance the practical service needs of South Australian ethnic communities with advocacy so that the government of the day is aware of the changing needs of migrant communities, both of recent arrivals and the long standing. MCCSA is currently undertaking sixteen different programs for a wide range of communities, filling niche needs but also acting where the government considers a non-government organisation can achieve an objective more readily.



2 Background: Port Adelaide and the Hazara diaspora

This project focuses on the Hazara community that has settled in the Port Adelaide Enfield Council area, specifically in Enfield and Blair Athol. This chapter discusses the historical background of this council area and introduces the Hazara community. It shows that Port Adelaide has played an important role in the settlement of migrants in South Australia. From the beginning of white settlement, migration to the new colony included arrivals not only from the United Kingdom but from countries including Germany, China and Afghanistan. The *Centenary history of Port Adelaide, 1856–1956* describes Port Adelaide, together with Alice Springs and Broken Hill, as ‘set apart’ from any other place due to its ‘manners, customs, people, institutions and industries’ (CCPA 1956, p. 9). It offers the following description of Port Adelaide:

The manner of its discovery, the method of settlement, its position in relation to the capital, its terrain, the motives and characters of those who first built it, the mistakes and the achievements, the waves of economic fortune and misfortune which beset it, its place in the scheme of things as a major seaport have all contributed something to making Port Adelaide as cosmopolitan in outlook as Sydney, as parochial as a country town, as conservative as Adelaide, as democratic as Broken Hill, as much an industrial centre as Port Pirie, as much a seaside resort as Victor Harbour, as suburban as Unley, as worldly as Bristol. (CCPA 1956, p. 9)

This chapter begins with an exploration of the historical background of Port Adelaide, including an overview of migration to the area, following the arrival of white settlers. The second half of this chapter introduces the Hazara; first, it discusses the experiences of the Hazara in their homeland of Afghanistan, followed by a brief discussion of the Hazara diaspora.

Historical background of Port Adelaide Enfield

Port Adelaide was of great importance to the new South Australian colony as the port played a key role in trade and served as the entry point for new settlers. The following subsections explore the establishment of the new colony and its port and explain the history of migration to the area.

Establishment of the South Australian colony

European exploration of Australia began in the seventeenth century. Dutch sailors were the first Europeans to reach Australia in 1606 when they landed in northern Queensland (Couper-Smartt 2003). The first chart of a section of the South Australian coast was created in 1627 by Captain Francois Thyssen and Peter Nuyts, Councillor of the Indies, who arrived in Australia in the Dutch ship *'t Gulden Zeepaert*; the first world map that includes South Australia dates back to 1658 (State Library of South Australia 2020a). The first British settlement was established in Sydney in 1788 and the British claimed sovereignty of the continent in 1827 (Couper-Smartt 2003).

Further exploration of South Australia took place in the nineteenth century. In 1802, Matthew Flinders and his crew were the first Europeans to see the Port Adelaide shore when they were charting the coast between present-day Ceduna and Mount Gambier, which had remained unexplored (Couper-Smartt 2003). Although it was Flinders who named the Gulf St Vincent, his ship remained too far out at sea to see the entrance of the Port River (Couper-Smartt 2003). In 1831, Captain Collet Barker and his crew, in search of the mouth of the River Murray, climbed Mount Lofty (named by Flinders) and saw the area that was to become the site of Port Adelaide (Couper-Smartt 2003).

The 1830s saw key developments in the establishment of the new colony. In 1833, the South Australian Association was established to found a colony; in the following year, the *South Australian Colonization Act* (UK) was passed (State Library of South Australia 2020a). In 1835, Captain John Hindmarsh became the first Governor of South Australia. In the same year, the South Australian Company was established (State Library of South Australia 2020a) and English investors began to purchase land in the new colony even though they had never seen the continent (Couper-Smartt 2003). In 1836, William Light became the Surveyor-General (State Library of South Australia 2020a). In February of that year, the first migrant ships from England started their journey to South Australia and in November the first settlers reached Holdfast Bay (State Library of South Australia 2020a). Hindmarsh arrived in the new colony in December 1836 and, as his first official act, proclaimed the establishment of government (Couper-Smartt 2003). At the time, there were 546 Europeans in the colony but the European population grew to 3000 within one year, to 12,000 after six years, and to nearly 60,000 after twelve years (Couper-Smartt 2003).

Negotiations took place about the ideal placement of the capital and harbour of the new colony. The requirements for the capital town Adelaide included a ‘commodious, safe and accessible harbor at all seasons of the year’, situated near fertile land and fresh water supply (Couper-Smartt 2003, p. 13). Hindmarsh was not in favour of Light’s preferred sites for the city and port, pointing to the shortcomings of the Port River and hoping for a site where the city could be closer to the port (Couper-Smartt 2003; Parsons 1977). On 31 December 1836, despite opposition from Hindmarsh, Light confirmed the site of Adelaide and the Port Creek as the site for the harbor, thereby rejecting Kangaroo Island, Encounter Bay and Port Lincoln (State Library of South Australia 2020a).

Dispossession of Aboriginal people

The establishment of the new South Australian colony also represented the dispossession of the local Aboriginal people, the Kaurna people of the Adelaide plains. The Kaurna people have lived on the Adelaide plains for thousands of years. The Kaurna name for the land around the Port River is Yertabulti, with Yerta the word for place or land, and Bulti the word for sleep or death (City of Port Adelaide Enfield 2020a). The eastern bank of the Port River was home to the Wirra Kaurna and the western bank was home to the Port River Tribe (City of Port Adelaide Enfield 2020a).

In his Proclamation speech in 1836, Hindmarsh (cited in Foster, Hosking & Nettelbeck 2001, p. 3) declared that Aboriginal people ‘are to be considered as much under the safeguard of the law as the Colonists themselves, and equally entitled to the privileges of British subjects’. However, his ‘declaration ... did not alter the realities of settler violence and Aboriginal resistance to invasion’ (Foster et al. 2001, p. 3). Aboriginal resistance resulted in ‘attacks on settlers, their stock and their property’, met in turn by efforts from the white settlers to suppress their resistance (Foster & Nettelbeck 2012, p. 7). Importantly, Aboriginal violence against the white settlers was not interpreted as ‘resistance’ and ‘guerrilla tactics’ against invasion and dispossession but as attacks of “predators”, “marauders” or “plunderers”, evidence of their “savage” character’ (Foster et al. 2001, pp. 6–7). The violence of white settlers towards Aboriginal people in the new South Australian colony was localised and subject to secrecy, often unreported or with reports obscured by euphemisms and minimal accuracy (Foster et al. 2001).

In addition to conflict and violence, white settlers brought diseases with them. Investigations by Sir Edward Stirling in 1911 suggest that in the 1830s smallpox, brought by white settlers, killed many Aboriginal people in the area (Couper-Smartt 2003). White settlers also introduced venereal diseases to the colony, causing infertility and stillbirth, spread through instances of rape or barter prostitution of Aboriginal women since whalers arrived in the area (Couper-Smartt 2003). With the arrival of white settlers, many Kaurna people moved to the Adelaide Hills and coastal wetlands, whereas others found employment as domestic servants, labourers or dockworkers (Couper-Smartt 2003).

Estimates provide an insight into the extent of settler violence towards Aboriginal people during the frontier wars. Reynolds (cited in Foster et al. 2001) estimates that around 2000 to 2500 Europeans lost their lives across Australia as a result of violence during invasion and settlement; at the same time, Reynolds suggests that the number of Aboriginal deaths was five to ten times higher, leading to an estimate of about 20,000 Aboriginal deaths. It is estimated that about 80 Europeans lost their lives in the South Australian colony, which would suggest 400 to 800 Aboriginal deaths as a result of violence (Foster et al. 2001). At the same time, only a very small number of Europeans faced charges for the murder of Aboriginal people in the nineteenth century (Foster & Nettelbeck 2012).

Importantly, it was not only the early decades of white settlement that were defined by the dispossession and marginalisation of Aboriginal people, as discriminatory laws continued until the 1960s:

Governments wanted Aboriginal people out of sight and out of mind; either segregated on missions and reserves or ‘absorbed’, through policies of assimilation, into the dominant white culture. Not only was there a presumption that Aboriginal people would die out, but the policies of the era sought to facilitate their disappearance – if not physically, then racially and culturally. (Foster et al. 2001, p. 139)

Today, the Port Adelaide Enfield Council has one of the highest populations of Indigenous people in the Adelaide region. According to the 2016 Census, 2.3 per cent of the Port Adelaide-Enfield population were Aboriginal and/or Torres Strait Islander, compared to 2.0 per cent for South Australia and 2.8 per cent for Australia (Australian Bureau of Statistics 2017).

Growth and development of Port Adelaide area

Before the development of the port at Port Creek, Holdfast Bay served as a second port between 1836 to 1840, used primarily to disembark passengers (Parsons 1977). In 1836, Adelaide's first primitive port, referred to as 'Port Misery' due to its poor condition, was situated on the Port Creek (later Port Adelaide River) (Department for Environment and Heritage 2020; Parsons 1977). Four years later, the South Australian Company established a new port at the present-day Port Road/Commercial Road at the site that is now known as Inner Harbour (Department for Environment and Heritage 2020).

With shipping as the main form of transportation for many decades, the port was a lifeline for the South Australian colony (Samuels 1987). The port became a hub for shipping, industry and transportation, and served as the main entrance point for immigrants and supplies, with mining and agricultural products as the main exports (Department for Environment and Heritage 2020). Importantly, it enabled the delivery of mail and newspapers from overseas, presenting a link to the lives and relatives that the settlers had left behind (Samuels 1987). Port Adelaide therefore played a significant role in the transport and communication network of the colony (Samuels 1987).

In the 1850s, the new settlement covered most of the area that now makes up the Port Centre (Samuels 1987) and in 1855, Port Adelaide became a corporate town (Department for Environment and Heritage 2020). The Port Adelaide Town Hall was opened in 1866, a few months earlier than the one in Adelaide (Samuels 1987). In 1856, South Australia's first steam-powered and government-owned railway started operating between Port Adelaide and Adelaide, followed by a telephone link between Adelaide and Port Adelaide in 1883 which replaced the 1855 electric telegraph (Department for Environment and Heritage 2020).

The harbour facilities continued to be developed and expanded, but for several decades the largest vessels had to use the Semaphore Anchorage at Largs Bay, until Outer Harbour replaced the open anchorage in 1908 (Samuels 1987). The wharfs at Inner Harbour continued to be used frequently until the 1960s (Couper-Smartt 2003). After 1914, the government took over the privately owned wharves, followed by a reconstruction program in the 1920s and 1930s as many wharves were in a poor state (Samuels 1987). Further work and change occurred after the end of World War Two and again after the introduction of containerisation in the 1960s (Samuels 1987).

The significance of Port Adelaide for South Australia was recognised early on. In 1872, the Port Adelaide Institute opened a general museum which was one of the colony's first museums (Samuels 1987). In 1933, the collection was converted into Australia's first nautical museum (now included in the South Australian Maritime Museum) (Samuels 1987). The establishment of the Port Adelaide Railway Museum was announced in 1985 (Samuels 1987). In recognition of its historical and architectural importance, the Port Adelaide State Heritage Area was declared in 1982 (Department for Environment and Heritage 2020).

Most of South Australia's earliest villages were situated along the River Torrens, including Klemzig, Walkerville, Hindmarsh, Bowden and Thebarton (Lamshed 1972). Land grants for Prospect, named after the 'beautiful prospect' of the area, and for Fitzroy and Medindie Gardens were first offered in 1838 and 1839, two years after the proclamation of the Province of South Australia (City of Prospect 2020). Prospect is described as 'a natural extension of North Adelaide, which was becoming rather crowded' (Lamshed 1972, p. 4). In the 1840s, the population at Prospect Village was mostly engaged in agriculture, producing wheat and dairy; other industries included lime kilns and timber (City of Prospect 2020; Lamshed 1972). Initially, Main North Road and Lower Main North Road were the only two main roads until Prospect Road was gradually built (City of Prospect 2020; Lamshed 1972). In 1872, Prospect became a council district and in 1933 it became a municipality; in 1935 it was declared a city (City of Prospect 2020).

The suburb of Blair Athol was created in 1915, situated on sections 354 and 355 of the 'Hundred of Yatala' (State Library of South Australia 2020b). The name of the suburb can be traced back to Mary Ann Cameron, born in Perth in Scotland near a village by the name of Blair Athol (State Library of South Australia 2020b). Mary Ann Cameron arrived in South Australia in 1867. Following her wedding in 1886, she purchased a house in Rose Park which she named 'Blair Athol'. In 1905, Cameron bought land on section 355 of the Hundred of Yatala and renamed the house on this property 'Blair Athol House' (State Library of South Australia 2020b).

In 1996, the Port Adelaide City Council merged with the Enfield City Council; prior to that, the council area included Rosewater, Ottoway, Alberton, Queenstown, Portland, Ethelton, Glanville, Birkenhead, Peterhead, Exeter, Largs, Semaphore, Osborne, Taperoo, North Haven and Outer Harbour (Couper-Smartt 2003).

Migration to Port Adelaide/South Australia

The focus of this report is on the Hazara community who have settled in Port Adelaide Enfield over the last two decades. Importantly, migration from various nations played an important role in the new South Australian colony since the arrival of the first non-Indigenous settlers. Australia was a country of immigrants for most of the nineteenth century and even by 1901 most of the population had been born overseas, mostly in the British Isles (Couper-Smartt 2003). Those who were considered ‘desirable migrants’ by the Colonization Commissioners, including young couples with farming experience or tradespeople, arrived in Australia on assisted passages or for free (Couper-Smartt 2003). Later, and especially after the Second World War, the South Australian government paid assisted passages while others arrived via private sponsorship schemes such as the Cornish miners (Couper-Smartt 2003). The passages of many early German settlers were paid by the South Australian Company, which required the German settlers to purchase farmland from the company (Couper-Smartt 2003). Although the Irish arrived in the eastern colonies in significant numbers, they made up less than a tenth of arrivals to South Australia (Couper-Smartt 2003). However, to compensate for the gender imbalance in the new colony, almost 3000 single Irish girls were brought to Port Adelaide in 1855 (Couper-Smartt 2003). Added to the numbers of those who arrived as ‘regular’ migrants were those, both British and non-British, who jumped ship in Port Adelaide (Couper-Smartt 2003).

Three of the most important non-British immigrant groups for South Australia were the Germans, Chinese and Afghans. German migrants were the first organised group of non-British migrants to arrive in South Australia (Couper-Smartt 2003). In November 1838, two years after the first migrant ships arrived from England, the new colony’s first significant number of German immigrants, seeking religious freedom and led by their pastor August Kavel, arrived in South Australia (Couper-Smartt 2003; State Library of South Australia 2020a) and they were welcomed to the colony for their ‘reputed industriousness and thrift’ (Couper-Smartt 2003, p. 251). German-speaking villages were established at Klemzig, Hahndorf, Glen Osmond, Lobethal, Bethany and Langmeil (Couper-Smartt 2003). The German Club was established in 1854 (State Library of South Australia 2020a).

A second group of non-British migrants were the Chinese. The earliest historical records of Chinese migrants date back to 1842 but they did not begin to arrive in South Australia in significant numbers until the 1850s (Couper-Smartt 2003). In 1856, Chinese migrants arrived

in Port Adelaide and Robe; from there, they walked to the goldfields in Victoria, a strategy that allowed them to evade the Victorian immigration tax (State Library of South Australia 2020a). Over the next three years, 16,500 Chinese migrants arrived at Guichen Bay (State Library of South Australia 2020a). From 1857, Chinese migrants arriving in the colony were faced with the newly introduced ‘anti-Chinese Restriction Bill and anti-Chinese taxes’ of £10 per person (State Library of South Australia 2020a). The 1861 Census showed only 40 Chinese-born persons in South Australia (Couper-Smartt 2003).

Afghans made up a third group of non-British migrants. The first Afghans came to South Australia in 1865; in the outback, the ‘Afghan cameleers’ found employment in the transportation of goods (Scriver 2004; State Library of South Australia 2020a). In 1890, Afghans built Australia’s first permanent mosque in Adelaide’s Little Gilbert Street (State Library of South Australia 2020a). Importantly, the mosque was built in a sparsely populated part of the town, possibly a sign of ‘the marginal place of cultural difference in the imagination of the maturing colony’ (Scriver 2004, p. 30).

Following Federation and the passing of the *Immigration Restriction Act* in 1901, the Afghans, together with Aboriginal Australians and other ‘aliens’, were denied citizenship and experienced discrimination and marginalisation (Scriver 2004). Importantly, the *Commonwealth Franchise Act* denied the vote to Aboriginal Australians and Asians (Couper-Smartt 2003). The White Australia policy meant Chinese and Afghans were not eligible for naturalisation, unable to visit their home countries, and unable to bring their relatives to Australia (Couper-Smartt 2003). At the time of the First World War, the camels of the Afghan cameleers were replaced with motorised vehicles, which meant that ‘there was little place or purpose remaining for these strange animals and the cultural differences of their nomadic handlers within the increasingly settled geography and the closing social space of the new nation’ (Scriver 2004, p. 32).

The arrival of significant number of migrants after World War Two still included people from the British Isles as the largest ethnic group but other migrants came from Italy, Greece, Yugoslavia, Poland, the Netherlands and the Baltic States, bringing with them their cuisines and festivals (Couper-Smartt 2003). Today, the population of the City of Port Adelaide Enfield is one of the most culturally diverse in South Australia (City of Port Adelaide Enfield 2020b). The council is a Refugee Welcome Zone (City of Port Adelaide Enfield 2020b).

The Hazara community: Afghanistan and diaspora

The Hazara-Afghans are one of the migrant communities that have settled in the Port Adelaide Enfield Council area over the last two decades. The following subsection offers a discussion of their experiences of persecution in Afghanistan which have caused them to flee to countries such as Australia. The subsequent subsection discusses the Hazara diaspora globally and in Australia.

Hazara experiences of persecution in Afghanistan

Afghanistan has a population of around 27 million, is one of the six poorest countries according to the UN Poverty Index, and the only country in the world that has been invaded by Great Britain, the Soviet Union and the United States (Saikal 2012). The three largest ethnic groups within Afghanistan are the Pashtuns (42 per cent), the Tajiks (25 to 30 per cent), and the Hazara (10 per cent) (Saikal 2012). Figure 1 below provides a map of the ethnolinguistic groups of Afghanistan.

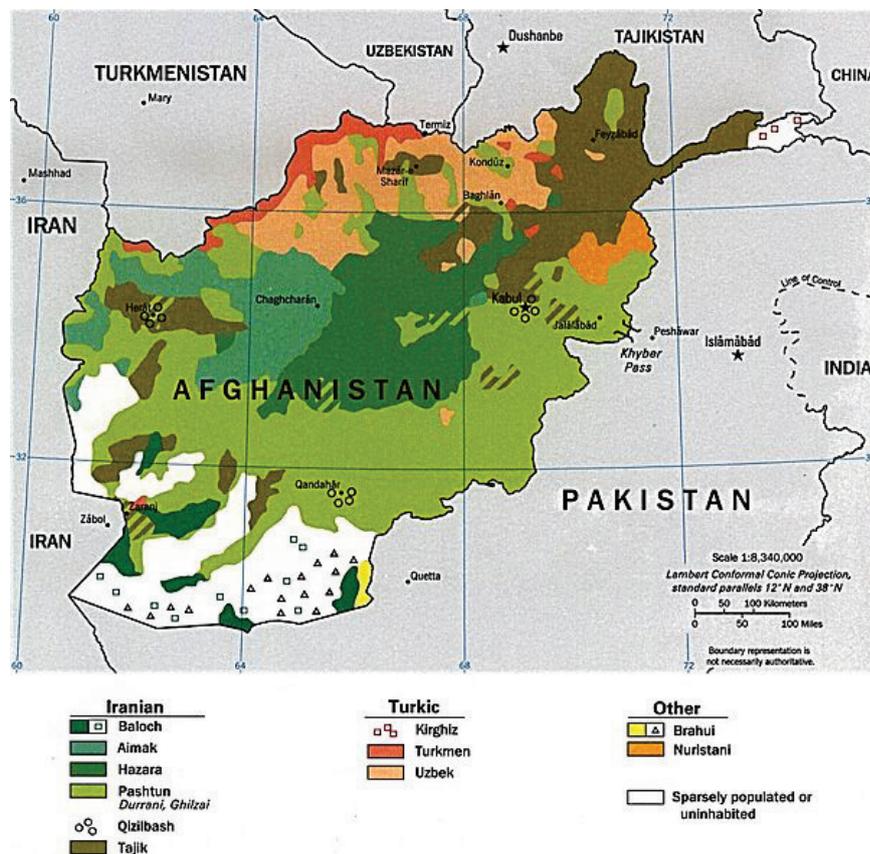


Figure 1: Ethnolinguistic groups of Afghanistan

Source: https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Afghanistan_Ethnolinguistic_Groups_1997.jpg

Experiences of conflict, displacement and migration have been common for all ethnic groups in Afghanistan. Even before the country's turbulent decades that started with the communist coup in the late 1970s, internal displacement was common and there was extensive migration of workers and nomads between Afghanistan and its neighbouring countries Iran and Pakistan (Harpviken 2009). In fact, some estimates suggest that two in three Afghans have experienced displacement (Schmeidl & Maley 2016).

Afghanistan experienced its longest period of stability from 1929 to 1973, supported by a 'triangular relationship' between the monarchy, local power holders or warlords, and the Islamic (mostly Sunni) establishment, which featured predominantly Pashtun political and military leaders and Tajik intelligentsia, with the Hazara as members of a servant class (Saikal 2012, pp. 80–81). In recent decades, several key events have led to significant displacement and refugee movements. The 1978 coup of the pro-Soviet People's Democratic Party of Afghanistan and the Soviet invasion in the following year caused millions to flee the country, predominantly to Pakistan and Iran, the largest number of refugees since World War Two (Ibrahimi 2012). Significant numbers of refugees returned following the Soviet withdrawal in 1989 and the collapse of the Najibullah government in 1992; however, the Taliban regime and the 2001 US-led coalition campaign again displaced significant numbers of Afghans (Harpviken 2009).

Within Afghanistan's long history of conflict, displacement and migration, the Hazara have experienced a long and unique history of persecution. The Hazara ethnic identity is defined by their physical appearance, dialect, territory, religion and social status (Harpviken, cited in Ibrahimi 2012, p. 2). The Hazara are of Mongolian descent (Saikal 2012), their Central Asian features typically include a 'relatively flat nose, broader face and narrower eyes' (Ibrahimi 2012, p. 2) which makes them easily distinguishable from other Afghan ethnic groups (Maley 2009). The Hazara originate from the Greco-Buddhist tradition (Saikal 2012). In the present day, the majority of the Hazara are from the Shi'a branch of Islam. They are mostly 'Twelve-Imami' Shi'ites; others are Ismaili Shi'ites. A smaller number of Hazara, together with about 80 per cent of Afghanistan's population, follow Sunni Islam (Saikal 2012). The Shi'ite Hazara therefore share their sectarian beliefs with 15 to 20 per cent of Afghanistan's population and with the majority of Iran's population (Saikal 2012). The Hazara's traditional land is the Hazarajat in central Afghanistan, where the Taliban destroyed the statues of

Buddha in Bamiyan province in 2001 (Saikal 2012). The Hazara speak Hazaragi, a dialect of Farsi (similar to the language spoken in Iran) with Turko-Mongolic vocabulary (Ibrahimi 2012). The low social status associated with Hazara identity can be traced back to the nineteenth century when the Hazarajat became subject to state control; as a result, the position of the Hazara in Afghanistan was defined by deprivation, prosecution and exploitation; they were engaged as servants or labourers and had limited access to political power or economic wealth (Ibrahimi 2012; Saikal 2012). Until slavery was outlawed in the 1920s, the Hazara were enslaved and traded, the only ethnic group to be subject to this practice in twentieth-century Afghanistan (Ibrahimi 2012).

Over the last two centuries, the Hazara have experienced frequent persecution, marginalisation and disadvantage. During the 1890–93 war, fought by Pashtun Sunni ruler Amir Abdur Rahman Khan, the Hazarajat was brought under the administrative and political control of the Afghan state to achieve a unified Afghanistan (Ibrahimi 2012). The war led to what Ibrahimi (2017, p. 54) described as ‘the most significant example of genocide in the modern history of Afghanistan’. At the end of the war, Hazara territories were given to the dominant and majority Pashtun ethnic group as a reward for their participation in the war, a process that was accompanied by the expulsion of about 400,000 Hazara from the land between 1893 and 1904; others were enslaved (Ibrahimi 2012). Significant numbers of Hazara fled to Iran and Pakistan, following earlier Hazara migrations to these two countries from the eighteenth century onwards (Ibrahimi 2012). Ibrahimi (2012, p. 4) describes this war as ‘a central theme of the Hazaras’ collective memory and self-consciousness’.

A second significant period of persecution of the Hazara occurred under the Taliban regime from 1996 to 2001. Maley (2001, p. 356) describes the Hazara as the ‘main losers’ under the Taliban, and Hazara estimates suggest that the Taliban killed up to 15,000 Hazara (Neighbour 2011). The most notable massacre of the Hazara by the Taliban occurred in Mazar-i-Sharif in 1998; others occurred in Kandi Posht, Robatak Pass and Yakawlang (Ibrahimi 2017; Maley 2009). The persecution of the Hazara under the Taliban regime ‘caused the largest exodus of Hazara refugees around [the] world’ (Ibrahimi 2017, p. 207).

Saikal (2012, p. 83) suggests that the situation of the Hazara has improved significantly in post-Taliban Afghanistan following the US-led intervention and that ‘[t]heir growing strength is on display at all sectarian, cultural, political, and economic levels’. However, others

contend that Afghanistan remains unsafe for the Hazara community (Ibrahimi 2017; Maley 2018).

The Hazara diaspora globally and in Australia

Afghan refugees have continued to constitute a significant refugee population since the 1980s, and in 2018 they were the second largest group by country of origin at 2.7 million (UNHCR 2019).

Afghans have fled to Iran and Pakistan in significant numbers but their situation in these countries remains precarious. In 1997, Iran stopped the registration of Afghan refugees, and in 2007 the country adopted a policy of forced returns (Schmeidl & Maley 2016). In Iran, Afghan refugees are faced with the risk of deportation and various discriminatory practices (Ali, Briskman & Fiske 2016). Similarly, Pakistan has adopted a policy of ‘voluntary’ return for Afghan refugees (Maley 2009). In Pakistan, Hazara refugees continue to experience persecution from extremist groups (Ali et al. 2016). In 2018, close to 90 per cent of Afghan refugees were hosted in Pakistan (1,403,500) and the Islamic Republic of Iran (951,100). In the same year, significant numbers were hosted in Germany (126,000), Austria (33,100), Sweden (28,200), France (18,500), Italy (16,900), Switzerland (12,300) and Australia (11,900) (UNHCR 2019). Afghan refugees can also be found in the United States, Canada, New Zealand, Russia, Central Asia and India (Schmeidl & Maley 2016).

One of the largest Hazara diaspora communities is in Australia, and the 2016 Census recorded 15,865 Hazaragi speakers (Department of Home Affairs 2018a). In total, the 2016 Census identified 46,800 people in Australia who were born in Afghanistan (ABS 2018). Among Australia’s intake of onshore and offshore refugees, Afghans have made up a significant proportion: from 2007–08 to 2017–18, Afghanistan was one of the top five countries of origin for offshore refugees, and from 2009–10 to 2012–13, the top country of origin for onshore protection visas was Afghanistan (Department of Home Affairs 2018b; RCA 2014).

It is evident from this brief discussion of the literature on the Hazara community that they have experienced immense hardship in Afghanistan, followed by the trauma of the refugee experience. However, Saikal (2012, p. 83) describes the Hazara in the following way:

[T]hey have traditionally been a very hard-working and entrepreneurial people, with potential for a high degree of organization, adaptability, and mobilization. Their bitter historical experiences have taught them that they must remain very vigilant of changing situations and take advantage of every opportunity that comes their way in order to maintain and strengthen their viability as one people. They have learned that it is important for them to be adaptable to different situations and environments, and to network nationally and internationally in order to promote their objectives.

Saikal (2012, p. 85) further states that ‘[h]istorically, gender and social inequality in Hazara communities have not been as stark, and literacy and education has been a point of pride’. It is evident from the findings in this report that these traits and attitudes have served the Hazara well as they engage in building new lives for their families and community in the Port Adelaide Enfield Council area.

Concluding comments

This chapter has explored the history of the establishment of the South Australian colony, with a focus on Port Adelaide. While migration from various nations has played a key role from the early days of white settlement, it is clear that this has been accompanied by the exclusion of those perceived as ‘other’, most evident in the treatment of Aboriginal Australians, Chinese migrants and the Afghan cameleers. Over the two previous decades, the Hazara have been one of the more recent migrant communities who have settled in Port Adelaide Enfield. The experiences of persecution of the Hazara in Afghanistan and the precarious nature of their lives in Pakistan and Iran means that settlement in Port Adelaide Enfield provides the Hazara with the opportunity to build new lives for their families and community.

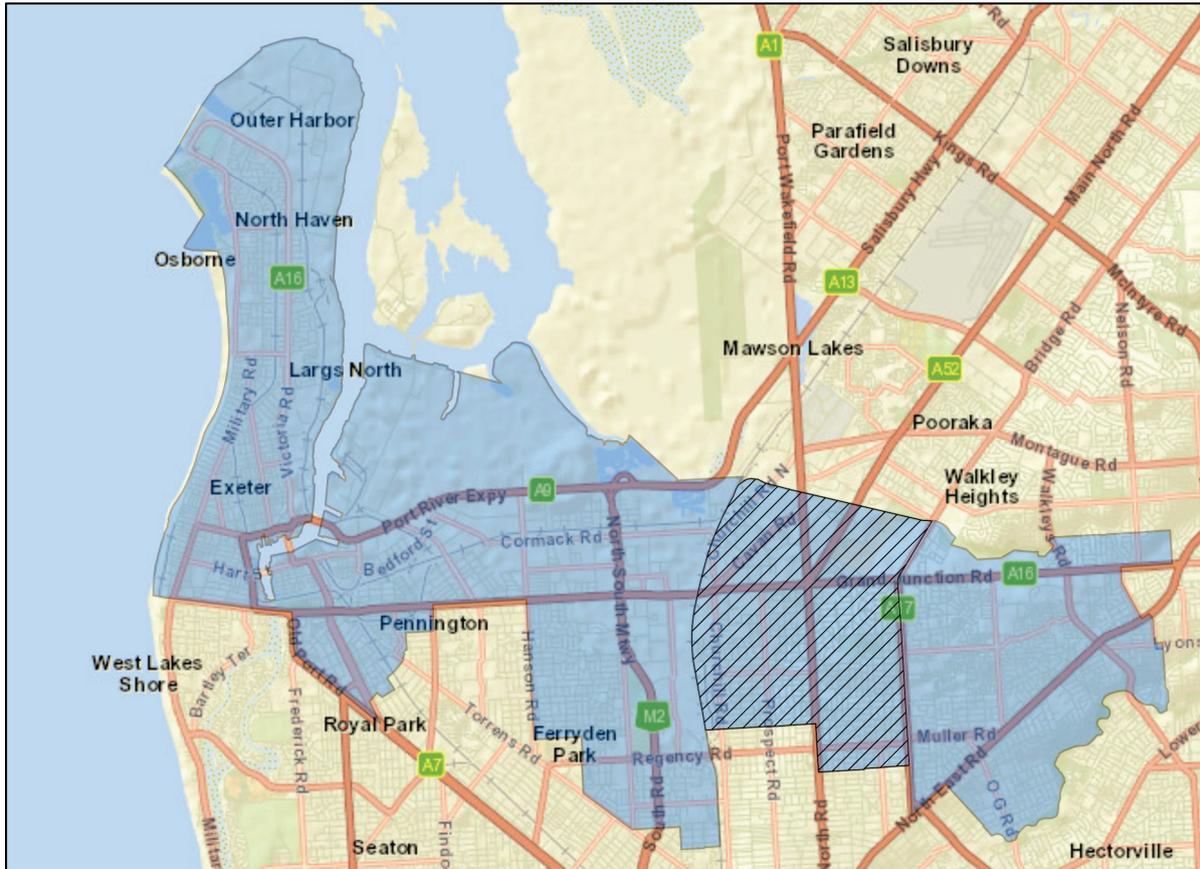
The following chapter provides an analysis of census data for 2006, 2011 and 2016 to explore changes in the percentages of Afghan-born persons in South Australia and in Prospect and Blair Athol as well as their engagement in education, employment and training.

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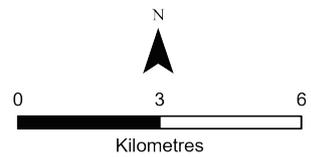
3 The Hazara community in Port Adelaide Enfield: Main socio-economic indicators

The previous chapter explored the experiences of the Hazara in their homeland of Afghanistan and provided a brief overview of the Hazara diaspora. The present chapter draws data primarily from the Australian Bureau of Statistics' (ABS) Census of Population and Housing from 2006, 2011 and 2016 to provide further insight into the Hazara community in Port Adelaide Enfield. It must be noted that the ABS census data capture the broader category of 'Afghan-born' persons, which does not allow for a narrower focus on the Hazara community. Not all Afghan-born persons identify as ethnic Hazara, although the data indicate that the Hazara make up a significant majority of Afghan-born persons (see for example Table 3) and therefore, while the census data are not perfect, they do provide a good snapshot of the Hazara community in the Port Adelaide Enfield LGA. The focus of this discussion is on the Enfield and Blair Athol statistical area level 2 (SA2) within the Port Adelaide Enfield LGA, where most of the participants for this project resided (see Figure 2). This chapter analyses changes in the main socio-economic indicators over the previous three censuses in Afghan-born persons in South Australia in general and in Enfield and Blair Athol in particular. It also analyses the trends in the migration of Afghan-born persons during 2006–16 and changes in the settlement patterns across the local government areas in South Australia. The chapter provides the background context for the report. The later chapters of the report will draw on the rich qualitative field data collected through interviews and observations.



Legend

- Enfield - Blair Athol SA2 (2016)
- Port Adelaide Enfield LGA (2020)



Data Source: Australian Bureau of Statistics.

Figure 2. Enfield and Blair Athol statistical area level 2 (SA2) within the Port Adelaide Enfield LGA

Afghan-born population in Port Adelaide Enfield LGA: Census data 2006, 2011 and 2016

According to the last census, there were 6313 Afghan-born people living in South Australia in 2016 and, out of those, nearly one third (1885) resided in the Port Adelaide Enfield LGA (Table 1). Between 2006 and 2016 the number of Afghan-born people living in this area has more than tripled. Table 1, which compares data on the Afghan-born population across the top 10 local government areas in Adelaide from 2006 to 2016, consistently shows Port Adelaide Enfield having a significant proportion of Afghan-born migrants as residents.

Table 1: Top 10 LGAs in South Australia with Afghan-born persons 2006, 2011 and 2016

LGA	2006	LGA	2011	LGA	2016
Port Adelaide Enfield	509	Port Adelaide Enfield	950	Salisbury	2,252
West Torrens	177	Salisbury	913	Port Adelaide Enfield	1,885
Charles Sturt	171	Playford	341	Playford	764
Salisbury	137	Charles Sturt	208	Charles Sturt	240
Renmark Paringa	65	West Torrens	188	Naracoorte and Lucindale	221
Prospect	59	Naracoorte and Lucindale	125	Marion	164
Campbelltown	40	Renmark Paringa	89	West Torrens	140
Marion	40	Tea Tree Gully	77	Prospect	126
Tea Tree Gully	32	Marion	71	Tatiara	89
Murray Bridge	30	Norwood Payneham St Peters	45	Tea Tree Gully	86
Total	1,390	Total	3,288	Total	6,313

In this period, Salisbury, Playford and Charles Sturt local government areas reported increasing numbers of Afghan born (especially Salisbury which overtook Port Adelaide Enfield with the largest numbers in 2016). Renmark, while ranked in the top 10 LGAs in 2006 in terms of the number of Afghan born living there, dropped out of top 10 in 2011. The data also indicate that Naracoorte and Tatiara LGAs seemed to have sustained growth of Afghan-born migrants in 2011 to 2016.

It is notable that most Afghan-born persons are drawn to the Enfield-Blair Athol area within the Port Adelaide Enfield LGA. This momentum increased with two thirds of all Afghan-born persons (65.8%) in this LGA residing in Enfield-Blair Athol in 2006, increasing to 78.75 per cent in 2016. Within a decade, Enfield-Blair Athol had a 343 per cent increase (n = 1149) of Afghan-born persons. According to the 2016 Census data, there were 1484 Afghan-born persons living in the Enfield-Blair Athol area (Table 2).

Table 2: Afghan-born persons living in Enfield-Blair Athol (SA2) as proportion of Port Adelaide Enfield LGA

	2006	2011	2016
Enfield-Blair Athol SA2	335 (65.8%)	675 (71.1%)	1484 (78.7%)
Port Adelaide Enfield LGA	509	950	1885

Figure 3 below shows the age-sex composition of our study population in the Enfield-Blair Athol area from 2006 to 2016. Is it clear that males are over-represented, which could reflect the general asylum seeker profile where there are generally more males. In this period, the increase in males particularly in the age groups of 20–29 and 30–39 has been significant – and this could well explain the employment and labour force data later discussed which show a concentration of Afghan-born persons working in construction and other labour-intensive occupations/industries. The majority of the Afghan-born population in Enfield-Blair Athol identified as ‘Afghan’ (60.2%) followed by 31.1 per cent who identified as ‘Hazara’, as shown in Table 3 below.

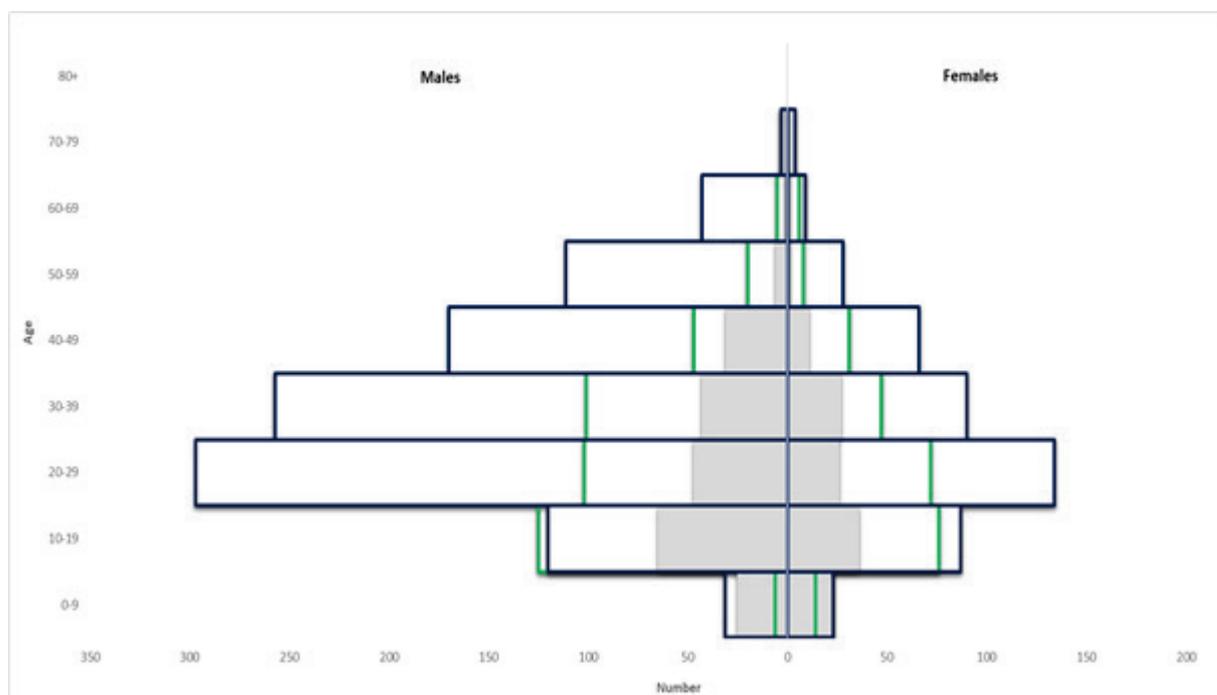


Figure 3: Age-sex composition: Age-sex pyramid of Afghan born in Enfield Blair-Athol SA2 (shaded area is 2006, green line is 2011 and dark blue line is 2016)

Table 3: First ancestry of Afghan born in Enfield-Blair Athol

Enfield-Blair Athol	Afghan born (n)	Afghan born (%)
Afghan	894	60.2
Hazara	461	31.1
English	42	2.8
Australian	36	2.4
Not stated	21	1.4
Pathan	8	0.5
Inadequately described	6	0.4
Iranian	4	0.3
Tajik	4	0.3
Mongolian	3	0.2
Total	1484	100

According to the 2016 Census, almost 1000 Afghan-born people (907) arrived within the last five years. Although the proportion of new arrivals decreased over time, longer term arrivals increased – the absolute numbers not only highlight the draw of this ethnic enclave but also explain persisting high levels of lower English proficiency (see data below on English language proficiency) as well as education levels in Enfield-Blair Athol. Also, the distribution of Afghan born to other parts of Greater Adelaide such as Salisbury would play a part too, and could demonstrate various forms of upward occupational and social mobility.

Table 4: Arrival of Afghan-born persons to Enfield-Blair Athol, recent arrivals compared to those arrived more than five years ago

Enfield-Blair Athol	Recent arrival (less than 5 years)	Percentage of the total Afghan-born residents in Enfield-Blair Athol
2006	278 (85%)	49 (15%)
2011	454 (71%)	185 (29%)
2016	907 (62.7%)	548 (37.7%)

Figure 4 below shows the highest level of school qualification of the Afghan-born population in Enfield-Blair Athol compared with the overseas-born population (excluding Afghan-born) and Australia-born population in this area.

Figure 4 shows an encouraging increase in the proportion of Afghan-born persons who completed at least Year 10 and above, from 20.3 per cent in 2006 to 36.7 per cent in 2016. In other words, in 2001 one in five Afghan-born residents of Enfield-Blair Athol had completed secondary education, in 2016 that proportion was one in three. On the other hand, the proportion of those who did not go to school remained relatively stable around 40 per cent, a significantly higher rate compared to the other overseas-born population residing in Enfield-Blair Athol. This could be explained by the fact that this area continues to attract new arrivals, as discussed earlier; moreover, many of these new arrivals were in the 40–69 years age group. Additionally, it is important to note the significantly lower rates of the Afghan-born in this area completing Year 10 and above compared to the overseas-born and Australia-born populations, which can be again explained by the selectivity of the skilled immigration system resulting in many skilled migrants living in the area.

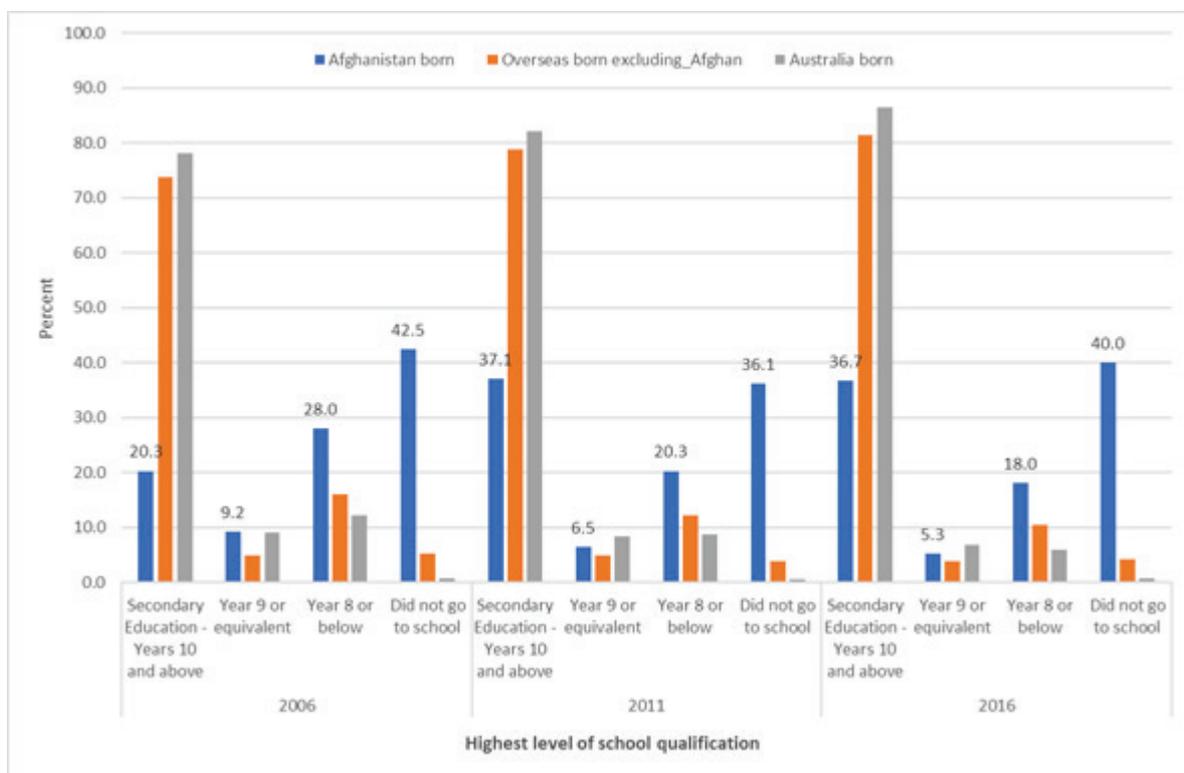


Figure 4: Highest level of school qualification (Enfield-Blair Athol)

Data on the highest level of non-school qualification present a better picture, as shown in Figure 5 below. In 2006, 100 per cent of all Afghan-born persons in our study site had a qualification at the certificate level – however, it is important to bear in mind the lower numbers in 2006 which only had 6 Afghan-born persons with non-school qualifications. Over time, what we see is a decrease in the proportion of Afghan-born persons with a qualification at the certificate level – however, this is still very high when compared to the overseas-born and Australian-born populations. Again, this could relate to the high concentration of our study population in labour-intensive industries/occupations. The positive change we see here is an increased distribution across various non-school qualifications of the Afghan-born population in Enfield-Blair Athol. Figure 5 shows an increase in the proportion with diplomas, bachelor’s degrees and, in 2016, postgraduate degrees, which is indicative of upward educational mobility for this group. According to the 2016 Census, one in five Afghan-born people residing in this area had a bachelor’s degree, which demonstrates an increasing focus on tertiary education.

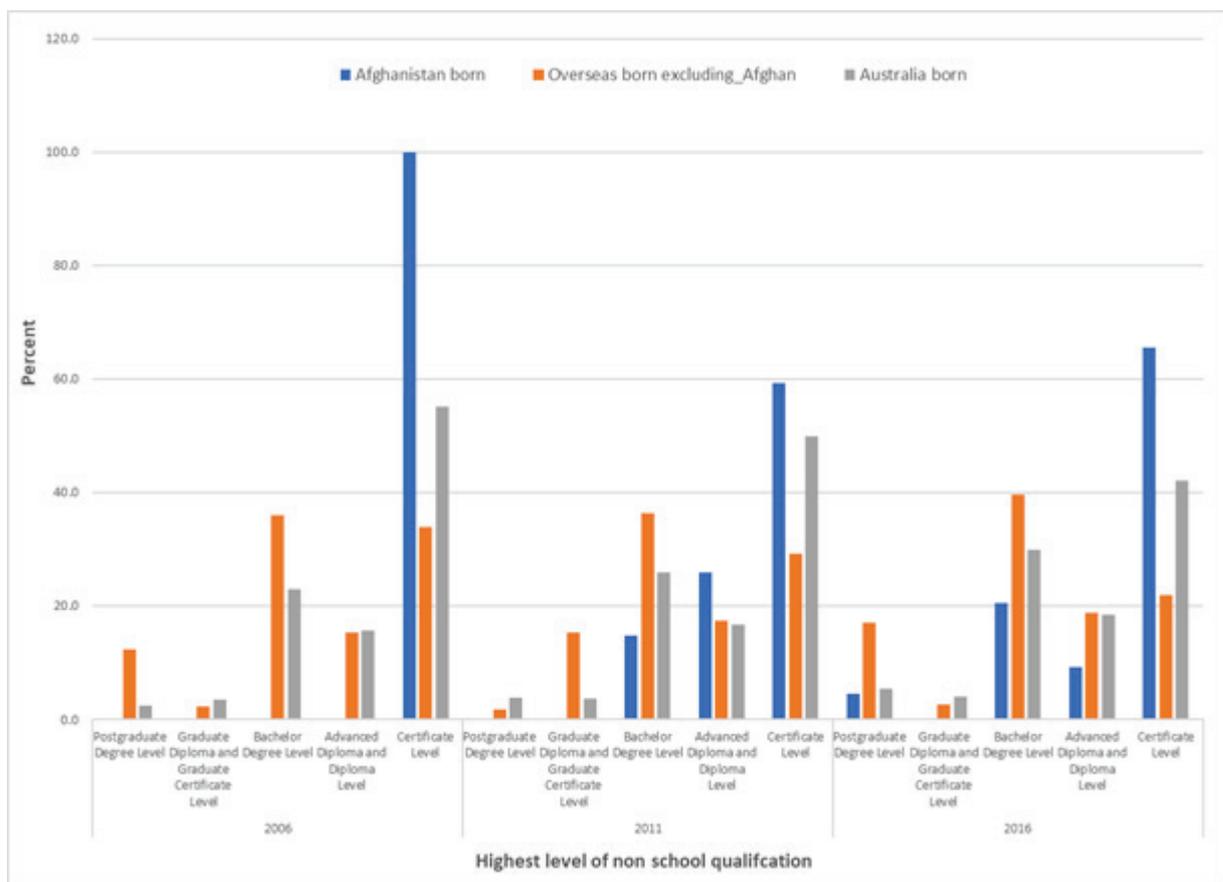


Figure 5: Highest level of non-school qualification (Enfield-Blair Athol)

Figure 6 (below) shows that, overall, the overseas-born population had higher English language proficiency levels than the Afghan-born population at all three census periods. The English proficiency level of the Afghan-born population remained roughly the same, with only a slight increase in those who speak English ‘very well’ but a decrease in those who speak English ‘well’. Moreover, there was an increase in the proportion who spoke English ‘not well’ and ‘not at all’. The census does not provide any information to explain this; however, as mentioned, the fact this area receives high numbers of recent arrivals (arrived less than five years ago) could dilute the improvements to the English proficiency of existing Afghan-born residents.

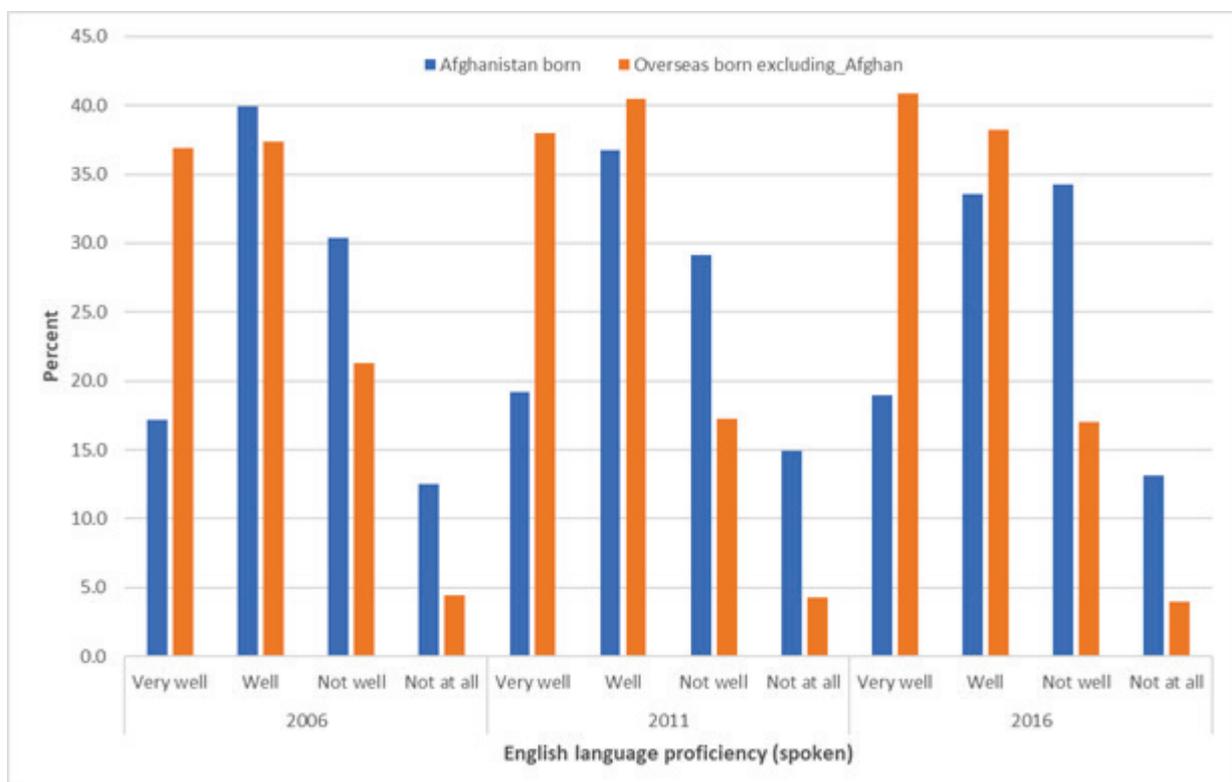


Figure 6: English language proficiency (Enfield-Blair Athol)

Turning to employment, we can see that as a whole the Afghan-born population has lower rates of employment compared with the overseas-born and Australian-born populations. However, there was an increase in the proportion of those employed from 26.4 per cent in 2006 to 30.5 per cent in 2016 for the Afghan-born group – although there appeared to be a decrease in 2011. A relatively high percentage of Afghan-born people not being in the labour force (more than a half) can be partly explained by demographic factors, such as a relatively

higher proportion of people older than 60 (as shown in Figure 3), who are usually not in the labour force.

Table 5: Labour force status (Enfield-Blair Athol)

	Afghan born	Overseas born excluding Afghanistan	Australian born
2006			
Total employed	56 (26.4%)	2086 (43.1%)	4812 (52.9%)
Total unemployed	17 (8.0%)	246 (5.1%)	399 (4.4%)
Not in the labour force	139 (65.6%)	2508 (51.8%)	3877 (42.7%)
2011			
Total employed	108 (19.3%)	3199 (47.7%)	5142 (55.5%)
Total unemployed	65 (11.6%)	323 (4.8%)	402 (4.3%)
Not in the labour force	388 (69.2%)	3108 (47.4%)	3726 (40.2%)
2016			
Total employed	416 (30.5%)	3665 (48.7%)	5098 (56.8%)
Total unemployed	222 (16.3%)	569 (7.6%)	492 (5.5%)
Not in the labour force	728 (53.3%)	3293 (43.7%)	3385 (37.7%)
2006–16			
Total employed n change 2006–16	360	1579	286
Total employed % change 2006–16	642.9%	75.7%	5.9%

However, if we look at the change from 2006 to 2016 for total employment, the bottom section of Table 5 shows that the percentage of the Afghan-born population who were employed increased by more than seven-fold, significantly higher than the overseas-born and Australia-born populations. Another important and encouraging indicator of the socio-economic adjustment of Afghan-born people was the indicator ‘Engagement with employment, training and education’, which captures a person’s work and/or study (aged 15 years and over only). As Figure 7 below shows, the engagement of the Afghan-born population in Enfield-Blair Athol is very close to the overseas-born and Australian-born populations. That said, the proportion of those who were not engaged at all was higher for the Afghan born (higher than 40%).

The entrepreneurial spirit of the Afghan born in our study area – and probably in other parts of Adelaide – is very evident. As Figure 8 below illustrates, most were employees working in a business not owned by them, across the three census periods, but this was lower for both the Afghan-born and overseas-born populations than the Australian-born group.

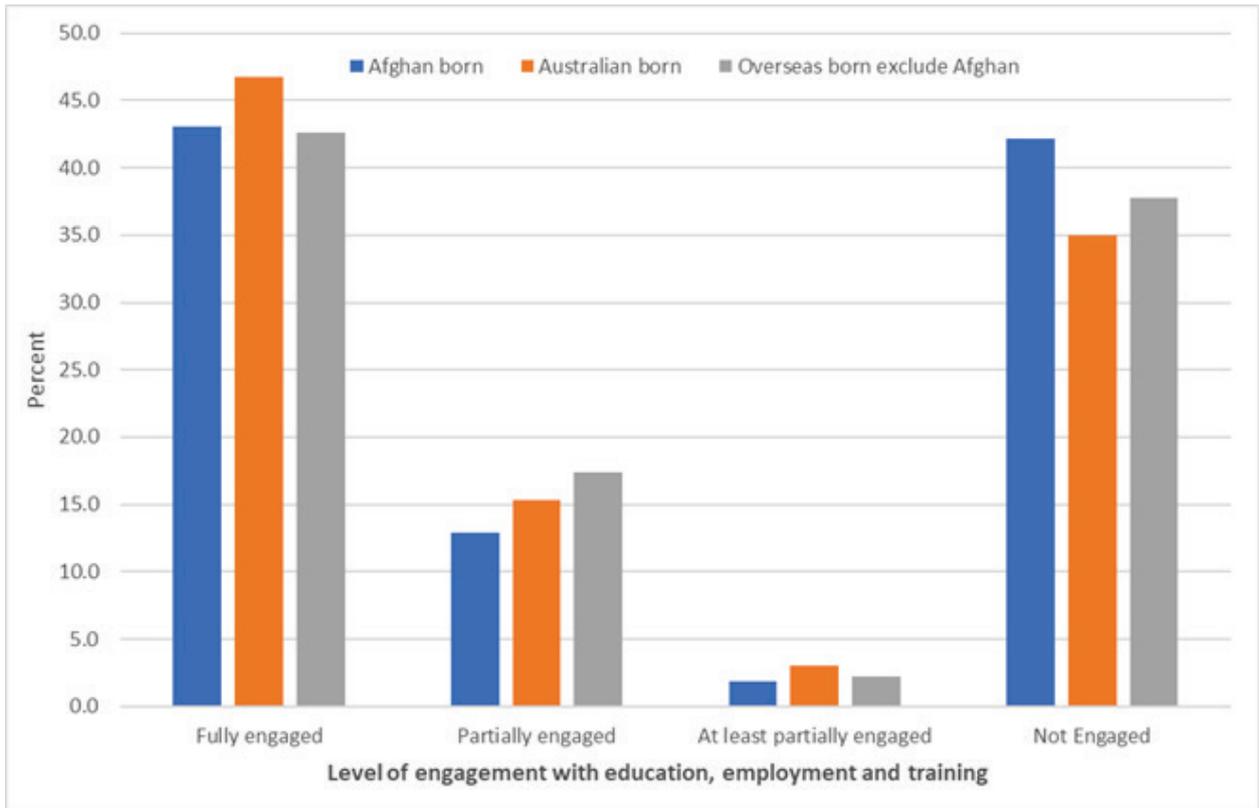


Figure 7: Engagement with education, employment and training (Enfield Blair Athol)

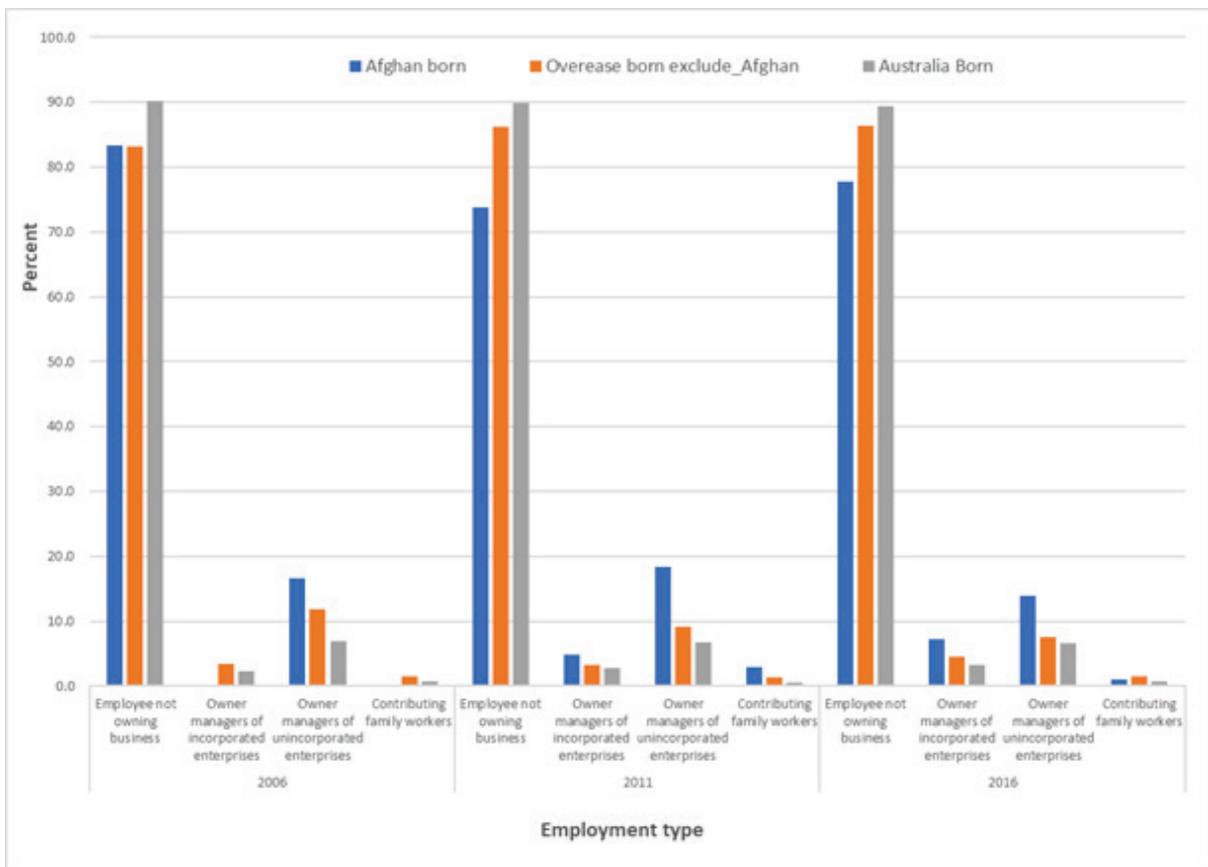


Figure 8: Employment type (Enfield Blair Athol)

One can infer from the chart that entrepreneurialism is higher for migrant populations, with higher rates of both Afghan-born and overseas-born populations indicating that they were owner managers of incorporated or unincorporated enterprises compared to the Australian-born population. Apart from being increasingly involved in setting up their own businesses, the Afghan-born population residing at Enfield-Blair Athol area moved from being sole traders and partnership businesses towards incorporated businesses. This usually would mean a separation between the family and the business and suggests a stronger focus on establishing mainstream business models by the local Afghan-born entrepreneurs.

As for the industries the Afghan-born were employed in for our study site, they were mainly concentrated in labour-intensive industries. Table 6 lists the distribution of those employed across industries. Note that the industries are ranked from highest to lowest for the Afghan-born population. In 2006, manufacturing and agriculture, forestry and fishing were the main industries the Afghan-born population (residing in Enfield-Blair Athol) were employed in, together accounting for 53.2 per cent. In 2011, construction and manufacturing were the top two industries, accounting for 48.5 per cent of the Afghan-born population. Construction was the top industry in 2016, which accounted for 27 per cent of the Afghan-born population; however, the proportion employed in manufacturing declined to 12.1 per cent while agriculture, forestry and fishing was the second highest, increasing from 4.0 per cent in 2011 to 15.8 per cent in 2016. Overall, while the overseas-born and Australian-born populations also had high proportions engaged in manufacturing, they were more widely distributed across more industries than the Afghan-born. However, over time, the Afghan-born population appears to have slowly begun to engage in industries that previously did not employ any Afghan-born persons. There is a similar pattern when we examine the occupations of the Afghan-born: again, they tended to be concentrated in fewer occupations (typically labour-intensive occupations) than the overseas-born and Australian-born, who were more widely distributed across more occupations. In 2006 the Afghan-born population from Enfield-Blair Athol was entirely employed in six industries (manufacturing, agriculture, forestry and fishing, wholesale trade, construction, retail trade, and transport, postal and warehousing); by 2016 they were employed across twelve industry sectors. It is important to note that within a decade the Afghan-born population from Enfield-Blair Athol started working in new industries that previously did not employ any Afghan-born persons (for example, health care and social assistance, professional, scientific and technical services, public administration and safety, marked in blue in Table 6).

Table 6: Industry employed in, 2006. 20116 and 2016

Industry	Afghan born	Overseas born excluding Afghanist	Australian born	Industry	Afghan born	Overseas born excluding Afghanist	Australian born	Industry	Afghan born	Overseas born excluding Afghanist	Australian born
Manufacturing	31.9	19.1	14.2	Construction	31.3	4.8	8.1	Construction	27.0	4.5	8.3
Agriculture, forestry and fishing	21.3	1.8	0.3	Manufacturing	17.2	18.3	11.0	Agriculture, forestry and fishing	15.8	2.7	0.4
Wholesale trade	14.9	4.1	5.0	Retail trade	14.1	9.1	11.4	Retail trade	13.8	9.3	12.4
Construction	10.6	5.4	6.5	Health care and social assistance	8.1	15.1	13.3	Manufacturing	12.1	11.9	7.3
Retail trade	10.6	11.6	12.8	Transport, postal and warehousing	5.1	6.5	5.3	Accommodation and food services	9.0	11.4	6.4
Transport, postal and warehousing	10.6	5.0	5.6	Other services	5.1	4.0	4.5	Health care and social assistance	5.9	19.1	13.6
Mining	0.0	0.1	0.3	Agriculture, forestry and fishing	4.0	2.6	0.3	Other services	4.5	4.4	4.4
Electricity, gas, water and waste services	0.0	1.3	1.5	Wholesale trade	4.0	2.8	4.3	Administrative and support services	2.8	6.2	4.0
Accommodation and food services	0.0	8.0	5.7	Professional, scientific and technical services	4.0	5.2	5.1	Wholesale trade	2.5	2.9	3.3
Information media and telecommunications	0.0	1.2	2.1	Public administration and safety	4.0	4.7	9.1	Professional, scientific and technical services	2.3	5.5	6.1
Financial and insurance services	0.0	1.9	3.2	Accommodation and food services	3.0	10.0	5.6	Transport, postal and warehousing	2.0	7.0	5.0
Rental, hiring and real estate services	0.0	1.2	1.2	Mining	0.0	0.4	0.6	Public administration and safety	1.4	4.6	8.7
Professional, scientific and technical services	0.0	5.3	5.2	Electricity, gas, water and waste services	0.0	1.0	1.6	Education and training	0.8	4.5	9.0
Administrative and support services	0.0	5.7	3.6	Information media and telecommunications	0.0	1.6	2.0	Mining	0.0	0.3	1.0
Public administration and safety	0.0	5.7	7.6	Financial and insurance services	0.0	1.8	3.6	Electricity, gas, water and waste services	0.0	0.9	1.7
Education and training	0.0	4.3	7.0	Rental, hiring and real estate services	0.0	0.6	1.0	Information media and telecommunications	0.0	1.4	1.9
Health care and social assistance	0.0	12.5	12.5	Administrative and support services	0.0	6.7	3.9	Financial and insurance services	0.0	1.8	3.6
Arts and recreation services	0.0	0.9	1.3	Education and training	0.0	4.2	8.0	Rental, hiring and real estate services	0.0	0.7	1.3
Other services	0.0	4.7	4.3	Arts and recreation services	0.0	0.7	1.2	Arts and recreation services	0.0	0.8	1.7

The top occupations of Afghan-born persons in Enfield-Blair Athol are listed below in Table 7. In 2006, 35.7 per cent of the Afghan-born population in Enfield-Blair Athol were employed as factory process workers followed by 21.4 per cent as farm, forestry and garden workers. For both 2011 and 2016, factory process workers were still in the top two occupations, although the proportion declined, while just over one quarter of all Afghan-born persons were construction trades workers in this area. Occupations such as hospitality, retail and service managers and automotive and engineering trades workers (marked in blue in Table 7) remained stable at 9–12 per cent during 2006–16. At the same time, employment of Afghan-born persons as cleaners and laundry workers and road and rail drivers declined significantly.

Table 7: Top 10 occupations employed in, 2006, 2011 and 2016, Afghan-born population

2006		2011		2016	
Factory process workers	35.7%	Construction trades workers	26.0%	Construction trades workers	26.2%
Farm, forestry and garden workers	21.4%	Factory process workers	19.8%	Factory process workers	16.0%
Road and rail drivers	8.9%	Sales assistants and salespersons	7.3%	Farm, forestry and garden workers	7.9%
Machine and stationary plant operators	7.1%	Road and rail drivers	7.3%	Food trades workers	6.6%
Farmers and farm managers	5.4%	Hospitality, retail and service managers	6.3%	Sales assistants and salespersons	4.7%
Hospitality, retail and service managers	5.4%	Automotive and engineering trades workers	6.3%	Hospitality, retail and service managers	4.5%
Automotive and engineering trades workers	5.4%	Specialist managers	4.2%	Automotive and engineering trades workers	3.7%
Construction trades workers	5.4%	Carers and aides	4.2%	Food preparation assistants	3.7%
Cleaners and laundry workers	5.4%	Legal, social and welfare professionals	3.1%	Farmers and farm managers	3.4%
-	-	Mobile plant operators	3.1%	Carers and aides	2.6%
Others	-	Others	12.5	Others	20.7%
Total (n = 336)	100.0%	Total (n = 669)	100.0%	Total (n = 1484)	100.0%

Figure 9 below shows the hours worked in the last week for the Afghan-born population in Enfield-Blair Athol in the three census periods.

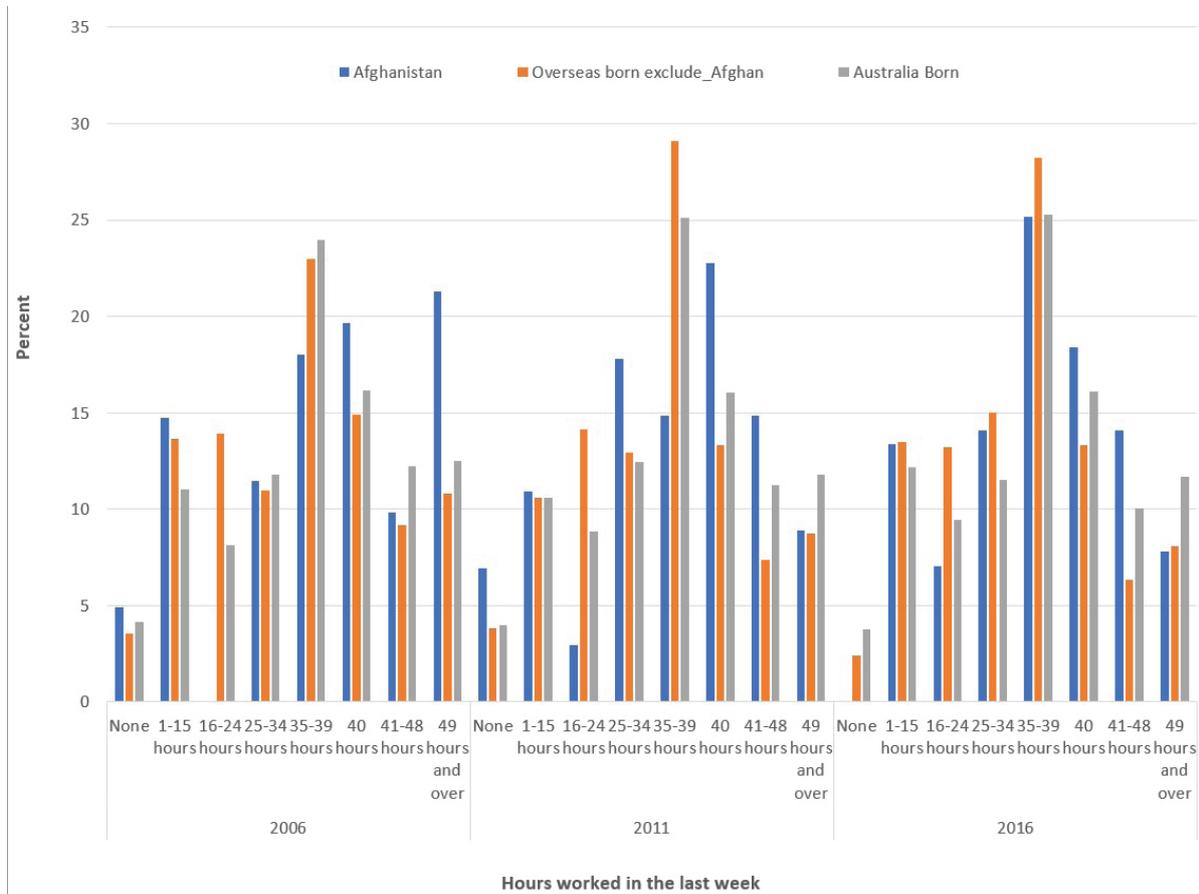


Figure 9: Hours worked in the last week, 2006, 2011 and 2016 (Enfield Blair Athol)

Broadly speaking, the overseas-born and Australian-born groups tended to work 35–39 hours a week in our study area. In 2006, the Afghan-born group appeared to work more hours than the other two population groups; in particular just over one-fifth of Afghan-born persons worked 49 hours and over in the previous week in 2006. However, over time, it would seem that the Afghan-born population gradually came in line, with most working 35–39 hours a week.

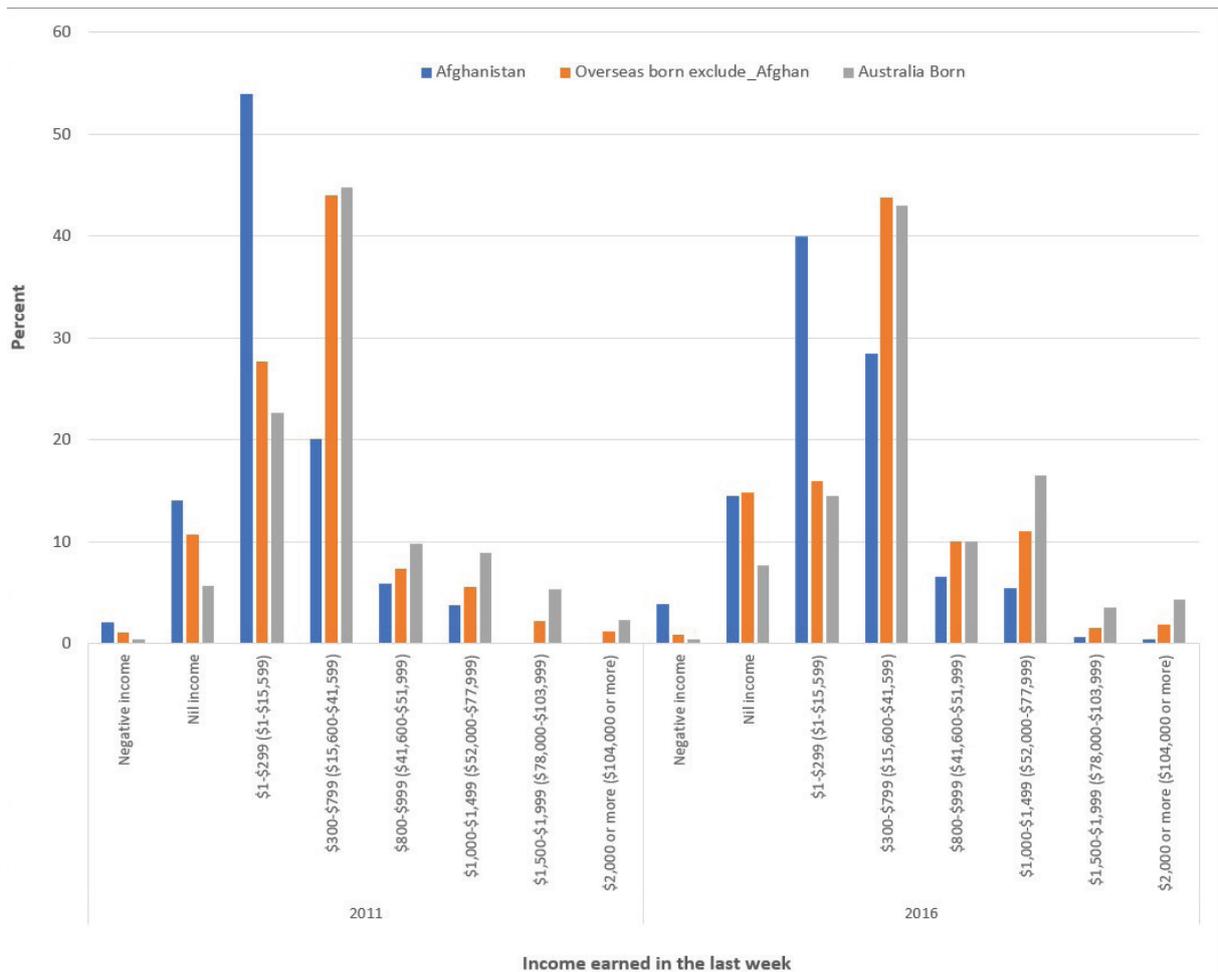


Figure 10: Income earned in the last week, 2011 and 2016

As for income level, it was not possible to compare 2006, 2011 and 2016 census data due to the changes made to the income ranges in each census period; however, we can make comparisons between 2011 and 2016 data. Figure 10 above shows the income ranges earned across all three groups. In general, the Afghan-born population tended to be on lower incomes than the overseas-born and Australian-born population in this area. Most Afghans earned \$1–\$299 per week in 2011 (54%) and about 20 per cent earned \$300–\$799 per week. In contrast other groups were mostly earning \$300–\$799 at around the 43–45 per cent mark. For Afghans, this improved with an increase to 38.4 per cent earning \$300–\$799 in 2016, which is more in line with the overseas-born and Australian-born groups. It is noteworthy that the figures indicate that there were no Afghanistan-born persons who were earning in the top income range in 2006; however, we saw a very small increase in the upper two income ranges in 2016. Broadly comparing the income levels from 2006 data, which are not shown here, there was a gradual progression of Afghan-born persons earning more from 2006 to 2011.

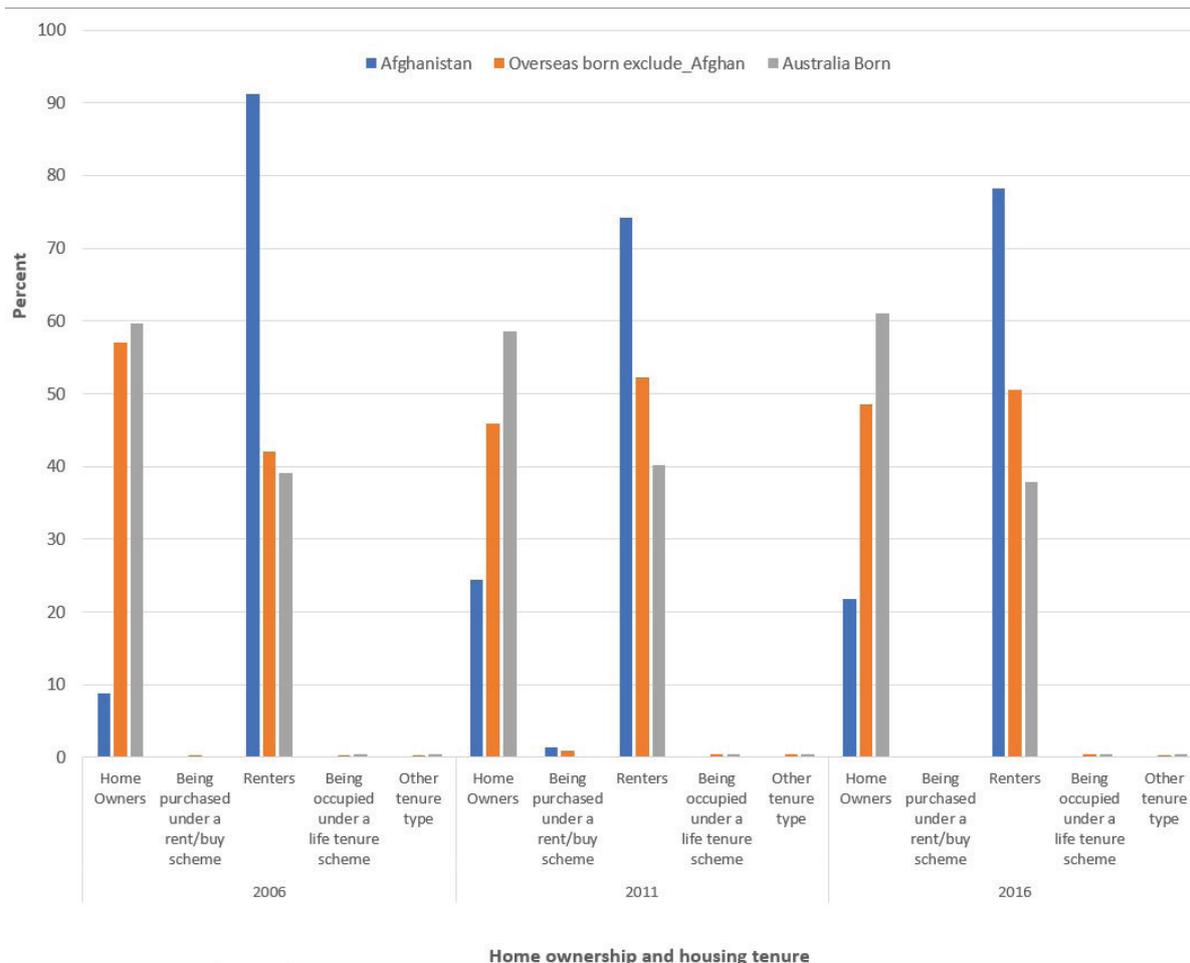


Figure 11: Home ownership and housing tenure, 2006, 2011 and 2016 (Enfield Blair Athol)

Finally, looking at home ownership and housing tenure, we can see that the Afghan-born population in the Enfield-Blair Athol area were mostly renters, in contrast to the overseas-born and Australian-born groups (Figure 11 above). However, over time, there was a decline of the Afghan born who rented from over 90 per cent in 2006 to 78.3 per cent in 2016. Conversely, home ownership for the Afghan born increased from 8.7 per cent in 2006 to 24.4 per cent in 2011, although a slight decline to 21.7 per cent in 2016 is apparent. Regardless, the upward trend of home ownership from 2006 to 2016 is a noticeable one, with a more than doubling of the home ownership rate for the Afghan born in this area within a decade.

Concluding comments

This chapter has analysed the changes in the main socio-economic indicators over the previous three censuses (2006, 2011 and 2016) in Afghan-born persons residing in the Port Adelaide Enfield LGA. Where it was possible, the chapter outlined the analysis of the data relevant for the Hazara community of Enfield-Blair Athol SA2 in the Port Adelaide Enfield LGA.

Within a decade (2006–16) the number of Afghan-born persons residing in Enfield-Blair Athol increased by more than four times. According to the 2016 Census data, there were 1484 Afghan-born persons living in the Enfield-Blair Athol area, and around 900 of those had arrived within less than five years, which suggests that this is a relatively new community of recent humanitarian migrants. According to the main socio-economic indicators presented in this chapter, the Hazara community (recorded as the Afghan-born population in the census data) demonstrated noticeable upwards mobility in terms of (a) involvement in secondary and tertiary education; (b) employment; (c) engagement with employment, training and education; (d) entrepreneurship; (e) leaving labour-intensive industries and gaining employment in more capital-intensive and professional industry sectors; and (f) increased home ownership.

KILBURN COMMUNITY CENTRE

This area is under 24-hour camera surveillance

STADIUM ENTRANCE
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4 Community support organisations and the building of social capital

Within the context of expanded global mobility leading to increasingly diverse and multi-dimensional communities, there is growing research interest in the ‘everyday’ and local experiences of migrants, encompassing moments of solidarity and connection as much as conflict and contestation (Harris 2013; Noble 2009; Radford 2016). While multiculturalism is often conceptualised as a social policy challenge, it is also a lived space of ‘everyday intercultural social practice enacted in the mundane sites of daily life’ (Harris 2013, p. 187). A focus on everyday forms of multiculturalism means an attention to the ordinary spaces in which people from diverse backgrounds encounter one another:

In other words, multiculturalism is a dynamic, lived field of action within which social actors both construct and deconstruct ideas of cultural difference, national belonging and place-making. Such a perspective moves beyond the notion of multiculturalism as an ideology or a policy, and beyond the focus on ‘ethnic’ groups or individuals and their capacity to adapt. Instead it addresses places and practices of mix, encounter, conflict, negotiation and recognition – the lived practice of cultural diversity. (Harris 2013, p. 188)

Through a case study of the Hazara community living, working and studying in the Port Adelaide Enfield Council area, our research aims to generate knowledge of how Australian communities (new arrivals and longer-term residents) innovatively and creatively manage interactions with one another in their daily lives and how they contribute to the strengthening of social connections, community building and economic vitality. As described in the introductory chapter, we approached this objective through an examination of three dimensions: 1) civic/community mindedness and the development of belonging, which includes case studies of community and sporting organisations; 2) educational and intercultural encounters; and 3) business practices and economic contributions of Hazara humanitarian-background migrants. What we found, not surprisingly, was that it was extremely difficult to draw clear boundaries between these areas as the experiences and activities associated with one sphere also influenced and were shaped by the other dimensions. As one Hazara interviewee stated:

Businesses mean connection and become a focal point, bringing people together from different backgrounds ... [the council area is] now a combination of food and culture and everything coming together and gives a sort of dynamic to that community.

A complex mix of interactions within and across the contexts of business, education and social and cultural life, over time, have shaped the Port Adelaide Enfield Council area into the community it is today. In this chapter, we examine some of the key findings around civic and community life by focusing on the role of community organisations in supporting new arrivals as well as the desire of Hazara community members, who had benefited from community support earlier in their resettlement journey, to ‘give back’ through in-kind and volunteer work, further building community social capital.

The community organisation and volunteerism

It is well established that developing a sense of belonging and social connectedness is critical to the successful resettlement of humanitarian migrants in new communities (Correa-Velez, Gifford & Barnett 2010; Fozdar & Hartley 2014). The Hazara community members we interviewed all shared a motivation to build a new life, to find work and become self-reliant, and to give back to their communities. However, the initial resettlement period was often challenging, with many experiencing isolation due to significant language barriers and limited social networks and work experience.

Community organisations in the Port Adelaide Enfield Council area play a vital role in building social and community infrastructure to support the settlement of many migrants, including those from refugee and asylum seeker backgrounds, humanitarian entrants. These organisations provide a conduit for connecting communities to wider society and services, providing spaces of belonging and safety, and providing culturally and linguistically appropriate services and language support, which is critical to navigating the settlement process. Our research indicates that these organisations perform two intersecting functions:

1. **Translating and filtering knowledge around Australian culture(s) and government systems** for new arrival communities. Consequently, they provide a critical though potentially underacknowledged node in the government (local,

state and national) social inclusion and resettlement agenda. Research has shown that community self-help within new arrival communities throughout Australia ‘represent[s] a significant contribution in kind through reduced reliance on state support services’ (RCA 2010, p. 52).

2. **Providing a collective site of knowledge and expertise from cultural and linguistic specific communities** who have accessed and benefitted from the support provided by the organisation in the past. People who are recipients of these services often go on to volunteer their time, sharing their knowledge and experience with new arrivals and thereby developing a self-renewing system of support.

The community organisations we engaged with all aimed to provide a space for humanitarian migrants to come together and receive settlement support as well as to connect with community members beyond their ethno-specific community. The organisations provided this support through a range of tangible and intangible means including: assistance in navigating government income support, assistance with accommodation and financial literacy, English language programs, healthcare information, visa and family reunion legal support, and childcare services. In addition, these organisations fostered a space of security, companionship and belonging where individuals could connect with a supportive community to help address some of the impacts on their mental and physical health that their circumstances can bring. Some of the organisations described that they often perform the role of a ‘problem-solving agency’, which means they most frequently deal with the challenges associated with settlement. For example, the community organisations provided a safe and confidential space to discuss issues associated with work exploitation or conflict with other members of the community, without fear that ‘speaking up’ could jeopardise their chances of attaining long-term settlement.

The following story describes some of the benefits of engaging with a local community centre. Mahdia was born in Afghanistan and lived in Iran before relocating to Australia on a permanent marriage visa to join her husband. She became an Australian citizen after five years and has spent the last ten years of her life living in the Port Adelaide Enfield Council area. She reflected that when she arrived in Australia her greatest support came from her immediate family (her husband and his family), her local

mosque, and a community support program. She described how important the English classes offered by the community organisation were when she first arrived. They were critical to developing her language skills and also to facilitating social connections within and beyond the local Hazara community. Providing language training was a pivotal role of community organisations, assisting in building the confidence of new arrivals to interact beyond their immediate family and community context. While Mahdia had a basic level of English language before arriving, most of her language training happened after her arrival in Australia. She completed Year 11 and 12 schooling in Adelaide, giving birth to her first child during this time, and said she would not have been able to finish her schooling and then progress to further study had she not had the support of community organisations throughout this process. One provided a childcare service, which gave her time to attend school. She described how the social connections she made with her teachers and other Afghan and non-Afghan students in her class were really important in maintaining her desire to complete her high school education and developing a sense of community belonging. She saw the community organisations as integral in supporting her to develop her language skills, confidence and networks not only to be able to reach her educational goals, but to expand and nurture these aspirations in the first place.

Mahdia now volunteers for one community organisation as an interpreter and translator. She said she was motivated to volunteer because she wanted to ‘do something for herself’ and that it is a ‘satisfying feeling’ to help people resolve the problems they are facing. Mahdia feels that she can identify with similar challenges and is therefore able to apply knowledge/capital from her own experiences to help others navigate their circumstances. She provided the example of when she needed to go to the doctor about a women’s health issue early in her resettlement but could not communicate with the doctor. Mahdia was allocated an interpreter to visit the doctor again, but the interpreter was male, and she felt unable to speak about the issue she was having. Through her volunteer role, she wants to ensure that other women do not face similar issues. The community organisation valued her cultural knowledge and drew on it to shape the support they offered. For Mahdia, engaging in volunteer work and part-time study is important because she ‘doesn’t want to stay home and do nothing’ and feels that ‘if you try your best, you can achieve your goals’. However, this is not without conflict. There is pressure from her family to stay home and care for her children instead of negotiating

her time between family life, volunteer work and study. Mahdia does not see it as an either/or decision; she believes she can manage a range of responsibilities and has always had the goal of furthering her education and starting her own business when her children are older.

Another Hazara participant described the importance of everyday interactions with those who facilitate language programs through community organisations. In addition to language development, these programs provide a space for women in particular to connect with and strengthen their identities beyond ‘mothering’ and domestic life:

I would say there was actually a huge chunk of my childhood that we would go with mum to these classes. I think she would learn English or sewing – but then they also had an area for little kids to play just so the women didn’t have to stay home with the other kids. So we would always go there and there was this one – I called her a teacher – she wasn’t a teacher, she was like a caretaker – and she would look after us and I loved her and I wanted to go just to see her. So there were just people like that that probably didn’t think they were playing such a big role – they were ... That sort of stuff is great, because that also allows the women to get away from just being a housewife as well. And my mum loved sewing and when [she] was home with us she never got the chance to, so it just gave her that opportunity. (Afsana)

Another participant described the importance of a community organisation in his ongoing process of resettlement. Mehran was born in Afghanistan, and he lived in Pakistan for seven years before living in an offshore detention facility. He then relocated to Adelaide on a bridging visa, joining his father in Adelaide. He talked extensively about the importance of a supportive community environment, which became a vital part of his settlement experience, and that for a long time his only networks were non-Hazara people who worked at the community organisation as well as his schoolteachers: ‘They were the first people to help me settle in Australia’ (Mehran).

Mehran described that people like his school counsellor, and those working at the community organisation where he volunteered, allowed him to continue his engagement with non-Hazara residents. They shared their networks and connections with him and

provided a space for him to continue developing his communication skills by interpreting for the Hazara community. He felt his ability to communicate in English is vital to feeling accepted by the local community and that the close connections he developed with the non-Hazara community when he first arrived assisted him to improve his English and build relationships, which opened up education and employment pathways. These networks were supported by ‘structural transversal enablers’ – people who perform formal bridging roles in the community and actively open up pathways of knowledge and assistance (Radford 2016, p. 2136; Wise 2009, pp. 29–30). Like Mahdia, he has actively sought to contribute this knowledge back to the Hazara community by volunteering his time with a community organisation as an interpreter:

I think that it’s one way of getting out of your comfort zone and actually, for me, that has been a way of making more friends and being able to sort of engage with the community and improve, in terms of finding jobs, employment, education. So engaging with your community means improving every day ... Engaging with your community actually offers lots of opportunities. And the other thing is that you also might do something which is appreciated by others. Like I did at the [community organisation], they were always sort of being thankful, the coordinators and the other people, that I’ve assisted, like asylum seekers and refugees. (Mehran)

While there are ongoing debates around what constitutes volunteering, a general definition developed by Wilson (2000, p. 215) is that it involves ‘any activity in which time is given freely to benefit another person, group, or organization’. As Peucker (2020, p. 2370) suggests, this broad definition situates volunteering within the umbrella of civic engagement and active citizenship. An active citizen is someone who ‘participates in the life of a community, in order to improve conditions for others or help shape the community’s future’ (Adler & Goggin 2005, p. 241). While much of the literature around volunteering has focused on formalised and structured contexts, there is growing understanding that volunteering should include any kind of informal helping behaviour (Wilson 2000, p. 216) including a more ‘individualised and episodic type of engagement’ (Von Essen et al. 2015, p. 4). Many of the young Hazara people we interviewed described both formal volunteer roles with community organisations as well

as more episodic and informal support offered to friends and family. Mehran reflected on his volunteer role as an interpreter as particularly important in connecting people with services. One of the issues he identified for new arrivals is that, whilst there may be extensive support available to people, they often do not know how to access it:

People have difficulties with how to get to their appointment, how to call, how to go to the appointment ... I found that challenging sometimes. I helped as much as I could but there are a lot of people at that time, they didn't know how to get support. There was support for them, but they didn't know how to access that support. (Mehran)

One of the community organisations Mehran volunteers for as an interpreter assisted him with his application to TAFE to undertake a certificate in teaching English as a second language. At this time he sat a test and received a scholarship to complete his schooling (Years 11 and 12) at an international high school. He is now studying at university and said it was the combination of housing support, employment and engagement opportunities (like volunteering and then, with that experience, paid interpreting positions with other organisations) that enabled him to develop a sense of belonging in his local community. However, he discussed that it was much harder to find employment assistance to support him to find his first job. He started out as a casual interpreter while studying in Year 11 and undertook other casual jobs for Hazara-owned businesses:

I was applying for more than 10 jobs a day and I thought the reason why I'm not receiving any phone calls or any emails back is to do with my name. Previously I've been thinking of changing my name, so that they can't discriminate against me ... Every day I was applying for more than 10 job online, for very low-skilled jobs ... for factories. But still I wasn't receiving anything back. I was guessing that it might have something to do with my name. They don't like maybe Muslims ... It's not something very comfortable. It's not something good to think about; not getting a job based on your name or your ethnic background. It should be all about skills, not where you're coming from. (Mehran)

The challenges of finding formal employment to support him while he was studying forced him to undertake more informal/precarious jobs, even though he knew he was

being ‘exploited with little pay’. Systemic discrimination in the mainstream job market meant he had no choice but to take on insecure and underpaid work. The labour market experiences of those from non-English-speaking backgrounds and those from English-speaking backgrounds are known to be vastly different in the Australian context (Tan & Lester 2012). Mehran’s experience is comparable to those of international students turned temporary graduate workers in Australia. Studies have found that their ethnic background and temporary visa status can act as a barrier to employment, with employers implicitly and explicitly rejecting applicants who did not have Permanent Residency status and who were from non-English-speaking backgrounds (Robertson 2014; Roberts 2019). While this is just one example, it highlights the continual need to examine the structural positionings and inequalities that complicate the idea of coming together as a ‘community’. Mahdia and Mehran feel a strong sense of belonging in particular places (like school or their local community organisation or mosque), while also feeling ‘out of place’ in others (like the local employment market). ‘Community’ is a contested concept because multiple forms of community exist alongside and intermeshed with one another. What is significant about the experiences of the young Hazara people we spoke to across the interviews who engage with community organisations is that, rather than a sense of belonging to a ‘community’ as a singular place, they had developed micro-territories within their neighbourhoods that shaped their feelings of belonging to a greater or lesser extent.

Temporal dynamics of resettlement: Building and expanding networks

Many of the longer-term residents and support workers within community organisations (both Hazara and non-Hazara) suggested that there is a tendency for the Hazara community to live in a ‘bubble’ and not interact outside the community. For example, one Hazara interviewee described how difficult it was for community organisations to bring non-Hazara and Hazara community members together through their programs:

I see so many issues or even like support groups – but they still don’t hit the nail on the head ... Like we did this thing called the Afghani Social Club, and we would get everyone to come to these weekly sessions and we would teach them English, but we also gave the extra space to communicate, socialise that sort of thing and the community centre manager, I guess, or the person in charge, they

were always saying like, we need them to like, really integrate and like, really get along with the other women in the community centre as well – not just amongst themselves. And like, no matter how hard we tried to explain it to them or we tried to get them more involved I still just couldn't see that happening. And I don't know what was necessary in that situation or what helped it, and that's what I feel with a lot of those other groups as well. Like for example, like, even if it's not run by us – even if a community centre runs similar sessions those women will go – they will learn English, but the integration doesn't really happen. They just go to learn English and they just go back home and stick to their own. (Afsana)

However, there was contestation about whether the lack of interaction amongst diverse community members was necessarily detrimental to developing a sense of belonging. As research on the development of humanitarian migrant social capital has argued (Doney et al. 2013), sticking to one's ethno-specific community is often integral to the early stages of resettlement, where people must first develop trust, connection and confidence within their own ethno-specific communities before developing their networks further. An important finding from Doney et al.'s (2013, p. 21) research is that social capital within a community is cumulative and cyclic: 'the more positive social capital a community has, the greater the potential to further increase social capital to benefit individuals and the community as a whole'. In Mahdia and Mehran's experiences, a member of their own community or a local service provider was the principal starting point for building their networks. Later in their resettlement they acted as connectors for others within their community. This highlights the importance of existing capacities and knowledge within their own community, and that support is not only offered by external settlement services or Australian-born community members.

Another Hazara participant suggested that part of the hesitance about interacting beyond their community may be the fear of losing their sense of identity in the process of learning a new culture, and this finding was common throughout this research:

I don't want to use the word integrate but how do we integrate in a way we feel that we belong – we can get along with everyone. We don't lose our own identity – who we are and where we come from, our people – all of that because it's so dear – it's so special to them. They don't want to let that go and I guess

there's that fear – that trust – that lack of trust – that if I do enter this space what's going to happen to that part of me here. I think that's the real big question. (Afsana)

Voluntary separation from the broader community or more established groups in the initial stages of settlement may provide newer arrivals with a more confident sense of their own identity. Mason (2018, p. 39), for example, suggests that the ideal of a society where members of different cultural and religious groups participate together on equal terms may still be achievable even when 'meaningful interaction between members of minority groups and the majority group occurs only in a limited number of spheres'.

Concluding comments

As highlighted in the introduction to this report, public discourses surrounding the contributions of humanitarian-background migrants to society have too often framed such communities in deficit terms and as a 'drain' on resources. Over the past decade, research has sought to challenge such narratives, demonstrating the immense economic, social and civic contributions of humanitarian-background migrants, from their engagement with the arts and cultural fabric of communities, to widening consumer markets for local goods, bringing new skills, creating employment, addressing shortages in unfilled employment areas and regenerating communities (RCA 2010, p. 3; Collins et al. 2017). Many humanitarian migrants invest heavily in their new communities through education, training, employment and citizenship, as well as public participation and social and cultural engagement. Key to realising such benefits is the development of social capital within refugee communities that supports identified areas of need (e.g. connection with services, facilitating networks, language development) as well as valuing and building upon existing capacities within migrant communities (Doney et al. 2013; Ryan, Erel & D'Angelo 2015). Social capital is described as the 'glue that binds' because it develops the preconditions for cooperation within and between communities and the social relationships, connections and resources that allow resettlement to happen (Rostila 2010; Doney et al. 2013).

In this chapter, interviewees described how their connection with their local community organisation gave them the confidence to participate in Australian society, and developed their language skills to a point where they expanded their aspirations for

further education and employment, while at the same time giving them the enjoyment of connecting with people from their own culture and language. Community organisations provided an opportunity for Hazara people to support other newly arrived Hazara migrants in the way they had been supported in the early years of their resettlement – acting as important connectors for others within their own community.

Understanding the role of volunteering for migrant communities can contribute to undoing negative rhetoric about humanitarian migrants and their reliance on services, and can increase understanding of temporal transformations, where many desire to give back to their communities over time. The social capital provided by newer communities, through unpaid volunteer work, represents an important part of their contribution to Australia and is likely to contribute significant savings to government-sponsored social support (RCA 2010, p. 52). Volunteering also assists in transforming recipients of services into active citizens, moving beyond presence to participation (Sennett, cited in Edmonds 2020, p. 203), which has positive benefits for individuals and communities (both newer arrivals and longer term residents). Previous research has noted that there is a lack of empirical studies examining the role and extent of unpaid work among refugee communities. Rather than being under-represented in the voluntary sector, Kerr et al. (2001) have suggested that this may be accounted for by different cultural perceptions of volunteerism: western constructions of more formalised volunteer work potentially discount the myriad of volunteer and in-kind roles undertaken by people from humanitarian backgrounds and other migrant communities.

Community organisations and those who engage with their services as recipients and support workers provide a critical bridge between migrant groups and service providers. Figure 12 below seeks to capture the self-renewing system of social benefit that community organisations can offer new arrivals. The three concentric circles represent the roles that community organisations can play in supporting the resettlement of new arrivals: 1) facilitating social connections and opportunities for community involvement; 2) providing opportunities to learn about and connect people with local systems, cultural knowledge and support services; and 3) offering programs to support language acquisition and preparedness for further education and employment. The outer circle represents additional benefits, when those who have previously accessed the support provided by the community organisation give back by volunteering their time

and sharing their knowledge/experience, thereby strengthening community social capital. This has multiple benefits and flow-on effects: it further fosters a sense of belonging and self-fulfilment for the volunteer; provides opportunities to further develop their leadership and communication skills; enhances the provision of culturally appropriate services, with volunteers acting as a conduit between those needing support and the support services themselves; and finally, provides often unacknowledged social capital contributions and savings to wider society, playing a pivotal role in the ecology of formalised government support programs.



Figure 12: Community organisations and volunteering

Key Findings

- Further research is needed on the role and extent of volunteering amongst refugee communities, examining the motivations, benefits and challenges. Consideration of how to better understand, recognise and support these contributions in wider society is also needed.
- Governments should continue to invest in programs that develop the leadership skills of emerging community leaders to assist in providing links between people and services.
- Community organisations should continue to acknowledge the diversity of Hazara interests, developing strategies that support diverse community needs (e.g. providing for gender-specific services/support).



5 Sport and the Hazara community

There are many and varied ways in which individuals participate in and contribute to local communities. We have already noted that these contributions are holistic; they include social, cultural and economic involvement. These contributions cannot be seen in isolation from each other – the social, cultural and economic and are often interlinked. Further, as we consider the Hazara as one example of humanitarian-background migrants who live in an Australian community setting we recognise that there is an equally important and dynamic process whereby the Hazara both contribute to their own community's identity and well-being and engage with the wider community that they live amongst. Building on the previous chapter, which looked at the social and civic, this chapter will focus on sport. Sport plays an important part in the fabric and life of most communities around the world and Australia is no different. Sport represents grassroots community – from social sport among friends and acquaintances, to community sports clubs, as well as amateur and professional sport. Sport includes active participation as a sportsperson, supporting others who engage in sport, sports as entertainment, sport as a business enterprise, or simply the joy of watching others play.

The role of sport in the experience of humanitarian-background migrants (refugees and asylum seekers) has been increasingly explored since the early 2000s, though there has been a significant increase during the period 2017–19 (Spaaij et al. 2019b; Smith, Spaaij & McDonald 2019). This is partly a reflection of the significant humanitarian migrant flows from Turkey across Europe in 2015 and the following years, although there is considerable literature that explores the experiences of humanitarian migrants in Australia from a range of ethnic and national backgrounds.

Sport has been seen as a vital element in specific settlement programs for humanitarian migrants (e.g. Morgan 2008; Gilbert & Bennett 2012). It has had an instrumental role in programs that variously facilitate policies of integration, social inclusion, social cohesion and acculturation (McDonald, Spaaij & Dukic 2019; Fader, Legg & Ross 2019). Sport has also been viewed as a way to promote more broader objectives around managing and promoting diversity, multiculturalism and interculturalism (Henry 2005).

While there has been a stronger focus on youth and males, studies have further considered the role of sport in other age groups as well as women.

Sport has been seen as means to help humanitarian migrants maintain and strengthen close ethnic, cultural and social bonds between members of the same or similar national/cultural/religious/linguistic groups (bonding social capital); to help build bridges across and between humanitarian migrants and mainstream community members (bridging social capital); and to link humanitarian migrants to structures, institutions and organisations that can support their long-term settlement and participation in mainstream society (linking social capital) (Smith et al. 2019; Henry 2005; Spaaij 2012; Abur 2019).

Others have viewed sports as integral to the ongoing physical and psychological well-being of humanitarian-background migrants (Ley & Barrio 2019), many of whom have suffered various forms of trauma, but also in view of the struggles of isolation, of loss, of the desire and tension in regard to belonging and connection to mainstream society and to their family and place of origin (Spaaij 2015; Stone 2018; Doidge, Keech & Sandri 2020).

Much of the literature around humanitarian migrants and sport has been deficit-based, that is, it has focused on loss, the negative, the difficulties, the struggles, and the challenges associated with the refugee/asylum seeker experience including trauma, poor health, deprivation and social isolation (Spaaij & Oxford 2018; Spaaij et al. 2019b). There are challenges associated more broadly with migrant settlement (housing, meaningful employment, education, security, stability). Hazara migrants have experienced some level of discrimination and racism based on their refugee/asylum seeker and Muslim religious background (Radford 2016, 2017). While there is no denying that many of these are real factors in the experiences (present and past) of humanitarian-background migrants, this study of the Hazara in Port Adelaide Enfield has equally identified the strengths, agency, resilience, knowledge, resources and assets that humanitarian migrants bring to local communities (Spaaij et al. 2019b; Radford 2016).

Giving back to the community

In this case study we have identified the ways in which sport has supported the settlement of the Hazara in the local community and also the ways in which it has benefited the broader community. A common refrain articulated by many Hazara participants was their desire to ‘give back’ to the community. They are aware that Australia has opened the door for their settlement out of very difficult circumstances and they have a great desire to be active, positive contributors to the community and Australia as a nation. As we noted earlier, there are strong links between the social, cultural/civic and economic aspects of community engagement. This chapter describes our findings in relation to sport, drawing on both individual experiences and those of particular organisations that Hazara have started.

Husain’s story is one example of benefiting from and contributing through sport. Husain presently works in the Port Adelaide-Enfield area but grew up in Adelaide’s northern suburbs. Husain came to Australia in the early 2000s as a fourteen-year-old together with his mother and five brothers and sisters. After escaping from Afghanistan Husain and his family initially stayed in Pakistan where he learned some basic English. Although he struggled with the Australian accent in the English he was hearing after arriving in Adelaide, and with just some basic English education, Husain’s parents decided to place him directly in a local public school without going through a bridging English program. Despite these difficulties Husain went straight into the last term of Year 8. By the end of Year 9 Husain was getting straight A’s! When asked how this was possible given his limited English Husain replied:

It was limited, but it was through the help of my teachers and through hard work I guess; I was really keen in learning and getting good marks and making my parents proud and just working hard and studying, focusing. And I managed to do that, which was a very proud moment.

Husain’s studies were not without struggles and he and some fellow Hazara students experienced negative behaviour towards them from some mainstream kids at school. Husain felt that this was because of the Hazara’s lack of English fluency and different physical appearance, resulting in Husain finishing his high school education at a nearby

Catholic school. Husain went on to successfully complete a Bachelor of Business (Sport and Recreation Management) at the University of South Australia.

Husain spoke of the importance of sport in his settlement experience in Australia. It was through sport in high school that Husain was able to make friends with non-Hazara students. After high school Husain and two Hazara friends went on to play cricket for a local and then a district cricket team. Husain gained some initial employment with the South Australian Cricket Association (SACA) and in that capacity promoted cricket more broadly in primary schools. As a SACA multicultural ambassador Husain developed a successful cricket tournament involving diverse community groups. Husain now works for a local Member of Parliament. It is an opportunity, Husain said, to ‘give back to the community’ in lots of different ways including promoting business sponsorship of local sport in the community. Husain is one example of how Hazara have engaged with both school and broader community sports. His story reflects the everyday ways that many in the broader community support the community through sports participation. As well as helping the teams Husain played in, these were opportunities for Husain to build relationships into the broader community while maintaining strong links to the Hazara community.

Building social connections through sport

The Ghan Kilburn City Football [Soccer] Club (GKCFC) provides an example of the importance of sport in the Hazara settlement experience in Port Adelaide Enfield and the way in which a social space represents a site of negotiated belonging and participation. This has been true for the Hazara community in the Kilburn-Blair Athol area which surrounds the football club, the broader Adelaide region, and across Australia. The GKCFC was founded in 2002 by Rahim Shah Zahidi, also the owner of the nearby Ghan Kebab House restaurant, and is co-located and shares facilities with the Kilburn Football and Cricket Club. The GKCFC now has six senior and junior teams including a team playing in the women’s competition. Their top side now plays in the South Australian Amateur League Division 1, having started from the bottom division, and recently won the 2020 Sunday League competition and the ‘Champion of Champions’ final against the winner of the Saturday competition.

For Rahim, sport brings people together. He sees the GKFC and the shared sports facilities with the Kilburn Football and Cricket Club as a cultural hub that brings people together from a variety of cultural and national backgrounds. ‘We see [Kilburn FC] as a cultural place for us and it’s a good example of how people from different cultures can come together’ (Rahim, quoted in Bassano 2019). While the majority of players in GKFC are from the Hazara Afghan community there have been players who represent a kaleidoscope of backgrounds including those originally hailing from Iran, Iraq, Afghanistan, Pakistan, Nepal, various countries in Africa, as well as the broader Australian community. The assistant coach, Desmond Tucker, is himself from Sierra Leone. An example of the promotion of multicultural connections across and between various communities that make up contemporary Australia society can be seen in this *Advertiser* newspaper description of GKFC’s upset victory in a national knock-out soccer competition. The headline spoke of a second-tier amateur club (GKFC) that had pulled off one of the biggest shocks in state soccer history, knocking five-time winner White City out of the FFA Cup SA:

Last season’s league golden boot winner Masoud Teymouri opened the scoring with a first-half penalty, converted at the second attempt after the referee had ordered it be retaken. White City, which sits third in a division effectively three tiers higher than Ghan, capitalised on a defensive error to equalise through Alex Rideout 10 minutes from time.

But Teymouri got on the end of a Lyon Varney pass in the first additional period to score the winner and spark frenzied celebrations for the minnow ...

‘When the referee blew the (full-time) whistle ... it was amazing. We all came together in the centre of the pitch to sing our club song and everybody was going wild.’ (Greenwood 2018)

Given the naturally competitive nature of sport there is certainly the potential for aggression on the field to turn into aggression off the field. Indeed, there have been studies that show that sport, rather than being a positive force to bring people together and promote integration, can cause tensions and conflict (Spaij 2012). But Rahim is a pragmatist and a philosopher. Rahim mentioned that, especially in the early days when he wanted to play soccer and then start a soccer team, which became the GKFC, there

were difficulties and tensions at times with some of opposition players and clubs. But time is an important factor. There is a temporal aspect to becoming part of, belonging to and acceptance in local communities, especially when it involves difference, be it language, culture, religion or something else. When asked if there were difficulties Rahim commented:

Yeah, yeah, yeah. But some people were not happy. Out of 100, perhaps one person was not good, but 99 people love each other. Yes, in the games we're fighting about winning but after the games we shake hands and forget any conflict.

Rahim said that wherever he goes now he seems to know everyone and they all greet him, not just in Kilburn-Blair Athol, but all over the city where GKCF C teams play. Not long before we talked together, Rahim said, GKCF C had been in a competition final in Regency Park where 2000–3000 people turned out to watch. He told me he felt as if he knew all those who attended the final, whether they were there to support GKCF C or not:

Yeah. 100 per cent to 90 per cent I know [everyone] here and they know me ... and everyone I meet says: 'Oh, how are you? Hi, how are you?' ... There are multicultural people who come from everywhere, you start from Gawler to West Beach, all these people come because they play or watch the games and there's lots of teams playing here. So this is a good thing, and I think, oh [things have changed], 5–6 years before I didn't know any of these people. Now I [know] everyone, the coaches, community peoples, ... peoples, the old peoples. Lots of old peoples met me, they ... know about the sports, they meet me ... that's why I tell them sports is the thing [that brings] ... people together.

A number of Indigenous players (male and female) play for GKCF C. Rahim and his family have been personally committed to supporting Indigenous participation in the soccer club and he has gone out of his way to enable some disadvantaged young Indigenous players to be able to make it to training and matchday games. Rahim sees the GKCF C as an important place to provide hope and opportunity for young people who face socio-economic difficulties. It provides a social service for the community as an alternative to drugs and alcohol. Some young people have spoken to Rahim of the

temptations to go ‘the wrong way’ and shared that soccer and sports offer them another way. A non-Hazara longstanding member of the Port Adelaide-Enfield community, who has known Rahim and his family for many years, commented on Rahim’s commitment to support these young Indigenous players:

Look, I just think they’re really doing the government’s work, that’s what they’re doing; they’re doing social justice work so, it’s social engagement. They’re seeing these children and they’re asking: what would they be doing? That’s more important to Rahim that they may end up on the road, incarcerated, so Rahim doesn’t want to see that.

While many of the Hazara Afghan community arrived in Australia through humanitarian migrant pathways an increasing number are permanent residents and Australian citizens. However, there are some who remain on temporary protection visas (TPVs) or safe haven enterprise visas (SHEVs), or who are in the process of applying for one of these visas (Bridging Visa E holders). These refugees arrived in Australia at the time of a dramatic shift in national policy. Up to 2012, asylum seekers who arrived in Australia by boat, and were found to be refugees, were granted permanent protection visas and had the entitlements of other permanent residents, including access to higher education. Those arriving after 2012 faced much stricter conditions and, now living in the broader Australian community, they continue to face trauma over the conflict experience that they fled from, along with ongoing uncertainty about the future. There was a period when those on a temporary protection visa were unable to work. Concerns for their psychological and physical health have often been raised. But for Rahim, football was an opportunity for some Hazara to focus their minds on other things. The skills and experience of sport are very transferable, and this has had a positive impact on the mental and physical health of many Hazara facing precarious and uncertain circumstances.

Sport has the power to create a sense of belonging and connection

The ability of sport to create a sense of belonging and connection has been evident in the way that the GKCF has grown and developed. This, on the one hand, has strengthened the bonds, solidarity and identity of the Hazara community in the Kilburn-Blair Athol area, but also of the Hazara community across Australia. This is true not

only in terms of the health and mental well-being of some members of the Hazara community, as discussed above, but Rahim and the GKCFCC have also supported Australia-wide Hazara-Australian soccer tournaments that bring together hundreds of Hazara-Australian players, families and supporters. Rahim is not alone in this. Other Hazara, such as Yunus Noori and Mohammad Hamidi, have had important organising roles in supporting Australia-wide sporting connections among the Hazara. Both have worked with the Afghan Youth of South Australia (AYSA), under the umbrella of Lutheran Community Care. Yunus Noori was key in the development of the Afghan Sports Federation of Australia, started in 2014, which supports national soccer tournaments as well as other sporting codes including volleyball and cricket, and in the future, netball and martial arts. Yunus also set up the first Hazara community language school. Mohammad Hamidi has supported these nation-wide sports competitions for the Hazara, and continues to work in a number of capacities including promoting leadership and skills development, and the arts. In 2017 AYSA was awarded the youth organisation category at the Governor's Multicultural Awards in recognition of its work in the community.

This broader national social network is key for newer migrant groups to remain connected to the community they are familiar with, as well as to the newer national community that they now call their own. Of course, these broader Australia-wide connections are not limited to sport alone but promote financial, business, cultural, social and religious connections that in turn impact upon the growth and development of the local community that the Hazara are a part of, as well as the broader Australian community.

A key element in the development of GKCFCC was the connection and relationship with the Kilburn Football and Cricket Club and the shared use of the facilities. Over the years there has been a significant demographic shift in the population make-up of the Kilburn-Blair Athol area with many of the newer and often younger migrants not growing up playing or understanding 'Aussie rules' (Australian rules football) very well, and an aging population amongst those who would more typically participate in Aussie rules. Soccer, as a world game, has universal appeal, as can be seen in the multicultural make-up of GKCFCC. While those playing Aussie rules had reduced in number, those wanting to play soccer in the area, including the Hazara, had greatly increased. But rather than

seeing these different sporting codes as in competition with one another, the Kilburn Football and Cricket Club approached Rahim and GKCFC to share the grounds and facilities. This was mutually beneficial in several ways. Both clubs were committed to supporting the disadvantaged and unemployed. Both needed the use of the sporting facilities and help to maintain the financial viability of both clubs. Perhaps above all, they both wanted to provide ways for the wider Kilburn-Blair Athol community to come together as a sporting community.

Clearly for Rahim sport and business do go together. The Ghan Kebab House restaurant, of which Rahim is the owner, has been a major supporter and sponsor of the GKCFC. The Ghan Kebab House restaurant, which serves traditional Afghan and Central Asian food, has become a popular eating destination in Adelaide, with people travelling from all over the city to eat there. It became well-known after the nationally acclaimed South Australian food icon Maggie Beer tasted and promoted his food on SBS television. When visiting teams come to GKCFC home games they now have the option to eat traditional Australian meat pies or succulent Afghani food! The giving and receiving on the football field is complemented by the giving and receiving of food on the sidelines after the game. One non-Hazara local told us:

Look, I could tell you great stories, you know, where the – breaking down the barriers from people that are working there. Just saying, oh, I'm locking my canteen fridge, and then Rahim's wife and daughters ... coming there to do the canteen and bringing the food that they have in their culture down to, you know, myself taking a photo of one of Rahim's twins sitting there eating a big meat pie, you know. And they've got the donuts. And so they graduated into understanding that, yes, they're playing there, but their opposition, whether it be Tea Tree Gully or whatever, they require something different to eat as well. So, now to see them happy in the canteen on supper day, on their home game, it's just gorgeous. Because, you know, you've got what people want to see. And when they're going to the soccer, whether it be a donut or and still some of what they like as well.

Women in sport

For Rahim, sport has been a family affair, with his wife and children supporting both the business and his sporting ventures. His daughters have also played junior soccer:

That's a good question, without the support of your family you can't do anything. So my family supports my sports and my business too, and my wife and daughter do it now, ... they look after two younger teams. They start, because they play younger under 12, under 13's they play under, sometimes they like, they start from 12 or 3 o'clock, and my wife, my daughters are all in ... sports.

Children's sport, including female participation, is an essential aspect of community life. It supports the growth, development and well-being of children but it is also an important way that families engage with and participate in community life. The story of Rahim's daughters' participation in junior soccer is a reflection of how Hazara families have begun to engage with sport in the Kilburn-Blair Athol area.

Because what happens now ... like these young people ... like they got a job, they go to school, after their school day finish, they ask: Tell me what I should do? I tell them sports, I advise everyone... Any sports, not only soccer, footy, ..., martial arts, tennis, hockey, everything, any sports. My belief is like, go to training, after training you can go somewhere [in life]... and the girls too.
(Rahim)

This example is not only true of community sports teams such as the GKFC but also across other sporting codes such as volleyball and martial arts. One of the most noted examples is Muhammad Haidari who has been running the very successful Haidari Martial Arts Academy teaching kung fu, dai fu and gymnastics. Muhammad Haidari has trained several national and international medal winners in martial arts competitions, including his own daughters (Spencer 2014).

Multicultural AFL women's sport

The Port Adelaide Enfield Council have been active supporters of the multicultural life of the area. One of the ways that they do this has been through the promotion of multicultural AFL sports events together with the Adelaide Crows AFL Football Club. The council

wanted to engage with the multicultural community, especially the women, and teamed up with the Crows AFL Women's team to support this. The idea was that the men (fathers and husbands) would also come with the children to make it a family event. The Hazara was one of the many community groups that participated. The council worked hard to engage with the Hazara in a culturally appropriate and sensitive way to create a welcoming environment for the women/girls to participate in playing football. This was not without its challenges from a religious and cultural perspective, but after much effort, the event was successfully run:

And what you're starting to see now, you're starting to see men and women are getting involved in local football, particularly women's football. And not so many, I have seen a couple of girls, I think there's actually one AFL girl that still wears her ... full cover. And there's nothing wrong with that. I don't think anyone bothers with that stuff, it's more about can they play and have the permission to play? So I think a lot of courage needs to come from cultural groups, and ... I think mainstream society needs to adapt to other cultures rather than expect cultures to adapt to them. (Port Adelaide Enfield Council representative)

There have been intercultural challenges in integrating sports for the Hazara in the community. A Port Adelaide Enfield Council representative indicated that, from their perspective, there were still challenges in linking the Hazara in with the broader community with sport. They felt that there were still challenges with the involvement of Hazara females in community sport. The council worked very hard to engage with key contacts and male Hazara stakeholders to enable Hazara females to join in some of the multicultural sporting events.

We had the permission given by the males on the day and because a lot of them weren't interested at first, particularly for a male to be asking. So for me to ask another male to talk about it, for them then to ask their – give permission. So that's really interesting I think about, I think culture and religion still ... play a big role in how they engage in a broad community.

There appeared to be a combination of religious and cultural factors that limited either female participation in community sports events or who could watch these events. However, there

were also generational differences, with the younger Hazara community members more open to participate and engage with people across various cultural groups, while the older members were more hesitant.

So when you look at a sporting side of things, unless of course you're young and you've been here for a few generations ... those younger ones are starting to connect in a little bit differently, though they still have a strong cultural sense, and they fit back to their cultural space ... Well, I think one of the things that I find difficult is, is when we're going to go out and engage these communities in whatever way it could be, the biggest question is, do we engage the adults or do we engage the young people? And because the adults are they still coming with a strong culture versus the young people who now starting to think differently and are they thinking more broadly in more wanting to engage differently ... I think the young people are slowly doing it differently or want to do it differently.

Probably the greatest challenge in Hazara participation in sports is the tendency for Hazara to engage in sports with other Hazara rather joining in broader community or mainstream sports clubs or organisations, whether that be cricket, soccer or other sporting codes. The council representative referred to this tendency as remaining in a cultural 'comfort space' and likened it to similar tendencies in the Indigenous community: 'So it's not mainstream, and so the biggest question is, how do you engage people from any space and place, particularly cultural groups or religious groups to engage in mainstream, versus engaging in a comfort space?'

The council representative recognised and supported the need for different cultural groups to have a strong sense of 'self', a cultural and community identity, but also an equal need to find ways to bridge into what they referred to as the 'mainstream' community where all cultural groups come together. The following is a long quotation but we have kept it in full as it highlights the challenges and concerns for cultural groups, such as the Hazara, who wish to maintain their cultural identity while also finding ways to engage and participate with the broader community:

So, I'm not too sure, one of our tasks now is to work out how, how do we make a Welcoming City⁵ and what does 'welcoming' mean? Is it just because someone's engaging and feel comfortable or is it because they're actually now becoming okay for an Aboriginal person, you're at home, your Aboriginal strength is there? But when you come into a mainstream community, you're a part of the mainstream community. So, you let go of those connections and relations and things. And for the Hazara or any other multicultural community, how do they do that? Stay strong in their identity and their culture and how does that work? But when, but knowing that on being able to walk in a different space and place, how do you step into that? And ... don't lose your identity, but don't be maintained by your culture or your beliefs or your values because your work has a different set of values.

This reflection suggests that individuals from cultural groups such as the Hazara are most likely to participate in 'mainstream' sports teams when people are 'new and they've got a bit of coercion or they're isolated from particular their own families or their own kind'. In other words, the stronger the co-ethnic bond and opportunity to link relationally into their community, the stronger the chance that sports participation will be with co-ethnic members, although the council representative did comment that they have seen this tendency for largely co-ethnic sport participation breaking down over time.

⁵ The Port Adelaide Enfield Council was the first council in South Australia to join the Welcoming City network and it supports an inclusive and supportive community. The Welcoming Cities website states: 'Welcoming Cities is a national network of cities, shires, towns and municipalities who are committed to an Australia where everyone can belong and participate in social, cultural, economic and civic life. Welcoming Cities is a Founding Partner of Welcoming International – a growing network of more than 200 municipalities across the world. Welcoming Cities is an initiative of Welcoming Australia, supported by the Scanlon Foundation' (<https://welcomingcities.org.au/what/>).

Concluding comments

The reflections in this chapter on the ways in which the Hazara have engaged in the sporting life of the local community have shown the multifaceted nature of this engagement. Training sportsmen and women, boys and girls, to gain national and international recognition is noteworthy, deserving of public recognition and support. They are the ‘stars’ as it were. But community sports participation is also about the everyday ways in which individuals and families participate in sport. The Hazara, like all members of the community, live, work and seek to be involved in the everyday life of Kilburn-Blair Athol, and sports happen to be one way that this occurs. Most will not be superstars, like most who live in the broader community. Some volunteer in sports clubs and groups, like others in the broader community. Likewise, some do not volunteer, like others in the broader community. But in small and bigger ways the Hazara are contributing to the sporting and community life of both the Hazara community and the wider Port Adelaide-Enfield area. This chapter has identified another important feature. Humanitarian migrants, such as the Hazara, are not merely the focus of ‘help and support’ or the ‘weak that need a helping hand’; they bring with them strengths, skills, experiences and assets that contribute to and impact on both their own families and communities and the local communities in which they live (Evers 2010).

KEY FINDINGS:

- Individual Hazara find everyday ways to support local community through sports participation.
- Social space, such as sports grounds and clubs, represent sites of negotiated belonging and participation.
- Organised sport has the potential to bring people together, including multicultural communities.
- There can be difficulties and tensions but perseverance over time can see these considerably ease.
- Sport and business entrepreneurship can be a successful partnership in refugee sporting initiatives.
- Sporting participation can be a positive factor in addressing mental health issues and offer alternative pathways to drugs and alcohol for refugee background migrants dealing with trauma.
- Sport can provide opportunities for strengthening belonging and connection within the Hazara community (locally and nationally) community) as well with the broader community.
- Local Government Council's culturally sensitive effort to work with cultural and leadership members of refugee communities supports wider sport participation beyond a cultural group focus.



6 Becoming 'educated': The spatial ecological impacts of a local community centre on Hazara women

A growing body of research into the education of refugee youth links curricula, pedagogical practices and English language proficiency as enabling resources for positive academic outcomes (e.g. Morrice et al. 2020). However, little attention has been given to the resourcefulness of refugee families as well as the enabling role refugee parents may play, as typically they are associated with illiteracy or other educational and skill deficits. Although a large proportion of refugee young people receive their education in Australia (Hugo et al. 2011), studies on refugee students in Australian school contexts highlight a range of complex challenges. These challenges, alongside a perceived lack of parental involvement in their child's schooling, include navigating new education systems, language difficulties, low teacher expectations, and experiences of social exclusion (de Anstiss, Savelsberg & Ziaian 2019; Fozdar & Hartley 2013; Taylor & Sidhu 2012). In the context of the relative disadvantage refugee youth and children face in their education sojourn in Australia, we seek to shed light on the ecological enabling impact an educative community centre can have on refugee adults, particularly the mothers. The findings in this chapter provide an embryonic insight into how refugee mothers are empowered and, in turn, their impact on their children's transition into local education.

The purpose of this chapter is to understand the enabling conditions developed between the local community members and the refugee adults who access their services, such as the Hazara women, through education. It seeks to deepen an awareness of how a public space such as a community education centre can make a difference in the lives of refugee women who came to Australia with poor English language skills and little education. The emic approach that we have taken investigates how the Hazara and non-Hazara women participants think, feel and act in relation to the educational and social connectedness they have received and developed over the years. The etic approach allows us to examine the practical relations of exchange and interactions that shape their experiences of exclusion and inclusion as members of the Port Adelaide Enfield community, as well as the broader social, cultural and historical space. Together, these two analytical moves cast light on the mutually structuring relationships between the emergent networked ecology of Hazara and non-Hazara groups and their connectivity. It thus provides an in-depth ecological lens to examine their transition from being perceived victims to active participants in the contemporary conditions of Australian education and society.

Building from Massey's (2004) notion that a public place (such as a community education centre) can be relational, affective and spatial, this chapter will explain how diverse individuals can build a sense of community. It does so by compiling the narratives told by key social actors involved in creating the enabling conditions for self-empowerment: Fahima (a Hazara young mother), Sameerah (a non-Hazara multicultural support worker) and Beverley (a non-Hazara community coordinator). It then provides an ecological perspective to foreground their voices. The aim of the ecological framework is to unpack each individual's construction of the social and cultural context, and how an educative space (such as the community education centre) is experienced.

Conceptual framework of space for educational and intercultural encounters

Along with the development of language skills, according to the Migration Policy Group (2010), education 'is critical to preparing immigrants, and particularly their descendants to be more successful and more active participants in society' (p. 17). These too are the aims of the non-Hazara people working in the community education centre as they seek to reach out to all mothers who enter their doors.

Their work resonates with Radford's (2017) work on how public spaces in one rural region are negotiated between the long-term residents and newly arrived migrants. Using interviews and ethnographic field notes, Radford identified the nuanced and complex social dynamics that characterised the intercultural experiences and interactions of Afghan Hazara migrants and the residents of the region. For instance, at the time of Radford's (2017) study when the Hazara men were forbidden to work because of their visas, they initially socialised in the town square or hung out in small numbers in the grassed area. Those spaces were the few public places that allowed them to gather without incurring costs. However, such informal gatherings were seen as a 'threat' by the local rural community members. The Hazara men in the community stopped their visible gatherings after hearing second hand that the locals were feeling unsafe because of them. Such fear of the Hazara men in public spaces, as unfounded as it seemed, was akin to a moral panic (Martin 2015). This spatial management of keeping 'the other' a distance is highlighted in Matthews' work (2019) on the kinds of 'maligned mobility' that refugees experience: a 'maligned mobility' that raises issues about the perception of uncanny strangeness and fear of 'the other', and therefore managing who can participate in public spaces. Building from the example of the 2005 Cronulla riots in Sydney, in Noble and Poynting's (2010, p. 490) exploratory work on the 'local' and the 'national' space, they used postcolonial theory to argue that spatial regulation

occurs when ‘lines of whiteness’ are designated. They further explained the affective dimensions of the links between migrant identities and processes of belonging and non-belonging, as ‘highly charged, affective relations of attachment to and exclusion from particular places’ (2008, p. 130). In reading this way, for the Hazara men in Radford’s (2017) study, living in rural spaces where whiteness is constructed as a normative mode of belonging has constructed them as a generic threat to the cultural, social and political order. However, these issues have rarely shaped educational policy and practice. Matthews (2019) argues such absence merits attention. In particular, more attention should be given to the ‘distinctiveness of refugee background young people, and to seek means of educating about the historical and cultural conditions of forced mobility’ for inclusive education (p. 6).

While the educative role played by the key actors in the community education centre is different from the role of educators in local schools, it still personifies a space of possible intercultural and educative encounters that all schools can learn from as they reconceptualise refugee education (Dryden-Peterson 2017). The centre creates an ‘imagined space of haven’ (Soong & Comber 2017) to assist refugee mothers, fathers and children to build possible future trajectories in Australia. In this sense, in order to foster belonging that reflects ‘personal, local and national belonging and identities’ (Radford 2017, p. 495), more engagement is needed from and by local community members to mitigate the social, structural and cultural gaps that circumscribe the Hazara residents living in the same community.

Following Radford’s (2017) study, this chapter too adapts Massey’s (2004) work on space and place as parallel concepts, to make a case for the role community education plays in re-orientating the lives of the individual refugee mother and child. The work of thinking relationally about space and place does not just involve representing forms of inclusion/exclusion, conviviality/conflict and security/uncertainty. The work of relational refugee education involves facilitating the flow of people beyond the material, bounded by physical built environments (Matthews 2019; Radford 2017). In so doing, the community education centre provides a relational intercultural space that pays attention to the interconnected trajectories and conditions that reify people as ‘refugees’ in the first place. In particular, it attends to the importance of community educational work to improve the life opportunities of refugee women. Here, we witness how an individual builds a sense of community based on the individual’s construction of the social and cultural context in which the community is situated (Strickland & Lyutykh 2020). Such a notion of community is

aligned with an ecological perspective that Bronfenbrenner (1992) constructed, as elaborated below.

Spatial impacts of the community education centre: An ecological perspective

An ecological perspective (Bronfenbrenner 1992) is adopted to analyse how an educative intercultural space is experienced in a community, and to foreground the voices of both the Hazara and non-Hazara members of the community. Building from Bronfenbrenner (1992), the development of an individual is viewed as situated within concentric systems of interactions. In brief, Bronfenbrenner (1992) visualised a nested system of interactions that an individual is situated within and this networked system is the basis of an ecological model of a community.

In analysing the interacting factors that have an impact on the refugee mothers who entered the doors of the community education centre, we place them at the centre and surrounded by three key concentric circles of interactive systems. They are: the microsystem (key people the Hazara women interact with constantly), mesosystem (people whom the Hazara women are impacted by but not personally known by them), and macrosystem (a system that is comprised of beliefs and values that impact the individual Hazara women). By using this ecological perspective, we have taken a microscopic lens to understand how the educative work of empowering refugee or migrant mothers is actualised in the community education centre. Such an analysis will highlight which factors foster the participation of Hazara women in civic life and their engagement with non-Hazara community members, as shown in Figure 13 below.

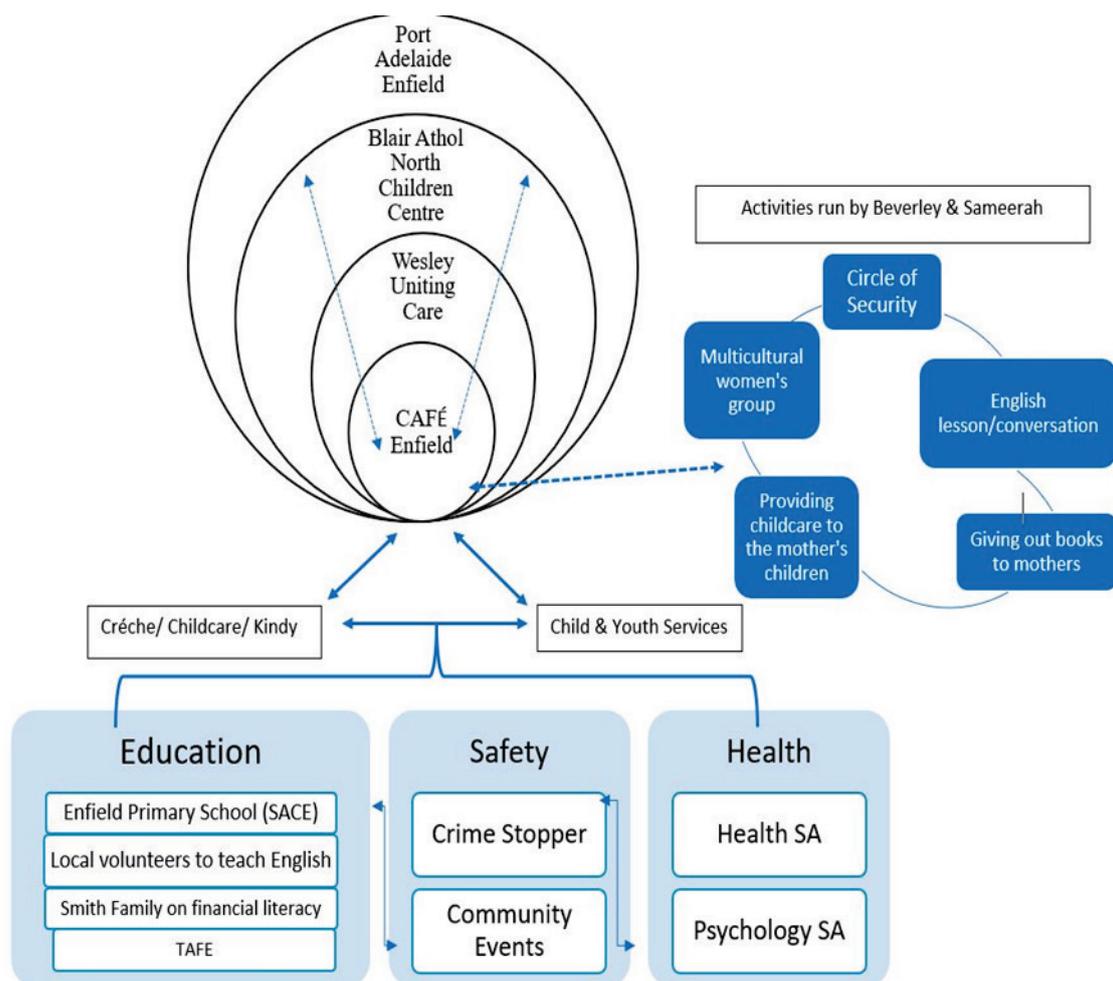


Figure 13: The ecological mapping of the community education centre

The rest of the chapter will draw from the interview data of Sameerah, Beverley and Fahima to foreground two key aspects: what is needed for Hazara mothers on arrival and in the post-arrival years, and the enabling conditions that will support the orientation and integration of Hazara mothers and children in the local community. Although the findings are not generalisable, the women’s narratives do provide a glimpse of how these interactive systems work. For these mothers, their evolving identities and sense of belonging in a host environment are enacted in a networked ecological space that spans multiple contexts (e.g. Neal & Neal 2014). Understanding which strong social structures enable spaces of belonging which are culturally sensitive to Hazara women and their needs brings us a step closer to changing societal attitudes towards our migrant and refugee populations.

The case study of the community education centre

In 2012 Beverley, the Community Development Coordinator of the community education centre in Port Adelaide (Enfield), noticed that there was a fairly big group of new Afghani migrants living in the precinct. As shown in Figure 13, the community education centre works hand in hand with other social and health services such as the child and youth centre, playschool, kindergarten and childcare centre. Many mothers would enter the centre to access these services.

Beverley

Beverley displayed cultural awareness when she noticed that some of the migrant mothers from multicultural and humanitarian backgrounds were left on their own, while the fathers were the ones chatting with staff at the centre. According to Beverley: ‘the women were the ones that were coming in, dropping children off and there was no [interaction] ... the mothers were sitting down, kind of squatting in the corner while the dad did all the [enrolments of their children]’.

Beverley also noticed some mothers who struggled with dropping their children off at the centre. The children would be crying for their mothers and showing emotional distress due to their separation anxiety, and the mothers would then be feeling more stressed about the situation whenever they entered the centre. She asked herself what she could do for this group of Hazara and migrant mothers whose challenges were compounded by their lack of English language skills. As Beverley elaborated:

the women were the ones who are missing out engaging because of the lack of English. And the men had done the TAFE courses ... but [the mothers] had the children, they had to get other priorities like cleaning and taking care of children going.

So Beverley asked the mothers what they would like to learn when the mothers dropped their children off at the kindy, creche or playschool, or brought their babies to the child and youth centre for an immunisation. This initial effort gave Beverley a chance to get to know the mothers better. Due to the language barrier, Beverley then approached a protestant church organisation to ask for support. This was when Sameerah, a multicultural worker with multiple languages, came into the community education centre to support Beverley. At the time we interviewed her, Sameerah had been working closely with Beverley for seven years.

At the start, Sameerah would run English language classes for the mothers while Beverley arranged for creche or childcare provision for their children. The mothers then had an opportunity

for time off from their children to attend the classes or mingle with other mothers. Beverley funded the extra work of childcare workers to look after the children. Over time, what started out as a language learning group gradually and organically became more focused on building financial, health and parenthood literacies for the women. The mothers felt safe to approach Beverley and Sameerah to request support. This was how Beverley and Sameerah initiated the parenting classes known as 'Circle of Security' (CoS). CoS was established to provide the Hazara mothers some tools to explore 'parenting' their child in a different way:

Circle of Security is like an attachment-based program that looks at ... giving parents the information about the importance of attachment and understanding how children's feelings and your own feelings about parenting ... why their children were behaving, why they need to understand where their emotions are coming from and ... then what we do at the end of each term is a ... group celebration where we shared food ... but not in Ramadan. (Beverley, 40s, Female)

Throughout the whole CoS session, Sameerah would help the facilitator by interpreting for the mothers. During these sessions some mothers would open up to discuss their struggles with the others. There were others who would only reveal their problems to either Sameerah or Beverley when they had a chance to be alone with them. Sameerah and Beverley then reached out to other members of the community for more assistance with English language lessons, and other health services, so that they could focus on providing more one-to-one support for more mothers:

'Maddy, who's our volunteer, an older person ... we'll do a session on English conversation ... and get somebody [from SA Health] to talk to women about pap smears ... the process ... and cervical cancer, etc.' (Beverley).

Even though, over the years, many of the women who began the CoS or English language classes with Sameerah and Beverley had moved on, the imprints that both Beverley and Sameerah had left on the women were deep and lasting. As Beverley observed:

we have women lack a lot of confidence and to just see their kind of change over time and their confidence ... we have had a group, quite a few of them ... go onto TAFE English classes ... obviously the ability and the confidence to go into TAFE is a whole different transition, which then enables them to have greater confidence in language and even, probably kind of Australian cultural awareness to ... go into finding employment of some

kind beyond the ... women's group ... one woman in particular recently, comes back and every now and then because she's gone on to get work in the hospitality area.

Beverley gave some key examples of how the lives of some women changed but it took courage for the women to let Beverley and Sameerah support them to transition through a difficult phase of their lives:

a lot of times those restrictions have been put on them by the men in their culture which is really [why] this particular mum was restricted by the husband with the financial ... you know, financially abusing her. So Sameerah would do a lot of work with her in terms of supporting that and then, so yeah ... she's been able to go onto TAFE and now she's actually earning an income where she's actually being able to have some money for herself, which was something that wasn't happening previously.

From this positive experience the women became more empowered to support fellow mothers, as Beverley explained: 'the women kind of come from this group and go into other groups like our community playgroup where their language is still not enough'. Part of the deep and lasting impact on the Hazara mothers that Beverley talked about was because of the work that Sameerah did. Here is her story.

Sameerah

Sameerah was the first person that Beverley contacted when she needed help to run the programs for the mothers in the community education centre. The researcher visited Sameerah when she was running English language workshops for Afghan mothers whose children were attending the affiliated primary school.

The researcher then sat down to talk more about her views about the impact she had made on the lives of the women she taught in the programs, as a Multicultural Support Coordinator, at both the community education centre and the primary school's children's centre.

Even though Sameerah is a mother of four children, she expressed that she was learning a lot more about children and the importance of parental influence, specifically the mothers, on children's developmental needs through her work at the community education centre. For instance:

Q: Who has more influential power in helping the child to learn? Is it the father, or the mother in the Hazara community?

A: I think it's the mother because mums has close contact, or close relationship with the children, because fathers are to work only at night-time. But sometimes I can see problem between the husband and wife, because they are not on the same page. For example if the mums learn things – good things from here, when pass it onto the husband they say, 'Oh no, just leave it.' For example sleeping routine at 7 o'clock. They say 'Oh, he's young. Let him stay awake until 10 o'clock, 11 o'clock.' So sometimes they are not the same page. But for what – I see some of the parents, they are really good, especially mums. The things they are learning – we say the things you are learning from here – pass it onto your husband, and teach your husband, because we are growing up in different country, different environment, different rules ... for me I think mums has – we have to empower the mothers and also teach the mums how to work there with their children.

Because of her close contact with the mothers, Sameerah was the person the mothers turned to for advice or support when they faced problems or, even worse, if they were victims of domestic violence. Although such complex and difficult problems do take up a lot of Sameerah's time and energy at work, she was committed to support them, for example by filling out forms and making arrangements to see a doctor or dentist, etc. However, as Sameerah mentioned, two to three days a week in each site were not enough. Here, she gave one example of how her day would be spent when there was a need crying out for her attention:

Like last Friday one of my parents she's in domestic violent relationship. She was full on. And she knew I was here when – they – receptionist asked for me to go and meet her. When I go outside then she was in tears, she just needed somebody to talk with. And we went around the block for half an hour talking. She cried, and she emptied her ... – well I cannot – another way around. You say ... [inaudible], but in English they say it's up to you ... it's opposite for us. And when she was a little bit relieved, she left. So for those kind of things – since they knew that I'm here for those two days, they try to come and see me on those two days when I am here. But yes, sometimes it's hard. But because I'm working three days, and was ... two days here I can't – I don't have another – more time to spend in here. But yeah, that's all I can do. And yes it's really busy when I'm here.

Her work did not just stop there when she knew mothers needed urgent help in their lives. So, Sameerah had to find fellow community members who could volunteer to run some of the programs. In so doing, she would be spared the time to look into the needs of individual mothers or children studying in the children's centre (where she worked for two days a week) or the

community education centre (where she worked for three days a week). For instance, she engaged a Sri Lankan migrant mother (whose two young children were attending the children's centre or school) to help her with running English language classes for the Afghan mothers.

Not only did Sameerah reach out to individuals for support, like Beverley, she also established some key local connections with organisations which could help run workshops, talks or provide professional/medical support to the mothers and children (as shown in Figure 13). For instance, in attempting to raise literacy, Sameerah and Beverley arranged for books to be donated to mothers who could now read to their children at home. Sameerah elaborated:

And also we run information session for them as well in here. Like this term we had the women's health sessions – two session with one of the lady from SA Health. And also we had Raising Literacy Australia, they come here in nine months' time then to receive a free pack books for their children. And yeah, so we had water safety for them. Information about safety – water safety, why it's important, how they can look after their children around water. And plus what they need, for example what kind of information they need. Booking appointments for the doctors, filling employment forms, calling for dentist. At the ... even sometimes I do application for them as well. For example last Friday one of my parents from playgroup she needed – she had receive a high bill, and she couldn't pay for it, because she has to pay through real estate. Then I contacted the – the real estate agent, then I asked – I asked for payment plan. Which is not much – \$20 per fortnight, that she keeps paying it all around the not – not stop. So if she stops she going to be behind. And she's a single mother of two, she can't pay it.

From Sameerah's example, we can see that, in order to have a sustained impact on the lives of refugee women and children, being culturally responsive and sensitive to their needs is not enough. Through her example, we see how important it is to be intimately connected to the local community, particularly because refugee women are reported to experience more vulnerabilities (Department of Social Services 2019). All people need to belong or feel valued, respected, accepted and included (Yuval-Davis 2006). This drives Beverley and Sameerah to build a space of belonging for the women and their children entering their community education centre. In order to unpack the impact that Beverley and Sameerah have had on the women, here is a story of a young Hazara mother they supported for almost seven years. Her name is Fahima.

Fahima

One of the younger mothers, Fahima, came to join the group but could not discuss complex and personal issues with the other women in the group. However, during her time with Beverley and Sameerah, she developed from being unable to communicate in English to finishing her South Australian Certificate of Education (SACE) in the school located next to the community education centre. Over the years, while she kept in touch with Beverley and Sameerah, her life continued to evolve. After obtaining a TAFE Diploma in Early Childhood, Fahima can now work part-time in both the community education centre and at another children's centre in a primary school as a part-time Bilingual School Support Officer. The following is her story.

Fahima first arrived in Australia as a 15-year-old. She was the second child amongst her four siblings. She had lived as a refugee in Iran for most of the 15 years and had always wanted to come to Australia. However, her mother struggled to adjust to living in Melbourne. They arrived in Adelaide a year later but her mother was still struggling. At the age of 19, Fahima got married and fell pregnant a year later. Fahima's husband left her and she became a single young mother with little English or knowledge about motherhood. Although she could rely on her mother and siblings, Fahima knew that they had a number of issues to deal with. So when Fahima came across a pamphlet about the English language classes held at the community education centre, she not only attended the English classes but, with support from Beverley and Sameerah, she moved on to study in a school (next to the centre) that provided young mothers an opportunity to prepare and sit for SACE. Fahima elaborated:

A: and then they [Beverley and Sameerah] support me a lot with parenting; I have someone there. When I need help I'm going there.

Q: So the community education centre really gave you the support that you needed?

A: Yes.

Q: What about the women, the other mothers, the women that you met?

A: Yeah, they were good. Like, we shared everything. Like, all women, all families are new here and they always support each other and it was good to know ... families.

Q: Did you feel like – is there any cultural aspects in feeling ... it's very hard to talk about my marriage to people?

A: Yes, because for our culture of family it's not easy to get divorced. If you divorce it's very not comfortable to share with everyone; I was like, I'm not ready to share, I'm not ready. Until I became a very close friend with someone then I could tell what happened to me.

For Fahima, apart from her own family, having a community of people whom she could relate to became her source of strength to deal with the challenges she was facing as a young single mother of Muslim faith. There were key non-Hazara people who became part of her microsystem circle because they were there when she needed help, as Fahima explained:

Especially my GP and then [people at the community education centre], they helped me with so many things like parenting courses, like the community developer, that person was, her name is Beverley, she was helping me a lot. Whenever I had question, I need help, she was there for me and if she couldn't she would find someone else to help me, whatever it was. Yes and ... yeah and now all the people help me. Now I can work and I can look after my son. Everyone I do appreciate people's help and support.

Fahima was one of the young mothers that Beverley and Sameerah could testify had been transformed over the years. Once the women began to be able to communicate in English, they grew in confidence as learners and mothers. Some went on to study at TAFE and could find employment to support themselves or their families, some became more confident about being a mother and understanding how to care for their children, and some were able to volunteer in interpreting at various community centres or services within the Port Adelaide area.

As for Fahima, once she was qualified with a Diploma in Early Childhood Studies, she managed to get employment supporting families and children in a local school and in the community education centre. Although Fahima was once part of the 'uneducated' women refugee statistics with very limited English language skills, she is an exemplar of what can happen when women like her are provided with a sense of belonging and acceptance in a community that respects differences.

In sum, the work of educating refugee mothers demands attention to how social spaces are textured by languages. From the narratives, it is clear that proficiency in the dominant language becomes the definitive resource underpinning social participation and inclusion in local and home communities. Yet, building proficiency in a language that is not one's mother tongue does not just

requires immersion in its everyday use; Fahima's narrative shows it involves substantial and conscious educational effort from both sides.

Concluding comments

This study of an educative approach that respects diversity adopted an ecological lens to look at the enabling conditions which promote opportunities for migrant and refugee mothers and children to experience what social inclusion and participation can feel and look like. This case study of a closely knitted and respectful networked space between the home and the local community has offered an account of how the educative work of a community education centre can empower newly arrived migrant and refugee mothers.

For this reason, social inclusion and participation of refugee women involves multiple processes that not only occur in different stages of life (Noble & Poynting 2008); they also occur in different spatial contexts (Massey 2004). Specifically, we see how interactions that occur in places where members of the community act as enablers become central to women who are bounded culturally in their gendered role as a mother and wife.

Key findings

- Educating mothers is a significant area for strengthening refugee education.
- We need to recognise the distinctive needs of refugee mothers, their resilience and strengths, and community partnerships to improve the educational outcomes of their children in schools.
- In order to create a community of enablers, mothers need an opportunity for full membership in a community. Such a membership in the community is vital to their own and their children's well-being so that they are able to stand on their own two feet. Developing this agency requires a community of enablers.
- Mobility exposes refugee women to risks and insecurities. They are more vulnerable than men. Women who have no or little education prior to their move to Australia, and little English to communicate with members of the host community, continue to live in a state of limbo because of their fear of being repatriated or being abandoned in a strange and foreign land. Some of the older women rely on their children to help them navigate and adjust to a new life and environment.



7 Economic contributions of Hazara humanitarian immigrants

Before we outline the economic contribution of Hazara businesses to the economic vitality of the Port Adelaide Enfield area, we would like to point out a few issues. According to the Refugee Council of Australia (2010, p. 3): ‘There may be short-term costs as refugees are resettled and adjust to their new surroundings, but once successful integration has occurred refugees are able to quickly make permanent cultural, social and economic contributions’. This is strongly aligned with the UNHCR’s statement (2002, p. 8): ‘Refugees can also make an important economic contribution by creating new businesses and jobs, filling labour market gaps, and helping to improve productivity’. It goes on to argue that refugee resettlement is critical to the economic success of industrialised countries because refugees can help to fill labour force gaps created by ageing populations. The Refugee Council of Australia (2010) identifies the following ways in which refugees contribute economically: (a) expanding consumer markets for local goods; (b) opening new markets, (c) bringing in new skills, (d) creating employment, (e) filling empty employment niches, (f) increasing economies of scale, (g) fostering innovation and flexibility, (h) supplying labour and stimulating labour markets, and (i) stimulating economic growth in regional areas. This is aligned with the views by Hugo et al. (2011, p. 173) that the economic contributions refugees/humanitarian settlers are making go beyond being engaged in the workforce and include setting up new businesses and establishing economic linkages with their country of origin. However, documenting and measuring the extent of the economic contribution of refugees is a complex task: as the RCA (2010) acknowledges, refugees also make substantial civic and social contributions, and there are overlaps between these three dimensions. Apart from the arguments that the contributions that refugees make have multiple dimensions, some researchers (Parsons 2013) argue that some of the contributions cannot be measured quantitatively. This report follows the recommendation by Parsons (2013, p. 18) that qualitative studies need to be integrated into a summary of key messages regarding the economic contribution of refugees, and this is particularly relevant for economic contributions that originate from business ownership by refugees, and their entrepreneurial spirit.

The economic narrative of refugee settlement in Australia is driven by an economic framework and is focused on contributing and producing economically independent citizens (Samson 2015). The story of the highly entrepreneurial Hazara business community in the Port Adelaide Enfield Council area is not only about that commonly used economic narrative, but it is also a story of community assets, strengths, capacity building and ‘place activation’. It is a story about a complex landscape which includes Hazara civic and political engagement, which has been created over the last 15 years.

We decided to outline the history of the Hazara business community in the Port Adelaide Enfield Council area and their contribution to the economic vitality of the area, focusing on the following three phases:

- 1) Initial phase: place activation
- 2) Hazara enclave economy and
- 3) Expanding: ‘breaking out’ of the ethnic enclave economy

Initial phase: Place activation

The local impact of the Hazara refugees can be well described by their role in rejuvenating a deprived area of Port Adelaide. Their initial Hazara settlement in the early 2000s revitalised the inner city area and, in the words of one of the key informants from the local council, Hazara settlement and enterprise creation led towards ‘a place activation’. Recalling that time of early settlement, some respondents spoke of a high crime rate, feeling unsafe, empty shops and even locals advising them not to move to the area:

My personal experience there, when I was given a house on Jersey Avenue, a unit, my first family friend and I had Caucasian friend told me, ‘Oh Kilburn is not a better place to go.’ ... Well, when you say not a better place, I think coming to Australia is a better place. So where in Australia, with me, I think it will be helpful to me, because I’m fleeing from insecure place, where I wasn’t, I never felt secure as I am now. So coming again to give me another fear, I tried to work that out.

In the words of a long-term resident who moved there in the mid-1990s:

Yes, well I think that there was a lot of elderly. I had a – I enjoyed – there was a lot of yeah, 60 plus, 70 plus people in this area. Because remember these

were the people who had the first war homes, particularly this house here was a war home until we did an extension on this. And so they came into the area, they came after the war into brand new homes, what they called the war homes and they were – and the housing – Housing Trust as it was called in those days ...

The Hazara humanitarian migrants moved into an area which was dominantly Anglo-Australian, with some evidence of ethnic succession:

It was really all Anglo, yeah ... I think there's always been some Vietnamese; they were quite – I think they were quite prominent in the Kilburn area, Blair Athol; I've got probably three or four in my street. They – because they're very gentle people, you know, gentle people and family and all they want to do is – they want to make sure their children are educated well. And what I like about them is not much different than the Hazara and Persian community.

The effects of the opening of Hazara-run businesses on the local community and its regeneration are rather compelling. One local resident commented that the security had improved and the whole local area had changed for the better:

as I said to you earlier, it was Adelaide Texas ... but after that slowly, slowly it become a normal area, very peaceful area. Nowadays you can see not very much broken glass, no very much, you know, thief, no very much painted walls, no very much, you know, drunk people throwing alcohol bottle every day.

Hazara enclave economy

Currently, the Port Adelaide area can be characterised as a geographic area with a high ethnic concentration of Hazara-owned businesses as well as an area of ethnic residential concentration. The local Hazara community have managed to develop a well-diversified, compatible and self-supported business system. Hazara businesses tend to concentrate in a variety of enterprises serving their own ethnic market (e.g. bakeries, restaurants, carpet shops), with a substantial number of employees in those firms being from the Hazara community. As such it may be defined as an 'ethnic enclave economy', which, according to Portes and Jensen (1987), has three characteristics: a substantial clustering of ethnic firms in

one location, unpaid family workers and a substantial number of employees being co-ethnic. Marcuse (2005, p. 17) defines ‘an enclave’ as ‘an area of spatial concentration in which members of a particular population group, self-defined by ethnicity or religion or otherwise, congregate as a means of protecting and enhancing their economic, social, political and/or cultural development’. The term is well known within the ethnic entrepreneurship literature and is usually used to refer to a residential area with a high concentration of ethnic firms. As Hazara settlement is a contemporary urban community, it can be described as ‘ethnoburb’ where ‘one ethnic minority group has a significant concentration but does not necessarily constitute a majority’ (Li 2009, cited in Gao-Miles 2017, p. 84).

As Hazara refugees tend to cluster in close geographic spaces, they have developed migrant networks – systems of interpersonal relations through which participants can exchange valuable resources and knowledge. Hazara businesses have built local social capital through the mutual provision of advice and through acting as physical centres for the exchange of information. Some Hazara businesses operate as ‘community centres’, and information points for members of the (co-ethnic) community, and deliver substantial public and social services without any public investment. Thus, by stimulating social connections, ethnic enclaves generate a pool of intangible resources that help to promote the social and economic development of their members.

Our field work showed that Hazara refugees are able to capitalise on social interactions by transforming information into tangible resources, and thereby lower the costs of migration. Information exchanged may include knowledge of employment opportunities, affordable housing and government assistance programs. For instance, one of the first Hazara immigrants to move into the area recalled:

that kind of thing I was doing in community, to find a job for people for the new arrival, to find accommodation for the new arrival, to enrol their children to their school because I had those kind of experiences with myself. so that’s why I had to help them. Because of my own experience, I understand, I understood how difficult situation I went through, that why I tried to help them and I deeply involved in community.

The theme that running a business and helping others can be strongly intertwined was raised during several of our interviews with Hazara refugee entrepreneurs:

I think is, was important and help people to get settled and stay in this area is different businesses operating by community, for example grocery shops, restaurant and the other businesses we have here. Because you know, for new ... families language is, still is a barrier all the time, for long time. So if there is a business they can speak and communicate with them in their own language, so it is kind of engagement too, and also ... involved in businesses as well for Hazara family, prefer to go to somewhere they feel culturally more confident and they can speak in their language. And also in term of grocery and food there is some requirement for Afghani, Hazara, Muslim people, they need to have some groceries, shops.

Thus by using and promoting family and ethnic networks the Hazara ethnic enclave manages to generate a pool of intangible resources that help to promote the social and economic development of its members.

Our field work further showed that Hazara refugee entrepreneurs use the network structure as it meets their needs for acquiring resources and guarantees continuity of relationships. As initially Hazara refugees did not have well-established family or ethnic-based social networks already existing in Australia (in contrast to some other large, well-established immigrant communities), they relied on the support of the other Hazara they met during the transitional period: 'We both together released from the camp, we become a friend.' Those who arrived by boat faced mandatory detention for long periods before settling in Adelaide. Ironically, the mandatory detention experience allowed the formation of new diasporic networks, what Collins et al. (2017) refer to as the diaspora of incarceration. Those networks proved critical to subsequent moves to entrepreneurship as many informants moved into business partnership with those they met in detention centres and who became lifelong friends.

The Hazara migration networks (initiated during the transitional phase of the voyage to Australia or when in the same detention camps, and later via chain migration or interstate secondary migration) provided new immigrants with social capital that could be transferred to other tangible forms. Based on the interviews with the local Hazara entrepreneurs it may be said that the Hazara business network structure is a distinct set of local network ties that are few but strong, and Hazara businesses prefer to maintain a relatively small network of business associates, in an effort to keep things under close control. That strategy is aligned with the literature on refugee entrepreneurship which argues that network connections with

local business associates make refugee entrepreneurs stronger, and due to the control over processes they will gain customised service from those few relationships (Bizri 2017).

Hazara businesses have been building local social capital through the mutual provision of advice and through acting as physical centres for the exchange of information. They are mobilising financial capital via traditional cultural institutions of mutual support and reciprocity, particularly during the early settlement period because of difficulties obtaining bank finance. It has been institutionalised to some extent by setting up Hazara financial brokers locally, as we identified in our field work. The Hazara local economy further uses a strategy of collective bootstrapping, which is raising start-up funds or reducing the costs of establishing businesses ‘without resorting to borrowing debt or issuing equity’ (Bizri 2017, p. 857). The transfer of Hazara businesses (selling and buying) and further expansion tends to be done exclusively within the community:

and then I handle the other ... to my mechanic and my cousin because they were working for me, and then I handle to them because I thought, ok, it was better to give it to them instead of selling to someone else because they deserve their, they were working with me, they deserve to have this’,

The Hazara tend to rely on their family networks to generate start-up capital:

I don’t have money and I call my brother because – Q: 70 thousand? A: 70 thousand dollars. So I tell them I got some restaurant here, come help me and give me your money and we’ll buy this restaurant. Tell me which, I come, they come from Sydney, watch the restaurant. (Hazara restaurant owner)

Concepts of solidarity and obligations of reciprocity are central to the enclave economy, and highly relevant for Hazara. During the start-up phase their intention was primarily to serve the Hazara community:

Some other, the same people from Afghanistan refugees, they were spread around and also my cousin, one of my cousin was here. I said, ‘Okay, let me see if’, because it is a great need to have a grocery shop for the people. I said, ‘Let’s check where we can do it.’ We’ve been, we’re doing some surveys around, I said, ‘Is it important to have a grocery shop in the city because the people are not coming to the city to buy grocery, should be local.’

The success of Hazara settlement may have been best described by a local non-Hazara respondent as a ‘story worth acknowledging’. He further touched on the rhetoric of refugees being a burden, and how Hazara refugees contradict that view. Looking from an economic development perspective and in the words of one of the local stakeholders:

it’s actually created its own almost little eco-system if you like. It’s quite interesting because it’s almost a little bit of a knock-on effect, you get one or two and then obviously other family members or people that are known come through and it becomes a bit of a precinct.

Using the metaphor of a ‘coral reef’ to describe the Hazara enclave economy within the Port Adelaide Enfield Council area assumes self-sufficiency and sustained growth on one side, and also that ‘they are more difficult to engage with in terms of that business support’.

Informal economic practices are a common business strategy observed in start-up businesses amongst Hazara refugee entrepreneurs, including so-called ‘pseudo family business’ when the boundaries between the place/house and the roles of the employees/family members become blurred, as is the case with a Hazara hospitality business: ‘the house ... my mother and my daughter. So we started the business, family business. I am working, ... working, ... and my wife, my wife too, because they cooking from home very good’. It is safe to assume that many self-employed Hazara operate informally, often in unpaid reciprocal working arrangements. This is a common business model identified across many immigrant businesses, particularly during the start-up stage (Kloosterman, Van der Leun & Rath 1999). Observing taxation rules, labour regulation and minimum wages could become an issue as the Hazara business community evolves, and ‘breaks out’ from the enclave economy.

Hazara businesses are increasingly getting involved in the building industry, heavily relying on co-ethnic subcontractors. It has even been observed that ‘they are all working, you know the majority of the, at the moment in South Australia, of the building works industries, are actually controlled, acquired by the Afghan Hazaras’ (local non-Hazara participant). As Hazara businesses tend to cluster in the building industry, with significant and persistent economic power, there are some indications that they may be adhering to the concept of the ethnic-controlled economy. As recognised in the literature (Portes and Jensen 1987) and in practice, the members of the ethnic-controlled economy can utilise control based on their

numbers, clustering and organisational features. The features of a potential Hazara-controlled building industry in South Australia are yet to be explored.

Referring to new property developments in the area built by Hazara former refugees, one of the respondents intuitively referred to the concept of ethnic stratification and taking a dominant position in the building industry. Another local Hazara participant commented:

I'm, yes, in terms of, for example tiling, wall and floor tiling, painting, bricklaying, and now you can say for they come as a kitchen or a cabinet makings or others, for example a friend, everything is coming up now. Especially in the tiling and painting sector, I think Afghan people are number one at the moment, we got a huge, for example a guy who settled here in, at the same time like me or maybe a few days before me or a few months before me. He's running quite a big business that now almost he's winning the competition from all the other trade centre in South Australia, they're quite a huge one.

Setting up small or medium enterprises can be generally seen as a way to fight social exclusion, particularly in so-called deprived urban and semi-urban areas (Lyon, Sepulveda & Syrett 2007). Entrepreneurship can be utilised as a tool to help refugees to develop a sense of social belonging and stronger identity within the community. Research on refugee entrepreneurship in the United Kingdom (Lyon, Sepulveda & Syrett 2007), Turkey (Alrawadieh, Karayilan & Cetin 2019) and Belgium (Wauters & Lambrecht 2006) has emphasised that humanitarian immigrants consider setting up a business as an opportunity to integrate into the community and overcome unemployment. A Belgian survey in 2007 found that refugees felt strongly that entrepreneurship was the only way out of unemployment (Wauters & Lambrecht 2008). A key theme of the literature is that entrepreneurship assists refugees to overcome the blocked mobility that they face in the labour market and, at the same time, aid integration and settlement features identified within more contemporary research. A more recent report from the UK found that 'Entrepreneurship empowers refugees. It gives refugees the opportunity to take direct control over their lives and enables them to overcome barriers they face in the labour market' (CFE 2018, p. 7). The main argument is that entrepreneurship offers newcomers a unique pathway to integration, blending economic independence with increased self-confidence and cooperation within communities. Indeed, the rate of refugee entrepreneurship has been used in European studies as a metric of

integration (Koff 2008). UK studies have also recognised the social impact of immigrant entrepreneurs who ‘cushion the social incorporation of new communities in British society’ (Jones, Ram & Villares-Varela 2019, p. 960).

Economically, the primary justification for refugee enterprise development is to create jobs, which will have positive multiplier effects, particularly in housing, local infrastructure and services that serve the development of the community and generate social capital. The impacts (spin-offs) of being an entrepreneur (for Hazara owner managers and their employees) are not just on a personal level but are linked to sustainability and community cohesion agendas. Hazara businesses perform important roles in developing the skills of both owners and employees and in some cases provide physical centres (like migration agents, restaurant sites) for mutual exchange of advice, information and mobilisation of financial resources.

Expanding: ‘Breaking out’ of the ethnic enclave economy and anticipated directions of change

According to a 2016 survey of small businesses from culturally and linguistically diverse communities in the Adelaide metropolitan area (LCC 2016), about 33 per cent of participants expected growth in their businesses of 10 to 25 per cent in the future. That survey showed that 78 per cent of small businesses run by immigrants were involved in some form of community work. Although that survey did not specifically focus on Hazara businesses nor humanitarian immigrants, it does point at an expected growth of immigrant businesses in general. It further demonstrated a significant community involvement of those businesses, and complements our findings gathered from the in-depth interviews with local Hazara businesses. It is expected that further contributions of humanitarian migrants/Hazara refugees to the community infrastructure through business will become evident as they mobilise and invest considerable financial and non-financial resources into building places of worship, childcare centres, and cultural and social clubs, as has been documented in the case of other immigrant groups (Jordan, Krivokapic-Skoko & Collins 2009; Lulich 2003). These benefits can spill over into delivery of services which are beneficial for the whole society.

To further unpack the economic contribution of the Hazara businesses community in the Port Adelaide Enfield Council area, the following issues will be discussed:

- a) Prospect Road as a destination
- b) Resilience of the local Hazara business enclave and ‘breaking out’ into wider markets and non-ethnic clientele
- c) Stakeholders’ engagement
- d) Trade links and Hazara diasporic networks.

Prospect Road as a destination

After more than a decade from the initial settlement, the Hazara ethnic economy enclave has created a vibrant, (multi-)cultural hub on Prospect Road, perceived by others as a food destination. According to the non-Hazara local stakeholders who reflected on the contribution of Hazara refugees, this area has become a popular and rich food destination: ‘they brought the food and people now – it becomes a destination. Although it’s certainly on the lower end. Yeah definitely, it’s very affordable’, and it continues to co-exist with other more expensive and exclusive food precincts nearby. A local Hazara respondent provided an authentic view of the local food scene:

a very nice food, so a lot of people from different community group they come in to eat something over here from long, long where. I saw the people, they come in from Adelaide Hills to have meal here in Prospect Road. So it just fantastic. It is very good and also very popular in the area. It was very safe community, the business growing and there road become very popular.

Also, as promoted by *The Advertiser*, from 6 March 2019:

Welcome to Prospect Rd, Adelaide’s most multicultural dining strip. A big call, perhaps. But where else, within a couple of kilometres, could you snack on Indian pani poori and samosa chat or Swedish gravlax, then follow with a bowl of handmade noodles in a lip-tingling Uygur sauce, fragrant Vietnamese beef pho or skewers of spice-laden lamb, grilled over charcoal, Afghan-style.

The idea of Prospect Road as a tourist destination fits nicely within the local tourism landscape:

tourism’s a big thing for Port Adelaide, which in the past has been underdone. We’ve got the International Dolphin Sanctuary you know; we’ve got three museums here; we’ve got the aviation railway and maritime. So, we’ve got all

these things in the region but now we've got a food destination in Prospect Road which people are coming to, you know, we've got cafes, etc. So, it actually starts to formulate part of your experience and your mix.

To add to that 'mix', there are ongoing activities by the Port Adelaide Enfield Council around the 'French engagement' as part of shipyards and submarine deals with the Naval Group (a French company), which will bring in more overseas influence. As French workers and their families move in there will be follow-on effects for the local schools and socio-cultural milieu.

The Hazara business community as part of the Prospect Road destination could have a role in the regeneration of the Port Adelaide Enfield Council area and help shape the local multicultural (semi-)urban landscape and local tourist industry. As the literature shows (Lyon et al. 2007), attempts to regenerate inner cities tend to be successful if they emphasise private-public partnerships and bringing benefits to the local residents. Therefore, Hazara businesses are in a unique position to be an important part of the council regeneration as they are already fully embedded in the local community. In regard to the future city council plans for this area, a council representative responded:

Q: So, what is your sense, what will be happening the next 5, 10 years; what would you like to see?

A: So, if we look at what's happening around the Prospect precinct, there's new urban development that's happening through there. So, Kilburn, Blair Athol, there's actually, you know, master plans. So a lot of that's state government driven in terms of what they're doing from the housing and what they're releasing. So, what that does is that starts to be a catalyst in terms of redoing, you know, main streets, etc. So, I think what will happen over the next few years is, as those plans start to roll out, there will be more discussions and there's already been early discussions about, for example, a town square on Prospect Road.

The story of the town square, mentioned by a local stakeholder, is relevant here. Although there had been some changes of plan and it had been put on hold, it seems that non-Hazara local residents were rather positive about having a town square which will help the integration of Hazara people:

But they – their selves personally would love a big function place and they really would. And a town square is something that still sits – that should really, it should really happen. That they can have the bazaar markets and bring everybody together and yeah, I think it just – I think it helps integration as well with their food and their culture. I think it really does, yeah.

A local Hazara carpet trader referred to some, in his view, good practices of branding Hazara businesses as Afghan Bazaar, linked with the local marketplace and supported by the local government (as happened in Dandenong, Victoria): ‘And the council, I think that had a planning, I think it spent about \$700,000 – \$7,000, I think, something – \$7,000, I think. They take picture, movies and everything, and changed the name of this location, as Afghan Bazaar’.

However, in the context of future development of the local cultural/ethnic tourism precincts, it will be necessary to get a number of Hazara and non-Hazara stakeholders to engage in discussions around ‘relevant’ cultural products and their authenticity, and in general how to support and promote ‘Hazara theming’ as part of a broader multicultural planning and tourism development. There is another role of the local government which is related to multi-ethnic planning. Considering the demographics of the Port Adelaide Enfield Council area, local government policies have to actively engage the Hazara and other local ethnic groups in community consultations about the design and future use of public space.

Resilience of the Hazara business enclave and ‘breaking out’ into wider markets and non-ethnic clientele

Research on refugee entrepreneurship in the United Kingdom (Lyon et al. 2007) and Belgium (Wauters & Lambrecht 2006) has emphasised that humanitarian immigrants consider setting up a business as an opportunity to ‘integrate’ into the community and overcome unemployment. Lyon et al. (2007) reported that ‘being an entrepreneur’ had improved migrants’ integration into society through wider socialisation with other members of the local community, notably other businesspeople, public servants and local government agencies. However, apart from those positive outcomes, the embeddedness of these enterprises within their ethnic communities and ethnic economy enclaves can make it difficult for refugee enterprises to ‘break out’ into wider markets.

There are short- and long-term effects of living and working in an ethnic enclave economy. While participation in the local enclave economy assisted in early settlement of the Hazara refugees and provided employment opportunities in the enclave labour market (by eliminating language and cultural barriers), it may also impede gaining knowledge of the Australian economic, cultural, political and legal frameworks and acquiring formal education skills that benefit immigrants over the long-run.

The long-term effects of the Hazara enclaves on employees are shaped by the informal character of the labour arrangements, blurred boundaries between family and business, as well as ‘informal’ on-the-job training, expectations of long working hours, and loyalty and reciprocity towards co-ethnic employers. Entrepreneurs from the Hazara community rely heavily on customers from their own community. However, this often results in competition with similar businesses, resulting in displacement of other refugee enterprises (like the closure of some Afghan restaurants locally). In the words of a non-Hazara stakeholder, it can be a generational thing:

those younger ones are starting to connect in a little bit differently, though they still got a strong cultural sense, and they fit back to their cultural space ... And because the adults have a, are they still coming with a strong culture versus the young people who now starting to think differently and are they thinking more broadly in more wanting to engage differently.

Diversification into other sectors, like real estate, building and tiling, is already happening within the local Hazara business community. That tendency towards founding ‘open market’ businesses could provide a wider customer base and expand Hazara entrepreneurs’ ties with the broader society. Opportunities available to mainstream society are being recognised by the local Hazara businesses. Branding businesses as both Hazara and Australian and interconnecting Hazara/Middle Eastern and Australian goods and symbols within the same space was described by a local supermarket owner:

and also I transfer my ... to a Middle-East supermarket also there ... two company, one of them, under one ... another one is under the other ... in one, under one roof, two supermarket in one ... and then what I was my plan, I can have both community customers, I can serve for both community ... And then I invest a lot of money, to take a risk.

This business owner stressed the economic rationale: 'I cannot lose my 30 per cent of my customer'. However, there may be some opportunities available within the Australian economy and society which are out of reach for Hazara businesses as they do not learn about them (due to the limitations of living and working within an enclave).

The business insights of another local Hazara businessman may be relevant here, as he pointed to the importance of general business acumen, separating it from any ethnically/culturally ingrained features:

and then when I work deeply and hardly, and ... that OK, every business is a business. All the business is similar. If you work hard, you will get something. If you take it easy, you will get nothing, or you may even loss.

He initially was serving the Hazara community only and then expanded to serve non-Hazara customers. He framed that using a straightforward economic rationale:

as I said, if you deeply involved in something, you become a, educate yourself, you become educated on that business, on that field, and then you know what to do. And then you know how to play. Then you know what to sell, what to do ... what to buy, what do not buy, where to buy everything. Is all about the, you know, business. And then I thought, OK, what I am doing at the moment, I investing my full time my own community just only ... communities, not other communities, cause they don't know what are we selling, they don't know our culture, they don't know our food, they ... so I thought, OK, if I am investing my time for full time here, why I not do a better to have a whole community, a wider community, Australian community, western communities. And then I was thinking what to do, and then luckily, the ... supermarket on Prospect Road they moved to centre.

Moving from the ethnic enclave economy into an ethnic-controlled economy, Hazara businesses clustered in the same industry with a stronger market power (tiling, construction, real estate) can be expected in the future. That ability to 'break out' of the ethnic enclave economy and the ethnic niche should be an integral part of discussion of the future economic contribution of Hazara businesses. Hazara businesses initially clustered together, focusing exclusively on co-ethnic customers, but are now reaching the stage of expanding either

geographically (by moving the location of their businesses to inner-city Adelaide), or attracting more non-ethnic clientele.

Stakeholders' engagement

Referring to the comparison between the local Hazara business enclave and a 'coral reef self-sustained' ecosystem, in the words of a local non-Hazara stakeholder, that ecosystem is more difficult to engage with:

even though you've got, you know, businesses that are doing the – their thing and obviously successful because they're here, you know, two or three years after and there's obviously, you know, people going through, they are more difficult to engage with in terms of that business support.

There is also another element to it, which can be seen by comparing the Hazara settlement with the upcoming French settlement nearby, initiated by the naval contract:

So, similar to the Persian community, the difference with this is it's actually – this is actually being driven by a government decision and it's got a big multinational behind it and the multinational says, okay, we've got ten French families coming in, we'll put a whole lot of supports around it. Whereas what's happened again, up Prospect Road is that organic – someone's set a shop up, it's been successful, you know, they know someone else from their community, 'Oh yeah, I used to run a supermarket over there, I'm going to set one up'. So they've then come in and the next one's come in. So again, that's the difference; one's been organic and has occurred under their own steam, where this other community is very much methodically done that we're going to bring them in, we're going to shift their materials in here, the family moves in here, we'll help them get a school, we'll help them get English lessons, it's very controlled. So, they're two almost distinct ends of the spectrum.

In essence, this captures the Hazara business community and the local refugee settlement as a spontaneous organic ecosystem, which may require a specific stakeholder management approach. The narrative of the co-existence of two very different ecosystems (French quarters which are being planned and managed by the government and public authorities and the

Hazara business community which is more self-managed and autonomous) indicates the need for the local council to shape different approaches.

In order to facilitate the embedding of new Hazara businesses by finding synergy with local businesses in the same sector, it may be necessary to actively build new networks and establish mentoring and sharing experiences. Our impression is that there is room for a stronger involvement of networking organisations/connectors/brokers. It will be also important to acknowledge the heterogeneity of Hazara refugee businesses, particularly the start-ups entering non-traditional ethnic niches. These new business sectors opening up for immigrant entrepreneurs exiting the ethnic economy enclave are likely to be driven by ‘non-exotic’ demand, to be high technology investments and to be more capital intensive than traditional Hazara businesses set up in the last ten years.

The local council is seen as one of the primary connectors, whose main purpose is ‘as a council to create strong communities and business is obviously a key part of that as well’. Furthermore, in the words of a local council employee:

At what point do we come in as a touch point and what is it that we can do that again we’re not selling them a product or trying to get them to do courses they don’t need to do? What is it that we can do to remove a barrier or connect you to someone that you can get on and do what you do best, which is your business?

That willingness to jointly explore the needs of the local Hazara business community, and perhaps co-design activities ‘to facilitate business growth and jobs’ would require gaining and maintaining the trust of Hazara business community leaders.

The local Hazara businesses highly value their positive relations with and support they are receiving from the local council. One of the local Hazara business owners put it clearly: ‘we find the council is supportive to multicultural needs and multicultural activities, and we have very good connection, couple of ... I know, they have a good connection and ... relationship with Afghani ... community’. Or, in the words of a successful local Hazara business owner:

we are engaged deeply with them with ... at the city council ... very closely ... they’re friendly, as you said. He became one of my best friend, best supporter, when I open the store. I invited him to cut the ribbon and he came. I think he was very busy

on the time. He left everything behind. He said, 'I can't miss this this thing.' And then all the time he came to me and he said, 'If you want this thing I can do that for you. If I do this I can do that for you. If you want this, a lot of things.' Last year we had our first birthday of our IGA, and then I invited him. He come again, he cut the cake for us and he come from shopping. Even he's not living in that area, he come especially for shopping to my shop because he said all, 'I'm going to support you.'

At the same time the local council values what Hazara businesses are doing: 'economic development, that's where we – and that's the same messaging for every business, you know, from a council perspective we value what they're doing, you know'. A council representative highlighted that the council does not want a 'bureaucratic' approach, but instead: 'That's where you got to be, I think, really sensitive not only to business needs but also the cultural needs.' While the local council is obviously constrained in the resources that they can allocate, 'We don't have money that we can throw at grants, OK, we don't have, you know, we don't have land that we can give people', they see their main role as facilitators. More specifically:

what we can deliver from an economic development perspective is if they've got an issue with roads or they've got an issue with planning, we can help facilitate an outcome. If they've got an issue with state government or they don't know where to go, we can facilitate that. If they need assistance in terms of business planning or business support, we've got the Adelaide Business Hub so we can actually provide them mentoring, we can provide them business plans, we can provide them one-on-one business support.

That facilitation is seen as being even more important in the future (linking with the potential defence supply contracts) and with a clear facilitation/broker/connection narrative:

But if you've hit a roadblock, whether that be state government, local government or, you know, you want to network or you want to contact or, you know, you want to see if you can partner with someone or it might even be a lot of businesses are coming to us at the moment because they have a desire to supply defence into the future. So, we'll literally, it's not a cookie cutter approach, it's a tailored approach to each individual business that comes to us but it really does fit around that facilitation. So how can we connect you?

Besides, identifying what the Hazara business community wants is high on the agenda: ‘But is that what they want? Do they want something else? So again, if you’ve got a successful community, let’s not tamper with it or artificially manipulate it into something that it shouldn’t be.’

This is seen as being even more important in the future ‘where the opportunities over the next few years is starting to engage with that community more because we’ve actually got something that we can ask their opinion on which is going to be relevant to their businesses’. Refugee enterprise facilitation has recently become a highly topical issue within general entrepreneurship policy and practice (van Kooy 2016; Collins 2016), resulting in a few innovative NGOs programs to foster refugee entrepreneurship in NSW and Victoria like Ignite Small Business Starts-ups, LaunchVic and Thrive Refugee Enterprise.

Trade links and Hazara diasporic networks

The studies done by Hugo et al. (2011) and Njuki (2009) show that humanitarian immigrants tend to send higher remittances back home to their relatives and communities than other categories of immigrants. In the Australian survey carried out by Hugo et al. (2011) 70 per cent of respondents had at some time sent money to their homeland, with even those on very low incomes sending substantial amounts of money back home. In a study among refugees in Adelaide, Njuki (2009) found that 61 per cent of the respondents regularly send money – on average \$200 per month. Those remittances highlight that immigrant/refugee communities are potential bridges between the home and host society and may lead to trade links. Monsutti (2005, p. 30) provide evidence that Afghan refugees in Iran have social networks which are built around friendship, family ties and common business interests over a wide geographic space, and are used for transfer of money and as sources of credit.

Similarly, members of the local Hazara community use informal channels based on trust to send money back home to Afghanistan. However, it should also be noted here that they made it very clear that the related taxes and reporting is done properly and according to Australian law. For instance, as

there was no borrowing system, and they bring money to me, like for example, and they said, send it to my family. And my partner, my business partner was there, I send a list to them; please pay this money to that family, this family. And every money we collected from here, we listing every week, I take. Every

week we reported it to Australian government. For example, this money, this much money from this month, they sent it this month, they receive it ... everything.

The story of being good citizens is further supported by the most recent and very strong response from the Hazara business community to help raise funds for bushfire victims:

here we got 25 people together got a business – small business. OK. The first day, one of the guy ... little bit ... later ... [inaudible] they said, OK, starting from 500 – oh, want to give 1000 – 1500, 2000, whatever, just start the ... and we start from 500, we want to help for this because Australia always help us and we've got here home, we try this as our time to try to help them.

Diasporic supply chains, as another way of expanding into the mainstream and global economy, were already being developed within the Hazara business community in the Port Adelaide Enfield Council area more than a decade ago:

Yeah, my main deal was with Iran, because I imported Persian rugs ... or everywhere ... from Pakistan, ... warehouse ... from India, from Dubai, from China, and everything was very good, and suddenly this happened and the world economy was collapsed, Australian ... come down.

That involvement of the local Hazara businesspeople in the diasporic supply chains was described positively by a local non-Hazara resident: 'And providing lots of cheap little things as he goes to China a lot ... And it's amazing because he's always going overseas to get some good product, so everybody loves it.' The story of cosmopolitanism and Hazara refugees being active globally is still developing. It may be that there is space for including Hazara export/import businesses into something like the Council for International Trade and Commerce SA, which according to Hugo et al. (2011, p. 212) can use 'the expertise of multicultural entrepreneurs that live in South Australia to develop trade'.

Concluding comments

We approached this chapter through the framework of an ethnic enclave economy and entrepreneurial ecosystem, as we believe it offers a highly credible framework for analysing refugee entrepreneurship, particularly in the context of the historical development of the Hazara business community. The local Hazara enclave economy assisted former refugees

with settling in, entering the labour market, which initially did not require the language or formal qualifications of the host society, acquiring local customers, mobilising intra-group financial resources, and overall decreasing the uncertainty and risk of running their own businesses. It also lowered the cost of migration and made the adjustment to life in a new country easier, mainly through financial and non-financial support from co-ethnic humanitarian migrants, and information exchange regarding employment opportunities, affordable housing and available government assistance programs.

The ‘coral reef’ metaphor of the Hazara local entrepreneurial ecosystem, which is self-sustained and organic, assumes community agency rather than council or government involvement in the early stage of settlement. As the local Hazara business community is currently diversifying into other industries, and ‘breaking out’ into wider markets and non-ethnic clientele, it is expected that they will start engaging even more with non-Hazara stakeholders at the local and state levels. At that point, we see the need for network brokers and opening up the framework for proactive engagement of new Hazara businesses by finding a synergy with mainstream businesses in the same sector, actively building new networks with the Australian business sector.

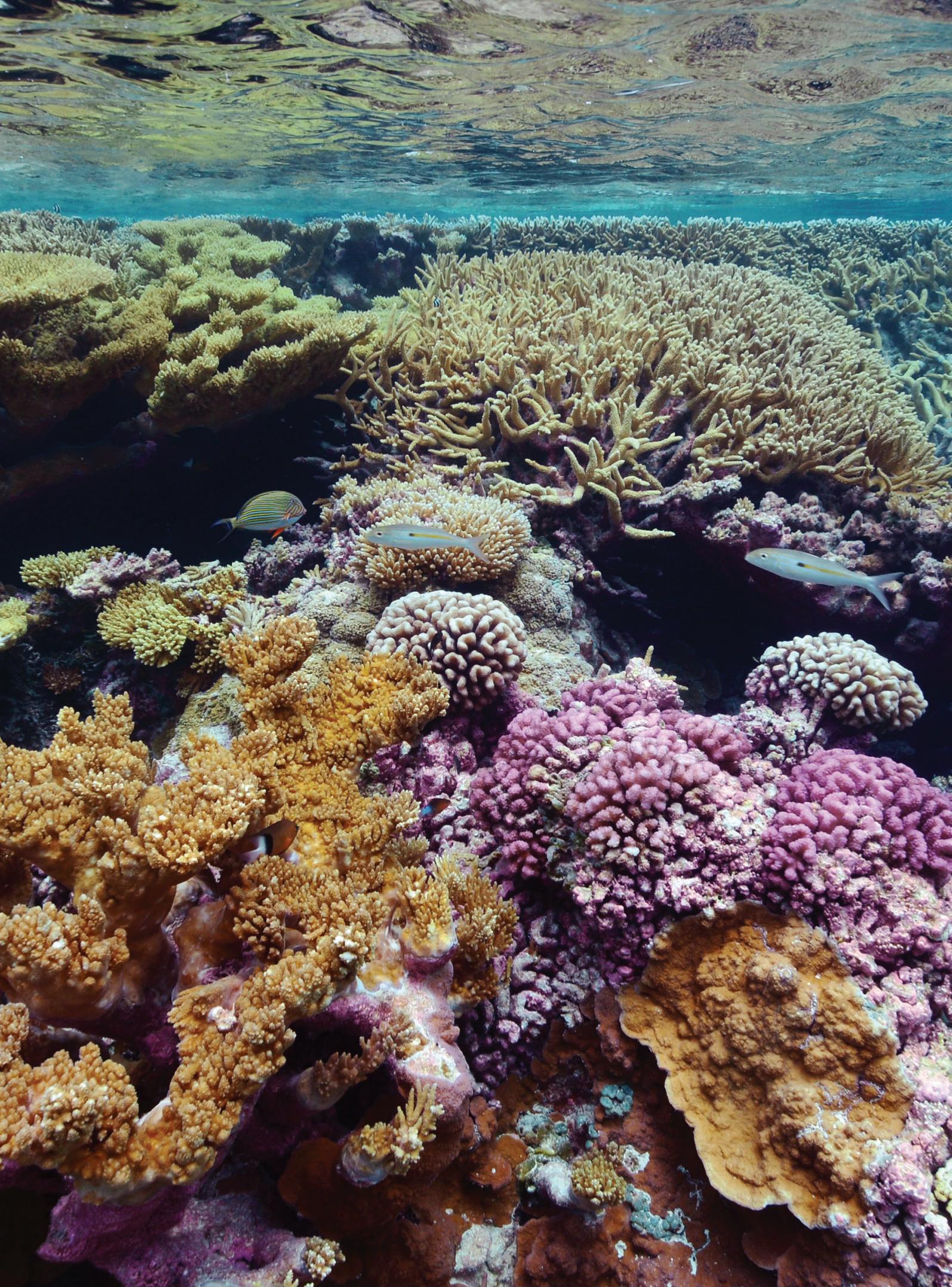
Key findings

We believe the following issues will be relevant for the future development of Prospect Road as a cultural/ethnic tourism precinct, as well as for the anticipated diversification and expansion of the local Hazara business community:

1. There is a need for multi-ethnic planning and creative local government policies that actively engage local Hazara and non-Hazara stakeholders in community consultations about the use of public space.
2. ‘Hazara theming’ should be promoted as part of broader local tourism development.
3. The Port Adelaide Enfield Council is as important connector with the Hazara business community. It became clear during this research that there is a mutual understanding and respect between the local council and the Hazara community, which should be leveraged for future partnerships.
4. There is also room for other networking organisations/connectors/brokers to step in and initiate communication and cooperation, particularly with regard to addressing the issues of Australian business culture, quality and control, and industrial relations

(including training and apprenticeships, labour laws, and occupational health and safety). This will be very important for the expanding Hazara business community, and perhaps other emerging ethnic business groups.

5. As Hazara diasporic business links are expected to strengthen in the future and become more embedded in global networks, it will be sensible to engage with the local Hazara business community, which can provide access to new markets, finance and information. That cooperation can be initiated by mainstream business associations, and state-based trade and commercial bodies.



8 Conclusion

As stated in the introduction to this report, this research was focused on understanding some of the ways that one humanitarian-background migrant community, the Hazara from Afghanistan, contribute and impact the local community in which they live, the Port Adelaide-Enfield area of Adelaide. The aim of the research was to provide evidence-based information to investigate how this has occurred through a holistic framework that considered the social, cultural and economic aspects of community life. The report recognises that the way an individual contributes or engages with a community is multifaceted. It occurs in many different forms. This is not to say that we can easily separate the social, cultural and economic into separate and distinct categories as they overlap with each another, blurring the lines between each category. Nevertheless, the social, cultural and economic framework helps us to view community contributions beyond a mere economic lens.

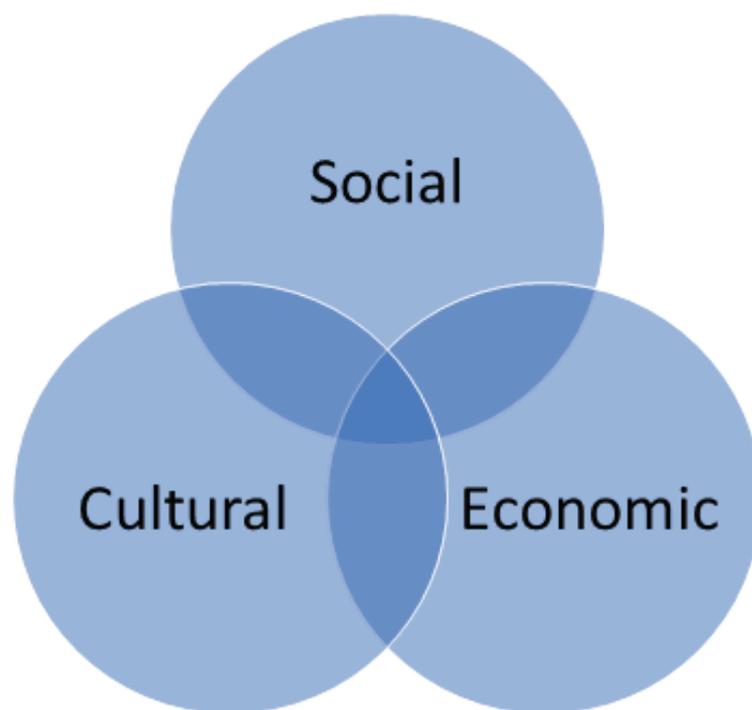


Figure 14. Holistic approach to understanding humanitarian-background migrant contributions to local communities

The findings of this research highlight the significant social, cultural and economic engagement of the Hazara participants in the Port Adelaide-Enfield area. Similarly, our analysis of the census data in Chapter 3, which provided background for the discussion in subsequent chapters, showed that the Hazara community (recorded in the census data as the Afghan-born population) in Prospect and Blair

Athol have experienced noticeable upward mobility over time in terms of (a) involvement in education; (b) employment; (c) engagement with employment, training and education; (d) entrepreneurship; (e) a move away from labour-intensive industries towards more capital-intensive and professional industry sectors; and (f) increased home ownership. Importantly, most of the Hazara participants in this project arrived in Australia as adults, which means that they arrived with limited language skills, limited prior educational achievements, and limited formally recognised professional experience. Given that the Hazara have arrived in Australia over the past two decades, there is now a new generation of Hazara Australians who were either born in Australia or arrived at a young age. The new generation, in contrast to their parents, have had no or limited exposure to the trauma associated with the refugee experience. They have developed English language skills from a much younger age, and continue to participate in the Australian education system. A review by Fozdar and Hartley (2013) shows that, while refugees have higher unemployment rates than other migrants, the second generation, that is, the children of refugee parents, show higher participation rates in the labour market than the Australian public. This means that the various contributions of this community are likely to increase as this new generation engages in secondary and tertiary education, enters the workforce, and continues the social and cultural engagement of their parents. Future research will need to explore the experiences and contributions of this new generation.

In the chapter exploring the role of community organisations we noted the importance of volunteering, involving a number of participatory practices, formal and informal. Some practices are planned, resourced and structured, while other practices reveal banal, mundane or everyday opportunities for giving that are private and personal. These participatory practices emphasise the dynamic, engaged ways in which humanitarian-background migrants actively contribute to their local communities. In the case study of the community organisation it is clear that community members who benefitted from these services often go on to support the work of the centre themselves (e.g. as translators, or culturally appropriate knowledge providers). They are givers and contributors, not merely recipients.

In the chapter focusing on the role of sports there was a strong sense of the Hazara wanting to ‘give back’ to the community and not just within their own ethno-specific communities. The connections to community did support the Hazara community but there were much wider connections that included engaging with other migrant communities and the First Nations population, as well as the mainstream or broader community. The report emphasised the importance of building social connections and belonging through sport, and of female as well as

male participation. It also indicated that there are challenges in balancing the process of strengthening co-ethnic bonds and bonding with the mainstream. As the representative of the Port Adelaide Council commented, ‘how do you engage people from any space and place particularly cultural groups or religious groups to engage in mainstream, versus engaging in a comfort space?’ Clearly both are needed. But the point made in the community centre chapter was that the ‘comfort space’ does come first, as a necessary precondition for more sustained interactions/connections beyond the Hazaras’ immediate cultural community.

The chapter on education considered community centres as spaces for intercultural and educative encounters (as an ecosystem) and places for forming and building future educational/professional aspirations. For some Hazara women, community centres encouraged their educational aspirations and these were first ‘nurtured’ in this organisation as a safe space. Safety and comfort begin in everyday contexts, very locally, often with others from the same cultural background. A fear expressed by some that the Hazara may ‘keep to themselves’ may actually be a necessary part of a successful resettlement process. It is a stepping-stone, as it were, to build the confidence to engage, participate and contribute beyond their co-ethnic environment. Community centres can be a ‘community of enablers’, providing educational opportunities and pathways for Hazara women and mothers. This will, in turn, positively impact their children’s educational journey in the host society.

The chapter focusing on the economic explored Hazara contributions through the framework of an ethnic enclave economy and entrepreneurial ecosystem. From an economic or business perspective, since its initial settlement in the early 2000s, the local Hazara business community has acquired the resources, capacity and skills to effectively negotiate with relevant government and non-government agencies around different issues. This does not adhere to a common narrative of refugees being a burden to society and being passive recipients of government support. Instead, the story of the local Hazara business community is much more a story of strength and community agency, and a strong and self-sustained ecosystem. Hazara humanitarian migrants moving into and setting up businesses in the Port Adelaide Enfield Council area are a good example of the economic rejuvenation of deprived suburban areas and place activation. They are part of a vibrant, multicultural food hub on Prospect Road, and are well aligned with other ongoing activities/plans for local tourism development and multicultural place making.

In summary there are several key themes that recur throughout the report. The first is that an individual engages or contributes to the local community in which they live in a number of

different ways. For the most part these take place in everyday, banal or mundane ways. We might call these the invisible contributions to community life that we all make through our daily living as individuals: they play in a local cricket or football team, shop in the local supermarket, eat at a local restaurant. There are of course those in our community who stand out in more overt, public ways that are more recognisable or prominent, and we might call these the visible contributions to community life: they stand for public office, or own and run businesses or sports clubs. The report shows us that we need to evaluate the contributions of humanitarian-background migrants, such as the Hazara, in the same way. Both the visible and the invisible contributions are important. We all contribute in everyday ways, but we do not all contribute in publicly visible or prominent ways, and we should not expect more of those from refugee backgrounds.

A second theme is that, while we all, and this includes humanitarian-background migrants, contribute in everyday, mundane ways, there are those individuals (and organisations) who have the capacity to bridge between communities. While not necessarily being very public or high profile, these individuals and organisations (from both refugee backgrounds and the wider community) are able to facilitate and positively promote ways that bridge diverse communities together as social connectors.

A third theme is the resilience and capacities of humanitarian-background migrants. Humanitarian-background migrants arrive in Australia with very little in terms of possessions. Upon arriving in Australia, many refugees continue to experience hardship due to government policies, including mandatory detention and temporary protection visas, which add significant barriers to the settlement process. At the same time, refugees also arrive with tremendous assets, abilities, knowledge and experiences to contribute to the communities they live in, and many proactively find ways to do so. In each domain, whether it be the social, cultural or economic, the Hazara have demonstrated that they have much to give. This strengths-based approach counters deficit approaches to humanitarian-background migrants which focus on these individuals and communities as victims who need our help rather than as individuals and communities who have much to help the communities that they live amongst.

A fourth theme that weaves itself through the report is that there is a tension for refugee and migrant communities to simultaneously strengthen, support and contribute to the development of their own communities or co-ethnic bonds, while strengthening, supporting and contributing to the local (and national) communities they are now a part of. The report suggests that this is an ongoing, dynamic

process that reflects both difficulties and opportunities. But over time, and increasingly with a younger generation bridging between the two worlds, this tension is easing. Identity development as Hazara, as members of the local Port Adelaide-Enfield area (and especially Kilburn-Blair Athol), and as part of the broader, mainstream Australian community, is a complex, ongoing, but necessary process.

Prior to arriving in Australia, the Hazara had limited opportunity to invest in the development of their own community due to their precarious situation in Afghanistan, Pakistan and Iran (see Chapter 2). Their settlement in Australia and, for the participants in this project, in the Port Adelaide Enfield Council area, has provided the Hazara with an opportunity to rejuvenate the social, cultural and economic life of their own community. The Hazara have therefore not only contributed to the social, cultural and economic rejuvenation of their local area in Port Adelaide Enfield, but their settlement in this area has allowed them to rejuvenate their own community. This is a community that has been deeply impacted by conflict and hardship experienced in their homeland of Afghanistan and in their refugee transit experience and settlement. Their strong involvement with their own co-ethnic community should therefore not be seen as a weakness to be overcome. Instead, we hope that those outside the Hazara community will be able to see through the eyes of the Hazara to understand the immense importance of investing in their co-ethnic community, which consequently allows them to invest in the local community that they live in.

The metaphor of the coral reef as a kind of ecosystem is a helpful way to understand the Hazara contributions to the Port Adelaide-Enfield community from the holistic social, cultural and economic framework that we have sought to use. The title of this report is *Refugees rejuvenating and connecting communities*. The rejuvenation is not only of the local communities that humanitarian-background migrants are part of, but also of their own communities. The development of strong co-ethnic bonds by the Hazara appear to communicate that, like some coral, there is a hardness, self-sufficiency and impermeability about the Hazara's relationship to their surroundings. But there is an interconnectedness to the life and health of the coral and the marine life around it. Just as the life and vitality of coral and marine life are interdependent, so too, our findings suggest, are humanitarian-background migrant communities and the local communities that they live amongst. Far from a burden, threat or cost to the community, the Hazara have demonstrated that they give as well as receive.

Refugees rejuvenating and connecting communities highlights the many varied ways in which the Hazara, as a migrant community, have contributed to and become a part of their local community

in their settlement process. While we have identified both challenges and opportunities for the Hazara and the local community, the process of building connections, belonging and co-ethnic involvement is worth the effort required. It is important to note that the report has only been able to touch on a *few* examples of the way in which the Hazara have contributed to and become a part of their local community. We have not been able to speak, for example, of the Hazara whose children now attend schools throughout the local area, or who attend / complete university as the first in their families, such as Afsana, Husain and Mehran; or those who have stood for local government elections, like Shukria Ghasimy, and state parliamentary elections, like Mansoor Hashimi; or like Kbora Ali, who became the first (Adelaide-raised) Hazara to enlist in the Australian army^[1]; or the way the Hazara community came together to generously donate financially to the 2019/2020 bushfire relief (as Hazara communities did in other parts of Australia).

Humanitarian-background migrants are not ‘forever victims’, nor are they ‘forever refugees’ (Radford & Hetz 2020). Given the opportunity, the Hazara in this report arguably demonstrate that they desire to move beyond the ‘refugee’ category or ‘victim’ label. They are Hazara, but they also desire to be positively contributing members of the broader Australian community as ‘Australians’. The strength of their own identity and co-ethnic bonds provide the platform for the Hazara’s increasing involvement, connections, contributions, belonging and identification with their local community, and ultimately with the broader Australian community.

Recommendations

1. The Hazara are building a strong migrant community identity while facilitating (two-way) increasing interaction and engagement with the broader community. There is a sense that the Hazara community tends to stress the need to strengthen co-ethnic bonds, potentially seen by some as ‘keeping to themselves’. However, the report highlights the need for co-ethnic bonds to be strengthened first so that individuals can connect more broadly, and this is part of the resettlement process. We also recommend the need for understanding humanitarian-background migrants’ contributions to local communities through both a generational lens and one that takes into account changes over time.
2. We recognise that the Hazara community in the Port Adelaide Enfield Council area, like all communities, is heterogenous and their experiences encompass an evolving and diverse range of issues and values that are influenced by people’s complex positionalities

^[1] <https://www.sbs.com.au/news/feature/first-her-kind-afghan-refugee-australian-soldier>

(i.e., related to intersecting identities of ethnicity, class, gender, religion, generation and age, and linguistic and educational capital). For example, this report has highlighted that there are issues and experiences that are specific to young Hazara women in accessing appropriate healthcare services and in pursuing their educational aspirations.

3. The community organisation explored in section 6 demonstrates the importance for building collaborative, grassroots-led initiatives that are tailored to the specific needs of the Hazara women. It casts light on the mutually structuring relationships between the emergent networked ecology of Hazara and non-Hazara groups and their connectivity and provides an in-depth ecological lens to the transitioning experiences of Hazara women from being perceived as subjects of victimhood to active participants in Australian society. We recommend that future research more closely examine the needs of particular groups within the Hazara community.
4. Volunteering provides important benefits for individuals and communities (both newer arrivals and longer-term residents) as well as often unacknowledged social capital contributions, playing a pivotal role in the ecology of formalised government support programs. We recommend further research in examining the role and extent of unpaid work among humanitarian-background migrants. In addition, consideration be given to how to better recognise and support volunteers and to invest in programs that develop the leadership skills of emerging community leaders, who are critical in connecting people with services.
5. There need to be opportunities and processes to facilitate multiple-dimension information sharing among migrant groups and local authorities. For example, the Hazara can share their own experiences of how to establish economic development and entrepreneurship. The Hazara community, and other migrant communities, need to be able to understand, draw on and benefit from the services and support that groups such as the Port Adelaide Enfield Council can provide to value-add and strengthen what they are already doing.
6. This report highlights the positive economic, social and cultural contributions of the Hazara community in the Port Adelaide Enfield Council area. It is important to raise awareness of the positive contributions of refugees to challenge and change discourses that portray refugees as a threat or burden, unwilling or unable to integrate and contribute. At the same time, it is important to continuously emphasise that refugee resettlement should always be motivated by humanitarian values and by Australia's international obligations as a signatory to the Refugee Convention.



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