Songs of migration: The role of music in realising benefits and barriers of regional migrant resettlement and development in Queensland and New South Wales, Australia

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Songs of migration

The role of music in realising benefits and barriers of regional migrant resettlement and development in Queensland and New South Wales, Australia

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Statement of originality

This work has not previously been submitted for a degree or diploma in any university. To the best of my knowledge and belief, this thesis contains no material previously published or written by another person except where due reference is made in the thesis itself.

Ethical Clearance

The research for this thesis was authorised by the Griffith University Ethics Committee under protocol number 2020/153.

Abstract

The changing global shift of migrant settlement from metropolitan to regional areas over the last few decades makes it necessary to rethink the role that immigrants can play in regional development, as well as strategies for regional immigrant settlement. The subject of immigrant resettlement is particularly pertinent for Australia as the federal government recognises migration as a form of population and economic policy (Golebiowska, 2015, Productivity Commission Report, 2016). Researchers of regional migration in Australia consider the agenda of regional resettlement as a challenge of attracting and retaining migrants in regional areas (Krivokapic-Skoko & Collins, 2016). The COVID-19 pandemic revealed the importance of migration for regional economic development and addressing skills shortages, demonstrating a need for further discussion of successful frameworks and methodologies of resettlement. This research examines current Australian migration policies defined as 'post-multicultural' (Levey, 2019) in a regional context. The specificity of the regional multicultural context makes music practices particularly important as a grass-roots agent of regional resettlement.

Multiple studies suggest that music is involved in migrants' negotiations of cultural belonging and wellbeing, utilised as a vehicle of cultural acceptance and social inclusion (Bafekr & Leman, 1999; Baily, 1999; Lundberg, 2009; Marsh, 2012). Moreover, migrant music's contributions to creating cultural and social change has been examined (Eyerman, 1998; Martinello, 2015; Scheding, 2018). The purpose of this study, therefore, is to answer a question about various roles of music in regional migrant resettlement: Why does music matter, and what difference does it make in the process of migrant resettlement and potentially regional development?

The research took place in regional locations in the neighbouring states of New South Wales and Queensland. The specific sites of data collection were Wagga Wagga and Coffs Harbour in New South Wales, and Toowoomba and Cairns in Queensland. These places were chosen as each has a significant number of skilled and humanitarian migrants from non-Western backgrounds. Various formats and spaces of migrant music-making were analysed to answer the research question.

This research illustrates how music is utilised by non-Western migrants to address issues of belonging and wellbeing through music practices. In negotiations of cultural

identities, music represents a cultural ‘currency’ that can be ‘exchanged’ for relations of trust and cooperation in regional settings. Therefore, music becomes a vehicle of social inclusion, through which migrant musicians reconstruct local and translocal community identities and participate in wider local and transnational networks.

This research investigates the place of music in addressing the issues of regional migrant youth and their process of ‘juggling’ cultural contradictions of belonging. Their musical endeavours prompt us to rethink regional areas as interconnected and impacting global music scenes.

The thesis also stresses the role of migrant music as an integral element of negotiations of migrant cultural capital and its participation in regional cultural production. Migrant music practices reflect the existing gaps caused by cultural and social inequalities in regional music scenes and the institutional issues of regional accommodation of non-Western cultural capital.

The research findings can be seen as an examination of regional multiculturalism through migrant music practices. This research contributes to discussion of the role of music as a proxy for the arts in regional migration, arts and regional development policies.

Contents

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Introduction

> For those who were concerned, their [migrant] musical traditions were equally real, in some cases, perhaps the more valued amidst what in some respects was otherwise an alien culture. Certainly, the quality of the experience or the intensity of participation cannot be assumed to be less just because there were fewer participants than, let's say, in Western classical music or because they were less reported in the local newspapers.
>
> (Finnegan, 1989, p. 217)

> Borders are always in motion, and are never finished including and excluding, continuously redirecting flows and things across and away from themselves. A border, then, is an institution, an experience, a business, a knowledge system, a part of everyday life and a cultural entity.
>
> (Western, 2018, p. 482)

The cultural challenges of (intensified) turbulence of migration

This thesis aims to explore the role and significance of migrant music practices in the process of regional migrant resettlement in Australia. In other words, why does music matter, what difference does it make and how do we know that it makes a difference?

The phenomenon of international migration is indeed 'big' and inextricably complex. The reason for this, among other things, is the intensity and global character of migration. To a larger or lesser extent, migration affects every locality, and therefore produces localised perceptions, issues and solutions. Papastergiadis (2000) characterised the phenomenon of global mobility as a 'turbulence' of migration. He contends that multiple economic, social and geopolitical processes of the ninetieth and twentieth centuries, such as industrialisation and urbanisation, gradual decolonisation after World War I and accelerated decolonisation after World War II, the post-war labour crisis in Europe, the proliferation of liberal economies and free market trade in the 1970s triggered global human movements between countries, continents and cultures. Perceptions of migration, as Papastergiadis argues, are

‘looming’ – ambiguous and unclear, with the pendulum of opinions consonantly shifting from appreciation of cultural and economic benefits of the cosmopolitan world to the anxieties of security and national identities.

‘Migration’ is not a neutral word. Today (given that Papastergiadis’s book was published in 2000), we could add more recent events supporting his argument, witnessing how the ‘looming presence’ of migration is increasingly shaped in the rhetoric of threat and anxiety. The events of 9/11, the rise of security and defence policies and the ‘post-imperial melancholia’ that resulted in Brexit, Trumpism and the Russian evasion of Ukraine are explicit or implicit reactions to global mobility and its economic, social and cultural effects. Wars in the Middle East, South-East Asia, Africa and now Europe, the world health crisis of 2020–22, climate change – any ‘regional’ or global event triggers political debates over moral obligations and pragmatic reasons to stay globally connected or disconnected and the best ways of accommodating migration from the regions that find themselves in crisis. These events demand a clear position towards migration as a factor of globalisation, in which neutrality seems impossible.

Undoubtedly, migration from ‘problematic’ regions and ‘undeveloped’ countries (mostly from the Global South) is likely to have a significant impact on ‘developed’ countries, as the ‘developed’ countries of the Global North are associated with the sense of security, support of civil rights, quality of life and equal opportunities. The proximity between the Global South and the Global North has never been so close. A geographical terrain – be it a city, a neighbourhood or country – has become a place of concurrent existence of cultural worlds, practices, traditions and values of life that have never before shared the same place with such intensity. This concurrent presence is explicit and loud, manifesting itself through multiple languages, accents, tunes and voices present in the same terrain. The subject of migration, as Castles (2014) argues, is perpetually perceived and narrated through a political discourse as ‘an issue’. Anxieties triggered by ‘unknown others’ are echoed in ‘border protection’ and ‘security’ migration policies, and in migrant demonisation by global media though stereotyping ethnicities, such as Muslim migrants. Vilification of particular ethnic groups, Castles argues, is a ‘new and powerful racialisation, which can claim to be about the security threat rather being motivated by the old-style biological racism’ (2014, p. 1541). Even though such examples could be an extreme form of perception of cultural otherness, issues of best approaches, strategies of accommodation and interactions with cultural ‘others’ remain.

Issues of resettlement sound different in the regional areas

The reliance on international migration as an economic force makes this issue of appropriate migration policies even more intense. Countries such as Australia and Canada rely heavily on migration as a strategy for population growth and economic development (Galligan, Boese & Phillips, 2014; Golebiowska, 2016; Hugo, 2008; Krovokapic-Skoko & Collins, 2018). Non-Western migrants therefore constitute a large proportion of migration. For instance, the latest census data shows that migrants of Indian and Chinese ethnicity constitute the second and the third largest populations in Australia after English ethnicity, with migrants from the Philippines, Vietnam, Malaysia and Sri Lanka in the top 10 of the Australian population born overseas.[1] Non-metropolitan migrant resettlement is a comparatively recent government initiative in countries such as Australia, Canada, Sweden or Finland – since the early 1990s in Australia (Boese & Moran, 2021; Cameron, 2011; Hugo, 2008). The purpose that underpins these efforts is to redirect immigration to less populated areas and address the economic growth of non-metropolitan areas. Also, as Golebiowska (2016) states, it is an attempt to reduce the infrastructure and services of urban areas, which globally have been the receiving hubs of non-Western immigration in the twentieth century.

Australian regional migration policies (international migration to non-metropolitan centres) follow the blueprint of migration policies and frameworks established by the federal government. As such, 'the majority of these policies treat regional migrants as agents of local economic development via their participation in regional labour markets' (Boese & Morgan, 2021, p. 11). Regional migration and its outcomes are evaluated in purely economic terms, such as an ability to address local labour shortages and contribute to the regional and national economy (Cameron, 2011). As a way of examining economic gains, the federal government stresses the need for a sense of belonging and inclusion, provides necessary tools for migrants' integration (such as language or skills programs) and encourages migrants to embrace mainstream public culture, institutions and practices. However, multiple studies question purely economic approaches and evaluations of migration, particularly in regional settings. As such, Krivokapic-Skoko and Collins (2018) formulate the issue of regional migration as a challenge of the attraction and retention of the migrant population in regional areas, in which the scarcity of migrant communities, culturally relevant leisure activities and expressions play a role in migrants' decision to relocate to bigger cultural and economic

[1] https://www.abs.gov.au/statistics/people/population/australias-population-country-birth/latest-release

hubs. Garland and Chakraborti (2006) and Radford (2016) make a particular point about the specificity of the regional and rural non-metropolitan cultural landscape, and the established everyday practices. As such, culturally homogenous European cultural practices, traditions and spaces leave very few or no opportunities for culturally 'alternative' practices and expressions, such as non-Western cultural practices and traditions. In his investigation of regional spaces of intercultural encounters, Radford (2017) defines non-Western migrants as 'visible', and as those who comprise

> the recent wave of non-European background migrant (humanitarian/skilled/ voluntary), who have moved into rural/regional towns. They maybe 'visible' because of differences associated with skin colour, dress, language, culture, religious practice or public behaviour. (Radford, 2017, p. 510)

The issue of cultural 'otherness' for 'visible' migrants is exacerbated in regional settings, where infrastructures and perceptions of regional cultural identities as 'white' create exclusionary practices for the non-Western migrant population. Boese and Moran (2021) question the achievements of regional migration policies, in which 'regional development' is firmly rooted in the understanding of development as economic growth, and migrants' contribution is reduced to the only 'productive dimension of migrant's lives' (2021, p. 4). The lack of examination of experiences of regional migration from a migrant's perspective, they argue, is the key dimension missing in designing policies and evaluating its possible outcomes. As such, migrants' aspirations, hopes and needs are mostly not considered by the government in designed settlement policies and programs, which has a direct impact on their economic participation. Boese and Moran (2021, p. 11) state that:

> The policy failure of, on the one hand, viewing skilled migrants as simply 'needed' for their skills while neglecting to support their and their partners' integration and socio-cultural inclusion, and on the other of viewing refugees as those who will and should accept the first job on offer (DSS, 2018), and as primarily requiring a policy response of cultural 'integration' because they are seen as 'cultural Others', also has negative implications for regional development.

These studies (Boese & Moran, 2021; Cameron, 2011) indicate that resettlement is often seen as a sum of necessary administrative and bureaucratic measures required to move human capital to a particular place of economic production. In such measures, the questions of

immediate survival (such as housing, finding a job, or language courses) are the main focus, leaving questions of wellbeing, belonging and social engagement mostly to regional migrants themselves. Through documenting migrant music practices, this study aims to illustrate that those questions cannot be ranked as secondary priorities, followed by the issue of obtaining relevant language skills and employment. The issues of belonging and finding a place to call home are woven into everyday mundane practices and interactions, and define migrant experiences. In the end, those everyday practices of belonging define the 'success' of resettlement, which was formulated in terms of 'leave' or 'remain' in the regional areas (Krivokapic-Skoko & Collins, 2018).

These studies (e.g. Garland & Chakraborti, 2006; Krivocapic-Skoko & Collins, 2018) also indicate that the issues of migrant resettlement *sound* different in regional settings, as the established cultural practices in regional and rural areas make the task of cultural inclusion particularly challenging for non-Western migrants. Regional-specific cultural and historical contexts prompt the need for a resettlement policy agenda in which negotiations of cultural identities and belonging, and issues of cultural and social inclusion play a key role in securing the successes of resettlement, which can be defined through migrant retention in the regional areas. Therefore, as a practice of belonging and a vocal marker of cultural identities, music can contribute to addressing issues of cultural belonging in regional areas.

Why music? The research hypothesis

For more than a century, migrant music played a significant role in migrants' resettlement, whether it be the role played by African American migrants in the history of jazz (Eyerman 1998), or Caribbean, African and Middle Eastern migrants in the United Kingdom, Germany, Sweden, Austria and France. Migrants' musical interactions with local scenes in their new countries of residence have resulted in these countries being exposed to new musical genres, such as reggae, ska, hip-hop, soul and other styles of music (e.g., Bennett, 2001; Grieve, 2009; Bendrups, 2011; Scheding, 2018). Migrant music traditions and styles significantly contributed to a global and local popular music scene in 'countries of residence', acting as a grass-roots agent of globalisation (Kiwan & Meinhof, 2011).

Music shapes and mediates individual and community identity through the installation of sonic boundaries and sonic settlements (Eyerman, 1998; Western, 2018; McGraw, 2018). Sound can act as a form of distinction between cultural identities, where simple accent, language, vocal intonation and musical practices reflect hierarchies and distinctions between

various socio-cultural groups. Music constructs 'aural borders' between various groups by corresponding symbols of place that 'others' cannot recognise or share (Western, 2018). Together with migrant settlements emerging in geographical localities, music participates in the creation of 'sonic settlements' – spaces of manifestation, representation and reinvention of migrants' identities. Music is implicated in multiple stages of construction and negotiations of migrants' identities in countries of resettlement; therefore, it may be understood as a cultural practice of resettlement. Through music, the process of memories and traditions is reactivated, creating emotional connections of the place and space within migrant groups and between wider communities. As a collective action, music has a quality that enables it to engage individuals into groups on multiple fronts: cognitive, kinesthetic, emotional, physical (Finnegan, 1989; Stokes, 1994; Bafekr & Leman, 1999; Baily & Collyer, 2006). This quality of music can address numerous issues of migrants' psychological wellbeing, such as trauma and stress, self-esteem and a lack of self-expression (Chou, 2007; Henderson et al., 2017). Through singing and dance, composing lyrics or participating in collective music activities, the sense of confidence, hope and ability to manage presence and future can be restored. Music also acts as a factor in social wellbeing. For example, through musical social networks, migrants can improve communication, social and language skills, and create new connections and networks within a community (Marsh, 2012, 2017; Carlow, 2004). As a cultural industry, music is utilised in the creation of economic capital and regional development (Gibson, 2007; Gibson & Connell, 2003; Bennett, Cashman & Lewandowski, 2019). Regions recreate their special character and quality through regionally specific sounds, artists and music scenes. Equally, regional music scenes enable the reworking of perceptions of regional disadvantage imposed from the 'outside', such as geographical remoteness from culturally rich urban hubs, into positive self-definitions. Regional areas with distinctive local music scenes become epicenters of tourist attraction and migration (Gibson & Connell, 2003). Hence, regional migrant music as a form of regional cultural capital can contribute to local creative production and regional development (Throsby, 1995, 2012).

Multiple benefits of music practices among migrants, as well as music's contribution to the development of cultural scenes, have been clearly assessed in metropolitan areas globally (e.g., Greve, 2009; Lidskog, 2016; Henderson et al., 2017; Scheding, 2018). However, the contribution of music to migrants' strategies of regional resettlement has not received the same level of scrutiny. Ultimately, this thesis addresses the fundamental issue of arts

participation (in this case, music) in migrant policies. The question of the 'roles' of music may be seen as synonymous with the value that the arts play in the resettlement process and in the formulation of migration policies. Paraphrasing Crossick and Kaszynska (2016), it can be said that the lack of broad recognition and utilization of qualitative methods in the investigation of migration, such as ethnographic or 'hermeneutics-based methods, analysing the meanings and representations' (2016, p. 23) reduces the understanding of migration and its societal effects. To a degree, this study can be seen as an attempt to document human experiences of music among other everyday practices and to understand its potential for navigating questions of belonging, human purpose and productivity in new settings.

Identifying objectives of the thesis: Music-making in non-Western migrants' experiences of regional resettlement

This thesis aims to investigate and understand the roles played by music in migrant experiences of regional resettlement in Australia and to conceptualise the potential of music to contribute to migration, regional arts and regional development policies.

The focus of this research is migrant music-making as a phenomenon with various forms of expression and various meanings. This thesis adopts Finnegan's (1989) theory of the concept of music-making in providing an essential understanding of music in the context of resettlement. Following Finnegan's argument, music can be understood and evaluated as a practice *and* a process, rather than only as the 'end result' (such as song or musical performance). An understanding of music as 'music-making' reveals a broader scope of music where activities and audiences are involved, in which 'professional' music industries can coexist with multiple 'amateur' musical activities and spaces. The discovery of new spaces for migrant music-making contributes to the understanding of its role, its participants and the meanings of those spaces as cultural encounters and negotiations of migrant identity. Furthermore, the definition of music-making as a fluid, dynamic process that does not necessarily result in a created 'product' allows for a broader understanding of the musician as the one who is involved in music practices in different forms and professional capacities. Music practitioners are not limited by educational or professional criteria – that is, they may not necessarily have formal music education or be earning an income from music practice. Shifting the focus from a socio-economic definition of music (as an industry that economically capitalises music-related skills) to a means of expression and negotiation of cultural identity creates room to explore its functions in the process of regional migrant

cultural and social inclusion. Through documenting various spaces of music-making, such as a range of local, translocal and digital spaces, the process of negotiations of migrant identities can be traced as they represent spaces of multicultural encounters and dialogue (Radford, 2017). Equally, local music scenes and migrant' translocal music practices are indicative of migrants' cultural acceptance, their social inclusion and their production (Mitchell, 1996; Duffy, 2005; Ní Mhurchú, 2016; Williams, 2018). In this context, migrants' various music activities, such as singing and dancing; participation in family bands, church choirs and regional bands; playing musical instruments; and community or family musical performances will be examined to address the research question.

The investigation of music-making is inextricably interwoven with an understanding of the place in which music practice occurs. Following Amin's (2004) argument (but also those of Massey, 1991; Anderson & Taylor, 2005; Creswell, 2014; Radford, 2017), the meaning of the space is constructed, as it reflects social practices constitutive of space. In this context, spaces for music-making (such as festivals, places of worship, regional marketplaces and regional recreational places, such as sport clubs or community halls, schools and libraries) are enacted as platforms for multicultural encounters and negotiations of cultural identities. The functions of those places within a community are constantly reinterpreted and recreated through the process of negotiations between various groups and actors (Creswell, 2014). Regional spaces of migrant music-making are the focus of this research investigation, as they can reveal the process of negotiations of migrant identities and perceptions, or potential frictions in the process of non-Western migrants' cultural acceptance.

The research will therefore examine musical activities of current migrant settlers, arriving on skilled or humanitarian visas and living in regional Australia as first- or second-generation migrants. The research will focus on musical grass-roots activities of non-Western migrants, with the emphasis on the migrants from the Middle East, South-East Asia, Africa and the Pacific Islands, resettled in regional areas of Australia. These ethnic groups arguably experience more difficulties in their settlement attempts, due to various 'differencing' factors, such as those mentioned by Radford (2017):'visibility' of race, cultural and faith traditions, but also a lack of migrant history, including low numbers of non-Western migrants in regional Australia.

Addressing the research question through the thesis chapters

The investigation of the roles of music in practices of regional migrant resettlement will be organised through an examination of various sub-topics relevant to the main question. Chapters 2 and 4 will examine theoretical questions for the places of the research question in the existing academic literature and music's place in the current regional migration policies. Chapters 5 to 9 will present the findings of the research based on the conceptualisation of data received from field research.

Chapter 2 will provide a literature review of the current academic studies and discussions about the roles of music in global mobilities and resettlement practices worldwide. To provide an overview, several topics will be investigated, including the relationship of music and the phenomenon of global mobility, and transformations of the concept of place and its relation to the understanding of migration. Furthermore, the concept of 'migrant identities' will be discussed in detail, with transnational approaches to migration and identities, and the concept of DIY identities discussed. A particular emphasis of this chapter will be music as a practice of negotiations of cultural boundaries and borders between migrant cultural identities and the state; in this context, a concept of cultural citizenship and its relationship with music practices will be outlined. Studies examining regional practices of music-making and specific functions of music in regional areas will be used to analyse music's potential in practices of regional migrant resettlement. Finally, Chapter 2 will canvass various migrant studies focused on regional areas of non-Western migrant settlement globally to outline a research gap in the academic literature concerning the nexus between regional migration and music, and to define the research question in more detail.

Chapter 3 will reflect on the research methodology appropriate for addressing the research question. In particular, it will substantiate the criteria of choice of four regional areas of field research and provide a detailed description of regional cities of Coffs Harbour and Wagga Wagga in New South Wales, and Toowoomba and Cairns in Queensland as the sites chosen for this research. The chapter will reflect on the methodological challenges faced during the COVID-19 pandemic, as these occurred during the initial stages of the field research process, and digital methods of ethnographic research undertaken as an alternative to the planned ethnographic methods. In particular, Chapter 3 will discuss engaging strategies and techniques in conducting the research from a distance. The detailed process of data-gathering, analysis and presentation will be outlined.

Chapter 4 will reflect on the cultural specificity of the Australian regional context. Regional 'participation' in the processes of non-Western migration to Australia and its orientation towards urbanisation will be outlined as defining the current regional migration agenda. The chapter will provide a brief historical overview of Australian immigration policies to contextualise the current multicultural policies framework, defined as 'post-multicultural' (Levey, 2019). This framework assumes individual, rather than institutional and government's interventions into the issues of maintaining cultural identities or equality of expressions, as such issues have been already been addressed in previous decades. The chapter will critically engage with the current migration policies' framework, questioning its efficiency in the regional cultural context, which is also outlined in this chapter. It will argue that regional areas of non-Western migrant resettlement cannot be characterised through the post-multicultural assumption, as regional areas lack critical multicultural infrastructure and facilities. Equally, regional cultural identity and regional perceptions gravitate towards a monocultural, homogenous Western orientation, which also presents a barrier to non-Western migrant resettlement and inclusion.

Chapter 5 will examine practical outcomes of regional migration policies outlined in the previous chapter. This chapter will provide a comprehensive snapshot of the current migrant intake with an emphasis on regional migration plans and reflect on the main policies' priorities and programs. The roles of federal, state and local government in fostering regional migration, particularly through programs of social cohesion, will be discussed. The chapter will analyse music's presence in these federal, state and local programs. Regional multicultural programs in the arts sector will also be examined to ascertain the current nexus between migration and regional arts policies. Moreover, the chapter will outline the gap in utilising music in regional migration and cultural policies.

Chapter 6 focuses on the issues of belonging for newly arrived migrants in regional settings. The chapter specifically discusses the transition from 'non-belonging' to 'belonging', in which individual or collective music-making is utilised to recreate meanings of home and emotional connections with a new place. The chapter will explore the ability of music to assist individuals in navigating between 'remembering' cultural identities and 'forgetting' traumatic events of the past and managing the 'chaos' of daily life. The chapter will focus on the home as a space of individual, family or community music-making, a space in which the majority of migrant cultural expressions are 'hidden' due to the absence of public infrastructures and spaces for migrant expressions. Various forms of music, such as

men's 'garage bands',[2] home-based community 'music schools' and family bands, were identified as forms and formats reworking the issues of cultural expressions, continuity of cultural traditions and recreation of community identity. Home-based music making, the chapter argues, plays a vital role as a psychological mechanism of reworking the past and the present, as a form of individual and group therapy, and therefore could be utilised more purposefully as an instrument of addressing the issue of migrant wellbeing in regional settings.

Chapter 7 discusses the utilisation of music by migrant youth, often identified as a first and second generation of non-Western migrants (Portes, 1997; Vukojevic, 2019). The chapter argues that the issue of cultural belonging has specific importance for migrant youth, as those who have to 'juggle' the contradictions of 'hybrid' belonging (Hall, 1988; Back, 2008). The chapter will identify the regional specifics of migrant youth's cultural hybridity, in which the lack of culturally relevant role models makes music – particularly hip-hop – a cultural source for DIY identity-building. The chapter will present the meanings and functions of hip-hop in terms of addressing the issues of belonging, in which gender, race and ideas of self are 'juggled' and reworked in the form of creative writing and performance. To address the scarcity of relevant cultural representations and navigate their own biographies, regional migrant youth use various strategies, such as building translocal connections, creating regional hip-hop hubs and migrating to urban areas of 'cultural sophistication' (Farrugia, 2015). The chapter suggests that hip-hop has become a creative and social practice that reimagining of youth cultural identities, as regional spaces of youth music-making are deeply interrelated with global music scenes. Cases of migrant youth's hip-hop practices also raise issues relating to regional support for young migrant talent and repositioning regional areas from the 'cultural periphery' to centres of the arts.

Chapter 8 discusses the role of music in building relations within migrant and 'broader' regional communities (or 'binding' and 'bridging' networks, by Village et al., 2017). This

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[2] In popular music studies, garage bands refer to amateur music activities of a white suburban youth in the United States at the end of the 1950s, attempting to emulate British rock stars: 'Garage rock could be defined as a musically simple, blues-based form of popular music influenced most heavily by the British Invasion bands of the mid-1960s, particularly the Beatles and Rolling Stones, but also encompassing the Animals, the Kinks, the Yardbirds, Them, and the Who' (Kuappila, 2005 p. 391). In this study, garage bands refer to amateur DIY music activities of migrant musicians (mostly men), which literally take place in the garages or backyards of their houses.

chapter focuses on the role of music-making in regional faith practices, as places of worship (particularly for Christian-faith multicultural communities) often represent regional 'community centres'. The chapter examines the issue of exclusion for non-Christian based communities in which culturally specific styles of worshipping and musical expressions of faith can be a critical factor. The role of music in the process of creating regional migrant communities is also discussed. Music is utilised as an instrument of DIY collective identities through celebrations and gatherings. Transnational cultural identities and transnational community networks, in which sharing and producing music are a component, are also illustrated.

Chapter 9 places particular emphasis on migrant music as part of migrant cultural capital and looks at its potential contribution to regional music scenes. Migrants' cultural inclusion is examined through their negotiations of their capital within the existing regional music scene and their ability to support their livelihoods through their music. Regional music scenes both reflect and form cultural identities through everyday music practices, and thus represent a 'field' in which migrants' ethnicity of social class can be factors of distinction. As the chapter illustrates, migrants actively pursue opportunities to engage in regional cultural life through various networks, such as 'welfare' networks, multicultural festivals and regional intermediaries. However, this effort cannot be defined as successful, as perceptions of migrant music and identities, unequal migrant social and financial capitals and challenges existing within regional music scenes become significant barriers to migrants' acceptance in a local music scene. The chapter argues that regional arts policies should be mobilised to create conditions for the negotiation of migrant cultural capital and migrant social inclusion through local music scenes.

Chapter 10 reviews the main findings of the field research. Music's contributions to regional migrant experiences of negotiation of cultural identities and inclusion will be identified. Music will be examined as a practice that significantly impacts migrants' wellbeing and sense of belonging – particularly for newly arrived migrants. Music participates in migrant youth's negotiations of hybrid cultural identities and forms migrants' narratives of self and their social trajectories. Based on the research findings, music should also be understood as a practice of social inclusion in regional areas, one that mediates relations within regional migrant communities as migrants build relationships with a 'host' community. Finally, migrant music should be seen as a practice of social inclusion through migrant' access and participation in a local cultural production.

This chapter considers the limitations of this study, and poses ideas for further research based on the current findings. As one way forward, the research will canvass migrants' potential contributions to regional culturally sustainable development (Throsby, 1995). The chapter will emphasise research contributions to migration and regional arts policies, in which more inclusive approach can lead to a number of outcomes, such as migrants' cultural and social inclusion, increased employment in the arts sector and regional cultural production.

Conclusion

This introductory chapter has established the central challenge of the current global migration process as an issue of negotiations of cultural identities, citizenship and belonging. In countries such as Australia, international migration is the backbone of the population and economic policies, so establishing relevant cultural policies of accommodation and addressing cultural differences remain essential. In Australia's regional areas, the issue of cultural and social inclusion can be more pertinent as regional areas arguably have not experienced an intense flow of non-Western migration similar to that experienced by urban areas; they therefore lack infrastructure, spaces and practices for accommodating multicultural identities. This thesis aims to explore music (as a proxy for arts) as a practice that can address multiple issues of cultural belonging in regional settings. It will offer a new perspective on how music can contribute to the migrant resettlement process and how the cultural potential of migrants, as expressed through their musical practices, can be utilised for regional sustainable cultural and economic development.

2
Literature review

Introduction

The purpose of this research is to investigate the various roles of music in the process of non-Western migrants' social inclusion and negotiations of cultural identities in the regional areas of Australia. This chapter will examine the existing literature about music's qualities and roles as a practice of cultural belonging and social inclusion. The major themes and issues that have been canvassed in the literature are mobility, place, identity, cultural citizenship and regionality.

Human mobilities in the twentieth century significantly transformed our understanding of migration and related to it the concept of place. Current theoretical approaches to the concept of place (where migrants relocate from one place to another place) will be outlined, as well as exploring the impact of place on migrant music practices. Academic studies discussing various approaches to the understanding of migrant identities are considered, particularly the concepts of transnational and DIY identities, and the related concepts of cultural citizenship. The literature on the role of music in the process of negotiations of cultural citizenship between migrants and a 'hosting' society will be outlined as definitive for migrants' cultural inclusion. A particular emphasis is placed on the discussion of regional music practices and the roles of music in regional settings. Based on the literature review, a gap in the academic examination of music's roles in regional practices of migrant resettlement will be identified: the scarcity of academic attention to regional migrant music practices. This is because studies of migrant art expressions predominantly canvass migrant communities settled in urban and metropolitan areas. The regional context, as argued in this chapter, creates specific agendas of cultural belonging and social inclusion, prompting the need for further investigation of music as a practice of regional non-Western migrant settlement.

Migration, mobility and music

Current studies (Bullock & Paik, 2009; Gang & Epstein, 2010; Mihalik et al., 2019) note that the increased complexity of migration creates often sharply contrasting perceptions and attitudes towards migrants. Papastergiadis (2000, p. 51). states that today the term 'migrant'

has a 'looming presence' in public perception globally. The perception of migration oscillates between, on the one hand, a negative conception whereby it is a cause of unsettling changes in social relations and a consequent destabilisation of communities and, on the other, as a positive image of cosmopolitanism and adventure. However, as Papastergiades notes, the context of globalisation requires a deep rethinking of the relationships between 'newcomers' and 'locals', strangers and citizens, and the borders between state and cultural identities. Baily and Collyer (2006) argue that each type of migration – labour migration, economic migration, victim migrants, refugees, voluntary emigrants, stateless or temporary migrants – creates challenges for defining relevant policies and managing resources.

Regardless of the attitudes and challenges it creates, migration is recognised as a driving force of globalisation and modernity (Papastergiadis, 2000). Globalisation as a definitive feature of modernity is an outcome of increased mobilities (Adey, 2014). Migration triggers the circulation of ideas, technologies, money, machinery, and images and norms between various geographies, and therefore provides connectivity between them. The process of 'human portage' (de la Blache et al. 1965, p. 350, cited in Adey, 2014, p. 244), in which connections with different geographical places are installed through physical movements, cannot in any sense be named as something unique for the twenty-first century. Human portage as a 'cultural diffusion through the physical agency … has been essential for societies to develop, enabling the survival of families and kinships, trade links and the forming of simple relationships' (Adey, 2014, p. 245). Human travel, Adey argues, was one the first kinds of mobility, in which human bodies were able to 'carry', 'spread' and 'diffuse' ephemeral 'goods', such as knowledge and ideas. However, one of the key characteristics of modernity, and then postmodernity, has been an unprecedented intensity of mobility. As Papastergiadis (2000) suggests, peasant mobilities to urban areas at the beginning of the twentieth century provided a labour force for industrialization. After World War II, global mobilities significantly defined the outlook of modern cities, as urban areas became major economic hubs and areas of national and international migration of labour. Globalisation, Papastergiadis argues, was initiated by the expansion of world trade, the transformation of political structures and the reinscription of cultural norms under colonisation. However, Papastergiadis suggests that globalisation has not produced positive changes for the entire world. Rather, it has deepened both social and economic divisions between developed and underdeveloped countries, as well as socio-economic divisions within countries: 'Globalisation has produced both a mobile transnational elite and an underclass trapped in

new forms of dependency' (Papastergiadis, 2000, p. 80). In a similar vein, Cresswell (2014) points out the social divisions existing within global migrant flows. He critiques a 'celebratory language' that exists around mobilised identities, involving such terms as 'cosmopolitanism', 'transnational', 'diasporic' and 'hybrid'. Cresswell particularly critiques Manuel Castell's notion that poor people remain immobile and belong to one place, while cosmopolitanism is an attribute of the elite. Cresswell (2014, p. 82) argues that mobility of the poor is even more intense and global than the mobility of the 'white' elite: 'The English-speaking academics and businesspeople who flit around the world rarely speak the number of languages spoken by their supposedly immobile and non-cosmopolitan underlings who drive them places and clean their rooms.' He suggests that lack of labour opportunities and poverty intensify mobilities, whereby people have to relocate in search of a better life. Castles (2014) argues that the growing need to migrate, often perceived as a 'migration crisis', is interlinked with two historical processes: European colonialism and the emergence of global neoliberal economic order. Colonialism 'meant destruction of previous forms of community and the exploitation of labour and natural resources for the benefits of colonising powers', in which the divide between South and North was created as a result of European domination (Castles, 2017, p. 1543). Moreover, global capitalist production in the 1970s, and financial crises – particularly that of 2008 – have accelerated 'emergency migration' from the Global South.

What is the place and role of music in the globalised and increasingly mobilised world? Music, Adey (2014) argues, is a form of mobility. As sound can travel from one body to another and one location to another, it mediates mobility and facilitates cultural exchange. Sound is an 'artefact moving with people' (Gibson & Collyer, 2003, p. 9), which passes through borders. Because of its high transmissibility, music carries various cultural forms from one place to another, and therefore provides connections between places and cultures. As Adey suggests, music cultures have evolved through people's mobilities, and many music cultures have been born out of mobilities. Studies on the proliferation of jazz (Starr, 1983; Toynbee & Tackley, 2016), rock music (McLaughlin & McLoone, 2000; Berger & Carroll, 2003), punk (O'Connor, 2004; Dunn, 2008) and other global genres of popular music confirm that notion. Moreover, the concept of translocal music scenes (Bennett & Peterson, 2004; Sans, 2015; Emms & Crossley, 2018) can be seen as an examination of the various socio-cultural effects of global music mobilities. Some argue that the contributions of migration have often been overlooked in favour of musicological or historiographical aspects of popular music movements that occurred in the countries of the 'Global North' (Martinello,

2015). Martinello argues that arts and culture as spheres of migrant cultural contribution are under-explored subjects by social and political sciences. The reason is that studies of migration traditionally consider migrants as workers, neglecting the impact of ethnic minorities on mainstream local or even national artistic scenes. He states that more work is required to understand how artistic expressions play a role in the negotiation and assertion of various conceptions of local (ethnic, transethnic, etc.) identities and how migrant arts impact the economy.

Mobilities, place, music

The categories of 'place' and 'home' are fundamental for practices of migrant resettlement. Geographical location is deeply embedded into the understanding of migration process; it is a physical transition through the borders of countries and a process of 'putting roots' in a new location.

Various geographical studies (e.g., Massey, 1991, 1994; Amin, 2004; Cresswell, 2014) examine current transformations of the understanding of place in an increasingly mobilised world – in short, a transition from a conception of place as immobile to one of place as fluid, constructed and relational. Prominent cultural geographer Doreen Massey has introduced the concept of relational places. She and her co-authors argue in *Rethinking the Region* (Allen et al.,1998) that places are not homogenous and defined by fixed boundaries, but rather open and connected with other places through networks and relations – vertical and horizontal political, power and labour relations. These relations change and transform over time, so regions cannot be defined by categories such as stability and continuity. Massey suggests that localities in the globalised world must be reidentified in their relations to global places and processes:

> Some of these relations will be, as it were, contained within the place; others will stretch beyond it, tying any particular locality into wider relations and processes in which other places are implicated too … The global is in the local in the very process of the formation of the local. (Massey, 1994, p. 120)

The notion of 'relational' geography implies not only that various places are connected with other local and global areas by social relations and networks, but also that all locations build their identities in relation to other places. Such negotiations and comparison with 'others' in turn help to define the specificity of regions. Regional identities are also heterogeneous, as

various social groups build their versions of relations and regional distinction. Hence, regional identities are not monolithic; instead, they are multiple and fluid. Massey argues that regions should be understood as constructed, reflecting the politics of various social and economic relations and connections. Regional boundaries, she suggests, cannot be taken for granted as they do not necessarily represent the spectrum of connections involved. Regions cannot be understood through the fixed hierarchies of institutions such as 'local' and 'national', and require a more fluid approach to their political governance.

'Relational' approaches to understanding regional geographies canvass various aspects of regional heterogeneity and connectivity. For instance, Agnew (2013) examines various concepts used to characterise regions. Agnew surveys definitions of regions, such as formal/functional, real/conventional relational space, case study/context, mobility/fixity, backward/modern and nationalisation of regions to examine competing assumptions about the same place. In order to overcome the competing but 'singular' logic, he suggests four general conceptions with which to study regional areas: regional communities, geopolitical territories, geographical networks and regional societies. Allen and Cochrane (2007) challenge the idea of regions as fixed political spaces and suggest that regions are open and 'assembled' through various national and 'local' institutional agencies, partnerships, businesses and interest groups. Morgan (2007) examines what appears to be a conflict between a relational approach and a 'traditional' approach in which regions are bounded within a particular territory. He critiques a relational approach that seems to overly contrast 'relational' and 'territorial' approaches to a place, considering them to be mutually exclusive. He urges against underplaying the territorial political approaches as somewhat parochial or even reactionary. Instead, he argues that more flexible conceptualisations of a territory must overcome a binary division between relational and territorial geographies and take a more holistic approach in which both concepts play a role. Regions, he argues, are both relational and territorial; they are 'bounded' and 'porous'. They are bounded through a territorially defined ballot box and 'porous' 'because people have multiple identities, and they become even more mobile, spawning communities of relational connectivity that transcend territorial boundaries' (2007, p. 1248).

The introduction of a 'relational' approach to an understanding of place is a significant shift from the 'conventional' concept of place, usually defined as localised, safe and bounded by a distinctive local identity (Amin, 2004). Ash Amin argues that the politics of territoriality is based on assumptions of local autonomy, local control and sense of attachment to a

particular location. Territorial management is therefore 'locked' in localised decision-making in core institutions, such as regional government, regional development agencies that tend to work within 'local' supply chains, knowledge, actors and so on. Such a framework also stems from values of 'local identity, sense of local pride and belonging'. Amin, in a similar vein to Morgan (2007), suggests that such a framework should not be under-valued or dismissed, but rather broadened. Regions, he argues, can expand or transgress their borders through affiliations, linkages, influences and flows existing between them. Such affiliations and linkages can be seen through diasporic communities, corporate networks, consumption patterns, travel networks, microworlds of communication, and many public spheres that stretch across multiple places. He suggests that a politics of propinquity and a politics of connectivity would be a relevant framework to manage 'cultural, social, experiential and aspirational difference among those who share a given regional space' (Amin, 2002, p. 38). Globalisation and subsequent cultural diversity are named as some of the principal reasons why regions are no longer homogenous and autonomous. Thus, global migrant flows and mobilities of social and cultural identities demand the reimagination of places and the policies by which they are governed.

Amin's notion of transformations of the concept of place from 'autonomous' and authentic to fluid, imagined and heterogeneous deserves more consideration as it relates to understandings of migration. Tim Cresswell (2014, p. 85) suggests that 'clearly if place is the very bedrock of our humanity, as some have claimed, then it cannot have vanished because it is a necessary part of the human condition. Places have certainly changed though and this has produced anxiety.' In illustrating current anxieties about the transformations of human relations with place, he cites Cronon's notions of 'erosion of the place' and Relth's argument about 'creeping placelessness'. The erosion of place is related to a rapidly accelerating homogeneity of place, in which smell, look, feel and sound are the same as in many other places in the world due to mobility, consumerism and mass communication. These places, according to Cronon (1992, cited in Cresswell, 2014), are detached from a local environment and have no connection with local reality. Relth (1976) develops the idea of 'creeping placelessness' by arguing that modern people have lost authentic, deep relations with place, which doesn't allow people to become 'existential insiders' of place: 'It is merely an attitude which is socially convenient and acceptable – an uncritically accepted stereotype, an intellectual or aesthetic fashion that can be adopted without real involvement' (1976, p. 82, cited in Cresswell, 2014, p. 76). Therefore, Relth argues, 'being local' is problematic – or

even impossible – as people don't have meaningful relations with places. To critique Relth's idea of 'placelessness', Cresswell develops an argument about 'lived' places, in which everyday social practices (work, education, leisure) define the meaning and experience of place. He argues that places are never finally established and operate through constant and reiterative practices, in which modern people are involved. A place can be pre-structured (Cresswell cites de Certeau, 1984) – that is, embedded with particular interests and intentions to use it; however, only practice makes it operational. Thinking of places as performed and practised opens them up to creative reimaginations and interpretations. Such a notion applies particularly to immigrants, as those who are often perceived as 'out of place' and as those who 'don't belong' (Creswell, 2008). The imagination of places as static in their meanings and practices creates a division between 'locals' and 'outsiders', who are often unfamiliar with local practices or have other meanings and ideas of place. Creswell (2008, p. 138) suggests that rethinking places as opened to interpretation and creative practices also changes the perception of migrants: 'rather than the place being eroded by migration, it is enriched'.

Anderson and Taylor (2005), Radford (2016, 2017) and Wilson (2017) examine the relational nature of space and the phenomenon of multicultural encounters from different perspectives. Wilson provides a theoretical examination of the concept of encounters, suggesting that an encounter is not simply a form of meeting, but an act that should be associated with difference and surprise. In encounters, it is not only that opposed or different bodies come together; they produce a result that makes a difference – in other words, they produce changes. Encounters that are 'mediated, affective, emotive, sensuous' (Wilson, 2017, p. 14) have transformative potential, in which an outcome cannot be captured or predicted. Anderson and Taylor (2005) analyse multicultural encounters in the context of ethnic and racialised tensions in Australia, in which various ethnic groups construct their cultural belonging to claim and prioritise their place in social hierarchies. Radford (2016, 2017) analyses regional places and spaces of intercultural encounters, illustrating how mundane and everyday places, such as pubs, shops and street corners, are involved in negotiations of belonging between the 'local' white Australian population and the newly arrived 'visible' migrants of non-Western origin.[1]

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[1] Similarly, Hesse (2000), Garland and Chakraborti (2004) and Forrest, Lean and Dunn (2016) investigate encounters between non-Western migrants and the 'local' British population in the United Kingdom, focusing on the disputes around acceptance of the 'white-Anglo-Saxon norm'.

As Gustafson (2006) suggests, at the centre of such encounters are discussions of the effects of mobilities on places. He categorises current disputations of mobility and place as built around topics of 'locals and cosmopolitans', 'roots and routes' and transnational approaches. Theories built around 'cosmopolitan' mobile elites versus local (immobile, poor and therefore, 'stuck' to one location) people have been criticised for being normative and elitist – this is also mentioned by Creswell (2014) along with his critique of Castells' (1996) migration theory. The 'roots and routes' approach suggests investigation of relations between both movement and rootedness that characterise communities at a particular location. However, Gustafson argues that the transnational approach offers a qualitatively new understanding of place and mobility, which avoids a dichotomy between local and global. Such an approach echoes relational concept of place, in which various places are 'unbound' and interconnected (e.g., Amin, 2002, examined above). Traditional migration approaches, Gustafson argues, understand migration as a one-time permanent movement and change of home and place. As such, migration is associated with the loss of place of attachment and a gradual formation of emotional bonds with a new country. Countries of 'migrants' origin' and countries of 'migrant resettlement' are usually investigated separately, and research in countries of migrant new resettlement tends towards 'methodological nationalism' (Wimmer & Schiller, 2002). Migration is therefore examined from the standpoint of national economic interests and migrants' ability to 'fit in' into national institutions and assimilate faster. In the transnational approach, however, migration is understood as an ongoing process and an ongoing form of mobility. Such an approach is focused on interconnectedness and social, cultural and economic relations and exchanges, and is underpinned by globalisation theories (Gustafson, 2006, p. 27).

The transnational approach to migration brings the discussion back to music and its roles in connecting places and identities. The question of migrants belonging to one particular 'place of origin' is shifted, and the suggestion is made that feelings of attachment can be constructed within multiple places. This means that, in practice, the dilemma of living 'in-between' countries and cultures cannot be simplified to the duality and linearity of relocation from one country to another. As Baily and Collyer (2006) argue, some migrant communities have complex origins and share multiple cultural, social and religious traditions that were not shared or supported in the 'country of origin'. They argue that music's functions depend on circumstances of migration and types of migration, such as the 'imperial diaspora' of British colonials or forced migration – for example, African slaves. However, despite the complexity

of music's utilisation, they note several fundamental qualities of music with regard to the process of resettlement in a new country – in particular, such features as music's connections with memory and tradition, and music's affective power and its therapeutic potential. Stokes (1994, p. 7) notes that 'amongst countless ways in which we 'relocate' ourselves, music undoubtedly has a vital role to play'. He argues that music does not simply reflect knowledge, but also performs it through musical acts. He discusses music as a social practice – for example, music as a performance within a community – making the point that music reactivates and generates meanings through which social boundaries between cultural unities are generated. Therefore, he argues, music provides a means by which hierarchies of place are negotiated and performed (1994, p.4).

Migrant music studies examine these aspects of music in more details. For instance, the therapeutic effects of music have been examined by Chou (2007), Lennette et al. (2016), Henderson et al. (2017) and Nunn (2020). These studies focus mostly on forced migration and refugees who have experienced displacement (living in refugee camps or detention centres). Participatory music, Lennette et al. (2016) argue, is able to facilitate a sense of resilience and agency. In a similar vein, Nunn (2020) characterises a music-making art space as a 'space of exceptional being', in which affective feeling of belonging can be experienced and shared with the group.

The therapeutic qualities of music in managing the process of migrant relocation have been documented in various case studies (Schweitzer et al., 2006; D'Ardenne and Kiyendeye, 2015; Lennette et al., 2016; Harris, 2019; Marsch, 2012, 2017; De Martini Ugilotti, 2020; Crawford, 2020). For instance, D'Ardenne and Kiendeye (2015) focus on musical interventions in decreasing the effects of stress and trauma among young genocide survivors from Rwanda, pointing out music's capacity to provide a safe space and reinforce participants' ability to face an uncertain future. De Martini Ugolotti (2020) focuses on music's mediation of issues of trauma, which particularly define forced migrants' experiences of relocation. She points out that 'mundane' qualities of music, such as positive affective engagement, collective experience of laughter and joy, and the materiality of processes of body movements, help to rework feelings of passivity, powerlessness and uncertainty. Music sessions, she suggests, disrupt suffocating feelings of suspension and affective intensities that shape forms of sociality within the group, and contribute to shaping further (in)visible practices of belonging. Some studies examine music's ability to evoke

memories and affective feelings of home. As noted earlier, Baily and Collyer (2006) discuss music's ability to 'bound up' identity and memory in a particularly powerful manner:

> The primary effect of music is to give the listener a feeling of security, for it symbolises the place where he was born, his earliest childhood satisfaction, his religious experience, his pleasure in community doings, his courtship and his work - any or all of these personality shaping experiences. (Baily and Collyer, 2006, citing Lomax 1959: 929)

Music thus shapes and reinforces personal or collective experiences in a particularly emotional way. Similarly, Bafekr and Leman (1999) illustrate that feelings of longing for home as an indicator of emotional and cultural displacement in a new country are intrinsic to any cultural and social groups of migrants – including highly qualified professionals. Feelings of nostalgia and longing are a universal feature of migration. Šenay (2009) and Bafekr and Leman (1999) examine the qualities of music as a practice of returning and reconnection with the emotional space of home. Šenay argues that music's ability to recreate memories of home is usually applied to individual and collective memory, in which music serves as an activator of cultural borders and identities.

One of the 'mechanisms' of belonging enacted by music is that of collective memory, a form of reconnection between the past and present in which music acts as a 'storehouse of memory' (Šenay, 2009).[2] Migrant music is often seen as an act of nostalgia and an emotional reconnection with an abandoned homeland and selves. Šenay argues that the simplification of music's role as merely invoking nostalgia about the 'lost place' is too naive. Memory, enacted through music, also organises future actions, as it conveys particular communication and action modes. These actions are communicated through memory as reoccurring, predictable and therefore secure acts. Hence, collective memory allows the creation of predictability for the present as well as the future. The understanding of migrants' 'nostalgia' as an act of longing for a foregone past is limited as its refers only to the past and does not reveal the dynamic characteristics of traditions, with content and symbolic meanings reinterpreted according to a new cultural and social context. The value of constantly returning to the past is that it provides a platform for migrants' present orientation and actions. In migrant communities, memories of home are idealised and imagined, and various details and

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[2] Quoting Shelemay, 'Music, Memory, History', p.22

features are selectively taken from the 'storehouse' of the past to resurface in the present. Music practices do not just facilitate memories of 'homeland', but its reimagination and re-enactment in new cultural and social settings.

Transnational and DIY migrant identities and citizenship: Music as a practice of constructing transnational identities

As global mobility in the twentieth century caused a significant disruption to understandings of place, a similar disruption occurred in regard to the concept of identity. At the beginning of this chapter, such characteristics of contemporary identities as 'cosmopolitan', 'hybrid', and 'translocal' were mentioned as challenging traditional notions of homogenous identities 'belonging' to one place of origin. The idea of 'multiplicity' of belonging is central to the theory of transnationalism, which examines migration in the context of globalisation and increased mobility. As Vertovec (2001) notes, the transnational perspective on migration developed in the 1990s, through the works of Schiller, Basch and Blanc (1995), Rouse (1991), Smith and Guarnizo (1998) and Vertovec and Cohen (1998); it describes transnational communities that effectively live both 'here' and 'there', and form home-based relations in several locations simultaneously. Transnational connections, Vertovec (2001, p. 575) argues, 'have considerable economic, socio-cultural and political impacts on migrants, their families and collective groups, and the dual (or more) localities in which they variably dwell'. For instance, economic connections and the economic effects of transnational migration have been studied through analysis of the massive flows of remittances that migrants send to their families and communities in the 'sending' countries (e.g., Conway and Cohen, 1998). Through such connections, migrants significantly impact the 'local' economies of developing countries, directly and indirectly participating in the development of local education, health and other systems. Bhabha (1999), Appadurai (1990) and Smith and Guarnizo (1998) studied the concept of 'transnationalism from below': grass-roots, local-level connections and relations such as family connections and ethnic or professional networks built by immigrants in various countries, which define the economic, social and cultural effects of migration in both sending and receiving countries. As Sarmistha (2019, p. 31) notes,

> transnationalism must be studied in the day-to-day activities and social relationships of migrants as ordinary people, their feelings and perception of the conditions of their existence. In certain aspects, these phenomena of migrant lives reflect the concept of cultural hybridity and flexible citizenship (Bhabha, 1999; Ong, 2000).

The cultural effects of such relations 'from below' can be seen in changes in perceptions of citizenship, in which 'belonging' to one country no longer reflects the state of cultural identity and globalised human transactions. Cultural hybridity (e.g., Back, 2008; Hall, 1988) can be seen as a result of transnational connections and intercultural interactions, in which migrants construct, maintain and negotiate collective identities attached to multiple places and cultures, which Stuart Hall (1988) discussed as 'new ethnicities'. It has a particular bearing on the younger (second) generation of migrants (Back, 2008; Vertovec, 2011). The notions of cultural hybridity (e.g., Bhabha, 1999; Hall, 1990), 'multiple citizenship' (Bauböck, 1994) and 'diasporic identities' (Laguerre, 1999) create a pivotal distinction between ethnic identities commonly perceived as 'given', 'natural' or 'inherited' on the one hand, and as socially and culturally constructed on the other. As Baily and Collyer (2006) state in their examination of transnational approaches, migrant identity is not something that mechanically repeats itself in a new country of residence. The transnational approach to migration, they argue, exposes the creative potential of migrant cultural identities, which have to be recreated and reinvented in new circumstances.

Isin (2009; see also Isin and Turner, 2007; Isin and Nielsen, 2008) contributes to the understanding of identities and citizenship as constructed. He focuses on the argument of citizenship as an act rather than a status. Through various acts and practices, citizens claim and negotiate their rights to belong to a particular cultural and social unity (e.g., community, state). Isin's conceptualisations of 'activist citizen' illustrate his approach to citizenship as a dynamic institution. In making this claim, Isin develops the distinction between 'active citizen' and 'activist citizen' proposed by Baliban (2004). Active citizenship, Isin (2009, p. 383) argues, 'has become a script for already existing citizens to follow already existing paths', in which citizens have already been accepted. He juxtaposes active citizens (insiders) with activated citizens (strangers, outsiders) as those who have not been accepted and claim and articulate their rights through various acts. Thinking about citizenship through acts means accepting that the 'citizen is to make claims to justice: to break habitus and act in a way that disrupts already defined orders, practices and statuses' (2009, p. 384).

The concepts of transnational identities and communities, and citizenship as a practice interrelate with the concept of 'imagined communities', introduced by Benedict Anderson (1983). In his analysis of contemporary nationalism Anderson argues that nations are invented as limited within particular geography and also as sovereign, in which a created

sense of camaraderie prevails over existing inequalities and exploitations. It is an imagined community, he argues, 'because the members of even the smallest nation will never know most of their fellow members, meet them or even hear them, yet in the mind of each lives the image of their communion' (1983, p.15). Imagined communities are applicable to different cultural groups, where migrant groups existing within a 'broader' national community are vocal representatives of the concept.

Together with other activities (such as language, joint activities, sports activities, participation in the same cultural sphere, and historical or scientific documentation), music is utilised as a 'DIY kit' for the process of re-creation – or, as Lundberg (2009) argues, the imagination of migrant identities in a new place. The concept of DIY identities or DIY citizenship marks a number of studies of migration (e.g., Andersson, 2012; Harris and Roose, 2014), migrant groups and music (Lundberg, 2009; Wilson, 2012) as well as wider studies on popular culture (Bennett & Guerra, 2018; Haenfler, 2018; Strachan, 2007). The role of global media in the construction of identities seems to be a part of the DIY concept, as a DIY citizen is defined as 'someone who constructs an identity from available choices, patterns, opportunities on offer from semiosphere and media-sphere' (Hartley, 1999, p.178, cited in Wilson, 2018). Media become a significant provider of symbolic, cultural and communication sources that can be allowed to form cultural identities, irrespective of geographical location. Members of transnational migrant communities can reconnect with their peers in other countries or continents without needing to 'give up' on their country of origin or a 'previous' home. Connection to one or another media-source forms and mediates cultural belonging (Lundberg, 2009). Therefore, music plays an important role in forming transnational migrant identities as it is utilised as a media that can be relatively easily 'activated' in any place. For instance, Impey (2013) discusses the composition and circulation of musical audio letters via cassettes between South Sudan and the global Dinka diaspora; Greve (2009) traces musical exchanges between the Turkish diaspora in Germany and their homeland through CDs and visiting artists; Robertson (2010) focuses on singing as a form of construction of the cultural identity of the Japanese community in the United States. Similarly, Reitsamer (2016), discusses the role of grass-roots music initiatives, such as a Yugoslavian choir in Austria, in reinforcing community identity and heritage in a new country, while Erol (2012) discusses the distinctions and similarities of community identities built through the agency of music and dance among global Alevi communities.

Transnational types of identity are supported and mediated by new technologies and global communication networks. In turn, new communicative technologies mediate and support transnational identities and networks of migrant groups. Studies of migrant musicians (Kiwan & Meinhof, 2011; Bender, 2009; Greve, 2009) reveal that regional towns, urban areas and capital cities are interconnected by international music networks. Their analyses of migrant musician trajectories demonstrate that musicians are prone to interact within hubs, which may be 'human hubs' (musicians, producers, event organisers in different countries), 'spatial hubs' (regional, urban areas, epicentres of cultural life), 'institutional hubs' (cultural, production or event organisations) or 'accidental hubs' (such as parallel networks, academic research organisations and educational or social institutions). By organising themselves into global-local international networks, migrant musicians bring new musical styles and cultures into various locations, providing 'globalisation from bottom to top'. Similarly, Appadurai (1990) and others (e.g., Smith and Gaurnizo, 1998) discuss the transnational migration's ability to create global networks 'from below'. Bender (2009) examines the circulation of African musicians in Europe, suggesting that they create complex routes and networks, which might not be seen from the standpoint of Western audiences. Therefore, by employing their transnational connections, musicians work on 'domestication' and inclusion of migrant cultures as elements of everyday life. Authors such as Kiwan and Meinhof (2011) underline that the strategies employed by migrant musicians to organise transnational networks also provide insights into the organisation and functioning of migrant groups and individual migrants. As such, these networks utilise diasporic groups, but also build professional networks and relations beyond ethnically defined communities. Transnational networks unite various actors of different ethnic and musical cultures, which serve the purpose of creating new musical projects, bands, and sounds.

Undoubtedly, the importance of music as a point of connection between transnational identities has increased in the contemporary global communication era. Music has become a part of global cultural exchange through the invention of various music media sources and platforms, and DIY technologies for composing and preserving music (Flood, 2016; Walzer, 2017; Crooke, 2018, Noah, 2018). Through digitalisation and electronic archives, migrant groups obtain global access to music data banks, thereby accessing a cultural heritage to which they feel a sense of belonging. Some studies note that DIY technologies and channels, such as independent micro-labels, DJ music, mixers, musical applications and digital archives of sounds have made music increasingly more available as an instrument of self-expression (Knobel & Lankshear, 2010). Digitalisation has also changed the conventional routes and

hierarchies of musical production, whereby musicians get direct access to a potential audience through media platforms, social media or self-created websites (Boyd & Ellison, 2007). In turn, through easy access to multiple musical sources such as social media or music platforms (Hesmondhalgh et al., 2019), listeners may choose the music and participate in the creation of a musician's popularity, avoiding intermediaries (labels, promoters, shops). Lundberg notes that such types of translocal interaction, in opposition to conventional 'global-local' types, instead occur in horizontal, local-to-local dimensions throughout peer-to-peer communication, mediated by the internet and controlled by a person (van Dijk, 2012). Such technological changes lead to a cultural turn in producing and consumption of music, characterised by online communities, fan cultures and individual production of music (Lingel and Naaman, 2011).

Music as a practice of negotiations of cultural citizenship

Arguably, national identity and migration is the most problematic topic, standing at the front of political and societal discussions about unity and identity, multiculturalism and how far the acceptance of 'others' should go. Studies on transnational migration, mobilities and citizenship (e.g., Isin, 2009; Castles, 2000; Sassen, 1998; Vertovec, 2001) show that transnational identity has challenged the concept of citizenship and state defined in territorial and national terms, prompting its redefinition. The concept of 'imagined' communities (Anderson, 1983) and citizenship as a practice (Isin and Nielsen, 2008) has been developed in studies of music and migration, in which music is seen as a practice of negotiations of cultural belonging within the state and the claiming of cultural citizenship.

For instance, Stokes argues, that music is 'one of the less innocent means' of governance and control, which supports the state's boundaries' (Stokes,1994:8). State musical events or celebrations may be named as one of the most aggressive forms of power manifestation. Political power can be manifested through musical events, such as marches or parades. Even musical instruments can be the subject of political boundaries between nations as they may be included in a national canon or be excluded from a group of 'national instruments' as 'foreign' (La Lue,1994).

National music, 'national styles' of music can be seen as reflections of cultural boundaries between accepted 'insiders' and 'outsiders'. 'Traditional music' monopolises the understanding of the past as homogenous, monocultural and unquestionable (Scheding, 2018). 'Folklore' and 'national music' involve the subject of collective memory and history,

whose meanings and symbolism are constructed and can be transformed according to a social and political agenda. 'National' music also acts as an instrument of demarcation from culturally different identities that at the same time instil social relations of power and hierarchy between identities (Stokes, 1994). Musical styles that penetrate and disrupt national traditions are perceived as musical and cultural 'others' are therefore excluded from the category of the 'national music' of a country.

However, national canons or genres of music are not something written in stone and reflect ongoing claims to citizenship and belonging. Through music, images and meanings of 'national' cultural identity can be challenged and shifted. For instance, the 'Europeanisation' of national musical styles in Turkey at the beginning of the 20th century and the emergence of European composers born in Poland and the Russian empire at the end of the 19th century signalled the expanding cultural borders of those countries along with broader territorial identification. Debates over the inclusion of composers of different ethnic origins in a list of 'national' composers can illustrate disputes over the understanding of nationality and citizenship (Levi, 2012, Mach, 1994).

Music itself is or can be understood as a practice through which negotiations of otherness are enacted. Mhurchú (2016) argues that music should be seen as a vernacular practice of negotiations and obtaining citizenship, in which citizenship, followed to Isin's argument (Isin, 2008) should be seen not as a status but as a practice. Citizenship, Mhurchu states, is an act which is linked 'to the *process of claiming and performing rights to belong;* it thus enables us to rethink 'who' can be a citizen beyond the already-existing rights-bearing liberal subject' (Mhurchú, 2016, p.157). Mhurchú's study explores the ways in which through vernacular music practices urban migrant youth indirectly challenge a narrow national, linguistic space that usually prioritises only one or several languages by bringing multiple linguistic practices and legitimising them as a part of a country's contemporary music culture. Marginalised migrant youth and their music practices, the author argues, force us to rethink politics of citizenship, as it doesn't directly challenge the boundaries of existing polities, such as state or city, but utilises more subtle and subversive ways of challenging those boundaries. For hybrid youth, music becomes a space of reconnection with 'like-minded' peers who cannot claim their particular national or ethnic belonging. As such, migrant youth demonstrate that the idea of citizenship is not something that is embedded in categories of nationality or statehood but rather 'interwoven together without being grounded in statehood or international polity – which is then resisted' (ibid., p.169).

Music's significance as a space of re-enactment of cultural citizenship is evident from other studies examining popular music genres. British hip-hop artists, such as Riz MC, a British citizen of Pakistani ancestry, vocalise this dilemma of hybrid belonging through lyrics formulated as 'Englishman amongst Arabs and an Arab amongst Englishmen' (Western, 2018). Music styles are often divided by principles of ethnicity (such as 'British pop music and the simultaneous existence of sub-categories of 'Asian Cool', 'Hip-Hip', or 'World music'), providing invisible borders of exclusion in migrants' right to claim their cultural citizenship (Greve, 2009). Migrant musicians often have to position themselves and perform within the borders of their ethnic identities in order to 'fit in' into established music categories (Kiwan & Meinhof, 2011; Connell and Gibson 2004). An alternative migrant musician's response to ethnic boundaries set up through music genres may be seen in the appearance of 'self-ironisation' or 'self-orientalisation' – an ironic vocalisation of the dilemma of cultural belonging (Grieve, 2009). The utilisation of mixed languages, Greve claims, such as combining European literature canons with musical styles of the Ottoman Empire by German Turks or the deconstruction of old Anatolian songs by Swiss-Kazakh singers are examples of migrant musicians' creative resistance.

The category of authenticity is one of the relevant examples to illustrate the dynamic relations between music, identity and claims for cultural belonging. Authenticity, as Stokes argues, is 'definitely not a property of music' (Stokes, 1994, p.7). However, the term is widely used in the description of migrant music as a marker of quality of musical performance. Multicultural festivals and events use 'authenticity' to validate musicians' quality through their connection with ethnic roots and traditions. Such myths are based on primordial perceptions of culture, which assume a 'natural' inheritance of musical traditions by ethnic cultures. For example, the 'natural' predisposition to jazz or hip-hop by Black musicians or the common belief amongst European audiences that 'Africans have music in their blood' (Bender, 2009[3]). Driven by expectations of authenticity, the western audience sees the musical performances of ethnic musicians as having some connection with ancient traditions, a mysterious trip to roots and a forgotten 'simple' truth that western civilisation has lost (e.g., Connell and Gibson, 2004). Similarly, categories of 'exotic' and 'oriental' music may be seen as an indicator of perception and negotiation of a migrant's identity.

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[3] Which, according to Bender (2009), justifies a racist prejudice of 'blood and soil' in its connectivity to ethnicity and culture.

‘Exotica’ marks the unknown, but a mysterious and appealing stylised image of other cultures, based on local imaginings and constructions. ‘Exotic cultures’ has become a popular term for multiple African, Asian, and Middle Eastern cultural phenomena and their representation in music, dance, cuisine, traditions and beliefs.

Such misleading simplification may, on the one hand, reflect a colonial orientation of the past, where western countries were forming perceptions and impressions based on uninformed and superior points of view. On the other hand, simplification and homogenous representation of diverse cultures, as well as the language of ‘exotica’, manifests itself through contemporary images of migrant music; continuing to reflect colonial attitudes to otherness. A global cult of ‘djembe’ *’as the African drum par excellence’* (Bender, 2009. p.143), which originated from a specific area in Guinea, neglects the abundance of various other instruments, such as string instruments, kora, drums (such as the dundun or gangan), these being mostly unknown in the wider world. As Bender states, djembe workshops and classes gained enormous popularity in Europe, being seen as a part of popular psychology courses. The engaging atmosphere, a comparatively unsophisticated methodology of self-created rhythms and sounds leveraged the popularity of djembe classes as an alternative to psychotherapy. However, the meaning of workshops with African instruments may have very little to do with the discovery of African cultures as it focuses on the therapeutic goals of the audience. Reducing the complexities of migrant musical cultures to one instrument inevitably means a simplification of migrant identities, which results in marginalised identities and suppressed representations (Bender, 2009).

Various studies examine the qualities of music as a practice of negotiations of migrant identities and a way of increasing social capital through music. For instance, Marsh (2017) focuses on migrant youth and their musical performances in school. She argues that through music and dance performances, migrant children (5-18 years of age) are able to negotiate their social positions as they demonstrate advanced music and dance skills. The presence of music, musical play, and dance in regularly planned activities in schools and community facilities can enhance language development and social integration within the host culture. Präger (2014) offers some insights into music as a cultural and social communication medium. His historiographical research encompasses youth music camps organised for young, displaced Sudeten Germans from Czechoslovakia and Germans of a ‘host country’, Bavaria, after WWII. He concludes that musical interactions eventually seeded the merging of the hosts’ and immigrants’ highly compatible musical practices and facilitated the

reciprocal influence of both populations' musical styles. Gottesman (2017) and Washington and Beecher (2010) examine the issues of hostile 'otherness' in the situation of cultural and social conflict in the Middle East. Through their examination of joint music activities such as ensembles and orchestras (e.g., the West-Eastern Divan Orchestra created by Daniel Barenboim and Edward Said) consisting of musicians of conflicting sides (e.g., Israel, Palestine in Gottesman's examination and Egypt, Jordan, Lebanon, Syria, Lebanon in Washington and Beecher's study) the authors conclude that music as a 'social medicine' (Washington and Beecher (2010) provides a space for positive social interaction. Through shared musical activities, members of conflicted communities are empowered to challenge their own understanding of their situation and perhaps to change their perceived positions of the culturally and socially opposed sides of the conflict.

Music as a practice of engagement

Music thus plays an essential role in migrants' relations with their new place of living. Through music, issues of wellbeing and 'non-belonging' (Nunn, 2020) can be reworked. Music has a capacity to 'diffuse' the sense of home through affective memories and images of home traditions and cultures (Šenay, 2009). Music also participates in negotiations of cultural citizenship, as meanings and symbols of place can be contested and 'loosened' through musical practices (Mhurchú, 2016, Wilson, 2012). Music can be enacted as a part of migrants' social and cultural capital to negotiate their place in existing systems of value and validate their cultural capital (Erel, 2010). What qualities of music make it an important instrument for addressing multiple issues of belonging?

Music studies highlight various mechanisms through which music acts as a vehicle of social cohesion and belonging. For instance, Finnegan (1989) draws the discussion around music and everyday rituals. Music in rituals, be it for example Christmas or Remembrance Day, shape the main events of our lives and also fill them. Music is the structure and part of the rituals and their content. Music provides meanings and symbols of life events and forms the understanding of 'life's experiences. Musicians and performances are thus recognised as having a unique role in creating a space in social life and framing the events as rituals.

Events are the public form of musical performance (which could also be concerts, gigs, or recitals) through which musical enactment happens. Finnegan notes performance 'represent in some sense an epitome of music enactment, and that such notion is central to the consciousness and operation of most local musicians ' (Finnegan, 1989, p. 337). These

events, Finnegan continues, may take many different forms, but in all cases, they are symbolically set apart from events of everyday life. 'They enable us to project our valued vitality into transcendent realms. In fact, they guarantee transcendence (Roger Abrahams, 1977, p.46 cited from p.337). Finnegan underlines that musical performances can't be all marked as having such transcendental qualities. There could be 'quasi' rituals, which can be valuated through their entertaining qualities (e.g., 'pleasant'/' boring'). Finnegan elaborates on conditions of transcendence: the 'interaction of both performers and audience represents somehow a shared symbolic dimension which removes it above and beyond an ordinary experience' (ibid, p. 338).

The effects of music on forming collective emotional experiences have also been noted by Stokes (1994); Lundberg (2018); Duffy (2005). Stokes (1994) argues that music shapes essential events in the life of a community; it is not just an ornament for ritual but a condition for a ritual to happen. Lundberg (2018) notes that together with other cultural instruments of self-representation, such as literature, poetry or dance, music acts as a marker of collective identity. Duffy (2005) points out that music shapes communities' social lives through setting up 'clouds of meanings' about places and spaces, through which collective identities feel an emotional connection. This particular quality of music provides an opportunity to open the space for various interpretations and connect with individuals' experiences, which provides an explanation of music as an instrument of social engagement. Duffy discusses music's ability to connect with music and lyrics through an ability to create a fluid balance between the 'already-spoken-about' and the 'not-spoken-about-yet' that signals 'unspoken desires' – images of selves and others (Duffy, 2005). This feature of music, she argues, allows the recreation of meanings of home, community and individual identity in various spaces and circumstances. Music activates, enacts and embodies personal and collective identities through a range of specific features – engaging lyrics, sounds of instruments and voices, and the physical dimension of rhythm and dance.

Eyerman (2002) discusses the same quality of music from the perspective of social movements empowered by music. Music, he argues, enables the connection between personal and collective identity through the transferring of metaphors and symbols shared by various groups (Eyerman, 2002). Such an ability to affect groups of people reveals music's importance as a vehicle for social changes. As he illustrates, the migration of African Americans from the American South to the North and the simultaneous proliferation of jazz music significantly impacted the Civil Rights Movement in the United States in the decades

from the 1910s to the 1950s. Localisation of Afro-American narratives of 'black is beautiful' through music, as King (2010) argues, led to new forms of Indigenous public agency in Australia. Music is seen as a powerful form of cultural resistance and shifting societal perceptions of the race (e.g., Rose, 1989; Ibrahim, 1999) and gender (e.g., Roberts, 1991; Griffin, 2012; Gadir, 2016). The agency of music in mobilising political resistance was also examined in multiple studies – for example, in South Africa (Schumann, 2008), Iran (Nooshin, 2017), Palestine (McDonald 2013), Brazil (Leu, 2006), and Eastern Europe and Russia (Ramet, 2019).

Some (e.g., Stokes, 1994; Wilson, 2012; Finnegan, 1989) argue that music-making can be associated with 'unproductive' idle and leisure time in the context of other social practices with a clear purpose and 'result'. However, Wilson (2012) demonstrates that this idle time provides a space in which 'necessary work' of reassembling meanings of life and social relations occurs. Wilson (along with Hara, 2018) points out that music-making, which may include rehearsals, learning new songs, construction of DIY places for recording or a process of learning musical instruments, is an active process of engaging in social activities. This social aspect of music enables various communications and music-related connections. Marsh (2012) and Carlow (2004) examine social networking through music-making, which results in feelings of belonging through collective engagement. As has been mentioned in the works of Präger (2001), Washington and Beecher (2008), Klebe (2009) and Scott-Maxwell (2013), this collective engagement can be particularly important as an instrument of intercultural communication and negotiations of hybrid identities.

Music in urban and regional areas

The notion of music as a social practice involved in building migrant social capital and negotiating cultural citizenship with the 'host' countries requires further elaboration. The above-mentioned studies of global mobilities and subsequent changes in perceptions of migrant identities were conducted predominantly in urban areas. Notions of 'placelessness', cosmopolitanism and intense interrelation between various geographical areas reflect mostly urban industrial and post-industrial cultural landscapes. Urban areas, as Farrugia (2015) argues, have become epicentres of economic production and cultural innovations, as well as epicentres of global migration. At the same time, cities have become places of birth for new global music movements and epicentres of music production (Hudson, 2006; Flew, 2017; Ballico & Carter, 2021). Post-industrial urban economies emerged in the 1970s and 1980s

(Kong, 2014; Taylor 2015), and reinvented music as an aspect of creative production and consumption. 'Urban economies of cool' (Farrugia, 2015), of which music is a part, have formed in opposition to regional areas, in which agricultural production tends to be the main mode of economic production and delineates the meaning of the place. Cresswell (2014, p. 83) notes this opposition and even a competition of lifestyles:

> Cosmopolitans cannot live without locals: In other words, the cosmopolitan identity may be formed through mobility and a decrease in the importance of one's own place, but it simultaneously depends on continued variation in the world – the existence of recognisably different places inhabited by 'locals.' For one thing, the cosmopolitans need the locals to exist in order to be able to enjoy their encounters with difference.

To some degree, cosmopolitan lifestyles associated with urban development have been established through interdependent opposition to regional areas, which are less touched by economic revolution and cultural globalisation. In contrast to studies manifesting regional relationality, some studies argue that regional areas tend to remain 'local' places, in which life is less cosmopolitan and less reliant on services economies, including the music industry. For instance, Scott et al. (2007) examine perceptions of the rural–urban divide, in which points of contrast are drawn around the criteria of high and low migration, multicultural or homogenous (white) ethnicity, contrasting population figures and education opportunities. They note that urban areas are characterised by secondary and tertiary economic sectors, with regional and rural areas continuing to be dominated by primary industry sectors and supporting activities (2007, p. 4).[4]

Some studies (e.g., Finnegan, 1989; DeNora, 2000) argue that cultural practices such as music are associated with contexts and functions specific to particular localities. For instance, Ruth Finnegan provides valuable insights into how regional music differs from urban music. She argues that the regional context tends to provide more flexibility and fluidity in relation to music as a social practice than urban settings are able to do. First and foremost, she describes the importance of the concept of music-making as a regional practice. Finnegan

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[4] The arguments that these studies utilise are illustrative of various contextualisation of regionality. They also indicate possible inequalities in regional connectivity (or awareness of such connectivity) with other social, economic and cultural regions.

argues that music should be studied not as a 'product', or an accomplished result, but as a music-making *practice*. This is because it may reveal the 'hidden' meaning of music for participants, which in many situations is not a product creation. She points out that music-making is a dynamic, changing process that does not necessarily aim to have some visible and tangible outcome, whether a song or concert: 'The focus in the existence and interaction of different musics, on musical practise rather than musical works, … reveals the hitherto unsuspected scope of music-making, with far-reaching implications for our lives today' (Finnegan, 1989, p. 10). In other words, something that may be considered 'non-professional' and less valuable 'music' in urban settings would be regarded as a more valuable and impactful social practice in regional areas. Even though she does not make a direct comparison with urban music-making, Finnegan broadens her perception of music so it is more than just another form of economic activity. Her entire work underlines the cultural and social importance of grass-roots music practices in regional areas, which shape communities' relations and connect various places with others through vast musical networks.

Finnegan (1989) explores the ambiguity of the blurred 'professional/amateur' distinctions in regional musical life. The term 'professional musicians' implies an economic definition as someone who is paid and earning a living from musical practice. Finnegan reasons that local musicians may retire from full-time paid jobs and still participate in musical activities. They may also participate as volunteers (which happens very often in regional areas). Many 'amateur' choirs or bands can invite paid 'professionals' as lead singers or special guests for events. Music bands can be paid or not paid according to the occasion or perceived level of professionalism. The possession of a formal musical education that might mark a distinction between 'amateur' and 'professional' does not clarify the terminology. 'Amateur' musicians can be self-taught and demonstrate elaborate skills and techniques. Some bands can comprise individuals with formal musical education and self-taught musicians. Many individuals have strong family musical traditions and are highly respected in a community as professional musicians. Discussing different connotations and overtones that constitute the 'professional' and 'amateur', Finnegan suggests that the analysis of a local music scene should encompass all varieties of musical practice, regardless of their status or whether they are viewed as professional or amateur art. This lack of rigid conceptualisation opens the possibility of observing what is traditionally hidden: grass-roots music-making in which millions of people across a given country may be involved.

More recent studies can confirm Finnegan's notions of the exceptional roles of music-making in regional areas (e.g., Warren & Evitt, 2015; Bennett, Cashman & Lewandowski, 2019), which discuss music practices in the context of remote regional areas. In contrast to the British regional town of Milton Keynes, depicted by Finnegan (1989) and still relatively proximate to metropolitan areas, Australian regional geography provides some valuable insights into music's roles in the situation of vast distances and isolation from other settlements. For instance, Warren and Evitt (2015) discuss the role of music in Indigenous youth's negotiations of poverty, geographical distances and race. They argue that local hip-hop practices connect marginalised youth with global hip-hop cultural geographies through common narratives of black culture and politics. DIY hip-hop production, they claim, helps to negotiate remoteness and also connect with storytelling, dance and language traditions; as such, local music practices become epicentres of youth' creative activity and connectivity in remote places. Rickwood (2015) discussed local and global musical connections in the case of choral communities or Central Australia and their collaboration with the African Soweto Choir. Such interactions, she argues, help to bring local stories of colonisation, discrimination and hope to a media and public attention. Regional musical events and festivals form regional identities and significantly contribute to the local cultural economy – for example, as a part of local tourist strategies (Gibson, 2002, 2007; Gibson & Connell, 2003; Derrett, 2008). For instance, Gibson and Connell provide a detailed examination of the regional creative production of the Northern Rivers area of New South Wales, in which music is a definitive factor. They argue that music played a role in the creation of the meaning of the Northern Rivers as an 'alternative' place and culture, together with urban–rural migration to the region. Student initiatives in the 1970s, such as the Aquarius Festival and the creation of a 'hippie' counter-culture settlement, with migrating artists, academics and young people interested in spiritual discoveries, together with an exploration of the region's natural beauty, created the region's meaning and identity. Over time, the 'alternative' aura was commoditised and became the brand of the region, which resulted in the emergence of 'sonic tourism' and migration into the area. The cultural economy of the region, however, suffers from a lack of infrastructure (ability to accommodate such a number of tourists during significant events) and local population unemployment, which undermines the region's prospects to support the cultural economy based on cultural identity and cultural 'brand promise'.

Bennett, Cashman and Lewandowski (2019) provide a comprehensive overview of regional music scenes in Queensland. They argue that regional music scenes can be seen as 'cool peripheries', in which remoteness from national or international touring routes results in

a strong sense of history and identity. They argue that regional music scenes suffer from multiple challenges, such as shifting demography and particularly outflow of youth, fragile musical infrastructures, a lack of sustainability due to regional financial challenges and stereotypical labels imposed from outside. An investigation of regional and rural music scenes as centres of creativity, employment and leisure without an 'urban' bias in taste and lifestyle is necessary for countries such as Australia. The authors outline the issue of sustainability of local cultures, and particularly music scenes, in the context of remote geographies typical of regional Australia.

Defining a research gap: The roles of music-making in regional practices of non-Western migrant resettlement

Through the literature search and review, it becomes evident that the regional context as a specific 'place' and 'space' for non-Western migrant resettlement has been under-researched in migrant music studies worldwide.

Most of the studies examined in this chapter (e.g., Leman & Bafekr, 1999; Greve, 2009; Šenay, 2009; Lundberg, 2009; Wilson, 2012; Winston, 2018) discuss the role of music within migrant communities or as a means of intercultural communication in urban and mostly metropolitan settings such as Sydney, Melbourne, Stockholm, London and Berlin. In a similar vein, Chapman (2005) examines issues of Lao communities' inclusion in Sydney, while Dowson (2002) discusses hip-hop and dub music, and issues of cultural hybridity of Asian minorities in London; Erol (2010) focuses on the musical activities of the Alevi community in Toronto, Canada; Pravaz (2010) examines Afro-Brazilian ensembles in metropolitan Canadian cities; and Morrison (2005) depicts construction of community identities among the Arab diaspora in San-Paolo, Brazil. Some studies examine music's role in relation to migration in a specific social setting in 'receiving countries', such as schools (Marsh, 2012, 2017), education or rehabilitation centres with organised music activities for forced migrants (e.g., Davis, 2004; Boso et al, 2007; Cheong-Clinch, 2009; Harris, 2019; de Martini Ugolotti, 2020; Crawford, 2020) or migrant detention centres (e.g., Lennette et al, 2016). Some studies focus on musical activities of displaced migrants in neighbouring countries or conflict territories (e.g., Washington & Beecher, 2010; D'Ardenne & Kiyendeye, 2015; Gottesman, 2017), or liminal 'in-between' spaces, such as refugee camps (e.g. Makhumula, 2019).

Nevertheless, some studies are particularly focused on non-metropolitan areas of migrant resettlement in 'receiving' countries. For instance, Bennett (1997) examines the bhangra music and dancing tradition of Punjabi communities in Newcastle in the United Kingdom. Despite its status as a main city in the northeast of England, the author highlights some regional specifics. A comparative geographical remoteness from other urban centres is one reason for a scarcity of a migrant – particularly Asian – population in the city. As a consequence, a lack of multicultural presence significantly limits opportunities for cultural expression and the development of cultural music scenes, which are present in more developed forms in other urban places, such as London or Bristol, in venues such as cafes and clubs, and at public events. In the situation of scarcity of migrant population and its cultural representation, the author argues that music is utilised as a vehicle of reinvention of collective identity and its expression.

Carstensen-Egwoum (2010) examines music-making of sub-Saharan migrant population in Chemnitz, an industrial city in the Eastern Germany with a population of 200,000. The city has experienced high levels of unemployment and low levels of ethnic diversity. The study argues that the analysis of cultural events can serve as a contrast to the situation in the large metropolitan areas, and can help us to understand local opportunities for immigrant incorporation, as music activities are highly dependent on a local context. His research suggests that music in 'regional' contexts is utilised by newly arrived migrants to integrate with the local multicultural scene and conform to the expectations of the majority society, in which ethnic identities increase their 'foreigners' and act as 'public' foreigners' to emphasise their otherness. In a similar vein, Lewis (2010) discusses Leeds in the United Kingdom as a place of compulsory dispersal of people seeking asylum, mentioning that the places can be characterised by a significant disproportion between 'multicultural' and 'white' population, in which refugee community events are utilised to rework agendas of alienation and inclusion.

Other studies discuss regional aspects of multicultural conflicts in the borders between various regions – for example Moroccans in Andalusian Spain (Conversi & Machin-Autenrieth, 2019) or Mexican American intercultural music scenes. In such studies, music is seen as a vehicle of reworking phobias and anxieties related to culturally 'others' and the recreation of 'intercultural regionalism', 'envisioned as the combination of regional identity-building and intercultural interactions between communities that share a common cultural heritage' (Conversi & Machin-Autenrieth, p. 1).

To a degree, we can see that the investigation of 'regional' immigration and music making are based on a specific context of locality, whose characteristics can differ from other regional places. For instance, cities such as Leeds, Newcastle and Chemnitz are considered urban areas, despite some 'regional' characteristics (mentioned in Scott et al 2007), such as the prevalence of a homogenous 'white' population or absence of multicultural practices. In other studies, regional areas can be characterised by historically established interactions between culturally diverse populations, in the context of a relative density of regional population and its connectivity with urban areas.

Yet the specifics of regional context in practices of migrant resettlement and music practices have not been comprehensively examined. Based on a literature review, this specific of regional context can be characterised by two distinctive factors. First, geographical remoteness and isolation, analysed by Bennett, Cashman and Lewandowski (2019), can be seen as one of the key characteristics that define a regional cultural context in terms of migrant settlement experiences. Second, the history of the politics of regional non-Western migration is relatively recent, as suggested by Hugo (2008) and Golebiowska (2016). The lack of examination of migrant music practices in regional areas can be explained by the principal direction of international migration to urban areas in the twentieth century. Arguably, the Australian geographical regional landscape, with its sharp distinction between regional and urban areas, can make the examination of music as a part of migrant regional settlement experience particularly illustrative.

The only case study investigating migrant art practices in the regional Australian context was undertaken in Victoria by Miller in 2012.[5] It investigated the role of art in the Congolese community in Shepparton. Twelve Congolese migrants were interviewed to gather insights about the linkages between the arts (performing arts, such as music and dance, visual arts and crafts, and clothing and hairstyles as cultural expressions) and social cohesion, arts and cultural citizenship. The study states that 'having the opportunity to engage with arts and culture is one of the critical factors in the Congolese feeling welcomed by the community, both as a part of the settlement process and as a "product" of resettlement' (Miller, 2012, p. 25). The case study reveals that arts engagement had an impact on four significant indicators of social inclusion: learning, working, engaging and having a voice (2012, p. 33).

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[5] The case study was published in a form of a research report rather than a peer-reviewed academic publication.

It acknowledges the issue of structural limitations and available places for migrant arts practices. It also places a particular emphasis on the necessity of advocacy of migrant arts as a part of government policies.

Current regional migration studies make similar points about social inclusion and cultural citizenship as crucial factors for regional settlement. For example, Garland and Chakraborti (2006) examine the specific cultural context of regional areas in the United Kingdom, outlining significant issues regarding non-Western migrant exclusion in predominantly 'white' Anglo-Saxon areas. Some studies conducted in Australia (e.g. Krivokapic-Skoko & Collins, 2016, 2018) discuss the appearance of 'rural cosmopolitanism' in regional areas. The challenge in fostering regional cosmopolitanism for government policies is formulated as the issue of attraction and retention of international migrants in regional areas. The authors argue that the main reasons preventing migrants from remaining in regional areas are issues of cultural belonging, a lack of cultural communities and a lack of relevant cultural and leisure practices. Some studies (Schech, 2014) argue that migrants in regional areas have to negotiate their cultural positions and often downplay their skills in order to be accepted. Similarly, Radford (2016) points out the impact of regional Australian everyday cultural practices, in which a scarcity of regional spaces for multicultural encounters questions non-Western migrants' ability to express and negotiate their identities. A recent examination of employment opportunities in regional areas by Boese and Moran (2021) unequivocally demonstrates that cultural barriers between the local populations and non-Western migrants play a role in migrants' employment. As such, migrant professional skills and achievements are challenged by local perceptions as culturally 'other', despite the rhetoric of multicultural inclusion and labour market demands. Given the qualities of music examined in this chapter, its role in engagement with places, people, ideas and meanings of regional places can potentially be crucial to addressing cultural barriers to regional immigration.

Conclusion

This purpose of this chapter has been to map various directions in the discussion of the multiple roles of music in migrant settlement. It has highlighted the relationship between music and globalisation and mobility and considered changes in perception of place and identities caused by these phenomena. The literature suggests that the category of place has transitioned from being 'localised', 'safe' and bound by local identity to open, global and

connected with other local and global places. The identity of a place is constructed and fluid; it changes over time under the influence of various actors. Cultural identities, 'inhabiting' various locations, are also built, and are no longer defined as belonging to only a physical and cultural terrain. Music in this context can be understood as a practice that reflects and constructs a place's cultural identity. Music mediates the process of migrant belonging and migrant transition from 'non-belonging' to the new place to 'belonging'. Belonging in this context is understood as constructing affective ties with the place through various social and cultural practices, including music. Music, according to Stokes (1994), does not merely reflect the past and 'unchanged' identities, but recreates identities in the new socio-cultural settings. Music impacts migrants' wellbeing through reworking memories of the past, through corresponding feelings of solidarity within migrant communities, and through provision of a safe and creative space for self-reflection. Music shapes migrant collective identities and is enacted as a part of a 'DIY identity kit' (Lundberg, 2009), together with other cultural and social practices. Through music practices, individual and collective identities are reimagined. Music provides connectivity with other places and identities through collective music-making, collaborations and music networks; therefore, music should be seen as a practice of transnational identity. Importantly, music acts as a practice of negotiation of citizenship between 'host' and 'migrant communities', through which migrant cultural practices create a space in the existing cultural practices of a host country. Moreover, through such negotiation, migrants create their social capital, participating in various social networks within a country, which means that music should be understood as a practice of social inclusion.

The literature suggests that urban and regional music practices differ, as urban areas as epicentres of the cultural economy have developed sophisticated and well-established music industries. In regional areas, however, music can play a significant role as a practice of social inclusion and connection with other places. The value of music, Finnegan (1989) argues, should not be seen merely in produced musical 'products' but in the process of music-making. Grassroots music practices in regional areas break conventional notions of professionalism and social distinctions, engaging participants from various social backgrounds. This role may be even more essential in remote and isolated areas – for example, regional Australia – where connectivity with the place and other places can have a greater importance.

However, in drawing on various qualities of music in the process of migrant resettlement, it becomes clear that regional areas in Australia have received significantly less academic attention compared with urban areas, in which most of the knowledge about music and migration has accumulated. Furthermore, the meanings and roles of regional music practices in the process of regional migrant resettlement remain somewhat uncharted territory. This leaves a research gap that needs to be addressed.

An attempt to answer these questions constitutes the current research purpose and design. The following chapters (particularly Chapter 4) will aim to map the answers to the questions of regional areas' specificity in accommodating international migration and utilising music in negotiations of cultural identity and creating migrant social capital.

3

Migrant music-making in regional settings: Research methodology

Introduction

The primary subject of this investigation is music-making as a practice that plays a significant role in addressing the issues of non-Western migrant' wellbeing and belonging, cultural acceptance and social inclusion in regional settings. This chapter outlines the research methodology appropriate for the addressing the research question. The chapter will canvass the process of choosing the field areas, particularly the criteria for choosing potential field research locations. Ethnographic and digital ethnography methods of data gathering will be discussed, specifically in-depth interviews in relation to the theoretical framework set up in Chapter 2. A specific focus of this chapter will be the impact of the public health crisis (COVID-19) on data-gathering methodologies, and the methodological interventions that emerged in the context of the public health crisis. The negotiations of the researcher's insider/outsider position in relation to online field research and engagement with participants will also be outlined. The chapter will describe in detail the process of data gathering, with a specific emphasis on strategies of engagement with participants in the context of digital communication 'from a distance'. Finally, a detailed analysis of the information gathered and the methods of presenting the data collected will conclude the chapter.

In search of place: Defining regional areas of migrant music-making for field research

In designing this research, my immediate methodological task was to determine the specific areas in which to undertake fieldwork. As the goal of the research was to examine various types of music-making in both the conventional and unconventional spaces utilised by migrant musicians, any potential field research location had to satisfy multiple criteria. This research explores the music activities of non-Western migrant communities, or 'visible migrants' (Radford, 2017) as a regional phenomenon, and consequently does not focus on any one particular ethnic group. Thus, the main criterion for the choice of an area was a visible presence of multiple non-Western migrant communities. Recent arrivals of non-Western immigrants allowed me to trace the migrant experience of the first and second generations (new settlers and their children) and analyse different issues of cultural belonging addressed through music practices. Various types of migration (such as skilled migration, or humanitarian migration) provide insights into how social and cultural migrant capital enables

or constrains migrants' involvement in music-making and their interactions with different regional places and institutions in which music is practised. An intersectional approach is applied to a 'variety of context-specific inquiries, including, for example, analysing the multiple ways that race and gender interact with class' (Cho, Crenshaw & McCall, 2013, p. 787), and to connections with categories such as nation and sexuality. In the context of non-Western migration into regional areas, migrant pathways such as refugee or skilled migration play an important role in perceptions and negotiations of social and cultural hierarchies within regional communities and music's interventions in this process. The four areas that were chosen for the research were Coffs Harbour and Wagga Wagga (New South Wales), and Toowoomba and Cairns (Queensland). All four regional cities are areas of non-Western migrant intake with a history of refugee or skilled migration programs running for at least a decade (e.g. 'Refugee Welcome Zone', 'Welcoming cities' or Designated Area of Migration Agreement[1]), so they have become areas of resettlement of multiple communities of migrants. Their geographical, historical, cultural and economic profiles represent a rich source for comparison and contrast with regard to migrants' settlement conditions and strategies. The detailed criteria for field location choice are presented below.

Virtual methods were utilised (Ruhleder, 2000; Hine, 2008) to conduct preliminary research on potential regional areas of field research. According to Burrell (2016), digital representation of a regional social terrain is a continuation of its physical spatial presence, in which online spaces allow research explorations that straddle the physical and the imaginary. Burrell points out that virtual spaces may contain features and qualities beyond those that can be physically inhabited and explored. For example, digital spaces exhibit ideas, objects, people and stories that may not be articulated transparently in the 'offline' spaces. Digital space, according to Burrell, is unlimited and contains opportunities for a comprehensive exploration of the place through accessible sources. Digital spaces represent multiple networks or sources and the relations between them, in which the researcher's challenge is to form a comprehensive picture of the site through mental immersion and engagement with the imagination. Through examining multiple sources (digital documents, reports, federal and local media, websites of federal, states and local organisations), I developed impressions about various places that were potentially appropriate for the field research and found the information that would satisfy the field location criteria.

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[1] A more detailed explanation of these programs will be provided in the Chapter 5

Regional economic, educational and cultural profiles were analysed to canvass migrant music presence. The state of regional music development is largely reflected by principal economic sectors and the presence of educational institutions and cultural events. Equally, the economic or educational orientation of local areas can be an attractive factor for international migration. My initial aim was to choose coastal and hinterland cities to compare how diverse regional economy profiles impact migrant music's involvement in local industries. The initial assumption was that coastal settlements would contain tourism in their economic profile (Rolfe & Flint, 2018), and would thus potentially utilise migrant arts as an element of tourism or a 'sea change' attraction strategy (Murphy, 2002). Hinterland regions and cities represent a diverse economic landscape (such as health services, education and farming), and attract skilled migration, which is reflected through Regional Development Australia's call for regional immigration.[2] Regional councils' development plans were rich data sources for critical strategic goals and migrant communities' presence as actors or elements of such development. The presence of sectors of the economy that would attract regional migration were crucial to allocating regional migrant communities. For instance, Cameron (2011, p.12) specifically identifies regional New South Wales' demand for 'engineers; health specialists; registered nurses; care and support service providers; lawyers; urban and regional planners; engineering, automotive and construction trades; horticulturists and food processors', noting that regional skilled labour shortages are similar to those faced nationally (e.g. nurses, chefs, welders, fitters and accountants). The presence of various economic sectors with a potential demand for immigrant intake is important to encompass various migration pathways and regional places. The presence of multiple and diverse institutions supporting migrant resettlement was another essential criterion in regional choice. Their existence in an area clearly signals the presence of various multicultural communities and a range of services and programs that facilitate resettlement. Therefore, music would potentially be on the list of resettlement programs.

A 'multicultural profile' of the areas was another important criterion to consider, as it provided variables relating to how new settlers were accommodated in the areas. As some studies (Krivokapic-Skoko, Reid & Collins, 2018; Garrido, Garcia-Ramirez & Balcazar, 2019) suggest, local communities' intercultural competences and experiences of

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[2] See, for example, https://rdariverina.org.au/skilled-migration; https://www.rdaorana.org.au/migration/migrants/; https://www.rdaillawarra.com.au/skilled-migration/; https://www.rda.gov.au/news-and-media/skilled-migration-paris-urbenville

heterogeneity play a key role in the success of non-Western migrant settlement. In such cases, a historical context can play a role, as 'low intercultural competence and xenophobic reactions could be explained with the historical context of a homogeneous society where heterogeneity (diversity) was officially denied' (Glorius, 2017, p. 11).[3] Hence, a history of multicultural settlement in an area potentially reflects multicultural awareness and communication between diverse identities in regional areas. To understand the presence of multicultural communities and the practices of their accommodation in an area, I studied the cities' profile and local cultural heritage sources –websites, official documents and museums. The examination of this criterion included the presence of grass-root multicultural organisations such as ethnic associations, ethnic community organisations, migrant-owned businesses, migrant-based cultural or sports clubs, and multicultural radio or other media.

One of the main criteria, together with the existing migrant population, was a visible 'musical' profile in an area, where multicultural events or other arts activities include the local migrant population. The areas of field research had to demonstrate an active musical life through local festivals, incoming musical tours, cultural events, existing music and arts venues and so on. As Stahl (2004), and Kiwan and Meinhoff (2011) argue, local music production is based on the established 'hard' infrastructures (such as venues, facilities, institutions) and 'soft' infrastructures, comprising 'human' networks, semi-formal or informal organisations and stakeholders. Therefore, my aim was to allocate potential stakeholders in both local migration intake and local music scenes. For instance, tertiary education institutions can potentially function as hubs for overseas students (Baas, 2006; Yao & Bai, 2008; Brown, 2012); institutions of higher educations also attract local students from multicultural backgrounds (e.g., King et al, 2016) and those who can support local arts and music scenes (Forbes, 2013). Other criteria would be institutions and organisations of musical education such as TAFE, conservatoria and community colleges, as they may play an important role in fostering the sustainability of regional music scenes (Bennett, 2012). Given the existing migrant population, my aim was to examine the presence of multicultural programs, musical courses or projects for non-Western audiences settled in a region. The analysis of local event programs, local council booklets and annual reports allowed me to see the recognition of musical and multicultural events as a part of local cultural life and to

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[3] Birgit Glorius, 'The challenge of diversity: Refugee allocation in rural communities in Germany', contribution to the *Rural and regional mobilities* report, Australia, 2017.

explore the roles played by the migrant population in regional cultural and economic plans. The complete list of criteria is shown in Table 3.1.

Table 3.1: Preliminary list of criteria for the field research areas choice.

Criteria	Why it's important	Weighting range
1. Regional context		
1.1. Geographical position	Accessibility, remoteness from major transport ways/affordability to life re climate/attractiveness for migrant resettlement	
1.2. History of settlement	Socio-cultural context that forms: 1. Territorial identity, attractiveness to relocate; 2. Migrant history as criteria for regional intercultural competence 3. The degree of influence of historical context on current socio-cultural activities	
1.3. Main transport systems	Economic potential of the region, connectivity part of with industries/accessibility	
1.4. Main industries and regional economy development priorities	The ability to utilise new migrant force as human and cultural capital; i.e. tourism development where cultural capital contributing significantly and participates in regional economy; ability to integrate through migrant cultural capital as a part of the economy goals and priorities	
1.5. Main regional attractions – how a region represent/positions itself for others	Identity and brand: Stories that the region tells about itself – regional attractiveness and ability for migrant music to contribute to it/being a part of these stories	
1.6. Regional inquires	Formulated needs: human capital inquiries, demography (aging population), economics, etc – potential for migrants to integrate through fulfilling regional needs	
1.7. Educational institutions/organisations – higher education, musical institutions	Ability to retain migrant families in the region and develop migrant musical cultural potential	
1.8. Political attitudes/managing government	Can impact overall attitudes towards migrant's potential and utilisation, provides a framework for governmental policy, social attitudes, influences on migrant's chances for integration	
2. Community profile and place of migrant population		

2.1. Overall population	Size of the community can provide different opportunities of integration – degree of a community's cohesion	
2.2. Migrant profile	Are there any migrant communities present? How large the migrant communities are; percentage in comparison with 'major' population	
2.3. Migrant history in the region	Formed by a community 'inter-cultural' competence toward migrants.	
2.4. Migrant policy in the region: proactive/inactive/refugee welcome zone	Regional openness, requirements and mechanisms of migrant integration present in the region - enhance or decreases chances for integration	
2.5. Migrant services, organisations	Actors, mechanisms – enhance or decreases opportunities for integration	
2.6. Community identity/ cohesion	How community defines themselves - An ability to interact with/embrace newcomers.	
2.7. Community profile	Occupation, education charts – forms attitudes toward 'others'	
3. Cultural life and diversity in the region	Potential for migrant's engagement through culture, particularly music. An ability to utilise migrant's musical/cultural capital or provide a chance for social communication through musical/cultural life. Cultural sector as a regional strength and a part of regional positioning (obtained through websites of local councils, local tourism providers, art stakeholders)	
1.1. Main culture events	Importance of cultural expression for the region – communal, economic. Ability to incorporate musical expressions for other cultures	
3.2. Main cultural institutions/Conservatorium/Festivals/Holidays	Diversity of cultural sphere in the region/Ability to accommodate/develop migrant musical expression	
3.3. Informal cultural infrastructure (pubs, venues, projects, private initiatives)	Variety of infrastructure /Ability to accommodate/develop migrant musical expression/the role of communal contribution into cultural life	
3.4. Main musical events	Ability to accommodate/develop migrant musical expression	
3.5. Migrant music events (concerts, festivals, parties, projects)	Value of migrant music to the region/community/	
3.6. Migrant grass-roots music activities	Examples and variety of musical expressions	

I had to utilise multiple digital data sources to decide which regional areas would satisfy the above criteria. The websites of federal and state migrant organisations were utilised to define potential areas of migrant settlement (Settlement Services providers, Refugee Council Australia, The Australian Multicultural Council).[4] Websites of local councils and local Regional Development Australia (RDA) offices provided information about strategic regional economic development plans and regional multicultural history, and basic information about main events, educational organisations and local attractions. Multiple destination and tourism websites, published by local visitor centres, local organisations and state government (e.g. www.visitnsw.com) were utilised to answer questions of overall regional positioning and exhibition of attractive features, including music and multicultural-related components. Web representations (websites, social media groups – mostly Facebook) of music, arts, educational organisations and institutions in each locality (conservatoria, museums, libraries, universities, local choirs, festivals, musicians, community markets) helped to form a local 'cultural' profile, as did the websites of federal non-for-profit organisations in the arts sector, such as Live Music Australia, Regional Arts Australia and Music Australia, which contain news about or profiles of local music stakeholders from various localities.

From the analysis of federal programs and initiatives of the Australian Multicultural Council and Social Services, I learned the locations of their regional offices and found which migrant communities were present in the areas. However, those programs mainly targeted refugee settlers and communities. Since skilled migration constitutes approximately two-thirds of annual immigrant intake (Boese & Moran, 2021), my task was to trace skilled migration intake in various regions. In this case, I had to ascertain a regional demand for skilled migration in regional development plans and analyse regions' economic profiles. How many migrants live in regional areas and what kind of occupations are they engaged in? The strategy reports and plans of federal bodies of regional development (presented through the federal Department of Infrastructure, Transport, Regional Development and Communications, Regional Development Australia) were sources of understanding of skilled

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[4] See, for example, https://immi.homeaffairs.gov.au/settling-in-australia/humanitarian-settlement-program/service-providers; www.refugeecouncil.org.au; www.homeaffairs.gov.au/mca/Pages/australian-multicultural-council.aspx

migration demand and intake in various areas. Even though the search generated some results (for instance, an allocation of the Northern Australia Strategic Development Plan that underpinned regional plans for skilled migration in Far North Queensland or identified regional Designated Areas of Migration Agreement, or DAMAs),[5] regional data on skilled migration intake were unclear. In most regions, Regional Development Australia publishes reports about labour shortages in each economic sector and indicates open applications for skilled migration on its websites; however, specific data about skilled migration flow were not present.

To complete the task of allocating the areas that would satisfy the defined criteria, I had to engage with the 'offline' spaces of potential field sites. Through a web analysis of various stakeholders related to local migrant communities, potential gatekeepers were identified as those who would be most knowledgeable about the existing migrant communities and their music practices. Various studies underline the complex relations between gatekeepers, researchers and local sources. The prevailing orthodoxy regarding gatekeepers is that they are those who can facilitate access to relevant sources and provide relations of trust (Saunders, 2006). This is challenged by notions of the complexity of gatekeepers' involvement in the field research process. For instance, gatekeepers' authority and power-plays may lead to the researcher being denied access to local sources (Berg, 2009). Crowhurst (2013) argues that gaining access through gatekeepers should be understood as a dynamic process, shaped by a transformative encounter in the field. My initial purpose, therefore, was to find actors who would understand the purpose of the research and appreciate its value, and who would thus be motivated to provide local knowledge about the area as well as access to potential research participants. Initially, officers at the local settlement services or community officers of the local council were identified as first point of contact, given their expertise about local migrant and local music events. However, the list of potential gatekeepers expanded during the research as initial candidates did not have knowledge of migrant music-making, or often other candidates were suggested by initial contacts. Through conversations with gatekeepers, I was able to examine the findings drawn from the preliminary research. These conversations were usually formed around already specified criteria, such as the visible migrant population of non-Western backgrounds, existing regional musical events and festivals and ongoing

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[5] See https://immi.homeaffairs.gov.au/visas/employing-and-sponsoring-someone/sponsoring-workers/nominating-a-position/labour-agreements/designated-area-migration-agreements

programs of resettlement. Verification of the information gathered through online research with gatekeepers also allowed me to specify potential interviewers and expand points of entry through identifying other gatekeepers (for example, local university researchers, music events organisers, leaders of local ethnic organisations, leaders of the local church). Such conversations enabled assessment of the gatekeepers' motivation to assist in this research in future fieldwork. Engaged and motivated gatekeepers at each site were another essential criterion for defining field research areas, as this ultimately impacted access to migrant communities and musicians in each location.

Chosen fieldwork locations

As a result of the preliminary research identifying field sites, four fieldwork areas were chosen: Coffs Harbour and Wagga Wagga in New South Wales; and Toowoomba and Cairns in Queensland.

Coffs Harbour

Coffs Harbour is a coastal city in New South Wales, with a population of 71,280 people (2016 census). It was declared a Refugee Welcome Zone in 2008,[6] which led to an influx of immigrants from African countries (Burundi, Congo, Rwanda), the Middle East (Syria, Iraq), South-East Asia (Myanmar, Thailand) and other areas. Coffs Harbour hosts several multicultural events, such as Harmony Day (8000 people in attendance) and Refugee Week. Refugee week consists of a range of sub-projects and events, such as a 'Freedom Feast', a community event with 800 people in attendance, and the 'Lullabies and Sweet Dreams' project that documents songs of various countries.[7] Settlement services in Coffs Harbour are represented by several organisations, such as the Red Cross, Anglican Church Settlement Services, and a regional office of Settlement Service International (SSI). The regional NSW Service for the Treatment and Rehabilitation of Torture and Trauma Survivors (STARTTS)[8] office actively participates in assisting newly arrived refugees by addressing issues of trauma and psychological adaptation, with an emphasis on migrant youth. Coffs Harbour's TAFE accommodates the educational needs of refugee settlement through the program of English lessons. The Coffs Harbour City Council also includes a community sustainability officer,

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6 www.coffsharbour.nsw.gov.au/Community-and-recreation/MyCoffs-Connect/Multiculturalism

7 www.coffsharbour.nsw.gov.au/Events-directory/Refugee-Week

8 NSW Service for the Treatment and Rehabilitation of Torture and Trauma Survivors, www.startts.org.au

whose responsibility is to coordinate various resettlement actors and arrange the city's events, including multicultural events such as Harmony Festival.

Coffs Harbour possesses several points of advantage as a research area. First, the established Sikh community[9] in the neighbouring settlement of Woolgoolga significantly impacts Coffs Harbour's multicultural profile and helps form its cultural attractiveness (two Sikh community temples and a Sikh Museum are the points of local tourist attraction and Coffs Harbour's media profile is increased as Woolgoolga is often presented as a part of the Coffs Harbour region). Even though the Sikh community could be seen as having already established a community (it traces its history in the region back to the 1880s), its social and cultural presence functions as an essential reference point for newly arrived migrants. Second, multicultural communities are recognised as a point of tourist attraction and as a part of regional cultural development in Coffs Harbour's Cultural Strategic Plan.[10] As a coastal city, Coffs Harbour prioritises tourist industry development in order to find new opportunities for regional economic growth, which historically was based around farming (bananas, berries) and timber production.

Wagga Wagga

Wagga Wagga is recognised as the largest inland city of New South Wales, with a population of 55,000 people. Geographically, it is well positioned midway between Sydney and Melbourne, and is thus potentially an attractive point for musical touring initiatives and cultural exchange. The Multicultural Council of Wagga Wagga was established in 1994 and is recognised as one of the first regional settlement services organisations. Since then, the Council has accommodated around 1700 refugees from Afghanistan, Bhutan, the Democratic Republic of the Congo, India, Iran, Iraq,

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9 Its population is estimated at around 1300 persons out of an overall population of 5200 in Woolgoolga.

10 From Coffs Harbour's Cultural Strategic Plan: 'The Coffs Harbour LGA has a rich diversity of people from migrant and refugee backgrounds. It is clear that both these communities and the broader community see the benefits in communicating their heritage and stories.' Inter/Multiculturalism Consultees identified the Coffs region as strongly multicultural and diverse, but views differed on how accepting and inclusive the community was. Many consultees identified multicultural festivals and food events, such as the Curry Fest, as community events that have a positive effect for inter/multiculturalism, as well as the inclusivity generated through sport. Woolgoolga has the largest regional Sikh/Punjabi population in Australia. The Coffs Harbour Events Strategy places an emphasis on further cultivation of arts and cultural festivals and events – including the investigation of major attractions – and prioritising support for new events and event generation in the low season. Creative Coffs – Cultural Strategic Plan 2017–22.

Jordan, Myanmar, Pakistan, Philippines, Rwanda, Sri Lanka, Sudan and Syria.[11] The Multicultural Council's role is to support the migrants' transition into Australian life through English language programs, employment programs and managing everyday living needs such as housing, connection with medical care, social services and transport. Another influx of migrants to the area is represented by skilled migrants from India, China, and South-East Asia. Even though the exact number of skilled immigrants is difficult to establish due to a lack of statistical data, it is possible to infer (from the interviews with migrants) that skilled migration plays a role in healthcare, social assistance, agriculture[12] and hospitality. The exact number of the non-Western migrant population is generally difficult to establish, as census data only provide the number of overall immigrants settled. In this data, immigrants from European backgrounds constitute a majority. From extraction of census data, it can be inferred that migrants of non-Western ancestry constitute barely 3 per cent of the population[13] and the Indigenous and Torres Strait Islander populations constitutes around 5.9 per cent. The Riverina Conservatorium of Music, Riverina Community College, Charles Stuart University and Regional Arts Development Organisation represent the regional arts sector and, potentially, opportunities to accommodate immigrants' music. Wagga Wagga has a strong sports identity and there is considerable local pride in providing an incubator for national and international players for cricket, as well as for Rugby League, Rugby Union and AFL football.[14]

Toowoomba

Toowoomba can be seen as a regional equivalent of Wagga Wagga in Queensland. It is recognised as the second-largest inland city in Australia, with a population of 170,400 (in

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[11] Multicultural Council Wagga Wagga Report 2018 https://static1.squarespace.com/static/5ad7f37ef407b465edbcb75d/t/5b2b2f326d2a73a146f28f31/1529556806702/Multicultural+Council+Prospectus_FINAL+WEB.pdf

[12] In particular, meat processing and production, as Wagga Wagga is the location of Teys Australia Wagga Meat factory, with skilled and refugee immigrants employed.

[13] Australian census data provides an overall number of migrants present, including those of Western and non-Western backgrounds. Therefore, current calculations included registered migrants of non-Western backgrounds, such as Indian 1.2 per cent, Philippines 0.7 per cent, and Chinese 0.5 per cent. The numbers of migrants from countries of Africa, the Middle East and South-East Asia are not included due to the insignificant proportion of the major population. https://quickstats.censusdata.abs.gov.au/census_services/getproduct/census/2016/quickstat/1034

[14] See www.waggawaggaaustralia.com.au/visitor-information/city-of-good-sports

2020).[15] It is situated 170 kilometres west of the state capital of Brisbane. Toowoomba represents around 3.1 per cent of the Queensland economy, in which Agriculture, Health and Care assistance are the largest employing industries[16]. The City's main industries[17] include agriculture, mining, manufacturing, defence, construction, healthcare and social assistance, and education – with more than 23 private schools, a technical college and the University of Southern Queensland (USQ). Professional, scientific and technical services are named as growing sectors; Toowoomba's economic profile also stresses Toowoomba's food and mining manufacturing, and Toowoomba's logistical advantage as a gateway location to the Surat and Cooper Basins (with mining, gas and oil industries), and the Melbourne-to-Brisbane freight routes. The latest economic report (2021, p. 7) indicates Toowoomba's aspirations to build strong international – particularly Asian – trade connections in agriculture, food manufacturing, resources, education and tourism.[18]

Toowoomba possesses a controversial history of interracial relations. From Alan Cunningham's 'discovery' of the Darling Downs in 1827,[19] the area was a conflict zone between the white and Aboriginal populations. Aboriginal tribes were almost wiped out by the 1870s due to introduced diseases such as smallpox and measles, social disruption and open resistance. Throughout the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, the area recorded various forms of violence and neglect of the Aboriginal population through relocation and displacement, and through the policy of assimilation (Mason, 2015). In recent decades, academic and public attention has shifted to recognition of the Aboriginal population as a vital part of the area. The multicultural history of the city can be traced back to the 1870s, with Chinese migrants were establishing stores in the city's CBD.[20] The current history of

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15 *Toowoomba Economic Profile Report 2021*, p. 29 www.bradlippthelandman.com.au/wp-content/uploads/2021/08/9897932EconomicProfile2021_compressed.pdf

16 See www.tr.qld.gov.au/community-business/invest/economic-development/14325-economic-profile-publication#:~:text=The%20Toowoomba%20Region%20generated%20%2411.6,regional%20city%20economy%20in%20Queensland

17 *Toowoomba Economic Profile Report 2021*, www.bradlippthelandman.com.au/wp-content/uploads/2021/08/9897932EconomicProfile2021_compressed.pdf

18 www.bradlippthelandman.com.au/wp-content/uploads/2021/08/9897932EconomicProfile2021_compressed.pdf

19 www.tr.qld.gov.au/our-region/history/indigenous-history/7870-indigenous-history

20 www.thechronicle.com.au/news/community/toowoomba-history-toowoombas-early-chinese-population/news-story/ddc174ce4309d18c5a8703537014bdac; www.tr.qld.gov.au/facilities-recreation/parks-gardens/parks-by-location/toowoomba-kwong-sang-walk

humanitarian resettlement began in 1996 when Toowoomba welcomed around 1000 refugees from South Sudan, providing a substantial immigrant influx[21] into the area. Toowoomba is also a declared Refugee Welcome Zone, with the resettlement experience of migrants from Congo, Afghanistan, Syria, Iraq, China and India. Recent arrivals include a prominent (around 1500 settlers) Yazidi community from Syria and Iraq. Multicultural Australia (formerly known as Multicultural Development Australia, or MDA) is a major Settlement Services Provider, responsible for connecting newly arrived migrants with various education, language, health, and employment services.[22] The area holds a series of events, such as the annual Toowoomba Languages and Cultures Festival, which attracts around 20,000 visitors, as well as Harmony Day and Toowoomba Walk Together.[23] It is also a popular regional destination for overseas migrants, as the census report shows a 27 per cent increase in the migrant population since 2016.[24] Some migrants utilise regional educational opportunities (private schools, University of Southern Queensland) to set up their lives in Australia. The Australia Regional Institute stated[25] that several challenges exist in the region, including the lack of multicultural competencies in the employment sector, issues of cultural acceptance and an overall lack of promotion of regional Australia as an attractive destination point for skilled migration. As in Wagga Wagga, sport is strongly represented in the area. It is a home ground for semi-professional football clubs, Rugby League, multiple Rugby Union teams, AFL and cricket.

Cairns

Cairns is in Far North Queensland, an area characterised by vast distances between the state's regional cities. The population of Cairns is about 153,000 people, with an Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander population of 10 per cent.[26] The migrant element, represented by migrants from India, New Zealand, China, the Philippines and the Pacific Islands, represents

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21 According to the latest census data, 18,807 people (11.7 per cent of all residents) living in Toowoomba were born overseas. The top five non-English speaking countries of birth were: India (0.8%), Philippines (0.7%), China (0.4%), Zimbabwe (0.3%) and Germany (0.3%).

22 www.dss.gov.au/sites/default/files/documents/12_2013/toowoomba-regional-profile.pdf

23 *Toowoomba's Migration Profile, 2018*, Regional Australia Institute

24 https://profile.id.com.au/toowoomba/migration

25 *Toowoomba's Migration Profile, 2018*.

26 Census data 2016

around 13.2 per cent of the overall population.[27] Comparatively, this substantial flow of migrants, particularly tourists from China and Japan, to Cairns can be attributed to its geographical proximity to the Asia-Pacific region.[28] Before the pandemic, Cairns – as a part of the FNQ DAMA area[29] – experienced a significant flow of skilled migration (temporary and permanent) from China, Papua New Guinea and Pacific Islands countries. Accommodation of international students by James Cook University created another avenue for a migrant influx, contributing to Cairns' diverse multicultural landscape.[30] International tourism constitutes a significant proportion of the city's economy, due to its proximity to the Great Barrier Reef and Daintree Rainforest. Such a disposition creates a foundation for local cultural production, in which some of the migrant artists are involved. Humanitarian settlers from countries in Africa, the Middle East and Southeast Asia are another stream of migrant communities in Cairns, accommodated by federally funded settlement providers, such as Centacare FNQ.[31] Ethnic associations and societies are visibly present in the multicultural landscape of Cairns (in contrast to the other chosen locations), such as the Indian Cairns Association, African Cairns Association, Fiji Community Association in Cairns, Cairns Pacific Islands communities, Cairns and District Chinese Association and Cairns Islamic society.[32] Like Toowoomba and Wagga Wagga, Cairns is a part of the 'Welcoming Cities' federal initiative created by the Multicultural Council and Scanlon Foundation.[33] Within the 'Welcoming Cities' program, local governments can receive educational and project

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27 As in other regional cities, it remains difficult to distil exact numbers of non-Western migrants in the area as they blend into the generic group of the migrant population, with the leading indicators country of origin and languages spoken at home. The figure of 13.2 per cent represents a population of 20,536 with non-English languages practised at home; however, it includes German and Italian groups. The top 10 non-English language spoken in Cairns are Japanese, Tagalog, Australian Indigenous, Mandarin, Italian, German, Korean, Punjabi, Nepali and Hmong (Census data, 2016). The data obtained indicate the presence of small proportions of multiple cultural groups dispersed in all four regional towns.

28 Northern Australia Agenda, White Paper, p. 151.

29 Far North Queensland Designated Area of Migration Agreement as a federal program that allocates six priority areas for skilled migration, including Cairns: https://migration.qld.gov.au/visa-options/skilled-visas and www.immigrationgurus.com.au/fnq-dama-cairns

30 www.cairnsstudenthub.com.au/activities/why-study-in-cairns

31 www.centacarefnq.org/multicultural-services

32 For example, https://studycairns.com.au/diverse-community-multicultural-city; https://cairnsafricanassociation.com/, https://www.cadcai.org.au; https://fcafnq.com

33 https://welcomingcities.org.au/what

assistance in working with diverse communities. Despite being an Australian gateway to the Asian-Pacific region, Cairns remains a 'provincial city' distanced from the major Australian urban centres of Brisbane, Sydney, Melbourne, Adelaide and Perth. However, such remote status, together with geographical and cultural exposure to Pacific Asia, forms Cairns' unique diverse profile and regional practices of acceptance and communication with the immigrant population.

Reworking ethnographic methods of field research in times of public health crisis

Initially, ethnographic research methods – such as observations of a fieldwork site and interviews with migrant musicians, local settlement services providers and local music scene actors – were selected as primary methods of data gathering. Ethnographic methods seem a conventional way to investigate the research questions, often utilised in examining relations between music practices and migration. As I have learned from the literature review about migrant music (e.g., Bafekr & Leman 1999; Marsh, 2012; D'Ardenne, 2015; Präger, 2015; Ugolotti, 2020; Nunn, 2020; Dhillion et al., 2020), ethnographic methods of observation, semi-structured interviews, focus groups and diary-keeping are employed as a primary research method in researching relations between music and migration. In the utilisation of ethnographic methods, a range of immersion techniques allows one to study a phenomenon such as migrant communities and their music-making in a social and cultural environment that is relevant to them. Ethnographic methods allow the researcher to utilise a range of engaging techniques, such as observations of events and daily life practices; conversations and interactions (e.g. interviews); and utilisation of various documenting techniques (e.g. video and audio recording). As Beaulieu (2016, p. 29) states, 'ethnographic research is predominantly discussed as a process, a way of learning through doing, rather than simply a set of methodological prescriptions and a means to an end'. In other words, methods of research are intertwined with the field and the object, and the 'success' of the study can be defined by how deeply the researcher is engaged in the 'natural' environment and the living reality of the subject.

Following this methodological strategy, I formed a fieldwork schedule, which consisted of two week-long visits to each field site. The timeframe for each site visit was based on local multicultural events occurring during this time. Multicultural festivals in each location would allow me to examine multiple factors of its organisation, representation of diverse cultures, audience attendance and reaction, and to meet with and interview musicians. The snowball

technique was considered appropriate to gather the research data (Miller, 2003; Saddler et al., 2010); this involved local musicians providing recommendations or arranging meetings with relevant persons. Focus groups with local representatives of settlement services, music scenes and arts sectors would also raise awareness of the ongoing research, extract the data and arrange individual follow-up interviews. Following the field research plan, I submitted an ethics application and received approval for the project's fieldwork in March 2020.

However, the arrival of the global COVID-19 pandemic had a range of immediate and prolonged impacts on the research methodology, which forced me to redesign my research methods and rethink appropriate and efficient tools of data-gathering in the given context. First and foremost, the outbreak of the pandemic, lockdowns and subsequent international and interstate border closures meant I no longer had physical access to the four research field work sites selected for the data collection. Therefore, this situation eliminated observations as a research method on which I could rely. A physical presence in the fieldwork site was significant for several reasons. It allowed the creation of relations of engagement with gatekeepers and migrant communities. Migrant communities, as I learned during my research, rely on personal introductions, references and 'offline' communication. Previous studies (e.g. Hadi, 2013) have confirmed that immigrants prefer face-to-face meetings in building 'bridging' communications with persons outside their cultural communities, in which age can play an important role in utilisation of online communication. It was evident through my experience of communication that for many migrant musicians, digital skills or presence in the digital space (such as social media and the internet overall) may not be relevant due to migrants' age or prevalence of the English language as the main language of communication in social media (also discussed by Ono & Zavodny, 2008 and Safarov, 2021). Contrary to the common belief that the internet is a tool of global connection and inclusion, in many cases I could see that level of English language skills could be a factor *preventing* a migrant's digital engagement. Moreover, particular musicians tended to set up native language-based groups and communication with their transnational audiences, which exist in parallel worlds that largely do not intersect with English-speaking local audiences. Telephone communication with an English-speaking person might also be seen as an alienating form of communication, in which different accents could lead to disengagement from the research.

The COVID-induced ban on public events and gatherings meant the cancellation of multicultural festivals and other events, including choir rehearsals and singing in churches, all of which are key performance places for migrant musicians in regional areas. For instance,

multicultural festivals in all four regional areas were cancelled, along with group gatherings. Later, this restriction was replaced by series of lockdowns with particular timeframes and conditions in each state, which prevented a consistency of methods for the field research in two states. This ban effectively meant the disappearance of a part of a research field and the possibility of using observational methods through presence on festivals, rehearsals and local concerts. In this case, the social, cultural contexts of each locality, participants' everyday living and local practices of multicultural encounters, which could be experienced and examined directly through the researchers' bodily presence, became unavailable. Such a challenge had to be addressed through consideration of alternative techniques and methods.

The third significant challenge for the field research was disruptions within local settlements and arts organisations, which I relied on as sources of information and gatekeepers. The international border closure resulted in a suspension of regional migrant intake and reduced the ongoing settlement activities. Regional settlement services at that time were experiencing a drastic shift of agenda and were either under-staffed or overwhelmed with managing the ongoing tasks. In the unfolding crisis, some of the initial local contacts became unavailable or required considerable time for communication to occur. Together with that, disruption of face-to-face forms of communication posed an issue of digital engagement of migrant communities in the national English-speaking digital space. A primary task for state settlement services become communication with local migrant communities and equipping them with accurate health-related information in relevant languages. The pandemic crisis revealed the existing language and cultural barriers in providing culturally specific communication. The lack of local knowledge about culturally specific needs, and migrant' mistrust of governmental sources were factors in spreading misinformation and misunderstanding of the government health policies at that time (e.g. Karidakis et al., 2022). The pandemic revealed a high reliance on 'offline' forms of communication within and with migrant communities, which almost cut out migrant communities' public presence, including music, in a context where only digital forms of communication were available (e.g. Mupenzi, Mude & Baker, 2021; McMullin, 2021; Berardi et al., 2022).

A comparative absence of migrant musicians and migrant communities in the digital space during the COVID-19 pandemic created issues for me as a researcher. I had to expand the research for new gatekeepers and sources of data through digital media and remodify my initial methods of research. Reconsideration of methods from face-to-face and physical presence to remote ethnography required answering questions concerning the development of

new methodological procedures and appropriate requirements for the most efficient utilisation of them. As Brinkworth et al. (2021) suggest:

> For most of us, face-to-face interactions are central to our work. We admit it: we fetishise presence, corporeal presence, even after all those debates on the metaphysics of presence in graduate seminars. We know that what matters is not only what is said in the interviews but also the affective relations that lead up to them. (Brinkworth et al. (2021, p. 97)

The reliance on physical presence – 'being there' – Brinkworth et al. argue, is considered as a condition of objectivity in ethnographic methods. As such, witnessing events or participants in the same context means to embrace the same moment in time, to have an affective experience of relations with participants, providing an understanding of participants' perspective. Consequently, possible spatial and temporal contextual barriers between a 'researcher' and a 'participant' are minimal, thus providing authority for a researcher to claim an accurate representation.

The COVID-19 pandemic was a moment of crisis in which preferred and predominant methods of 'ethnography on site' were not possible. Revaluation of research methods required answering the question of what being present, of being 'here and now', means. As Beaulieu et al. (2016) argue, the central point of discussion between 'traditional' ethnography and emerging methods, such as digital ethnography, is an engagement and immersion in a context and living experience of the 'object'. The need for bodily presence has been perceived as a condition of engagement and an argument for the researcher's objectivity and rigour, as it validates the status of 'being there', which is a condition of witnessing a phenomenon or an object via first-hand experience, in which various social contexts relevant to the object or defining communicative situation can be observed and interpreted. Brinkworth et al. (2021) note that it satisfies the researcher's anxieties regarding 'missing something out'. Also, as Postill (2016) states, 'being there' addresses the issue of a thin description, in which scarcity of data, usually provided by witnessing the object of research in richness of contexts and details, can jeopardise the entire research. Ethnographic traditions favour 'presence and engagement, two key elements of the ethnographic approach … in which the ethnographer as investigating, learning and knowing subject to embodiment' (Beaulieu, 2016, p. 31). Such presence and engagement can be achieved through a variety of elements of face-to-face communication, such as an ability to 'read' body language, being

flexible with questions and responsive to a live communicative situation, ability to interpret silence and pauses, spontaneous communications with other persons present, living environment and so on. In other words, 'bodily' presence allows the researcher to embrace and analyse a variety of expressions and make them a part of the interview situation. Also, as Brinkworth et al. (2021) mention above, a 'corporeal presence' provides us with a context of communication, with a social situation that precedes and then follows the interview event, and which also becomes a research and data gathering source. Affective relations formed in the process of engagement with an interviewee, including observations and engagement, become an invaluable source for insights and interpretation.

Computational methods (i.e. methods available through digital mediation) provide a significant challenge to these ethnographic traditions as they privilege informational patterns over material instantiations (Beaulieu et al., 2016, p. 31). In other words, when utilising digital methods, physical presence means less and less, which becomes a significant point of departure from a traditional ethnographic approach and the above-mentioned advantages related to a physical presence. However, notable studies, such as *Virtual Ethnography* (Hine 2000), have created a 'proof of concept for digital ethnography' as a part of a researcher's toolbox. The mediation of the digital space is recognised as an important part of establishing rapport and following the actors. Moreover, the mediation of digital technologies facilitates the researcher's aspirations towards 'being there' via mediation; and because of mediation, it is possible to receive a first-hand experience of a particular cultural setting or set of practices. In his critical overview of remote ethnography, Postill (2016) argues that this is not an uncommon method for a period of crisis. 'Ethnography at a distance' was conceptualised as a method during World War II to study the cultures of Japan, Germany and other countries through novels, movies or poetry in a situation where physical presence was impossible. 'Remote geography' emerged again in the 1980s in relation to emerging media studies and a perspective that entailed examining human experience through media representations. Since then, remote ethnography has become an available way of studying cultures, particularly in situations of war, political conflict and natural disaster. In such a context, the remote ethnography method is enabled through networks of local residents who can publish the news on social media or internet blogs and participate in follow-up interviews. However, the revolutionary breakthrough for remote ethnography now is in the ability to access remote sites *in real time* through social media.

The technology boom of the 2000s has enabled the development of a range of devices and technologies that can create the feeling of presence without actually being there. Proximity to a living experience, 'being there' as a state of full awareness of a present moment of the interview, and therefore being able to analyse various 'data' of the situation (verbal responses, silences, bodily responses) can be achieved through the mediation of digital technologies. Video recordings, multiple sources and witnesses, and online streaming can provide a holistic representation of a researched object. Postill considers the pros and cons of both remote and on-site ethnography and its particular point of division, namely the importance of bodily experience in research. He argues that both methods allow the researcher to experience an affective engagement with events and participants, and therefore have an effect of 'being there'. Both remote and on-site ethnographies may result in an emotional 'adrenaline kick' of insights, emotional excitement through observations and proximity to the object or, equally, boredom and frustration. He suggests that there is no substantial difference between remote and on-site ethnography in its descriptive thickness, and therefore it is possible to implement both methods to conduct research.

I found myself in the situation of an 'unplanned remote ethnography' (Postill, 2016). If 'being there' was not possible, I had to consider strategies and techniques with which local phenomena could be researched from afar (Gray, 2016). My new priority was to re-establish the connections with the existing gatekeepers and find new entry points into migrant communities and their music. My second consideration, given the literature examined above, was to provide 'descriptive thicknesses' to the research by gathering rich data and engaging deeply in the living presence of migrant musicians in the regional areas. I had to prioritise and reconsider digital methods as effectively the only available way of reaching the distanced during the pandemic places of field research.

The field research process

The first phase of the research process included creating a brief, half-page invitation letter in addition to a more descriptive project information sheet and distributing it via my existing contacts database. Even though the generic text of the invitation letter received ethical clearance, I had to tailor it to each individual to whom I sent it, with the invitation personalised according to a particular music activity, culture or organisation represented by the participant. My first contact points were settlement services and officers in the area, as they have first-hand working experience with the migrant communities in each location.

After contacting them and securing their agreement for an interview, I was able to utilise a snowball technique, by which they could provide a reference or even arrange a meeting with migrant musicians. This strategy worked differently in each area. In some locations, such as Wagga Wagga and Cairns, settlement services officers were committed to contributing to the research, and therefore invested significant time in their interviews and in arranging online meetings with musicians. In other areas, such as Toowoomba, local resettlement services had little or no contact with local migrant musicians. The lack of gatekeepers with local knowledge of migrant musicians created an additional challenge to finding other information sources. In Coffs Harbour, interviews with settlement services providers were significantly interrupted by restructures within these organisations and then the holiday period, which forced me to find musicians' contacts from open digital sources such as Facebook groups. Thus, finding relevant contacts and enrolment for the interviews for three major categories of recipients (local and state migrant settlement services, local and state arts organisations and migrant musicians) was an ongoing process during the research. In this process, I had a chance to expand my understanding of the organisations involved in the local arts and settlement projects, migrant communities' organisations, such as associations or virtual communities on social media, and places of worship as community stakeholders in each area. I also went beyond local areas and interviewed several state representatives of NSW and Queensland arts bodies and settlement services providers. Overall, 89 interviews were conducted in the period of June–December 2020 (see Appendix 1, Tables 2, 3, 4 for a full list of the research participants).

Online in-depth interviews

Several engagement techniques were available to me while I was conducting remote field research. The enrolment of arts and settlement services actors didn't represent a significant issue in terms of their understanding of the ideas and purposes of the research. However, the initial engagement of migrant musicians could often be a challenge, as I had to provide a clear and direct explanation of the idea of the research, as well as their role and motive for participation. Also, some forms of enrolment (invitation by email, direct phone call or Facebook message) proved to be relatively ineffective in creating engagement with potential participants. The issue with phone calls, for instance, was navigating through the difference in accents and conducting the recruitment through a simple and straightforward 'pitch' that would explain the main idea and requirements for an interview. Considerations of the safety of sharing the information and trust in me as a researcher played a role in musicians'

subsequent agreement to participate in research interviews. However, I received several refusals, as musicians couldn't commit time or didn't understand the proposition. To receive an agreement for an interview, I had to underline the importance of migrant musicians' contribution to understandings of migration in Australia and future arts policies. I also had to explain that the interviews would be a 'conversation' about their everyday life and the place of music in it. For many, the possibility of vocalising their migrant experience triggered agreement to be interviewed.

I created three versions of questionnaire for three groups of participants engaged into the research: the regional arts sector actors; settlement services actors; and migrant musicians. The purpose of interviews with the arts and settlement actors was to create an overview of regional policies and programs and their focus on multicultural audiences. It also allowed me to verify and explore more about various actors and their priorities in the local music field. Interviews with migrant musicians, however, aimed to examine the everyday spaces and qualities of music in their lives.

Utilising in-depth interviews was an appropriate method to explore the recipients' reflections on their own experiences and constructions of reality (Minichiello et al., 2008, p. 63). The interview questions I utilised were open-ended, which created a space for participants to bring in new topics and explore new areas of the discussion. Also, these interviews were semi-structured to provide flexibility in participants' engagement and exploration of the research topics. Interview topics included personal, contextual information, such as the country of origin and pathway to Australia; music's role in the country of origin; places and ways of practising music in Australia, with a particular emphasis on its roles in creating contacts within migrant communities (Stokes, 1994) and beyond migrant communities (Kiwan &Meinhoff, 2011); local music practices and the ability (or not) to sustain themselves as musicians within regional areas; and migrant music's engagement in and contributions to transnational and national music scenes (Scheding, 2018). A question about music-making during the pandemic was also included in the questionnaire (for a list of research questions, see Appendix 2).

In accordance with the ethics requirements from Griffith University, I provided the project information sheet and a consent form via email prior to the online meeting. In some cases, these documents were a part of the invitation process, in which case recipients would receive them with the invitation letter. However, the efficiency of those documents in imparting the information about the project and recipients' data protection was often not obvious to participants from

migrant communities. In some cases, where the enrolment stage was mediated by phone, I would introduce the goals and purposes of the project orally during the interview, as well as inform the participant about the personal data policy and receive consent for an interview. I had an impression that participants saw the documents as a bureaucratic complication in the personalised 'conversation about their life', in which bureaucracy had a clear disengaging connotation of authority. As a researcher, I had to navigate between ethics requirements, academic language style and participant engagement. While it was a mandatory requirement to deliver the formal documents to potential participants, often the language or procedures described were overly complicated, which could cause participants' to disengage and lose motivation to participate. In many cases, I had to 'translate' the importance of safety and data protection policies, which were unfamiliar to most of the participants.

Language and academic research protocols were not the only barriers. In her studies of poverty in African countries, Stark (2016) noted differences in the cultural meanings of consent forms. She commented on a different understanding of personhood, and therefore of the meaning of consent. As she states, some communities do not have the degree of individual articulation of personality with which we are familiar in the Western world – particularly in situations of communal decision-making and functioning as a collective identity. Therefore, an individual consent and understanding of rights and obligations can have a different value and importance from a participant's perspective. Even though this seemed not to be the case in my research, it made me aware of different cultural perspectives on the procedure of obtaining consent. In my communication with migrant musicians, it was clear that consent forms and the information about personal data protection, interviewees' rights and my responsibilities as a researcher were seen as part of an unknown and irrelevant system standing in the way of a one-to-one conversation.

I found that the best way to deliver this information was at the beginning of video interviews. Here I could reintroduce the research idea and the purposes of the meeting, and then navigate through the interview structure. I used a conversation about consent forms as part of an engagement process, in which my purpose was to set up relations of trust and safety. In my accommodation of this strategy, I explained that the interview questions were about the participant's music and origin, and the place of music in their lives before Australia and now. I explained the importance of a person's feedback when they didn't feel comfortable with some questions. I also conveyed that the university was strongly committed to protecting any sensitive information, and that I was personally responsible for making sure

the participant felt comfortable during the interview and after the information was analysed and published. The offer for them to read the transcript of the interview was also a part of the introduction. Such a conversation allowed me to convey the importance of the interview. At the same time, it provided reassurance about the interviewee's agency in management of their participation. This usually led to an engaging outcome, as I often concluded this introduction with a positive reinforcement about the interview process and the subject of music.

When I arranged interviews, my intention was to be as flexible as possible in every element, to provide space for the person's choice of time and space, and sometimes communication technology. Through such flexibility, my investigation was relevant to migrant musicians' spaces of living and practices of communication. For example, many migrant musicians chose to use messaging apps for video interviews, particularly WhatsApp, as it is a common way of contacting their families outside Australia. I had to adapt recording technologies to the chosen media. In rare cases, I had to record phone conversations, as some people didn't have a laptop or smartphone or didn't know how to use messengers or video conference applications (such as Zoom, which I used in most cases).

Given that participants had to define the physical space from which they could connect to an online meeting, I had an opportunity to observe a wide range of participants' natural living environments. I could see the advantages of online interviews, as I travelled virtually to the locations where migrants were living – which, because they were private, family or personal spaces, I would probably never have visited or been invited to in an 'offline' communication. Most of the conversations took place in the participant's houses, on their verandahs or in rooms, but also in cars, offices and house gardens. Church as a meeting space was chosen for online conversations with newly arrived migrants from the Democratic Republic of the Congo. Around 10 other people were present as observers, translators and contributors to a conversation. To them, the interview was a collective action of sharing a story and, at the same time, an event of meeting with someone who was interested in them. This can be interpreted from a broader migrant experience, in which the process of 'fitting in' to new life practices, a new routine and new institutions may often omit the conversation about their cultural identities and practices, and spaces where such conversations can occur. In this process of 'becoming Australian', as several interviewees reflected, they often do not have time to reflect on and collectively 'remember' who they are. Interview events were to some degree a point of reflection on their Australian journey, in which their cultural identity was a focal point. A similar situation occurred with a Filipino Catholic Church choir in

Cairns, in which seven members participated at the same time. Each of them presented their story of relocation and their connection with music. Some of the conversations were mediated through the translation provided by the family (young children or wives) or community members. This happened in two conversations with Yazidi musicians in Coffs Harbour and Toowoomba. The musicians interviewed had some basic English; however, they felt it necessary to use family members and friends help to elaborate some thoughts. Even though those conversations did not provide detailed answers on the questions raised, I had an opportunity to see and receive a comment about family and community involvement in music. Children or wives, as well as providing translation, would often offer their opinion on the question or comment on a musician's answer, which would provide further information on music as a part of family and community activity and details of their life in Australia. The participants themselves offered family or community help in translation. I noticed that this was a common form of communication, in which an invited translator could be seen as an alienating element in the conversation.

It quickly became apparent that interviews were an event of cultural encounter, in which participants' longing to be heard and desire to have a space for presentation of cultural and life experiences were palpable. Every element could speak loudly about participants' cultural settings and practices through the details of the space and other participants present, and the way many participants treated the interview as a special event. On some occasions, participants would wear traditional dress or present musical instruments; some interviews would gather an audience of 'observers' from a family or community. However, the most important point of the interviews as events was as a space to express feelings, memories or thoughts of relocation and the 'Australian experience', which in some cases were rarely shared outside personal family or community circle. It was clear that, for some participants, the interviews were an emotional process, in which words expressing the experience of migration could be repeated several times to increase the importance of the message or be emotionally stressed. Some interviews portrayed the traumatic experience of escaping from a country and living in refugee camps. To many, a conversation about music was received as a conversation about their personal space and autobiography. Even though I didn't purposively intend to touch sensitive subjects, these topics were inevitably a part of the conversation about music practices. As such, my position as empathetic but culturally 'other' was considered appropriate to enable them to share their experiences. Also, perhaps the COVID-19 pandemic and the situation of isolation were significant factors contributing to the necessity of reflecting upon their migrant pathways.

As my aim was to document reflections on migrant pathways and music's role in migrant biographies, I had a clear understanding that my task was to create a space for a deeply personal engagement with me as a stranger they had never met. In every online meeting, I had to connect with linguistically and culturally different participants and make them willing to engage with and reflect on their experiences. To achieve that, I allowed flexibility in the conversation's structure if participants felt it essential to raise a particular issue. Jokes and small talk at the beginning of the conversations were a characteristic element of breaking the ice. A specific point of my attention was to humanise the interview space so it would feel like a conversation rather than a formal interview. If I was asked, I shared some details of my relocation to Australia, such as where I live and my connection to music. The physical absence from the area also gave me an opportunity to ask some general questions about their neighbourhood, the perceptions of the town in which they live and their favourite places in town to visit, information that most participants were willing to share. The range of strategies of engagement utilised resulted in the length of interviews and depth of data received. The interviews ranged from 40 to 90 minutes in length. In some situations, I had to use two one-hour sessions to cover all the questions raised, with a consequent follow-up after transcription in case some clarifications were required.

Negotiations of insider/outsider positions

My own 'insider' position as an international student was an accidental discovery of the search for engagement strategies with interview participants. Some participants acknowledged my 'other' origin, as they didn't identify me as an' Australian'. In some cases, while conducting interviews, I was asked where I came from and what kind of accent I had. It made me reconsider my insider position and the impact of autoethnographic methods on my research. As Vershinina and Cruz (2021) argue, considerations of autoethnography as a research method resonate with a traditional debate about 'who gets a better view of the world'. Can researchers fully understand a subject of which they don't have a lived experience? Or are 'insiders' able to analyse and conceptualise some issues or practices without subjective distortion? In my case, the question was how my experience as a migrant could provide a deeper understanding of migrant policies and practices and, most importantly, the experience of everyday living as culturally 'other'. As a newly arrived international student from a culturally diverse background living in a regional area, I could see a significant connection with the topics of migration and everyday social and cultural practices as impactful on regional migrant resettlement. Mundane elements of the migrant

pathway (challenges one needs to go through to receive it and relocate, together with a range of tasks on arrival, learning to communicate with various institutions, presenting the story of 'origin', accents, etc.) resonated as points of multicultural encounter and reflections of identity. In such a context, I could verify theories (Amin, 2002; Radford, 2017) of regional places as spaces of intercultural encounters and negotiations of cultural identities through my own experience. In my interviews with migrant musicians, my intention was to bring to the surface affective experiences of otherness through everyday practices, particularly music.

Vershinina and Cruz (2019, p. 514) state that autobiography is a relevant 'reflexive tool by which a researcher can consciously embed himself or herself into theory and practice, and by way of an intimate autobiographical account, based on personal lived experiences, explicate a phenomenon under investigation or intervention'. In my position, the examination of various levels of migrant policies and programs, arts institutions and local actors was also happening from a 'migrant' point of view, as this knowledge had not been available to me through a 'natural' Australian upbringing, education or previous life experience. Such an 'outsider' position in the Australian context, and the lack of familiarity with 'how things work' could be seen as a limitation, as some valuable or relevant information or history of a topic may not be easily found or could be overlooked. However, this outsider status of 'knowing nothing' allowed me to not take for granted the concepts and goals of migration policies and the ways the resettlement strategy is designed and implemented through governmental and non-governmental bodies. It also provided a critical examination of interrelations between migrants, arts and regional policies. With a background as a multicultural events promoter and event organiser, I could investigate regional music's ecosystems and impacting policies using the professional expertise I brought to the project.

Such negotiations of insider and outsider positions allowed me to conduct, to a certain degree, an in-depth investigation of migrant musicians' experiences through the commonality of migrant experience. However, my engagement with the subject of migrant music and migrant musicians contained distancing, 'outsider' factors, which deterred me from employing autoethnography in its full capacity. For instance, many research participants could still identify my origin as 'Western', in contrast to the participants of 'non-Western' origin. My professional pathway in Australia did not include practising music, so I couldn't reflect on music as a practice of cultural engagement from a personal perspective. Moreover, my status as a researcher was a differentiating factor. My status as a "Culturally and Linguistically Diverse' (CALD) migrant and my professional background created a specific angle through which I examined migrant

policies and investigated the institutions involved. However, my focus was to represent non-Western migrant experiences, so autoethnography was inappropriate as a data source or a primary research method.

Data analysis and presentation

In accordance with my intention to conceptualise music's roles in practices of resettlement from the data gathered, coding was used to identify topics and themes in transcribed interviews. I used a data-mapping technique to create a comprehensive overview of the main recurring topics, which were arranged according to themes of music's places and functions, and which later became a foundation for the thesis chapters. For example, the topic of 'music and wellbeing' contained sub-topics including 'individual music-making', 'narratives of safety and self-reflections', 'music in family', 'ways of music-making in community', 'wellbeing and refugee experiences' and 'places of music'. I used Evernote to systematise the main topics raised by designating multiple folders reflecting macro-topics, including wellbeing, social inclusion, financial sustainability and capital, and youth. Each macro-topic contained sub-folders including topics of places and spaces of music practices, topics of negotiations of power relations, and cultural identity that participants within each subject would raise. My particular focus was on participants' personal narratives in each macro-topic, which allowed reflection upon music's roles within a biographical context. A thematic analysis was applied to consider how personal experiences of music practices reflect cultural and social mechanisms of multicultural encounters, the construction of cultural identities, and negotiations of social and cultural migrant capital and opportunities provided by music-making. My focus was on identifying themes emerging from the transcripts of recorded interviews through grouping similar topics – or codes, as Minichello et al . (2008) refer to them). The results of the critical examination of themes built around music are reflected in the thesis, presenting the range of music's roles in regional migrant resettlement practices. The insights gained from all participants (including migrant musicians, resettlement services professionals and arts sector actors) into how migrant music can be an integral part of regional development are documented in the concluding chapter of this thesis.

Quotes from the interviews with participants were used to present the findings of the research. These quotes served a dual role as illustrations of the results and topics raised and also to illustrate the way these topics were described. In accordance with the ethics approval, I anonymised participants' names. Some of the participants, particularly young migrant

musicians, gave their consent to publish their names, expressing no concerns about revealing their names; however, their names are pseudonymised. In most cases, a migrant community's identification and regional location were specified in order to clarify the origin of the quote for a reader. The purpose of the presentation was to make the experiences described recognisable for those who described them and to anyone from the same location and community. While most of the quotes used in the thesis are anonymous, the elements of the regional experience of settlement and regional music scenes are depicted in full.

Conclusion

This chapter reflected upon methodological considerations and experiences in researching migrant music in regional areas of Australia. It presented methods of digital ethnography as critical to defining the field research areas. In this process, digital sources, such as governmental documentation at federal, state and local levels, governmental websites, and local web resources, played a key role in satisfying multiple criteria of field research choice. Further, the chapter detailed the findings of the preliminary digital research, presenting four regional areas of Coffs Harbour and Wagga Wagga (New South Wales) and Toowoomba and Cairns (Queensland). The range of geographical, historical, socio-economic, and cultural similarities and differences discovered in those areas provided the opportunity to examine various migrant music practices, conditions and limitations for migrant music-making in regional settings.

Particular stress has been placed on a discussion of available methods of data gathering during the COVID-19 pandemic. The pros and cons of digital and remote ethnography were raised in the context of ethnographic research 'from a distance'. As reflected in the chapter, various techniques were utilized to engage participants in preparation for and during in-depth online interviews to establish relations of trust and rapport, and ultimately provide a rich data set. Negotiations of the insider/outsider researcher's position were outlined as another immersive strategy that broadened the methodology of data analysis and interpretation. Finally, a detailed description of data-gathering, analysis and presentation was provided. Overall, the chapter reflected on the theoretical considerations and practical experience of changes in ethnographic methods of data-gathering, in which digital and remote ethnography, together with autobiographical methods, became the primary methods of the research.

4

Mapping the context for regional migrant music-making: Australian regional immigration, migration policies and music as an instrument of regional resettlement

Introduction

Immigration programs and initiatives implemented at various levels of government aim to provide instruments to mediate migrant adaptation in new social and cultural settings and facilitate their transition into a productive life in the hosting country. This chapter argues that regional areas are characterised by specific historical, social and cultural contexts, which require particular migration 'tools' (programs, initiatives) for non-Western migrant resettlement. To support this argument, the chapter provides an overview of the history of regional Australia as a destination for non-Western migrant resettlement and discusses the cultural specifics of regional settings as resettlement destinations. The chapter will then canvass key transformations in Australian migration policies in relation to the realisation of a policy of multiculturalism that occurred from the mid-twentieth century. Two major topics overviewed in this chapter (regional areas of Australia as non-Western migration destinations and Australia's multicultural policies) will reveal a conceptual gap in the current migration policies and the need for regionally specific cultural policies in which music can play a role. This chapter provides a historical and theoretical context for the next chapter, which will discuss the current migration programs and the role of music in these programs in detail.

Regional Australia and regional non-Western migration: Setting an agenda for regional migration policies

The history of non-Western migration into regional areas all over the world significantly impacts regional cultural identity and experiences in accepting culturally diverse identities. Therefore, this historical context directly impacts the current agenda of non-Western migrant cultural belonging and acceptance. Equally, the history of multicultural acceptance and policies underpins current migration policies, their frameworks and their design. Therefore, accounting for both factors – the history of non-Western migration to regional places and Australian migration policies – is crucial for understanding current migrants' cultural experiences and resettlement agendas in regional areas.

International migration can most generally be defined through the criteria of duration suggested by the United Nations Department of Economic and Social Affairs:[1]

> While there is no formal legal definition of an international migrant, most experts agree that an international migrant is someone who changes his or her country of usual residence, irrespective of the reason for migration or legal status. Generally, a distinction is made between short-term or temporary migration, covering movements with a duration between three and 12 months, and long-term or permanent migration, referring to a change of country of residence for a duration of one year or more.

Castles argues (2002) that countries have localised definitions of immigration. For instance, in Australia immigration is divided into permanent, long-term temporary and short-term temporary. In the Australian context, international migration has traditionally been seen as a demographic resource and support for the economic growth (Boese & Moran, 2021), and economic productivity has long been considered the main purpose and outcome of migration. The authors (Cameron, 2011; Boese and Moran, 2021) argue – as mentioned in Chapter 1 – that such a view of productivity significantly narrows the understanding of migration as human capital and its benefits as an approach to regional development. However, the Australian Productivity Commission (2016)[2] names Australian migration policy as a *de facto* population policy, in which social reproduction is regarded almost exclusively through the lens of productive labour: people populate territories to generate their economic growth. As the report *The Missing Workers* (2018) [3] reveals, the issue of an ageing population in regional areas is exacerbated by regional population declines due to the outflow of the residential population to the larger regional centres or cities. Such a challenge has informed the agenda for migration policies to repopulate the regions, ensuring their productivity and proclivity for economic growth.[4] Undoubtedly, immigration and Australian regional development are

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1 https://refugeesmigrants.un.org/definitions

2 *Migrant intake into Australia*. Productivity Commission Inquiry Report, #77, 13 Apr 2016.

3 *The missing workers: Locally led migration strategies to better meet rural labour needs* is the 2018 Regional Australia Institute report on regional barriers of migrant employment https://alga.com.au/16634-2

4 *Australia's ageing population. Economic implications for local government*. ALGA's submission to the Productivity Commission, 2004. www.pc.gov.au/inquiries/completed/ageing/submissions/australian_local_government_association/sub018.pdf

historically intertwined. Migration has significantly impacted Australian colonial history, in which immigrants – predominantly of Anglo-Celtic heritage – provided the European 'exploration' of the continent, declared at that time as *terra nullius*. In fact, immigration was the most common form of European colonisation and population of regional areas, as through resettled migrants the Australian regional cultural, social, agricultural landscape had been transformed. Non-Western migration into regional areas was a part of the process of exploration. For instance, as Boese and Moran (2021, p. 3) note, non-Western migrant interventions during colonial history 'shaped regional Australia long before the more recent targeted regional migration policies'. For instance, Chinese migration to regional areas of Victoria during the gold rush and indentured agricultural labourers of Pacific Islanders in Queensland are mentioned by Boese and Moran as examples of non-Western regional interventions in the mid- to late nineteenth century. Despite the non-Western migration presence in regional areas, these intercultural encounters were mostly based on racialised distinctions, and often confrontations between 'white' and 'coloured' settlers (Inglis, 1972). The colonial discourse, as Lester (2002) argues, was built on mobilising ideas of racial superiority of the Western settlers as delivering a 'civilising' impact on a landscape. The idea of 'bringing civilisation' to the 'uncivilised world' was constructed in response to a growing criticism of immorality of capitalist methods (e.g., in sheep farming and the forced labour trade) in treating the Indigenous populations in Africa, Australia and New Zealand (Lester, 2002). Therefore, racial differences were utilised to construct Britishness, in which 'they all stressed their value as capitalists, contributing to the wealth and prestige of British Empire as well as comfort and security of their families. They asserted the morality of their own actions in trying to build a civilised culture on a dangerous frontier' (2002, p. 44). In such a context, the presence of non-Western settlers, such as Chinese migrants, was not justified as contributing to the British Empire's wealth or to the moral cause of resettlement. Despite the presence of culturally diverse groups during the colonial era, until the mid-twentieth century their presence in regional areas was identified as negligible (e.g. Inglis, 1972).

The process of industrialisation at the beginning of the twentieth century defined regional areas' economic, population and cultural landscape. The first Industrial Revolution led to the subsequent shift of attention to urban areas as epicentres of industrial economic growth (Bodo, 2019). As such, cities of Great Britain in the 1820s and European cities at the end of the nineteenth century experienced an annual urban population growth at an average of 2.5 per cent per annum (2019, p. 4). Human mobility and internal migration to epicentres

of industrial production – for example, peasantry at the beginning of the twentieth century (Shanin, 1973) – became drivers for rapid urban development. Various studies (Shanin, 1973; Papastergiadis, 2000; Bodo, 2019) suggest that urban areas became epicentres of global mobilities and economic growth. As Williamson (2002) argues, the effects of rapid industrialisation were similar around the world. These effects can be characterised by the movement of labour emigrants into urban labour markets, over-use of collective resources and challenges in city planning, growth of urban slums, scarcity of social services, a rise in the density of pollution and lowered quality of the urban environment (Williamson, 2002). These effects of urbanisation significantly impacted urban perceptions of cities as epicentres of chaos and alienation (Papastergiadis, 2000).

For Australia, this process of urbanisation was drastic. In 1906, according to Kelly and Donegan, almost 50 per cent of the entire Australian population of four million people lived on rural properties in or near small towns with a population of no more than 3000 people. A third of the population was involved in agricultural, fishing, forestry or mining industries. Only one in three people lived in towns with populations of more than 100,000. However, from the beginning of the twentieth century, regional Australia experienced a population decline caused by the movement of workers from regional into growing urban areas (Kelly & Donegan, 2015). By 1966, three in five Australians lived in cities with a population of more than 100,000 people and were employed in the manufacturing industries.[5] Currently, according to the Australian Bureau of Statistic, 89 per cent of Australia's population lives in urban areas, with 17,376,986 living in the metropolitan cities of Sydney (5,361,466), Melbourne (5,096, 028), Brisbane (2,582,007), Adelaide (1,378,473), Perth (2,141, 834), Hobart (238, 375), Darwin (148,801) and Canberra (453,558).[6]

As Papastergiadis (2000, pp. 197–98) notes, rapid urbanisation shifted perceptions of communal identities and places, and created certain perceptions of urban and regional places, based on contrasting lifestyles. For many new city dwellers who had relocated to urban areas from regional and rural areas, this urban shift was associated with the rupture of established social networks (family, community) and the challenge of living in unknown, alien, unhealthy and often dangerous environment (for instance, Papastergiadis (2000, p. 198) argues that cities were associated with 'anxiety and fear due to perception of the metropolis

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5 Currently, three-quarters of the Australian population lives in cities (Kelly& Donegan, 2015).

6 www.abs.gov.au/statistics/people/population/regional-population/latest-release

as unknown and unpredictable'. In contrast, regional areas signified a safe, controlled, organised and simple way of life. Despite drastic differences in British and Australian regional cultural landscapes, the contrasting perceptions of 'urban' modern and 'rural' or 'bush' life were intrinsic to the Australian context (e.g., Hirst, 2011; Connell & McManus, 2016). As such, primary production (such as farming, pastoralism and mining) in the regional areas was connected to moral qualities of character, such as living a virtuous, simple and productive life. In the 1920s, the concept of 'countrymindedness' (Connell & McManus, 2016) was associated with the support of rural production, which was 'virtuous, cooperative and produced good people, in contrast to city life which is competitive and parasitical' (2016, p. 19).

Furthermore, mythologisation of regional areas led to construction of a narratives of the Australian national character. For instance, Davison's (2012) critical work on Russel Ward's classic account of the national character, *The Australian Legend* (1958) examines the origin of this concept. As Davison (2012, p. 429) states, the Australian' national character' was built on the opposition between artificial 'urban' and 'virtuous rural' as a representation of 'people working the land': 'It was the rough-hewn, down-to-earth values of the bushman, not the refined Anglo-centric outlook of the squattocracy and the urban middle class, which defined the true Australian.' As Davison argues, Ward's *Australian Legend* is built on a primordial assumption of true Australian character embedded in the regional terrain of the 'bush'. As such, those who lived closest to the 'soil' and 'roots' were least corrupted 'by the cosmopolitan outlook of urban elite' (2012, p. 435). Hirst (2011) examines a similar orientation within notions of the 'Australian character', the key features of which include 'stoicism, making no fuss, pitching in, making do, helping each other', and which was 'identified and valued as Australian a long time ago, when we were British, and our national symbol was a bushman' (2011, p. 2). The environmental determinism of the Australian character also was based on presupposition of value of material goods, associated with regional production. As Connell and McManus (2016, p. 18) argue:

> This construct of the rural as a positive place in relation to the 'evil' city is based on stereotypes of what the country is, who 'belongs' there, and how they have 'traditionally' lived. All stereotypes are questionable, and ignore the dystopian aspects of rural life, including isolation, poverty, restrictive social values, and so on.

However, the embeddedness of such cultural stereotypes of regional places and their settlers leaves little room for 'others', as restrictive social values and praise of 'traditional' living deny an easy acceptance of outsiders. The assumption of 'traditional' living in on the land, which has become a cultural barrier for accepting 'others' as newcomers, implicitly assumes the European settlers' right to living in the regional land, as those who has been working hard to 'civilise' rural landscape. It can also extend to urban dwellers as those who don't become involved in producing 'real' material goods.

The two decades following World War II were characterised by an increasing discrepancy between urban and regional populations. Rapidly increasing inequalities between urban and regional areas are a global phenomenon driven by globalisation, technological change, and the role of cities as centres of economic production (Castles, 2002; Gibson, 2002). The growth of urban areas as epicentres of industrial and then post-industrial economies created social and cultural gaps between regional and urban areas (Farrugia, 2015). As Farrugia argues in his investigation of rural youth mobilities, flows of capital accumulated and agglomerated within cities, a lack of regional service economies and neoliberal policy regimes oriented towards urban centres 'resulted in evacuation of basic services and amenities from rural areas' (2015, p. 4). The disproportionate distribution of wealth and power, and unequal job opportunities between regional and urban development, resulted in increased migration of young people away from regional areas. Aside from such structural inequalities, Farrugia discusses the symbolic inequalities established between regional and urban areas. As such, urban post-industrial growth only increased the significance of urban areas as epicentres of wealth and power. Post-industrial urban growth, Farrugia (2015, p. 6, cited in Valentine 1997) states, 'position the city as the place where modern life happens. Rural areas are often constructed as either rough, rustic and conservative, or as idyllic sanctuaries from the complexities of modernity.'

However, positive images of regional life, associated with access to nature, close-knit communities, safety and peace, have been utilised in various decades to mobilise internal migration and address the issues of regional development. For instance, Collits (2011) argues that the decentralisation of Australia (an attempt to rebalance urban and regional population) has been a continual government agenda since the 1960s. Collits (2011, p. 5) suggests that the implementation of this agenda was sporadic and only 'few were pursuing it systematically and vigorously'. However, the Australian government's plans for decentralisation (finding new economic drivers in the regions, populating regional areas and shifting the burden from

cities' infrastructures) subsequently led to a process of 'sea change' (internal migration to coastal towns) and 'tree change' (internal migration to hinterland towns), which started in the 1970s and peaked in the 1990s and 2000s (Burnley & Murphy, 2004). As Dufty-Jones and Connell (2014) note, the governmental push to reverse regional population decline was characterised by wide promotional campaigns, such as 'Make it Happen' in Provincial Victoria or 'Blueprint for the Bush' in Queensland in the early 2000s. Subsequent waves of urban–regional migration, spurred by various governmental policies and incentives, led to the diversification of regional economies and regional amenities. For instance, increased population stimulated services provision and affected (in both positive and negative terms) local housing markets, rental stocks and housing affordability. Rural elderly migration to small inland cities and coastal towns in the 1990s allowed transit from agricultural to service economies with an emphasis on diversified healthcare and social services, as elderly mobility required the creation of diversified healthcare services, housing development and various forms of social support (Posselt, 1990; Davies, 2014). Gibson (2014) approaches regional development in a different way, arguing that tourist services and regional creative production became an answer to the issue of regional revitalisation in some areas. New migration influenced the provision of goods and services (education, recreation, health) and land use. However, diversification of regional economies resulted in 'patchwork economies', in which booming industries in one region (e.g. mining industries or multifunctional service economies) coexist with the areas experiencing a drastic economic decline, often caused by an environmental change. Moreover, as Dufty-Jones and Connell (2014, p. 85) mention, regional economic and population changes led to 'intangible' transformations in perception of regional identities and 'even imaginings of rural life. 'Intangible' changes in regional character, they argue, originated from encounters between regional and newly arrived city dwellers, who inevitably facilitated diversification of regional lifestyle and led to the creation of new infrastructures and facilities. From local residents' point of view, he argues, these changes were associated with a sense of loss, 'articulated as a decline in a bucolic ambience of place', which has become 'too much like Sydney and not "country" enough' (2014, p. 94). However, the association of regional places with a virtuous, simple and close-to-nature lifestyle and the 'Australian character' were a part of the regional 'brand promise' to stimulate migration to the regional areas. Such a counter-rection regarding urban migration illustrates the regional resistance to identity change, in which new dwellers are perceived as a threat to a 'simple and quiet' lifestyle and scarce regional infrastructures.

The perception of regional Australia as a homogenous cultural landscape is also a result of the regional state of multiculturalism and the comparatively low proportion of the non-Western immigrant population living in regional areas. Among the reasons for the constant failure to 'decentralise' Australia, Collits (2011) argues, is a reluctance to create a quality change in administrative decentralisation and incentives for industries to relocate. Globalisation and regional inability to provide affordable means of communication (transport, technologies), services and goods make regional areas unable to compete with urban areas. The education sector and concentration of universities in metropolitan areas could not supply the demand for higher education and contributed to the out-migration of young people from the regions. However, the primary reason for unsuccessful decentralisation, he argues, is a lack of substantial overseas migration into the regional areas:

> First, our population growth is driven by overseas migration and most migrants, for a range of fairly obvious reasons, prefer living in our major cities. It is in the cities that migrants' families and ethnic communities are largely already established, and where the best job opportunities and migrant services are located. (Collits, 2011, p. 6)

As Collits points out, the absent nexus between overseas migration and regional development results in the regional inability to attract and accommodate migrant influx in quantities necessary for regional growth. He names migrant-specific services and job opportunities as key capabilities required; however, it is also an opportunity to establish diverse migrant communities, and therefore to establish lifestyles that are culturally relevant to them.

As noted earlier in this chapter, non-Western migrants were not completely excluded from the regional landscape. Non-Western regional migration was examined through the history of Chinese migration to Australia (Ngai, 2021), particularly to the Riverina region of New South Wales, where Wagga Wagga is located (McGowan, 2012), Toowoomba (Mason, 2015), Cairns (Woods, 2018) in Queensland; the Pacific Islanders' migration and the unfree labour trade in Queensland (Corris, 1970; Price and Baker, 1976; Munro, 1993); and Indian (Punjabi) migration to Queensland (Allen, 2018; Collins et al., 2020), among many other examples. However, despite their physical presence in the regional areas, these migrants' absence was cultural: non-Western migrants were not recognised as a part of the cultural landscape, associated with the 'real Aussies' – virtuous hard-working people of Western

origin. It is also important to note that such migration was mostly driven by migrants' own pursuit of happiness rather than policies that would welcome non-Western settlers.

During the 'colonial' and post-World War II eras, non-Western migrants were not seen or targeted by governmental policies as desirable settlers, as the overall direction of migration policies favoured European settlers, in which migration flow was predominantly directed towards urban areas. Piko (2018) suggests that after World War II, most of the new migrant population settled in urban areas. Even though, as illustrated above, non-Western migrations into regional areas were not completely excluded, regional areas remained predominantly 'Western' places. Therefore, until recently, regional social and cultural infrastructures were established by and for the 'white' Western population.

Cultural myths and perceptions of regional areas strongly hold the notion of simple and culturally homogenous communities. Therefore, as suggested by Collits (2011), the condition of Australian decentralisation as redirection of migrant populations to regional areas represents a challenge of creating relevant infrastructures and changing cultural perceptions of regional areas. Current regional migration studies note that initiatives to attract immigrants into regional Australia are comparatively recent, beginning in the 1990s when the federal government introduced new types of visas in conjunction with state governments (Wulff et al., 2008). As Boese and Moran (2021) state, the high demand for regional and rural migration (both temporary and permanent) was underpinned by regional economic and population growth priorities. The introduction of the State Specific Regional Migration Scheme (SSRM) reflected the first efforts of state governments to play a more significant role in the immigration process, which historically was the purview of Commonwealth Government policy (Hugo, 2008). Apart from introducing regional incentives for skilled migrants (such as an opportunity to obtain permanent residency), the federal government implemented refugee settlement programs in regional areas. For instance, 'unlinked' refugees (i.e. refugees without pre-existing family connections in Australia) have been settled in regional areas in Victoria, New South Wales and Queensland since the early 2000s (Boese & Moran, 2021) to address local labour demands. Similarly, groups of former refugees settled initially in metropolitan areas of Melbourne and Sydney were relocated due to joined initiatives of local government, the employment sector and services providers (Boese & Moran, 2021). As the authors argue, regional areas experiencing labour shortages could offer more employment opportunities and cheaper accommodation for 'urban' refugees, at the same time unloading urban infrastructures. In order to address the demand for labour in the

regions, some federal, state and local initiatives were developed, such as 'Welcoming Cities' and 'Intercultural Cities', to attract skilled international migrants. Since the late 1980s and early 1990s, the regional social landscape in Australia has gradually been changing, with the emergence of Ethnic Councils (e.g., Wagga Wagga, Toowoomba), and local and state community services. Regional migrant resettlement services aim to address the issues of migrants' cultural and social integration, emphasising humanitarian entrants as a target audience for these services. As Boese and Moran (2021) note, these initiatives aimed to address both structural barriers to and insufficient ethnocultural resources for new arrivals, while promoting the values of social cohesion among the local population in the regional transition to cultural diversity. The ultimate target for these initiatives was to increase the numbers of migrants retained in the regional areas and provide pathways for longer-term residency (2021, pp. 3–4).

Despite shifting focus to non-metropolitan centres of migrant settlement, regional areas experience multiple challenges in implementing migration policies. Inflexible funding of local settlement services (funded by the federal or state government) and a lag in preparedness to accommodate local issues of new arrivals were named as challenges (Boese & Phillips, 2017). Equally, there are gaps in planning and coordination between state and local government, in which local government lacks funding as a general mandate to provide resettlement programs. Migrant relocation needs, as Mungai (2014) argues, can be different from the needs of the place. Often, as those migrant needs are not realised prior to regional resettlement, it results in the migrants' marginalisation or outflow. His detailed analysis of settlement services in the Riverina in regional NSW reveals significant gaps across all sectors of essential services, such as education, housing, health and employment. These challenges are caused by 'poorly developed services, a narrow or unstable economic base, racial intolerance or uncoordinated movement of settlers' (2014, p. 196). Essentialisation of cultural and social practices of the regional 'European' majority becomes a factor of implicit or explicit discrimination of non-Western migrants in social services – particularly health services (Mungai, 2014). Similarly, Schech (2014) analyses inequalities in obtaining regional jobs. She argues that many migrants have to 'bargain' their skills and qualifications as the local employment market may not recognise them, or local market industries can be dominated by low-skilled labour. Despite created enclaves of multicultural acceptance in the regional areas, particularly in Victoria, a lack of professional recognition of migrants' qualifications questions migrants' ability to gain equal access to job opportunities and affects

their motivation to remain in regional areas (Schech, 2014). Schech concludes that an outcome of such skill 'trade', based on the national evaluation of labour capital, can be a subsequent relocation to metropolitan areas.

Some studies focus particularly on the nexus between migrant economic integration and the issues of cultural inclusion that underpin migrant productivity in the regional areas. For instance, Boese and Moran (2021) argue that issues of cultural exclusion significantly define migrant experiences of regional resettlement and interfere with migrants' search for successful and sustainable employment (and, therefore, question economic outcomes of regional migration). Government policies, the authors argue, view 'skilled migrants as those who are simply "needed" for their skills' and neglect the issues of social and cultural exclusion that often negatively impact a migrant workforce. Rather, migrants (both skilled and humanitarian) are portrayed as 'cultural others' and as needing to be 'culturally integrated' into the existing mainstream practices, in which migrants' aspirations of belonging, and support for their families and partners are often not realised. Employers, this study reveals, often step into governments' shoes and play a role of resettlement services, addressing the needs of an adequate and targeted support. However, exploitation, poor working conditions and loss of skills are named as outcomes of inappropriate cultural policies of resettlement. Further, Forbes-Mewett et al. (2022), in their examination of multicultural imaginaries and policies in regional settings, note that

> without addressing the structural barriers that would see a redistribution of political and material power, the multicultural imaginary deployed in local contexts obfuscates inequalities, individualises social problems, and turns difference into a commodity used to sustain existing power relations.

A perception of non-Western migrants as a labour force for existing markets, whose cultural needs can be addressed by simply joining the local cultural majority, thus inevitably ignores the complexity of migrant identities and rights for 'alternative' cultural belonging. It also reduces understanding of the migration process, in which the acknowledgement of cultural differences and the provision of culturally specific essential settlement services are required. The simplification of the process of 'cultural integration' inevitably results in social and cultural inequalities. The studies outlined above reveal the ongoing issues in regional migration policies of recognising diverse cultural needs and practices as securing the success of regional migration. Equally, these studies demonstrate the ongoing debate that exists about

regional cultural imaginary: as a place of 'regional cosmopolitanism' and multicultural acceptance, or as a space of a 'white' Western settlement?

Australian migration policies: An historical overview

The shift in focus to regional areas as destinations for international, non-European migrants in recent decades stems from a history of multiculturalism in Australia. Equally, a current understanding of multiculturalism as a framework for migration policies defines the design and implementation of regional migration policies. This section provides a brief overview of the Australian multicultural policies and academic discussions about the subject.

Australian immigration policies, as Keddie (2014), Levey (2019), Hugo (2008) and Castles (2006) all argue, reflect the paradox of the dilemma of universalism and pluralism. This paradox arises from managing immigration as the foundation for (settler-colonial) Australian society, and the imperative to minimise differences and divisions within Australian society (Fleras, 2009). This challenge is reflected in a historical progression of multiculturalism as a socio-political concept *and* a framework for migration policies in Australia. Multicultural migration policies were adopted comparatively recently, in the 1970s, as a result of increasing globalisation and significant migrant flow to Australia from non-European countries. As Marwkowski and Williams (2020, p. 203) state:

> Before the 1970s, it was mostly taken for granted that the arrival of working-age 'displaced persons' from Eastern and Northern Europe, Southern Europeans and the £10 Poms provided nearly all that was needed in the way of in-bound human and social capital in order to secure the supply of skilled labour across the wide range of occupations demanded by the expanding and urbanising Australian economy.

Before World War II, Australia overwhelmingly favoured migrants from European, specifically Anglo-Celtic countries. Goldlust (2009) notes that two nations significantly formed migration in the nineteenth century and the beginning of the twentieth century: a Protestant Anglo-Saxon upper class and the Irish-Catholic' working' class of small farmers, labourers and tradesmen. However, despite a contest between predominant 'founding nations' (Irish, Scottish and English settlers), Australia was seen as a domain of Great Britain, which has shaped Australia's migration history. The infamous *Immigration Restriction Act 1901*, known as the 'White Australia Policy', prevented the settlement of non-

Europeans in Australia and proposed a written test on any European language of the customs officer's choice (Markowski & Williams, 2020). This Act, together with the *Naturalisation Act 1905*, ultimately closed the doors for settlers from Asia, Africa or Pacific Islands countries until the 1970s. Through the White Australia Policy, Dunn (2005, p. 34) argues, 'immigration and settlement policies came to be based upon a principle that migrants and indigenous Australians acculturate to an Anglo, sometimes Anglo-Celtic, norm'. As Dunn notes, the distinctions between 'eligible' and 'non-eligible' settlers were not only a framework for migration policies but had a broader impact as a governing principle in institutional and daily social practices. Such a distinction was also a foundation for social hierarchies, based on ethnic criteria of eligibility.

Markowski and Williams (2020) argue that, for Australia, World War II became a point of recognition of its own economic and defence over-reliance on Great Britain. International migration was an obvious choice to 'populate or perish' the vast continent and address its economic security. From that point, Australia established the Department of Immigration (1945) and took a course on accepting migrants from the post-war Europe. However, this wave of mass migration was still governed under the restricted scope of the White Australia Policy. Certain Europeans (for instance, Southern European settlers, such as Greeks and Italians) were still seen as 'not-white enough' or 'non-white', and hence undesirable (e.g. Nicolacopolous & Vassilacopolous, 2004).

By the 1960s, discrepancies between ethnicity-based policies and mass waves of migration, in which migrants of non-British backgrounds played a significant part, became obvious. As Pakulski (2014, p. 25) argues, Australian multiculturalism 'was not a product of idealistic liberal reformers, and its key goal was not a mere celebration of cultural diversity'. On the contrary, in the context of rapid economic growth, it was a pragmatic response to the issues of integration of non-British settlers and an attempt to address the waste of human capital brought by European settlers in the first mass wave of migration after World War II. At that time, the population agenda (as Australia had only 7.4 million people to populate a content the size of the United States) had also become an economic agenda to provide the country with security and independence. Non-British sources of unskilled and semi-skilled labour (especially in constructing and manufacturing) were an appropriate strategy to address these issues. However, assimilation policies created discriminatory ethno-racial practices, affecting migrants' productivity (Pakulski, 2014).

The alternative to the White Australia Policy was to stress greater tolerance and appreciation for cultural diversity. Restrictions on the intake of non-European migrants were relaxed in 1966 and dismantled by 1978, when the infamous Galbally Report pronounced the policy of multicultural acceptance, signifying the end of the White Australia Policy. The transition was significantly triggered by the Vietnam War, which set the beginning of mass refugee migration from South-East Asia. Starting from the acceptance of 200 arrived refugees arriving by boat in 1975, it led to an introduction of a refugee program in 1977 and the subsequent acceptance of 90,000 refugees from Vietnam and Laos, resettled in urban Melbourne and Sydney (Mann, 2012; Thomas, 2005; Markowski & Williams, 2020). The Whitlam era, while short-lived, created a blueprint for Australia's multicultural policies for several decades (Keddie, 2014). This multicultural framework was based on a set of guiding principles, such as 'equal opportunity and access; the maintenance of culture without prejudice; and the provision of special programs and services to ensure equality of access and provision' (2014, pp. 410–11). At the end of the 1970s,[7] the Australian Government developed a multicultural framework as a necessary condition for non-discriminatory, 'fair' treatment of culturally diverse migrants willing to become a part of the nation (Dunn, 2005).

Levey (2019) and Mann (2012) have highlighted that Australia adopted a particular concept of multiculturalism, distinctive from the same concept in other countries (e.g. Canada). If Canada pronounced the equality of all cultures to build a new nation, Australian multiculturalism attempted to create some room for ethnic minorities 'in respect to the majority community' (Houston 2018, cited in Levey, p. 177). Mann (2012) notes that Whitlam's recognition of the cultural diversity of the growing Australian population came along with an attempt to define the 'new Australian nationalism', suggested by his predecessors, Prime Ministers Holt and Gorton. In his defence of the idea of 'new nationalism', Whitlam suggested that every country needs a certain type of nationalism. He saw the Australian agenda at that time as building its own sense of national identity in order to distinguish itself from the previous dependency on 'Britishness' (Mann, 2012). A standard metaphor for integration in the 1970s, Mann (2012, p. 494) argues, was 'the family of the

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7 As Dunn (2005, p. 34) notes, 'The first national political acknowledgment of diversity in Australia occurred in 1973 with the publication of *A multicultural society for the future* (Grassby, 1973). In 1978, the Galbally Report demanded a more systematic and flexible framework of migrant services (*Review of Migrant Services and Programs, 1978*).

nation', 'which implies being linked in one common group, which is much closer to integration than multicultural policy'. Some studies argue that 'liberal nationalism', as it was later named, should be seen as a more liberal form of nationalism rather than a drastic change to the concept of the state (e.g. Castles,1995; Hage, 1998). Such a form of Australian multiculturalism inevitably assumed a privileging of particular cultural traditions and limits within a specific order (Galligan, Boese & Phillips, 2014; Levey, 2008). Cultural traditions of European Anglo-Saxon settlers were seen as historically legitimate practices of the population majority; therefore, they were definitive for practices of 'controlled multiculturalism'. Hage (1998) argues in his book *White Nation: Fantasies of White Supremacy in a Multicultural Society* that 'certain cultural forms of White-ethnic power relations remained omnipresent in a multicultural society and were reproduced by the very ideologies of cultural pluralism and tolerance that were supposed to transcend them' (Hage, 1999, p. 16). In his view, white multiculturalism is a more sophisticated version of white supremacy, as it still assumes a prevalence of a white nation. As such, 'other' cultures are allowed to have a place, but with the condition that they do not challenge the dominant status quo of the white nation. One can argue that the model of multiculturalism echoes the constructed moral supremacy of the British Empire as spreading principles of civilisation and enlightenment through colonialism and imperialism in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries:

> The Australians of most European backgrounds, and especially those born in Australia, are favoured by Anglo-Celtic traditions of law and language which confer a lesser citizenship upon those with lesser English language skills, an 'accent', indigenous Australians, and others who do not look 'Caucasian'. (Dunn, 2005, p. 36)[8]

The recognition of the cultural majority's right to establish dominant social and cultural practices, however, is seen by others as an 'inoculation of Australian multiculturalism against radicalisation' (Pakulski, 2014, p. 33).

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[8] It is crucial to underline that positions of privilege and power are also contested within Anglo-Celtic groups of citizens: 'it should not be assumed that all Anglo-Celts align in a straightforward political binary in opposition to non- Anglo-Celts. Being White, European, and even Anglo-Celt and Christian does not automatically assure a position at the apex of cultural privilege in Australia' (Dunn, 2005, p. 36).

Nevertheless, despite the argument about Anglo-Celtic cultural dominance within the concept of multiculturalism, for nearly four decades multiculturalism was part of the Australian nation-building platform. The backbone of the concept was the notion of a shared responsibility between the Australian government and citizens to foster cultural diversity (Levey, 2019). For instance, the Hawke government introduced the National Agenda for a Multicultural Australia, in which four main principles of multiculturalism were enshrined. These principles defended the right to maintain cultural identities within the law and the right for equal opportunities; they advocated for economic and national benefits of cultural diversity; and they pronounced a respect for core Australian values and institutions, such as freedom of speech, the rule of law, English as a national language and the Constitution. Even though the National Agenda stated that multiculturalism 'does not mean that we should dismantle or repudiate our institutions in order to start afresh', it still promised opportunities and rights to maintain cultural identities within the law (Levey, 2019, p. 459).

Debates about the extent of Australia's multicultural acceptance and multicultural policies were exacerbated by the neoconservative turn in the 1990s and 2000s. Such a turn can be seen as a reaction of the previous policies in accepting high levels of Asian migration from the mid- and late 1990s, prompted by the policy of cultural acceptance and the Fraser government's acceptance of responsibility for Australian participation in the Vietnam War (Mann, 2012). John Howard's Coalition government, elected in 1996, disputed multiculturalism as an 'ambivalent' policy, claiming that it demeaned the history and institutions of a 'disillusioned mainstream' Anglo-Celtic population (Howard, 1995, pp. 11, 14; 1996, pp. 2, 3, cited in Dunn, 2005). At the same time, the rise of Pauline Hanson's One Nation Party instigated a 'race debate', expressing concerns over a growing Asian population who were deemed to be 'taking over'. One of the architects of the neoconservative response to multiculturalism, Professor Geoffrey Blainey, urged against non-European migration as something that can lead to tribalism, disintegration of the Australian unity and a 'spilt blood'; this was picked up by Pauline Hanson in an almost word-for-word fashion (Dunn, 2005, p. 36). In such debates, multiculturalism was portrayed as a 'cultural separatism' that destroyed the nation's unity. The concern of 'dis-Anglification of Australia' (Knophelmacher, 1984, cited in Dunn, 2005) was *de facto* a bid to return to assimilation policies, in which the principle of cultural maintenance (e.g., Muslim or other religions practices) seemed like a threat of national separatism. Another argument for the rethinking of principles of multiculturalism was an accusation of demonisation of the Anglo-Celtic cultural

heritage as a 'primacy of the majority', usurped by a coalition of 'minority interests' (Dunn, 2005, p. 37). Unauthorised boat arrivals and post 9/11 galvanisation of anti-Muslim and anti-migrant attitudes increased public debates and governmental policies of migration around the subject of threat and security (Markowski & Williams, 2020). Australia at that time experienced a sharp increase in Muslim asylum seekers, in which Australia famously turned boats carrying over 400 Afghan refugees back. Around the same time, the Department of Immigration and Multicultural Affairs became the Department of Immigration and Citizenship, and Multicultural Affairs was downgraded to the parliamentary secretary level (Keddie, 2014). Also during Howard's leadership, the Department of Immigration and Citizenship changed its name to the Department of Immigration and Border Protection, signifying the trend for securitisation or even militarisation of asylum (Castles, 2014). Howard's Coalition government focused on the 'One Australia' platform, where 'loyalty to Australia, her institutions, values and traditions transcends loyalty to any other set of values anywhere in the world' (Koleth, quoted in Keddie, 2014:10). The requirement of loyalty to Australia's institutions and traditions was eventually imprinted in the compulsory 'citizenship test' for citizenship applicants.

However, as Levey (2019) notes, continued stress on the national unity still assumed the government's participation in and responsibility for maintaining relations of social cohesion and national harmony. As such, the government was responsible for promoting tolerance to culturally diverse migrants, designing non-discriminatory policies and advocating community rights for cultural maintenance. The narrative of social cohesion and community harmony reappeared between 2007 and 2013 in various iterations: as a strategy of 'unity in diversity' or as Julia Gillard's (2010–13) attempt to reintroduce the original Galbally principles, in which equality and social justice, economic benefits of diversity, respect for Australian values and institutions, and English as the national language were core (Levey, 2019). However, the Abbott government (2013–15) took a step further in questioning the multicultural framework. Abbott expressed his understanding of multiculturalism in the following terms: 'migrants assimilate in their own way and at their own pace' under the 'gravitational pull of the Australian way of life' (Abbott, 2006, quoted in Levey, 2019, p. 460). Abbott's government introduced the concept of 'Team Australia', which 'was explicit to their requirements that all migrants to Australia should abandon other political loyalties and become part of "Team Australia"' (Phillips, 2021, p. 30). The imperative of 'being Australian', Phillips argues, was emblematic of negative attitudes towards

multiculturalism and placed conformity over diversity. During this time, the migrant portfolio shifted to the Department of Social Services. Levey suggests that the 'heyday of Australian multiculturalism ended with the Hawke government, after which ambivalence, indifference, hostility, and lack of concrete support variously prevailed' (Levey, 2019, p. 461).

The Turnbull-Morrison government introduced the next phase in migration policies at the federal level, which Levey identifies as 'post-multicultural'. As Philipps (2021) argues, these policies can be seen as a logical continuation of Abbott's policies of 'Team Australia' as it claimed the fundamental principle of 'nation first'. According to the post-multicultural assumption adopted in Australia, previous multicultural policies were considered successful. As such, the fundamental principles of multiculturalism (e.g. equal opportunities and access, special programs and services to support equal opportunities, maintenance of culture without prejudice) were implemented as an institutional and social practice. Hence, the government's interference in issues of securing multicultural rights for the maintenance of cultural identities and the provision of non-discriminatory policies are no longer required (Levey, 2019). The post-multicultural framework emphasises values of liberty, respect and equality rather than a specific application of these principles for people from cultural backgrounds. As Levey (2019, p. 462) states, 'Turnbull and his multicultural policy rehearse the neoliberal or free-market principles of self-reliance, entrepreneurialism, and economic rationalism ascendant in Australian politics and other developed countries since the 1980s'. According to these principles, 'horizontal', peer-to-peer negotiations of cultural commonalities and differences in the context of the 'advanced' multicultural society are prioritised. Levey (2019) notes that even though the Turnbull-Morison government retained some programs with group-differentiated provisions, the policy offers no rationale for such programs and does not prioritise them. As studies note (Levey, 2019; Phillips, 2021; Forbes-Mewett et al., 2022), the post multicultural framework in Australia puts an unprecedented rhetoric stress on inclusion and sense of belonging, in which *feelings* of belonging, cohesion and cohesiveness are prioritised over the security of formal rights and liberties. This means that symbolic recognition of inclusivity is prioritised over debates and negotiations of cultural differences or structural implementations of principles of diversity in social institutions (Forbes-Mewett et al., 2022).

Instead, the 'nation first' approach to migration implicitly requires culturally diverse migrants to conform to mainstream 'white space' as a condition of migration (Phillips, 2021; Uptin, 2021). Uptin (2021, p. 86) critiques such an approach, noting that the 'retreat from

multiculturalism and the replacement of an "Australian values" rhetoric has increased the demands for integration', in which the outsiders need to conform to what 'normal Australians' do – such as playing a sport, going to school and buying coffee. He argues that criteria for successful integration are not given, but a demand for conformity from outsiders was substituted for the effort required to engage in a multicultural dialogue. In his investigation of young African Australians, he argues that the post-multicultural framework results in more subtle forms of othering, and in a greater delineation between the 'white Anglo-Celtic core' and cultural 'periphery' (especially for those who cannot enter the 'Australian white space' due to their race). Phillips' (2021) investigation of Australian-Korean migrants illustrates similar narratives of cultural marginalisation as a result of the demand to 'join the cultural majority. As Phillips notes:

> In a previous era, critiques of multiculturalism were framed by their ambivalence to cultural difference. Currently we are looking not just at an intensification of ambivalence but the legitimisation of political discourses that are explicitly hostile to difference itself. (Phillips, 2021, p. 31 cited from Kwok & Khoo, 2017, p. 279)

Phillips (2021, p. 31) reflects on delineating outcomes of policies of integration. For instance, she reports that migrant communities do not associate themselves with 'Australian identity, as they see their cultural practices (in this case, Korean language, Korean-operated services or leisure activities) are not accepted as a part of Australian identity'. She argues that such an outcome demonstrates the lack of integrated belonging, in which migrants are required to make a choice between 'being Australian' or 'being Other'. De Waal (2018, p. 5), examining the post-multicultural framework in the European context, makes a similar point of premature departure from multiculturalism, in which *de facto* multicultural practices were not designed and normalised as everyday social practices. He argues that the 'discursive rejection of MC in Europe has not genuinely been about fairly discussing the outcomes of certain MC policies, but rather about creating political leeway to further certain assimilationist policy agendas'.

Overall, studies on the implementation of post-multicultural policies discuss discrepancies in the pronounced success of multicultural policies and the cultural inclusion of multicultural communities in Australia. As Levey argues, the post-multicultural assumption is challenged by the issues of under-representation of linguistically and culturally diverse Australians in public institutions, professional inequalities in obtaining leading positions in

business and industry, inflammatory and disrespectful language, and a lack of recognition of professional qualifications. As Phillips (2021) and Uptin (2021) illustrate, those non-Western multicultural communities who do not meet the criterion of 'being a normal Australian', – that is, joining the 'white space' of conventional social and cultural practices – are marked as foreigners or outsiders (Uptin, 2021). These issues are indicative of culturally based divisions, in which the assumption of an achieved 'unity in diversity' is questioned.

Conclusion

This chapter has illustrated the specific regional cultural context of non-Western migrant settlement. This context might be characterised by a regional orientation towards two main topics: the history of economic development; and the history of international, and particularly non-Western, migration. In the twentieth century, urban areas have become the epicentres of economic development, including arts industries in the post-industrial economy context. Similar to the leading role of urban areas in the twentieth century, global migration was an attribute and impacting factor of urbanisation and urban cultural development. Even though regional areas were exposed to non-Western cultural communications throughout the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, non-Western migrant impact on regional cultural and social infrastructures, and public perceptions of regional areas and the cultural identities that were established, was minimal. As illustrated, a transition to multiculturalism is a comparatively recent phase of regional development, facilitated by migration policies. In such a transition, discussions of regional identities, images of regional areas, change of attitudes to non-Western settlers and transformations of the established cultural and social practices are ongoing processes, which require governmental facilitation.

However, the current migration policies framework has been characterised as 'post-multicultural' (Levey, 2019). As such, the role of the government's responsibility in addressing the specific situations and needs of culturally diverse migrants as a governmental regulator is downgraded. The current policies, Levey (2019, p. 464) argues, dwell on 'the core values of liberty, equality and respect rather than, as before, accentuating their specific relevance and application to the situation of people of culturally diverse backgrounds'. The current migration policy is underpinned by economists' ways of thinking about equality and inclusion, which are perceived as conditions for migrants' productive economic engagement. Current interpretations of social cohesion emphasise the significance of a feeling of belonging, but leave the negotiations of belonging, such as equality of rights for cultural

representation and participation, to migrants themselves and to non-governmental social institutions. When adopting these policies in the regional context, it becomes clear that they do not address regional-specific agendas for non-Western migrant accommodation. As such, the agenda of facilities and infrastructures for practising multicultural identities and diverse lifestyles is essential.

The next chapter will continue the discussion of regional cultural policies by examining migration programs at various levels of government. The specific attention will be on programs of social cohesion. The main focus of the chapter will be on the place of music in migration policies and programs that address the issues of cultural and social inclusion.

5

Migration resettlement programs: The roles of music as a component of migrant regional resettlement programs

Introduction

This chapter examines in depth the current Australian regional migration policies outlined in the previous chapter. Overall, it aims to investigate the roles of music as a part of resettlement programs developed under the post-multicultural framework. The chapter will present an overview of the current international migration intake, emphasising types of migration (skilled, humanitarian, etc.) and regional areas as destination points for international migration. Further, migration programs provided at every tier of government (federal, state and local) will be examined. Specific emphasis will be placed on cultural programs aimed at facilitating social cohesion and inclusion initiated by the federal government and by the state governments in New South Wales and Queensland. The role and functions of local government will also be outlined in terms of participating in the local issues of regional migrant settlement and in delivering federal- and state-designed programs. Finally, the chapter will identify the gap in the cultural component of resettlement programs and the utilisation of music as a practice of cultural settlement. The chapter will argue that cultural programs – particularly music – have not been realised as a vital part of regional resettlement policies, and hence have not been utilised as such. The chapter will synthesise the insights gained from the previous chapter and argue that the absence of music as a component of cultural programs in regional areas creates a particular challenge. The reason is the absence of the existing infrastructures for maintaining and practising diverse cultural identities. Equally, it makes a specific challenge for non-Western migrants as everyday multicultural practices are often not a part of the regional cultural landscape (as discussed in the previous chapter). This discussion will prompt the examination of regional non-Western migrant grassroots music practices in further chapters.

Federal migration programs, 2018–21: An overview

The conceptual frameworks underpinning current migration policy sketched in the previous chapter reflect the logic of the Federal Government's priority programs and expenditure[1]. Before documenting migration programs applicable to regional areas, it is essential to analyse the scale of migration, and Government priorities in migrant intake by providing overall data of migrants' intake to Australia.

The COVID-19 pandemic and the subsequent international border closure led to reductions in immigrant intake. However, despite these reductions, migration priorities did not change between 2018 and 2021. Indeed, the prioritization of skilled migrants can be seen as a logical outcome of such policies, which interpret migration as a capital that, first and foremost, addresses the issue of economic growth. In 2020–21, skilled migration constituted half (79,620) of the overall migrant intake (160,052).[2] The number of skilled migrants in this year decreased compared with previous years, as Family Reunion visas were prioritised. However, the newly elected Albanese government has indicated that the permanent migration intake will be increased up to 195,000 in 2022º23 and permanent migration will be prioritised over temporary migration in the coming years.[3]

Humanitarian entrants' intake during 2017–19 was defined by a limit of 13,750 places. For 2020–21, Australia's annual Humanitarian Program was also set at 13,750 places. However, humanitarian visas were deprioritised in March 2020 due to the spread of COVID-19. As a result, only 5947 resettlement visas were granted in 2020–21. The report indicates a projected increase of humanitarian settlers up to 17,875 places in 2025–26, with 4125 places reserved for Afghan refugees, and 50 per cent of humanitarian entrants to be settled in regional areas.[4]

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1 This section provides an overview of the main federal and state government policies relevant for the period 2018–20. Most of the analysis for this chapter occurred at the beginning of 2020 (before the COVID-19 pandemic). However, some revisions were made in 2022.

2 *Migration trends 2020–21: Highlights*, Department of Immigration

3 www.smh.com.au/politics/federal/albanese-to-act-on-queue-of-1-million-migrants-20220902-p5bet8.html

4 'The Australian Government remains committed to increasing regional humanitarian settlement to support growth in smaller cities and regions, with a target of 50 per cent of humanitarian entrants to be settled in a regional location by 2022. For migration purposes, Sydney, Melbourne and Brisbane (including Logan) are categorised as metropolitan locations and all other locations are categorised as regional.' Australia

Skilled migration is a key part of governmental support for regional development and a main vehicle for addressing skill shortages and population decline (Boese & Moran, 2021). Following the established principle of regional support through immigration, the Morrison Government introduced a new regional visa scheme in 2019. According to this scheme, regions could accommodate an additional 25,000 immigrants annually, utilising various skilled migration pathways. These plans were adjusted in 2020–21, during which only 13,585 regional visas were granted (a 41.9 per cent decrease compared with the plan outlined by the federal government to provide 25,000 regional visas annually).

The federal government sub-categorises regional areas into two major categories. The first includes the Cities and Major Regional Centres of Perth, Adelaide, the Gold Coast, the Sunshine Coast, Canberra, Newcastle/Lake Macquarie, Wollongong/Illawarra, Geelong and Hobart'.[5] Relocation in the defined areas is encouraged by various incentives, such as priority in processing regional visas, more jobs available in the Regional Occupational List and an additional year for international graduates from regional campuses of registered institutions on a post-study work visa. A second category of regional settlement, 'Regional Centres and Other Regional Areas', will have access to dedicated regional places and additional incentives, such as two additional years for the post-study work visa and priority in negotiating regional specific Designated Areas of Migration Agreements (DAMAs).[6]

Multiple pathways have been created for obtaining skilled workers for the regional areas.[7] Visa types are oriented on employers' inquiry for labour shortages (visa subclass 494) or state or territory sponsorship of eligible migrants (visa subclass 491). All applicants' skills must be examined and confirmed by the Occupations List. The Permanent Residence regional visa subclass 191 was created as a pathway to permanent residency for those who have lived

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Offshore Humanitarian Program, p. 6. www.homeaffairs.gov.au/research-and- stats/files/australia-offshore-humanitarian-program-2019-20.pdf.

5 https://immi.homeaffairs.gov.au/visas/working-in-australia/regional-migration/eligible-regional-areas

6 Currently, the 12 DAMAs are: Adelaide SA, South Australia Regional, SA; East Kimberley, WA, South West, Shire of Dardanup, WA, The Goldfields, City of Kalgoorlie Boulder, WA, Pilbara, WA; Far North Queensland, QLD, Townsville, QLD; Goulburn Valley, VIC, Great South Coast, VIC; Northern Territory, NT; Orana, NSW https://immi.homeaffairs.gov.au/visas/employing-and-sponsoring-someone/sponsoring-workers/nominating-a-position/labour-agreements/designated-area-migration-agreements

7 See the list on https://immi.homeaffairs.gov.au/visas/working-in-australia/regional-migration/regional-visas

and worked in regional areas for three years. A special opportunity for permanent residency was also created for migrants from Hong Kong (Hong Kong stream within visa subclass 191). Working Holiday Visas 462, 417 and Pacific and Seasonal working visas (403) are specified as particular visas to address temporary labour shortages in regional areas. Regional incentives were introduced for those who are on other types of visas (for example, Student visa may be transformed into a Temporary Post-graduate work visa 485, with an additional one-year extension in case of resettlement into regional areas).

Apart from skill visas, specifically created to address labour shortages and boost regional communities, pathways into regional areas may also include a whole variety of strategies available for migrants living onshore on temporary visas or for offshore migrants. For instance, humanitarian entrants and asylum seekers, migrants' family members on bridging visas, recipients of Business Owners and Investors visas and those on Talent Visas can choose or be directed by the federal government to settle in regional areas.

To encompass various pathways of regional migration, Boese and Moran (2021, p. 2) suggest the following understanding of regional migration:

> Regional migration refers to both direct migration from overseas and secondary migration of people with migrant backgrounds from another place in Australia to a rural or regional location. The latter category includes people from forced migration backgrounds, and in terms of their legal status this means recognized refugees, humanitarian visa holders and asylum seekers. For the purpose of regional visas, the Australian Department of Home Affairs classes 'most locations of Australia outside major cities (Sydney, Melbourne and Brisbane)' as designated regional areas for migration purposes.

The role of the federal government in providing skilled immigration lies in the issuing of relevant visa quotas and providing relevant mechanisms of skills selection. In Australia, such a mechanism was defined through a points-based selection system, first introduced in 1979 (Markowski & Williams, 2020).[8] The rest of the 'deal' of accommodating and securing the success of migration is subject to negotiations between state governments and particular employers and immigrants. This means that skilled migrants are not targeted as a specific recipient group for resettlement or

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[8] Currently, the main selection criteria include qualifications required in the formed 'Occupation list', knowledge of English language, age, character and health requirements.

supported by migration programs initiated by the federal government, which mostly work with humanitarian settlers and those arriving through the family reunion scheme. Such a policy design assumes skilled migrants' readiness for relocation and productive living in Australian society, based in their qualifications and knowledge of English language, whereas humanitarian entrants need to be equipped with necessary skills and competences. The Department of Social Services provides settlement programs aimed at equipping newly arrived humanitarian entrants with the necessary skills required to participate in the country's economic production; this is understood as 'a bedrock for successful resettlement'.[9] Settlement service priority areas, as described in Settlement Engagement and Transition Support (SETS), are English Language, Education and Training. At the same time, priority areas such as Housing, Health and Wellbeing, Transport, Civic Participation, Family and Social Support, and Justice aim to provide the necessary support for migrants' everyday needs.

Migrant engagement in economic and social life in their host country is seen as a critical task and the targeted outcome of immigrant settlement programs. Therefore, programs are designed to facilitate this engagement. For instance, the Adult Migrant English Program (AMEP), launched by the Department of Social Services and funded through the Department of Education, constitutes the main government resettlement expenditure ($259 million of the federal government's budget).[10] English language skills were named as one of the main barriers to migrants' economic participation, so English education through AMEP and the program's connection with employers are seen as priority measures that address migrants' economic participation.[11]

The federal Department of Social Services enables a nationwide network of settlement services providers, which act in key areas of migrant resettlement, including regional areas. Their

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9 Centre for Policy Development, *Submission: Review into integration, employment and settlement outcomes for refugees and humanitarian entrants*, January 2019.

10 Allocated under the Department of Education and Training budget, cited from Refugee Council Australia, Summary of Federal Budget 2019–20.

11 Centre for Policy Development S*ubmission: Review into integration, employment and settlement outcomes for refugees and humanitarian entrants,* January 2019, p. 8: 'Reducing the gaps in participation, unemployment, and income by 25% relative to the average Australian jobseeker for just one annual humanitarian intake is worth $484 million in income to those refugees and their families and a $180 million boost to the Federal budget over ten years, not to mention the significant social and community dividends', p. 1, https://cpd.org.au/wp-content/uploads/2017/07/CPD-submission.pdf

primary role is to provide management support for newly arrived immigrants of refugee backgrounds in organising housing and education, and language courses, and connecting people with local social, health and employment services. Settlement services providers are represented by not-for-profit organisations (such as Settlement Services International in Sydney) and charity networks with regional offices, often affiliated with religious organisations (such as Red Cross, Anglicare, Centacare Catholic Services in Cairns and the Salvation Army). A significant proportion of state-funded providers comprise local organisations, such as Multicultural Council Wagga Wagga, Fremantle Multicultural Centre, Orana City Council and Townsville Intercultural Centre. Interstate and state non-government resettlement networks with regional offices, such as Settlement Services International (SSI) in New South Wales and Multicultural Australia in Queensland, are the largest services providers in those states.

Federal government programs for social cohesion

When reporting the benefits of migration in 2016, the Productivity Commission reflected the current governmental understanding of multiculturalism in Australia. In describing migrants' social and economic impact as positive, two factors are mentioned as pillars of this success. First, migrants have to 'fit in' and be 'willing to integrate and adopt local social values' (2016, p. 11). Second, the Commission recognized the reciprocal effort of residential populations in embracing diversity and multicultural values. Social cohesion is understood as an acceptance of 'diverse ethnic identities' while 'being consistent with an understanding of a common "national" identity' (2016, p. 11). Such a notion reinforces Levey's (2019) argument (see Chapter 4) concerning the neoliberal orientation of governmental policies, which despite the 'unprecedented prominence [given] to the importance of a sense of belonging for all Australians' (Levey, 2019, p.462) assume it is the obligation of citizens and newly arrived migrants to negotiate these relations.

Current social cohesion packages intended to 'break down barriers to social and economic participation for Australian immigrants and create stronger communities' constitute a minor governmental spend of $27.2 million over four years,[12] compared with the $203 million expended on settlement services in 2018-21.[13] To some degree, community

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[12] Refugee Council Australia, Federal Budget 2019–2020 summary, p. 2

[13] This may be compared with the cost of onshore detention for people seeking asylum, which alone constitutes over $1 billion in annual spending. Security, detention facilities and programs offshore and onshore constitute the major budget costs in the migrant policies budget. The government will allocate $1.28 billion to onshore detention and compliance in 2022–23, an increase of $20.6 million on 2021–22.

engagement, and therefore 'successful settlement', are assumed to be achieved through economic engagement and therefore language, training and education services. Such a minor government spend on social cohesion programs may also be explained by the fragmented character of budgets and programs executed by various governmental institutions.

One program that addresses issues of social cohesion is the National Community Hubs program. The program was originally launched by the Scanlon Foundation in Hume, Victoria, and has since been implemented across the country.[14] The program is school-based and aims to connect migrant pre-school children and their parents with the community. It provides a space where women and families can learn the necessary skills in English, engage with local charity organisations and have on-site childcare. Apart from language skills for all age groups, the curriculum also includes participation in volunteer and early childhood programs. The National Community Hubs program has offices in 74 locations across the country, predominantly in metropolitan areas.[15] In 2019–20, the Australian Government allocated an additional $22.4 million to extend the program to 100 Hubs, emphasizing regional areas. An additional $2.2 million was allocated for Youth Community Hubs, to explicitly target young people between the ages of 13 and 21. This program focuses on children from vulnerable backgrounds and facilitates their participation in employment and training programs.

'Integration' with the Australian community and the embrace of the Australian way of life are the subject of community grant programs such as Fostering Integration and the Community Languages Program, which seeks to engage migrants in social and economic life, speak English as a national language, 'embrace Australian values and abide by Australian laws'. It promotes diversity within communities showing early signs of low social integration. Within this program, which is estimated to cost $2.2 million, various grass-roots initiatives are welcomed, including festivals and events, creative arts initiatives, and sports initiatives that link diverse cultural groups.[16]

The federal social cohesion package aimed specifically at fostering migration can be contrasted with the mainstream public Implementing Sport 2030 program, which was underlined by then-Minister of Immigration and Citizenship Alan Tudge (2019) as a

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[14] National Community Hubs program review 2018.

[15] By the time of the research (2020), Community Hubs functioned in Western Sydney and Wollongong, New South Wales, and in Logan and Ipswich, Queensland.

[16] Fact Sheet Fostering Integration Grants, 2019–20.

mechanism for community engagement and achieving social inclusion.[17] The Sport 2030 package, with a budget of $385 million, will fund 'sport in communities and schools and support elite athletes before, during and after their careers'.[18] This investment program will include the implementation of sports programs in schools, as well as the development of sports facilities in local communities. The program attempts to work on multiple fronts – from improving physical and mental health and building career paths, to strengthening communities and supporting Australian sports industries. The set of strategic goals that the program manifests, as well as the amount of funding, illustrates that the federal government evidently sees sport as one of the prime mechanisms available to address issues of engagement and social cohesion. Such positioning can be confirmed by the social cohesion management positions within sports clubs and relevant academic research (Robertson et al., 2018). Such an example, together with the overall approach to social cohesion referred to in the Productivity Commission report, reflects the prevalence of the post-multicultural framework suggested by Levey. Social cohesion programs aim to underline the sense of belonging to one cultural unity, in which programs that underline integration into a cultural majority (e.g. sport culture) are prioritised over accentuating and fostering culturally 'alternative' initiatives and practices.

New South Wales and Queensland settlement policies profiles

States represent the second tier of the Australian governmental migrant policy, and their role has become increasingly active since the introduction of the first state-specific and regional migration policies in the 1990s (Hugo, 2008). States are responsible for implementing the Commonwealth policies and issuing state-specific migration programs, based on state-specific agendas. For instance, labour shortages in particular industries or population decline in particular areas can form state requirements for international migration.

New South Wales and Queensland have contrasting histories concerning regional policies addressing issues of resettlement. After World War II, New South Wales, and specifically Sydney, was the largest epicentre of Australian migrant settlement, with Victoria

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[17] https://minister.homeaffairs.gov.au/alantudge/Pages/grants-bring-communities-together-through-sport.aspx

[18] www.ausleisure.com.au/news/federal-budget-includes-385-million-to-implement-sport-2030-plan

(and Melbourne) in second place.[19] Consequently, the agenda of regional resettlement aimed at taking pressure off urban infrastructure, which has become a focus of public debate in recent years, was prompted mainly by Sydney's role in fostering international migration. In contrast, Queensland experienced gradual population growth mainly due to interstate migration. Until the mid-1990s, Queensland accepted just 5.1 per cent of the total number of immigrants entering Australia, but by 2001 this number had increased to 17.3 per cent and by 2006 to 18.5 per cent. Currently, the state claims that 21.6 per cent of its population was born overseas.[20] Queensland's motive is to attract migration to address the state's urgent need to revitalise regional economies. The subsequent attraction of skilled migrants, temporary migrants, tourists and international students is understood as a step to boost the economies of North Queensland, which expects an increase in the region's population by up to five million by 2035.[21]

In addition to these contrasting historical profiles in fostering migration, there is significant variation in the regional settlement landscape between New South Wales and Queensland. The regional settlement landscape of New South Wales is dominated by Greater Sydney, where most of the state's population is located. Beyond the Greater Sydney area, the population is geographically scattered between local towns and regional cities, all with comparatively small numbers. Queensland is characterised by a sharper contrast between urban and remote areas: a few large cities and remote rural settlements divided by hundreds of kilometres. Remoteness from the metropolitan areas of Sydney, Melbourne and Canberra, and large and unpopulated tracts of land between comparatively large population centres characterise Queensland as the most decentralised state in Australia (Bennett et al., 2019). However, despite the contrasts between the two states in terms of resettlement geographies, it

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[19] The most consistent pattern has been the increasing proportion of migrants settling in urban areas. Between 1947 and 2001, there was an increase of 141 per cent in the number of Australia-born persons living in cities with 100,000 residents or more (to reach 60 per cent of the total). However, among those born overseas, there was a 642 per cent increase. In 2001, 82 per cent of foreign-born Australian residents lived in these major cities. The foreign-born living in Sydney and Melbourne alone increased from 42.5 per cent in 1947 to 53.2 per cent in 2006.

[20] Queensland Diversity Figures Report, 2018.

[21] www.industry.gov.au/sites/default/files/June%202018/document/pdf/nawp-fullreport.pdf?acsf_files_redirect

is still fair to say that resettlement agendas in both states are based on the agenda of populating and addressing labour issues in regional areas.

Migrant programs and state initiatives follow the blueprint created by federal policies. In both states, multicultural policies (i.e. the *Multicultural NSW Act 2000* and the *Queensland Multicultural Recognition Act 2016*) permeate all state government bodies, enabling multicultural services and initiatives through education and health; services for the young and senior age groups; and relationships with industry sectors regarding issues of multicultural employment. New South Wales enacted the Multicultural Policies Services Program (MPSP) through agencies appointed for two years.[22] These state bodies (departments and agencies) are responsible for implementing and reporting multicultural initiatives in their purview. In Queensland, according to the Multicultural Action Plan,[23] the first of three state priorities are 'to achieve culturally responsive government' (p. 4). Implementation of multicultural initiatives in each of the Queensland departments, with priorities for job creation, employment, health and youth support, is enshrined in the 2020–22 Plan. Both states implement federal programs of resettlement, such as Welcoming Cities (Toowoomba, Brisbane and Townsville in Queensland, and Sydney, Paramatta and Lake Macquarie in New South Wales) and Community Hubs programs, both initiated by the Scanlon Foundation in partnership with the Multicultural Council Australia.

Multicultural Services is the main state body in New South Wales responsible for creating and implementing multicultural services and programs. However, these services are mainly located in Sydney and the Greater Sydney area in New South Wales, with a less dense regional presence. The central role of Sydney in the allocation of main resources for migrant resettlement can be explained by the geographical pattern of migration, reflected in the *Multicultural NSW 2018* report. Multicultural NSW indicated a shifting interest to regional areas of settlement (such as Armidale, Coffs Harbour and the Riverina) through the establishment of 12 Regional Advisory Councils (RACs).[24] Still, new humanitarian arrivals were settled primarily in five areas of Sydney (Blacktown, Cumberland, Paramatta, Fairfield, Bankstown) during the 2017–18 period.[25]

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22 https://multicultural.nsw.gov.au/policy

23 Queensland Multicultural Action Plan, 2019–2022. www.cyjma.qld.gov.au/resources/dcsyw/multicultural-affairs/policy-governance/multicultural-action-plan-2016-2019.pdf

24 Multicultural NSW Annual Report, 2018–2019, p. 20.

25 Multicultural NSW Community Relations Report, 2017–2018, p. 14

Primary social services and other programs, including funds, were concentrated in metropolitan areas. The combined budget for community grants constituted approximately $6.5 million dollars of the NSW state budget in 2017–18.[26]

The migration policies in Queensland and New South Wales share common properties and also reveal state-specific policy patterns. Both states have initiated their own multicultural programs in English language, education and training, security, justice and social services. Social packages in New South Wales are more diverse in terms of the number of organisations that implement state policies, programs initiated and budget size. Multicultural initiatives are concentrated mainly in metropolitan areas due to existing migrant communities and new arrivals. Sport is presented as one of the primary vehicles for achieving social engagement, together with educational workshops, training programs and engagement in volunteer work in local communities. According to the Multicultural NSW Annual Report (2017–18), settlement services providers, Ethnic and Multicultural Community Councils, and sporting bodies such as the ARL and NFL are named as key Australian stakeholders who promote community inclusiveness and recognition of diversity.[27] Sporting bodies participate in state-funded social inclusion programs such as COMPACT,[28] which acts as a major participatory body in the League in Harmony program.[29]

The presence of arts and culture initiatives as a part of social cohesion programs in New South Wales is peripheral. For instance, music is present in forms of multicultural festivals or music workshops. Sydney's Parramasala Festival is supported by Multicultural NSW as a flagship multicultural event.[30] The festival is held in the Western Sydney suburb of Paramatta and aims to celebrate the East Asian cultures present in the city. The festival, with an 11-year history, is the city's landmark event, with a rich program including thematic markets and food

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26 Multicultural NSW Community Relations Report, 2017–2018, p. 37.

27 'Sport provides a powerful vehicle for promoting inclusion and breaking down cultural, political and social barriers. In Australia, sport and sporting organisations contribute greatly to many aspects of social cohesion'. Multicultural NSW Community Relations Report, 2017–2018, p. 9, p. 20.

28 'Community Partnership Action', a program that aims to address the issue of hate and cultural exclusion among various institutions and the general public.

29 Multicultural NSW Annual Report, 2018-2019, p. 22. www.parliament.nsw.gov.au/tp/files/76955/Multicultural%20NSW%20Annual%20Report%202018-19.pdf

30 https://historyandheritage.cityofparramatta.nsw.gov.au/research-topics/parramatta-community-and-cultures/parramasala-australian-festival-of-south-asian-arts

courts, and various cultural programs, such as dance, music and theatre. State-initiated grants also provide opportunities for local music initiatives, such as the Heartdancers project, initiated by Settlement Services International in Sydney. With a budget of $6,500, the project created 23 workshops within various local events, which taught songs and dances of particular ethnic groups such as Chinese, Spanish, Colombian and Indigenous Australian. However, both cultural projects are located in metropolitan areas, where music constitutes a part of performance programs. NSW Multicultural Month, with a Harmony Day as the peak music event, is also funded through a state grant system at the local and regional levels.

Queensland migration policies focus primarily on pursuing economic outcomes from migration and providing multicultural services through government bodies. Training and education, and the provision of multicultural-friendly business industries, are seen as a priority. The issue of a high unemployment rate among qualified migrants due to the lack of 'Australian work experience'[31] may indicate a rejection of institutional and cultural 'outsiders'. The Deloitte Report (Deloitte, 2019), commenced in 2018 by the Queensland Government to investigate migrant participation in the State's economy, revealed that apart from issues of relevant professional skills or language, pertinent to refugees mostly, the issue of recognition of qualified migrants by the Australian business sector equally affects migrant employment ratings. Erel (2010) argues that such an employment issue is indicative of negotiations of migrant cultural capital and its acceptance by the 'national systems of value'.

Support for harmonious, inclusive local communities is prioritised as one of the three pillars of the Multicultural Action Plan in Queensland.[32] Celebration of Queensland's multicultural identity is a vehicle for the promotion of social inclusion, as well as the Stop

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31 'Despite over 80,000 skilled migrants and refugees coming to live in Queensland over the last 10 years, analysis shows that almost half of them (49%) are not fully utilising their skills and experience in the labour force' (p. 8). 'Employer hiring practises that favour local references and experience, and disadvantage those without an Australian network, is another barrier to finding a skilled job in Australia. Getting a "foot in the door" can be extremely difficult for migrants and refugees who have no local experience, and often have no local referees. Lack of a local network can be a particular challenge when migrants and refugees are not familiar with the context of the Australian job market and culture.'. From Deloitte research report for Multicultural Affairs Queensland: *Seizing the Opportunity: Making the most of the skills and experience of migrants and refugees*. November 2018, pp. 8–9.

32 Queensland Multicultural Action Plan 2019–20 to 2021–22, published July 2019; Also, Queensland Multicultural Policy, Version 2, published December 2018, p.6

Racism Campaign. The Ministry of Local Government, Racing and Multicultural Affairs is the government body responsible for programs of multicultural inclusion in Queensland. Similar to New South Wales, a large proportion of the allocated budgets support multicultural festivals in regional towns. These initiatives aim to exhibit and celebrate the presence of local multicultural communities through dance, music and food. For the celebration of Multicultural Queensland in 2017–18, the ministry was allocated $1 million,[33] distributed between 130 local organisations and events. Many of the funded events are multicultural festivals organised in regional and local areas (for example, the Cairns Multicultural Festival). Another aspect of social inclusion initiatives is Multicultural Month (within which the state-funded Harmony Days and Refugee Weeks occur) and Multicultural Awards. For later programs, $200,000 was allocated to the Multicultural Affairs component of the Queensland budget.[34]

The Queensland state government's budget allocation for the promotion of multiculturalism and social cohesion is viewed as cost-effective expenditure, in which effectiveness is measured by the number of people who attended multicultural events.[35] Yet the programs addressing the issues of migrant social and cultural inclusion represent a small proportion of the government spend compared with other programs. For instance, the Queensland Government's budget allocation for the Country Racing Program, pronounced as important for social cohesion of regional communities and falling under the auspices of the same ministry, is $70.4 million over four years. The state's programs of social cohesion reflect the blueprint of the federal migration policies. As such, cultural 'minorities' are supposed to embrace mainstream culture and participate in established cultural activities. Queensland's Country Racing Program can be seen as a representation of the regional cultural agenda, as it specifically targets regional and remote communities and issues of social connectedness. Such an allocation of multicultural issues to the Ministry of Racing portfolio fails to reflect an understanding of cultural sensitivity in managing the subjects of multicultural dialogue and representation of minority groups.

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33 Department of Local Government, Racing and Multicultural Affairs, Annual Report 2017–2018, p. 14.

34 Department of Local Government, Racing and Multicultural Affairs, Annual Report 2017–2018, p. 18.

35 As the Report indicates, more than 1 million people attended multicultural events in 2017–2018. However, it remains unclear from the report how these events correlate with an increase in social cohesion and cultural acceptance in social institutions or everyday practices.

Local government's role in regional migration policies

The role of local government in Australia in fostering migration is gaining academic attention but is yet to be comprehensively described or understood. This may be the result of local government's lack of direct participation in migrant policies until the mid-1990s. Local government lacks a constitutional mandate and has different functions in different states (Boese, 2013). Additionally, its participation in migrant policies lies predominantly in arranging equal access to local community services. However, existing research in this field (Boese & Philips, 2017) illustrates that local government plays an essential role in fostering migration through promoting diversity and social cohesion. This may be seen as a more important task in regional settings than at the federal or state government level, where economic goals drive these objectives (Radford, 2016). Based on research conducted in Victoria (Boese & Philips, 2017), three types of local government involvement in the process of regional migrant settlement were suggested. The role of local government can be a passive, 'watching brief' role or a more proactive role as a 'front desk service provider', or it can act as a leading agency and facilitator in attracting and retaining migrants in an area.

From the mid-1990s, the role of local government in issues of regional migration was enhanced by the formation of Local Government Areas (LGAs) by the federal Department of Infrastructure, Transport, Regional Development and Communications. LGAs became responsible for forming strategies and roadmaps for regional development. This part of the roadmap of regional development planning translated into settlement and human resource plans. LGAs received a mandate to advertise migrant regional quotas and provide necessary communication between potential applicants and the business sector.[36] Settlement inquiries were also discussed at a national level through the Australian Local Government Association (ALGA). In 2019, six designated areas for migrant resettlement (DAMAs) were identified as those of the federal government's regional immigration focus; these were later extended to 12 areas.[37] These initiatives illustrate that local regional government directly and indirectly

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36 For example, https://rdariverina.org.au/skilled-migration

37 Currently, the 12 DAMAs are: Adelaide SA; South Australia Regional, SA; East Kimberley, WA; South West, Shire of Dardanup, WA; The Goldfields, City of Kalgoorlie Boulder, WA; Pilbara, WA; Far North Queensland, Qld; Townsville, Qld; Goulburn Valley, Vic; Great South Coast, Vic; Northern Territory, NT; Orana, NSW. https://immi.homeaffairs.gov.au/visas/employing-and-sponsoring-someone/sponsoring-workers/nominating-a-position/labour-agreements/designated-area-migration-agreements

impacts international migration intake on a federal level through various regulatory bodies and participates in the regional migration resettlement process.

Local actors, particularly city councils, are designated receivers of federal or state grants designed to support migrant engagement in local practices. Local-level actors became a creative force that generated ideas and grass-roots projects in the arts, education and sporting areas, all aimed at connecting migrants with a local community through 'common action'. At a local level, these initiatives may be reflected at multicultural festivals (e.g. locally supported multicultural festivals, Refugee Week celebrations), Refugee Welcome Zones or Welcoming Cities projects, initiated or supported by local city councils (e.g. Coffs Harbour, Toowoomba and Cairns). Programs such as Welcoming Cities assume local government's active involvement for provision of the range migrant services, including employment opportunities.[38]. Local city councils also include multicultural communities as contributors to a local cultural landscape and local cultural development plans, enabling them as active stakeholders in regional life.[39]

Local employers also play a strategic role in migrant regional resettlement and the decision by migrants to remain in an area, as employers can act as applicants for Regional Skilled Migrant visas. Business actors directly participate in migrant capital deployment through providing equal access to job opportunities or targeting migrant participation (Boese, 2015; Taylor, 2013). Even though the role of local government in facilitating migrant participation in the local workforce has not received a comprehensive examination, interviews with local mayors (e.g. Toowoomba) conducted in the current research indicate the existing nexus between local government and migrants' employment by regional business.[40] Sources indicate that existing local employment support programs provide a connection between refugees and local employers.[41]

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38 https://welcomingcities.org.au/what

39 Wagga Wagga's Fusion Festival is considered a local landmark event by the Wagga Wagga Council; Coffs Harbour's Culture Development Plan emphasises local migrant communities, and can be seen as evidence of the city council's proactive position on migrant contributions to regional development.

40 Toowoomba's Mayor Paul Antonio characterised the role of local government in Toowoomba as a 'migrant hub' that accommodates and connects arrived migrants with other areas in the region and employers based in those areas (Interview).

41 www.refugeecouncil.org.au/local-government

Charity, volunteer or non-governmental organisations and community sector groups in a local area can participate in facilitating migrant resettlement through the vast federal and state grant system, often acting as initiators of local government level ideas and projects. These organisations often act in conjunction with the local government in organising various events and programs – for example, Harmony Day or similar multicultural events are initiated by community sector groups and supported through the state and/or local grant system.

Local government also plays a crucial role in initiating and supporting grass-roots initiatives in the community sector, working on cultural translation and providing an environment for multicultural acceptance. The quality and type of local government response to issues of migrant resettlement can significantly shape the outcomes of federal migration policies (Boese & Philips, 2017).

Where is the music?

An overview of migrant policies at various levels of Australian government suggests that music is utilised peripherally in programs of migrant resettlement. Musical initiatives represent an element of social cohesion programs through multicultural festivals as celebrations of diversity. The Harmony Day multicultural festival is the key governmental music initiative, supported through federal and state policies and, in some cases, local funding. A festival-like event was established in 1999 and has been utilised as a means of 'policy's general condemnation of racism and emphasis on the importance of inclusiveness and a sense of belonging' (Levey, 2019, p. 463). Unlike most federal government programs that target migrant communities in metropolitan areas, this is one of the oldest governmental initiatives to have survived various changes in the Australian regional landscape. This presence is underpinned by federal or state grants for local communities and organisations, such as fostering integration or building community capacity, as well as by funds allocated to regional settlement service providers. The exhibition of local multicultural communities through music, dance and food was also taken by the local government to be an appealing instrument to promote regional attraction. Grown from community initiatives and supported by local government, events such as Fiesta la Peel in Tamworth or the Fusion Festival in Wagga Wagga are marketed as 'must-see' local events.[42] Budgets for such events are accessed predominantly through state funds, such as community grants for Multicultural

[42] Booklet: *Wagga Wagga regional attractions.*

Month events. Some festivals (e.g. Fusion Fest in Wagga Wagga or Harmony Fest in Coffs Harbour) also receive funding through sponsorship and from local government.

Apart from multicultural festivals included in the state budgets, the arts sector in general, and music as a vehicle for addressing the issues of social cohesion or cultural acceptance or as an employment sector, have not been referred to in the federal or state migration policies. Despite the multicultural frameworks employed through various sectors of NSW government, and a similar 'culturally responsive' government framework in Queensland, such a multicultural angle is absent in both states' arts sectors. In contrast, sports programs were explicitly named by the federal government and both the Queensland and NSW state governments as key to promoting social inclusion. Multiple outcomes for sport in Australia, such as social cohesion, addressing mental and physical health and supporting Australian industries, illustrate the government's vision of sport as a strategic social and economic priority. It is fair to say that the Australian arts and creative sector has increasingly been overlooked as a strategic public domain with the same set of qualities and potential outcomes. The crisis of recognition of the role of arts was particularly evident during the COVID-19 pandemic, where artists were not initially acknowledged as essential workers and included in Job Keeper relief packages.[43] As the *Creativity in Crisis* report (Pennington and Eltham, 2018), issued by the Centre of Future Work at the Australia Institute reveals, even with Job Keeper, wages in the sector declined sharply, which resulted in a mass exodus of professionals from the sector. Moreover, the report claims that decades of under-funding had already weakened the Australian arts sector before the pandemic, so 'with an eroding and unstable funding base, the arts and cultural sector has been reduced to endless, resource-intensive, short-term grant cycles and philanthropic dependency' (2018, p. 4). The government failure to recognise the various roles of the arts sector is one reason why the arts have not been recognised and utilised as a part of migration policies.

Local cases of multicultural music events, however, speak in favour of the potential of the arts in migration policies and more broadly, for regional benefits. Multicultural festivals (Fusion Festival in Wagga Wagga, Fiesta la Peel in Tamworth or Curry Fest in Woolgoolga and Italian Festival in Lismore) have a long-running history and constitute a vital part of the cultural landscape in regional Australia. In areas with a historical migrant presence

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[43] https://themusic.com.au/news/arts-industry-petition-jobkeeper-support-for-australian-arts-entertainment-workers-now/goKelJeWmZg/11-06-20

(e.g., Griffith and Coffs Harbour, NSW), these festivals also constitute a contributing element of the regional cultural economy by attracting interstate visitors and local audiences. Even though these cultural initiatives can be seen as adopting a tokenistic approach to managing multicultural expressions (Duffy, 2005), they have the potential to contribute to cultural translation and the cultural economy at a local level.

Still, it is crucial to clarify whether these musical expressions and engagements happen as a once-a-year opportunity rather than as institutionalised everyday practice. To some degree, this is illustrative of the 'post-multicultural' policy framework in relation to music as a practice of negotiations of cultural belonging. As such, these negotiations are left to be sorted out between migrants and institutions on a peer-to-peer level, with the absence of governmental intervention. Moreover, post-multicultural migration policies aim to facilitate integration into already existing national cultural practices rather than actively supporting the creation of culturally specific spaces and practices. Such a situation leaves newly arrived migrants in a rather precarious position, in which their cultural existence is not recognised as requiring spaces and facilities to be practised, or cultural expressions as a part of a dialogue that ought to happen in order to negotiate belonging to a new place. Rather, negotiations of cultural identities and creation of spaces for culturally specific practices are tasks that migrants need to address themselves, without any institutional support. While this function can be mediated by (and performed within) much larger ethnic communities in metropolitan areas, migrants from regional areas may lack the opportunity to rely on community mediation due to the marginal resources available. In the absence of everyday facilitation of migrant music practices through formal arts or education institutions, migrant music as a tool of cultural settlement in regional areas is not utilised as a part of formal resettlement programs.

Music was not identified as part of the implementation of federal and state programs aimed at addressing issues of mental health, racism and community safety, or English language acquisition. Meanwhile, these areas are singled out as being particularly important for achieving social and economic outcomes of migration. Given the existing academic research on the benefit of music in addressing these issues (e.g., Marsh 2012, 2017; Scheding, 2018, Wilson, 2018; de Ugolotti, 2020), musical interventions in these fields could potentially be part of future programs. Mapping the effects of music-making in negotiations of cultural belonging in regional areas is therefore a purpose of this study. The insights gathered through the research will be proposed for further consideration and implementation in regional migration policies.

Music has also not been identified as a part of training and skills development programs to facilitate migrant participation in various industries. Such indicators might become a subject of a broader discussion concerning the state of regional musical industries, including music education and training opportunities in regional areas, and music's recognition as contributing to the Australian regional economy. The provision of musical skills training programs in regional areas might be problematic given the shortcomings of the regional musical scene, dominated as it is by high unemployment rates, job inconsistency and the outflow of regional musicians into metropolitan areas (Gibson & Connell, 2003). Undoubtedly, migrant music in a regional setting will inevitably inherit issues that apply to the entire industry. Initiatives such as BEMAC[44] in Queensland might be seen as an exemplary exception in the utilisation of migrant musical capital and an attempt to create practices of cultural and economic inclusion through the agency of music. As such, BEMAC functions a musical centre that particularly specializes on the promotion of migrant music, representation of the artists from multicultural backgrounds and on creation of professional pathways for migrant artists. By providing such services, BEMAC not only creates a space for migrant artists, and opportunities for audiences to experience their muisc, but also contributes to a discussion about the Australian music industry as a reflection of the Australian rich cultural landscape. BEMAC might also be seen as the only example of a cross-sector partnership between the music industry and migrant settlement services (as it was merged in 2015 with Access Community Services Limited, one of the main settlement services operators in Queensland and New South Wales). Such a merger allows to utilise music practices as part of settlement services and create programs within and for newly arrived migrants in Logan and Ipswish in Brisbane.

Nor is migrant music seen as a target area in the regional arts sector programs initiated at the federal or state level. The Federal Council for the Arts acknowledges the importance of diversity in the arts and states that the Cultural Engagement Framework (CEF) is one of the Council's principal programs.[45] However, it is unclear how this framework is reflected in the Council's programs and projects. Another federal arts body, the Office for the Arts (within the Department of Infrastructure, Transport, Regional Development Communication and the Arts), issues various programs with targeted support for women, live music events,

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44 Brisbane Multicultural Arts Centre: www.bemac.org.au

45 https://australiacouncil.gov.au/about-us/diversity/cultural-engagement-framework

Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander music and music in the regions,[46] but migrant communities and migrant music have not yet received any specific attention.

Both federal and state governments have specifically established regional funds targeting support for the arts in regional communities. Both Queensland and New South Wales have regional arts organisations[47] through which migrant music programs could be implemented as part of settlement policies or regional arts development. However, none of the federal, state or regional arts bodies supports or promotes grass-roots migrant music initiatives or specifies regional migrant populations as a target audience for grants, programs initiated or other funds allocated. It can be argued that under the post-multicultural framework employed by the federal government, migrants can participate in any program on a principle of equality of access, and don't need to be targeted by special programs. However, it is fair to assume that financial, social and cultural opportunities for newly arrived migrants and second-generation migrants are not equal to the opportunities available to musicians with established financial and social capital. In regional areas, given the scarcity (compared with the metropolitan areas) of the arts sector, the entry opportunities to the regional music scenes for migrant musicians are dramatically lower. Therefore, a post-multicultural framework can be a factor increasing cultural and social inequalities between 'migrant' and 'host' arts practitioners, and a barrier to migrants' access to professional markets in the arts sector.

Emerging Australian national stars of multicultural backgrounds (such as Sampa the Great, Mojo Juju, rappers L Fresh Lion and Dobby) and emerging grassroots organisations (such as Music in Exile in Melbourne and Voices of Colour in Brisbane) may be indicative of migrant utilisation of music as a practice of cultural belonging that is overlooked by the arts sector audiences. Studies of Australian migrant youth hip-hop (e.g., Mitchell, 1996 or Wilson, 2018) also make it evident that music is utilised as a space for expressions and negotiations of identities and can be treated as the Australian DIY music scene. Such examples reveal that migrant grass-roots initiatives deserve further exploration and acknowledgement from migration and arts policies as practices of belonging and inclusion.

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46 www.arts.gov.au/departmental-news/festivals-australia-revitalising-regional-communities

47 New South Wales has established 14 Regional Arts Development Organisations (RADOs), a network of Regional Conservatoriums. Eight Regional Music Officers were introduced in 2020; however, their contracts expired at the beginning of 2022. In Queensland, four Regional Arts Services Network (RASN) providers are active across the state.

Apart from the function of music as a practice of negotiating migrants' social and cultural positions, it may also have a role in the development and utilisation of migrant art skills and cultural capital in enhancing regional and national music scenes.

Conclusion

This chapter has elaborated on the subject of migration policies investigated in the previous chapter and provided an in-depth overview of the current resettlement programs designed under the post-multicultural framework. The emphasis was specifically on the presence of music as an instrument of cultural policies.

The overview of current migrant intake provided in the chapter illustrates that skilled migration constitutes the backbone of migration policies. Skilled migrants, however, are not directly targeted by multiple governmental programs and initiatives, mostly created for humanitarian settlers or migrants accepted by the family reunion visa scheme. For these categories of migrants, a range of programs addresses the lack of professional skills, experience of Australian social norms and customs, or English language required in Australia. Implementation of the social cohesion framework on a regional level is provided mainly by community grants, support from the sports industry (AFL, cricket, Rugby Union, Rugby League), and national annual Harmony Day events.

However, this chapter has stressed the regional aspect of migration policies based on the post-multicultural framework. In this context, non-Western migrants resettling in regional areas face an additional challenge of regional transition towards multiculturalism in the institutional absence of supporting tools, such as multicultural migration policies. Application of the post-multicultural framework to the regional areas from which multicultural infrastructures and practices are primarily absent is definitive for the regional migration challenges outlined in this chapter. Implicit or explicit marginalisation of 'otherness', based on the established regional practices and cultural imaginaries, defines the migrant experience of resettlement. As multiple studies show, regional migration policies overlook these experiences. Overall, the socio-cultural regional context outlined in this chapter illustrates that the post-multicultural framework underpinning current policies is inadequate for regional areas, in which multicultural acceptance is an ongoing issue. The arts sector – particularly music – as a tool that can address issues of regional resettlement is largely absent from regional resettlement policies. Music's 'share' in migration policies is demonstrated by Harmony Day, an annual one-day or half-day event aimed at boosting the sense of belonging and recognition of various locally present cultures. Yet this initiative does

not penetrate the institutional level (e.g. music education institutions, venues) and is not set as an everyday practice that reworks and normalises cultural practices of 'outsiders' (Phillips, 2021). Music is also overlooked as a practice that promotes regional multiculturalism by facilitating migrant engagement in the regional arts, and therefore as another 'sector' for activating and utilising migrant capital and skills.

The lack of recognition of regional cultural specificities in the accommodation of non-Western settlers and 'tailored' migration policies for regional areas creates an agenda for the investigation of music as a tool and a practice that can be utilised in migrant resettlement strategies. The chapters that follow explore music's role as a grassroots agent of regional resettlement.

6

Music-making as a space of belonging and wellbeing for newly arrived migrants in regional areas

Introduction

The process of resettlement for newly arrived migrants can be measured through milestone procedures such as visa applications and approval, physical relocation from country A to B, and an agglomerate of administrative and mundane tasks such as finding a job and a place to live, driver's licence registration and motor vehicle purchase, inclusion in local medical, tax and educational systems and a multitude of other examples. The order, time and content of these 'settlement steps' varies. These actions can be named as the visible, objective, clear and obvious aspects of resettlement. However, there is a less visible process that accompanies those actions that addresses the issues of everyday survival. Its invisibility doesn't make this process any less important; on the contrary, negotiations of belonging are the invisible part of the resettlement process that permeates, shapes and impacts each and every stage of resettlement actions.

The process of resettlement may be identified as a process of installing emotional, cognitive, social and cultural ties with a new place and space; it is a process of transition from non-belonging to belonging. Caitlin Nunn states:

> (Non-)belonging is a critical concept for understanding relations between individuals and groups and the communities, places, activities and institutions with which they engage, as well as the needs, desires and politics that shape these relations and their (a/e)ffects. (Nunn, 2020, p. 3)

Music-making can be a key source of negotiations of belonging in the process of relocation. In the complex relationship between institutions, individuals and groups, music functions as a space for individual and group cultural expression. Moreover, this is a space through which images and categories of self, country and community are reconsidered, recreated and reassembled.

The meanings for music-making vary for migrants of different age groups and arrival pathways. There is a clear distinction between the meanings of music-making for newly arrived adult migrants and their children, and those born in Australia or who have been living in regional places most of their lives. A combination of factors, such as race and language; visa schemes and pathways to Australia; cultural belonging to both home country and Australia; and existing

migrant community in an area set up frameworks for music-making, its meanings and strategies of deployment. This chapter particularly emphasizes the exploration of the role of music-making for 'first generation' and '1.5 generation' of newly arrived migrants. 'The first generation of immigrants refers to those who were born in a foreign country and emigrated from it as adults (after the age of 12). Generation 1.5 refers to the immigrants who were born in and emigrated from a foreign country during adolescence (between the ages of 6 and 12)' (Vukojević, 2019, p. 298). Arguably, these generations have strong cultural and emotional ties with their homeland, which play a key role in redefinition of their identity and socialisation (Vukojević, 2019). The third generation of migrants[1] possess different meanings of cultural expressions through music-making. Being fully culturally and socially incorporated into Australian life, but still being identified as 'migrant communities', their music-making can be seen as a benchmark for emerging migrant communities in regional settings.

Regional spatial and temporal frameworks for migrant practices of music-making

As a space of belonging, music-making exists within and is determined by specific spatial-temporal frameworks – in our case, frameworks that constitute regional settings. Space and time represent coordinates within which the process of negotiations of belonging occurs. The geographic and climatic landscape of regional cities, the design and structure of regional places, and the institutional and cultural landscapes in these places set up possibilities and limitations that apply to the process of belonging. These factors can be named as 'spatial' factors that impact migrant music-making. Spatial factors include, for instance, the presence of cultural communities, multicultural and religious institutions that can provide cultural expressions, and existing program of settlement services that target issues of belonging.

The regional context that provides the sets of tools and spaces for migrants' expressions of belonging is dramatically different from a metropolitan context. It can partially be explained by the character of global migration in modernity, where metropolitan areas have been strongly associated with international migration influx as a 'twin process' of globalisation (Papastergiadis, 2000). Despite the fact that regional international migration is an ongoing global process, Australian regional migration has a number of distinctive characteristics.

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[1] Despite contradictions of this term, as it reflects their situation of non-belonging, despite being citizens for several generations, they still marked as 'culturally other'.

Regional scarcity of population and remoteness from major urban areas, particularly in Queensland (Bennett, Cashman & Lewandowski, 2019), makes communication between regional and urban migrant communities particularly difficult. Regional isolation can thus be seen as a factor that significantly impacts migrants' regional settlement and sense of belonging. The general lack of cultural infrastructure and diverse outlets for cultural expression constitute another distinctive regional feature and present a predicament for migrant practices of belonging. Infrastructure including, on the one hand, physical places and cultural institutions such as theatres, music halls, cultural centres, streets or parks, and on the other, events such as festivals, concerts represent a diversity of existing cultural expressions to which newly arrived migrants can relate and with which they can simultaneously engage. The major outlet for migrant expression in each of the locations is one-day multicultural festivals, which take place on an annual basis.[2] However, the cultural presence of migrant communities in everyday life can be seen through their penetration of everyday cultural practices and places. In regional areas, these include pubs, schools, market days, community festivals, music education programs and institutions where local bands, artists and choirs perform. The penetration of limited places that have already developed ecosystems of audience and artists represents a challenge for migrant communities. For example, a migrant settlement officer in Wagga Wagga commented on the challenges migrant musicians face in their effort to penetrate the local music scene:

> Local scenes [are] dominated by cover bands and regular bands, and musicians that play with each other. Migrant musicians feel intimidated to go and sing at the shows, because they don't feel as [though] they sound professional. Because these bands were playing and playing for years in that scene, they developed repertoire that [is] sort of popular, they all interact with each other in terms of the band chemistry. They done it for a long time, and they grow out their income base within Wagga. This is sort [of what] you need to do, you need to do cover bands, that sort of stuff. (Community officer in Multicultural Council Wagga Wagga)

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[2] Undoubtedly, migrant cultural exposures are different in each location. In Cairns, with bigger and more diverse migrant communities, several multicultural events will take place. In Coffs Harbour, the multicultural festival will last half a day.

The most salient feature of the regional migrant landscape is the small and scattered number of migrant communities present (discussed in Chapters 3 and 4). The numbers of skilled and humanitarian workers resettled in regional areas vary; however, the proportion of each of the communities compared with the major population is miniscule.[3] Moreover, migrant communities with members who have arrived via the Humanitarian visa scheme have little chance to grow naturally, as migrant influx from these countries mainly depends on government policy and financial support. Another regional migrant intake occurs through education and skilled pathways (e.g., students and skilled workers from India, the Philippines, China and the Pacific Islands). These types of migrant communities are slowly growing as they utilise particular opportunities for skilled migration to create their pathways in regional Australia. However, the growth in numbers of those migrant communities is slow as regional skilled migration is significantly lower than skilled migration accumulated in the metropolitan areas.[4]

Temporal factors of belonging impact migrant musical expressions as they determine the time allocated for music-making. For both skilled and humanitarian migrants, new economic, social and cultural realities define time schedules; music-making occurs in time that is left over. In the new reality, music-making that in the past occurred in a structured, known and settled manner is proportionally less due to the process of managing new tasks. Despite regional migrant musicians expressing their desire to practise music more and resume this part of life at full capacity, for the majority this practice is limited:

> When I arrived in Australia, I had two kids and a wife. My wife, she just had a baby, and she don't have English. She tried to apply for a job, but she couldn't get it. So, I'm the only [person] working in my family. My wife and me thinking about our kids' future, when they go to uni, we have to keep money for them. Another one thing is … we just have moved in Australia, we haven't lived our life in Australia, we've got a lot of stress [laughing]. Lot of things to prepare, especially important thing is we are dreaming to buy a

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[3] For example, Toowoomba has resettled around 1500 Yazidi migrants over the last 10 years; the Burundi community in Coffs Harbour comprise the members of 12 families, according to the interviews with participants. The historical Punjabi settlement in Coffs Harbour from the late nineteenth century reached 1346 people out of an overall population of 72,000 people. https://profile.id.com.au/coffs-harbour/ancestry

[4] An overview of the regional migration skilled scheme is presented in Chapter 4.

> house. Yeah, you know … We are just running for life [laughing]. Music is just second [priority] in my life, so … I really wanted to have music first, but I can't do it. (Musician, Rivzi band, Kachin community, Wagga Wagga)

Time and space for the cultural expressions of newly arrived migrants are limited, and almost invisible in the regional cultural landscape. A dramatic disproportion between outlets for cultural expression and a demand for, and therefore value of, these expressions is as a regional characteristic of migrant belonging. This reality is somewhat reminiscent of findings on cultural expressions in refugee camps, where 'governments, international and local organisations alike place emphasis on addressing "priority" needs such as shelter, food and protection, yet the ability to express one's cultural identity, besides being a right, plays a crucial role in facilitating asylum seekers' sense of dignity and positive mental and physical health outcomes under a range of arduous conditions' (Lennette & Sunderland, 2016, p. 33). Despite the obvious dramatic change in migrants' life conditions and safety, the negotiation of belonging as a part of the resettlement process in regional Australia appears to be a task that regional migrants and migrant communities must largely manage themselves. Addressing this issue of belonging, regional migrant settlers invent strategies for music-making by creating new spaces of 'home' and filling them with new cultural codes and practices. Migrant communities thus diversify meanings of regional spaces and regional practices of belonging.

Home as an art space of cultural belonging

The process of creating a sense of belonging as a process of arranging a new emotional connection with place and space is conducted through making music an everyday practice and a part of living rituals. Studying migrants' expressions of belonging through participatory art-based projects, Caitlin Nunn (2020) refers to the art space as an 'exceptional sphere of belonging'. This 'exceptional' quality can be seen as a moment of transcendence from a routine of ordinary life, freedom from the 'usual constraints' (Nunn, 2020, p. 5), which in the case of migrants might be filled with predicaments of settlement and culturally alienated regional spaces and practices of living. The exceptional quality of music is seen through its ability to create a feeling of home in the new location:

> When I go there [New Zealand] and I can just feel the earth under my feet. I can smell the lake, smell the ocean. See the mountains. I feel renewed and I feel complete again. And I feel comforted. This is extremely comforting feeling. And so, while I'm not there and while I can't experience that in

> person, music does that for me. To be able to sing our old songs, sing old hymns, sing our church songs, singing our prayers, being able to sit here in my own space and sing those prayers … They help to bring some of that peace to me. (Performing artist, Māori community, Cairns)

Migrant music is practised predominantly at home, either alone or with family members and invited friends from the community. The lack of other art outlets for self-expressions in regional settings (i.e. art spaces, as examined by Nunn) prompt regional migrant settlers to redesign their homes so they can function as an 'exceptional sphere' for music-making. Home becomes a place of 'art making as a way of knowing' (Nunn, 2020, p. 4), in which otherwise marginalised voices can be heard with confidence.

The recreation of cultural 'home' for many signifies the reappearance of music in their 'new lives'. For many of the migrants interviewed, music is deeply embedded into the everyday fabric of life, which includes the images and memories of early childhood, where family daily routine, evening gatherings and conversations between adults and children are inherently connected with particular sounds and rhythms:

> Really, if I have to think of it, everything we do has aspects of music. Everything has a rhythm in our tradition, you know. When we are working the land, there is a rhythm, and it's music that goes with that. When we are doing housework duties, then it's a rhythm. You know, for an external observer, they might not be able to see the patterns of that rhythm, it's very obvious and explicit but for any other people it might not seem so explicit. If you pay attention, you can hear what people are talking in the distance. Someone is chopping a tree. Other person doing some housework around the house. These [are] all sounds that create a particular rhythm. (Musician, Burundi community, Coffs Harbour)

In conversations with migrant musicians, the phrase 'music is everything in our culture' was often used in an effort to explain to another person the importance placed on cultural belonging, the longing for its presence in everyday life and therefore the value of 'bringing' the meaning and the emotional feeling of belonging through music. These emotional characteristics of music can also be seen as an instrument of cultural distinction:

> Music in Africa is about bringing happiness together, even if you don't understand the song. We use it for celebration, just dance, bringing happiness.

> People all come together because of music. African music will get you dancing, it will get you shaking somehow, regardless of genre. When I go out here, they play a lot of techno music. I don't understand that. I can't dance to that. This is what you can listen to when you are really drunk or off your head. (DJ of Kenyan descent, Cairns)

For many migrant communities, music-making isn't associated with a special quality, talent or skill. The status of music in communities such as Congolese, Burundi, Sudanese, Malayali Indians, Sikhs and many others is different from what would be understood in a Western society. In some regards, playing musical instruments, singing, and dancing is an equal part of life, being placed on the same scale of importance as communicating, praying, working, raising children, meeting friends or relatives. For many, playing drums or tamburs, or singing in church, or singing and dancing in community events, is associated with daily rituals and cultural expressions intrinsic to the entire community. However, these are dissolved into the fabric of 'ordinary life', and the qualities and skills of music-making receive different functions and meanings when transferred to a cultural landscape of a new and unknown place of living.

Forgetting, remembering, feeling safe, feeling sane: Music as a practice of wellbeing for newly arrived migrants

Duffy (2005) suggests that migrants' acoustic experience structures social, everyday life through multiple and ambiguous sets of meanings, recreating constructs such as 'home', 'place' and 'life'. The quality of music associated with structuring life is particularly evident when presented in the context of the challenges faced by many migrants. These challenges are reflected through the efforts to establish a life in Australia, as well as through journeys in the past. Various studies that have examined the significance of music-making for migrant settlers have emphasised the exceptional status of idle or leisure time as a space 'outside of functional spaces of education, employment, health, housing and formal organisations' (Lewis, 2015, p. 44). Music and dance activities that fill in newly relocated migrants' time provide a sense of agency and control over life (Makhumula, 2019) through creating a sense of freedom and power (Lewis, 2015). Settlement in this case can be seen as a process of structuring unknown and uncontrollable elements of life in some sort of meaningful order. For humanitarian settlers who fled from war and lived in refugee camps, coping with the 'chaos' of life and a lack of agency over elements of life may be a long-lasting reality. Wilson (2012, p. 54) describes those living in refugee camps in terms of 'permanent

transience' where the 'transient condition of the refugee extends indefinitely, becoming an irrevocable and permanent situation, freezing into non-negotiable, rigid structures'. For many, music-making represents an instrument for coping with unsettled reality and a mechanism that allows them to bring back an element of order to their life as well as providing a form of emotional compensation:

> When I was in the refugee camp, I was playing music for the young people. I was playing music for all the refugee communities, and I was playing music for my family and myself, and that music was my pain killer. That was the only thing I could do in the refugee camp. And that was the only thing I had to give me a company when I … when I was alone. The sound. And I always spent my time playing music, and that has given me the power to take music as a powerful tool for your survival. That's what I learned in the refugee camp. I didn't take alcohol. I didn't go into drugs. And it was the music that brought me here. And that made me like this. (Founder of the Bhutanese orchestra, Cairns).

Many migrant musicians interviewed were displaced migrants from various African, Middle Eastern and South-East Asian countries. Despite the dramatic differences in geography and cultural identities, journeys and pathways, the biographical event of living in a refugee camp was a commonly given illustration of the role of music in the lives of refugees. The context of displacement, which for some could last from three up to 19 years, created a continual stress associated with challenges of the past and present. For many associated with the loss of home and members of their family, the trauma of displacement is exacerbated by a 'limbo' existence in refugee camps. This situation of permanent uncertainty becomes a psychological inheritance for humanitarian settlers, living in rented houses and struggling with a language and cultural expressions. 'Making place' (Wilson, 2012) through music becomes a strategy of filling a new place with symbols and meanings of home – a practice of 'home-building'. Dealing with time becomes one of the main issues and strategies of coping with the stress of being in limbo. Among various activities, such as soccer, church services and provision of food, music-making becomes a way to normalise life by bringing back community rituals:

> We would organize soccer games and all that, but music was just one of those things where it just happened naturally and it's one of those things where we will feel connected with each other, you know, and being in a refugee camp

> … There was more bad things than good things. But when we got, you know, in the moment, where we were just music, you sort of forget everything that's going on, you know. That's one of the reasons why there was a lot of music. ('The Congo Brothers' band, Coffs Harbour)

For those migrants who experienced displacement because of refugee camp life, the meaning of music as an instrument for coping with stress, uncertainty and loneliness transferred over to their lives in Australia:

> When they [refugees] feel alone, that time the music was a very good friend, I think. Music don't care if you are white or black. When they [refugees] arrive, they feel like I [felt] or whatever, they feel sad at that time. No one is with them, just music is with them. That's why music helps a lot. (Musician, Rivzi band, Kachin community, Wagga Wagga)

Music is utilised as a safe space where anxieties can be rechannelled. This process of emotional revaluation occurs through the moment of music-making, associated by participants with two cognitive modes of memory: forgetting and remembering. Existing studies (e.g. De Martini Ugolotti, 2020) suggest that affective practices of music and dance are utilised as spaces where refugees can relax away from the need to constantly engage with an unfamiliar culture while simultaneously having the chance to live their nationality and culture. The meaning of 'forgetting' the circumstances endured in refugee camps, through wars and displacement, can be transcended to a 'forgetting' of the alienating setting of their current Australian life, which still needs to be familiarised and organised. The 'forgetting' function of music simultaneously means remembrance and connection with their own cultural space:

> Within probably this first second of our arrival, it became very apparent that we needed something to help us feel at home or remind us of home. And it was incredibly difficult because actually my family was the first family to come, to cross over from Burundi. So we were very, very isolated, culturally speaking. Yeah, so we actually made some connections with local people and one gentleman very, very kind[ly] allowed us to cut [a] few timbers from his land and we made our own drums. And that's how the, the whole process began for us. We spend all our time, and you know it's very joyful, because even the process of making drums is just a very thrilling experience. You know, where boys just being boys, go out to the bush and get lost in there. Just to focus on the

> joy and the anticipation of this new instrument, new addition to your life. So, it took us several months to finally make the drums, largely because we didn't have the tools, we are familiar with … But yeah, the, the idea was born out of that desperation or feeling like something is missing, something very deep. (Musician, Rafiki Connections, Coffs Harbour)

For many, refugee camps constitute a pivotal situation that triggers the need to find coping mechanisms. These mechanisms have been utilised by particular migrant groups to set up ties of belonging in regional Australia. For those with refugee backgrounds, the Australian pathways often mean that their cultural and social alienation hasn't ended with their arrival; rather the opposite occurs. Arrival as a migrant constitutes a new challenge of creating ties of belonging in an unknown country. The first years of resettlement can be the most critical period for new arrivals in terms of impacts on their future mental health. Interviews with newly arrived migrants practising music revealed that setting-up music activities, music bands and community music-making occur in these first years, as a necessary instrument of settlement. The ability to 'keep calm', 'relax', 'keep myself sane' were mentioned as effects of individual music-making:

> But yeah, the, the idea [of a band] was born out of that desperation or feeling like something is missing something very deep. Because like I said, it's really part of our daily routine music. Music is a part of everything we do every time. And so having lived about 12 months without that part of our life was starting show its impact. And so we didn't have much choice but trying, so thankfully we did. And it's been a very amazing experience to be able to create that culture again and have it with us and be able to share that with other people as well. (Founder of Rafiki Connections band, Burundi community, Coffs Harbour)

'Being in music' can be interpreted as the totality of the emotional and cognitive engagement in the process of music-making. The craft of singing or playing the right tune, or the creation of the right rhythms are the predominant tasks and focus. The moment of being present in a process of music-making entails the absence of anxiety about day-to-day life and fears of non-belonging.

Home music-making serves the function of bringing family and community together. Big communities, such as the Yazidi community in Coffs Harbour or Toowoomba, experience particular issues with recreating community gatherings in regional settings, as

there are few places or means to arrange community gatherings. Family parties at home become a replacement for infrequent community events:

> Before the COVID we had events every year two times. Not a lot. Because everyone is busy with study and life, it is a busy life here. After the first week first year we arranged a big hall and we all shared money to pay for this hall, and we used to play music every two weeks. And then we stopped to do that, because you need to pay money, and we always busy, it's just on weekends, [we have] two days, some people busy with family, some need to do a housework, so we cancelled that. (Female member of Yazidi community, Coffs Harbour)

The relations between family parties at home and the recreation of images of home and unity can be illustrated by the example of newly arrived Yazidi migrants Renat and Kamil, who relocated from Syria to Coffs Harbour in 2016. Their performance at Refugee Week in March 2020 was arranged at Renat's home, and streamed online via free access to a Vimeo link. The inability to arrange a public concert during the pandemic was turned to advantage by having the rare experience of being 'invited', via online access, to the Yazidi home in order to witness a celebration. Unlike a stage performance, this occasion was turned into a family-style gathering, with women from both men's families cooking in the kitchen while the men were occupied with setting up instruments and adjusting technical equipment. Ali and Kamil performed several songs together, both before and after the food was cooked. A television set was installed to present pictures and videos of the Syrian landscape during the music performance. Images of snow-covered mountains and plains captured from a bird's eye view, together with the music program, created a feeling of being in two places at the same time. 'Australian' space effectively disappeared under the dominance of the landscape and the language, recreated by the music that Renat and Kamil performed. The contribution of music into the recreation of a palpable alternative space lay in the creation of sonic landscape for cultural images and codes. It is this ability of music to recreate reality that confirms Stokes' (1994) thesis that music doesn't merely reflect cultural meanings but also *fills* them. In the interview conducted with the help of his wife, Renat admitted that playing music helps him to feel as though he is in Syria, and music thereby helps him miss his homeland less.

Music-making thus becomes an imaginary recreation of the meaning of belonging that can't be accessed in the Australian space:

> Because sometimes we are busy with our life in Australia. Kids going to school, and we don't have a chance to meet with other families … Our social life is different here. Back in our country, all the families live close to each other. You don't need to make up an appointment to visit your uncle, you just go and knock at the door. But here you need to make an appointment and check if people are not busy and go visit [laughing]. Same with the music. Sometimes when he plays, we think that we just go back to our memory, we remember everything! When you are like a child, until now. (Female member of Yazidi community, Coffs Harbour)

Music thus connotes images of home, community, country and culture, which are inevitably imbued with emotional feelings of joy, inner peace, togetherness and unity, and engagement. The accumulated knowledge of music as a practice of wellbeing is capitalised as an asset in migrants' professional practices. Some migrants are professionally involved in practices of regional wellbeing, as they receive a degree in social work, study clinical psychology or engage in migrant youth projects as youth workers.

Various effective qualities of music were indicated as beneficial in engagements with migrant youth:

> If you are going through a lot, it is a good way to get yourself out there, you know, if you don't want to speak to people. You can just say through music, you know, and get it out through music. You can rap and some people would understand. That's why I encourage African kids whether if they struggle with a language barrier saying [something] in English. It's normal to rap in your language. You can still try to rap on your own mother tongue, still the music will get there. If something is good about it, beat or whatever, and it is in your mother's language, people will enjoy. They will enjoy the beat of the will enjoy the way you are singing something. (DJ of Kenyan descent, Cairns)

Some migrants believe that music as an instrument of wellbeing can also be utilised in 'wider' regional communities, in managing issues of family wellbeing and providing a platform for a family engagement:

> I have used drums with the families when I work on my main job. I provide a functional family therapy, where I couldn't engage with children because they didn't believe in what I was doing and where the parents were a kind of aloof,

> given up. And one day, with that particular family, I just loaded the car with the drums, got there. I said 'Look, we are not going to talk. I brought some drums, so we just going to drum.' The attention was drawn, I showed them a few simple beats, and then showed them how to link different elements together in order to produce a rhythmic pattern. And they did that, and they were excited. I saw the dad turned up to dance with his hanky. The girls didn't want to engage with me, but I saw them melting and not concentrating. By the time we finished, and I wanted to go they said, 'Can we do this again?' Several times I brought the drums into the house, and then we began to talk. The concentration was phenomenal. (ZimPride Marimba band leader and social worker, Wagga Wagga)

That regional migrants manage wellbeing through music practices is supported by multiple studies of the qualities of music and its relationship with migrant practices of health and wellbeing. Music as a creative practice offers an outlet for self-expression (Lennette, 2020); as a shared practice, it provides a sense of solidarity and sanctuary (De Martini Ugolotti, 2020) and a sense of agency and certainty for those who are coping with trauma (Harris, 2019). These outcomes are based on cultural concepts of music and its social role in different cultures. Therefore, the meaning of music as an instrument of health can be culturally determined. For example, in Sudanese and Kenyan cultures, the health concept is related to a person's spirituality and relations with God, where the distinction between 'body' and 'spirit' doesn't exist (Jones, Baker & Day, 2004). Music in such a conceptualization is enacted as a healing tool that provides language and spiritual communication with God. The authors of the study underline that the cultural divide between 'Western' Australian 'music therapy' practices and 'spiritual healing' is wide, but needs to be recognised and addressed.

Home music-making as a form of cultural pedagogy

For many regional migrants, home is a space for music associated with affective memories of the country and childhood:

> When I was young, like a kid, my mother … even [the] day before yesterday I was telling [this story] to my kids … My mother used to put Christian songs[on] in the morning. So, when I wake up, I wake up listening to these Christian songs and I always want to do it, but those morning hours had never been that, you know, peacefully put on a music and lead them as soon as I get up. I just get on with the chores baking breakfast, getting them ready and stuff

> like that. But I think those songs have worked directly or indirectly, and, you know, how I learned most of the songs probably, because for one hour, even though I'm on bed. I'm still listening to the song. I'd say songs, definitely do help us emotionally and mentally being a bit stable. (Member of Malayali community, Wagga Wagga)

The presence of music as a part of children's upbringing is explained through stories of learning musical instruments or songs. These memories from personal stories were explicated through images of culture, where music is one of the main characteristics of cultural identity:

> In my country, the initiation to the music begins since the baby was born … May be in [the age of] five or six years I began to go out and drum with others. And sometimes, when we were herding cows, we would drum, even on the trees or on the rocks - anything that we could find. That's how we learned the rhythm, because we were not allowed to touch the real drums yet. And then from there we graduated to play drums and the ways we would do that is when adults were not there we would jump to the drums and played them. And they [adults] played in so many different ceremonies, gatherings, events, and we would also copy, much of it would [be] passed on by the ear and observation, and then we would also sing the same songs … this is how we learned music from an early age. (ZimPride Marimba band leader, Wagga Wagga)

Many of the musicians interviewed had musical education in the family when they were children, and saw music as an integral part of their cultural tradition:

> Oh well, music has always been in my background, you know, since I was a kid. My dad is a great musician. He plays guitar and my mum is a good singer as well. So, I'll say it's one of those things where I just, I was born into. (Member of Congolese community, Coffs Harbour)

Longing for home among newly arrived migrants is a major motivation in music-making. Performed within the family, with children engaged, it becomes a way of presenting and communicating culture and reflecting upon cultural belonging. The practice of intergenerational music-making is particularly important in the context of 'scattered' regional communities and cultural identities that are present in small numbers: up to several families or members. Cultural worlds made up of traditions, knowledge, values and norms that pass through shared collective practices undergo an existential threat of disappearance in the new

settings. Family as a cultural unit is often the only institution that can address the fragility of tradition and correspondent cultural meanings and symbols, and pass them on to the next generation. Therefore, the 'first generation' of migrants sees part of their role being the communication of the tradition to children, and of keeping cultural identity alive:

> A lot of our performances are family gatherings. We call them hui. At every family gathering there are always our elders with a guitar, and we call it a spoon, because everyone can grab a spoon and play, and that's how it all starts. We even put a fork in a bottle, and it gets a (imitating the rhythm), that type of noises. And here we are creating our own little band, and this is what we grew up with. So, it all started in a home with a lot of family coming over for a meal, and obviously, as a young fella growing up it's all we knew is, you know, music. So, when we sing songs from 20 years ago that's what our parents were singing when they were growing up. (Member of New Zealand Māori community, Cairns)

Teaching children to play musical instruments and teaching them songs and dances may be seen as a common 'cultural pedagogy' facilitated within Congolese, Burundi and Yazidi communities, with mothers and fathers equally involved in the process:

> We feel very good with music. And we are sharing and lot. We are … like loving each other. Like, we are family. The day we don't have music we feel something [wrong] is happening or it is a boring day (12-year-old female, participates in conversation with her dad, Kamil, Yazidi community, Coffs Harbour)

Passing on cultural tradition to a younger generation may be seen as a form of identity formation and recreating the cultural traditions of the country of origin. Music-making provides a sense of stability through its continuing practice, despite drastic life changes. At the same time, it can be seen as a strategy of adaptation to new surroundings (Schippers, 2009):

> Well, we've always been playing music and our family. I played the piano. When I was younger, but then I used to dance and sing folk songs as well. So, for us, music is basically our everyday life, music and dance is part of my everyday life. Everything we do is a song that can match whatever we do. So that's why I tried to pass that heritage to the kids as well because through songs we either express ourselves or we laugh about ourselves. So, you know, I think that's the best way. And if you feel sad, a song can bring you up right

> away. So, the rhythm of the song makes you forget things and then keep on going. (Member of 'African Association' of Haitian descent, Cairns)

This kind of family-centred cultural education through music and dance is pertinent in regional settings. The lack of formed communities, or a small number of community members, creates an understanding of the threat of the disappearance of cultural identity to family members. The role of cultural upbringing is equally shared by fathers and mothers. For example, in the Yazidi community in Coffs Harbour, a father manages a home dance and music school for the children of the community; a group of mothers in the Nepalese community in Toowoomba and the Malayali community in Wagga Wagga teach dance. Family bands can be created and managed by both mothers (e.g. Filipino family band, Wagga Wagga) and fathers (ZimPride Marimba band, Wagga Wagga).

A common consequence of family music-making is the existence of family bands comprising parents and children, or siblings and close members of the community. Among the participants who were interviewed, most musicians had family-based music activities or family bands that performed on the town stage or travelled interstate. In Coffs Harbour alone, several family bands can be named. Rafiki Connections is organised by two brothers; The Brothers band is a duo of two brothers from the Congo; Djembe Star is a family ensemble that includes three children; Zambese band ZimPride Marimba is a family band where drums, marimba and mbira are played.[5] Moreover, the process of music making in this band also involves constructing marimbas, a craft that the father – a professional musician – teaches his children. The ZimPride Marimba musicians participate in the African Day Festivals (Cairns, Townsville, Armidale) and participate in music sessions in Sydney together with other musicians from a Zimbabwean community. A Filipino family band in Wagga Wagga is arranged by a mother, a musician and music teacher.

Music-making as a home-practice of cultural expression, and at the same time intergenerational communication within small African communities, can be seen through the example of Rafiki Connections. Mathew, the elder brother and band founder, came to Australia as a young man in his mid-twenties. At that time, Dennis, the younger brother, was about 12 years of age. The band comprised 12 members of Congolese, Burundian and Rwandan origin, all of different ages. The initial reason for creating the band was a lack of

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[5] www.youtube.com/watch?v=XyhQjRMs-Y0

community, particularly for men from these countries. This specific situation – that is, men's involvement in music making, creating an agenda for men's cultural expressions – can be explained by the structure of the migrant influx into Coffs Harbour:

> In Coffs Harbour, we had families without fathers for some reasons. The migrant services for us were a place for widows and orphans. Us as boys, we grow up sometimes with things you don't want to talk to mum about, and we found ourselves stuck, you know – who do we talk to now? There is no uncle, there is no father – it's no one else! It's mum or nothing! So we became uncles, we became fathers for each other. We started to look after each other in that way. (Rafiki Connections band founder, Coffs Harbour)

In this situation, the elder men, such as founding member of Rafiki connections in Coffs Harbour, eventually had to take care of the cultural upbringing within the community. Playing drums, learning to make drums, learning and playing songs from their countries of origin were a set of educational practices and provided a space of unity and support for each other. A drumming band consisting of men creates male bonding within a small African community lacking father and brother role models. Creation of hierarchies from 'elders' to 'youngers' reconstructs a community structure through which cultural knowledge in these communities passes.

Despite the subsequent success (the highlight of which was performing for Prime Minister Malcolm Turnbull, in 2016)[6] the band didn't take an opportunity to progress with a professional career. In their opinion, the prospect of becoming a 'commercial band' was contradictory to the reasons why the band was formed:

> Like I said, we formed this group for young people. Young people, in my experience, they don't know how to manage money very well. And, when we are performing, we don't want to create anything that would remove the very reason why we formed the group, which is being here for each other and being at the place for us to feel ourselves. And one way to do that is … being present when we are present. When money become[s] the part of the equation, sometimes we become commercial rather than …you know? ('Rafiki Connection' band founder, Coffs Harbour)

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6 https://www.facebook.com/sbsnews/videos/1151584368194544

To some extent, the chosen format of a 'community band' closed off the opportunity to pursue professional success, whereby music can become a major source of income. However, through the years the band was joined by younger members of the community families, along with the children of the two foundation brothers and their families. The group was disbanded in 2020 due to various career pursuits of their leaders. Dennis, Mathew's younger brother, who left Coffs Harbour to pursue a career as a clinical psychologist, recollects his time in the band:

> We definitely miss it a lot, and I think probably the biggest thing we miss is just getting together and mucking around and having a laugh and being silly. You know, it's nothing more joyful, to see your kids come along and they can see you be like a kid, and then they feel even more allowed to be kids themselves and it's just nice, you know. But also, for us as adults. Sometimes I think it's actually good for our mental health, not to always be in [a] serious state of life, where we can actually separate in that space of just bringing it out, you know … So, we miss that.

Family leisure time is when cultural expression, education and the joy of shared entertainment may be seen as a leitmotif of conversations about music in migrant families. 'Unserious' time, free of stress from the outer world, is seen as a family safety space with known and familiar cultural codes. This time is filled with listening to various types of music from a country of origin, dancing lessons (practised in the Yazidi community in Coffs Harbour, Malayali communities in Toowoomba and Wagga Wagga, and the Nepalese community in Toowoomba), and learning and playing musical instruments. Shared music-making (singing, dancing, playing instruments) is a part of the leisure activities in family gatherings, where music is an integral part of cultural communication within the family. For many newly arrived adults who are deeply immersed in setting up a new life, there is a requirement to be working most of the time, or to create pathways for career or education, or to arrange education for children, or to be busy with household tasks. Family time is therefore precious, and mostly available only on the weekends (as most of members of families are often involved in regular labour or educational activities during the working week). Therefore, when time is available, cultural familiarity through listening, playing music, and teaching children to play instruments or dance is highly prized. For many adults, the significance of such music and dancing practices is in continuation of their family story and a projection of childhood memories, where their own experience of music-making is valued as representing their identity. Most of this results in it being seen as a part of the cultural education of families:

> And I'm really, really proud that we, you know, doing this for our kids, you know, and actually being [in] the school, five days a week, you know, and there is not much time for us to sit down and teach them like our language. Whenever we hear music whenever they do a dance, they pick that word [from a song], and my kids they speak Nepalese at home. It's really helpful. (Member of Nepalese community, Toowoomba)

The existential necessity for cultural pedagogy is formulated by migrants through the threat of cultural redundancy in a new setting. The ability to remember 'who you are', to express identity through cultural practices intensified in family surroundings, is greatly valued. For migrant parents, the cultural traditions and identity that their children inherit within the family signify their uniqueness in the Australian cultural landscape. They are an asset and, in perspective, a competitive advantage – a capital that may help their children to create their life pathways:

> I always encourage my kids if there's a show at school, you can sing something in Creole or you can sing something in French, so I always tell them this is what makes you unique. And this is what you were what you should go for. To me, I think that's what's beautiful about it. To keep your uniqueness. Keep what, what is basically you and then maybe you know merge it with something else and create something new. (Member of African Association, of Haitian descent, Cairns).

A number of studies (e.g., Marsh, 2012, 2016) confirm this thesis, by examining music practices of newly arrived migrants as a way of 'social synchronisation' and setting up social relations of equality with peers. Cultural identities expressed through music, dance and language become socially valued 'assets' through which children renegotiate their migrant status in school environment.

Music-making in the domestic, home environment can be seen as an effort to reconstruct and rebuild a home in a new place for newly arrived migrants. However, it would be a delusion to attribute this process only and entirely to the particular category of 'migrants in the first generation' of new arrivals. Even though the research was not focused on gathering data from the established migrant communities in regional areas, some data gathered from those communities may be seen as a benchmark for the role of music in a process of belonging.

Established migrant communities and migrants of the third generation represent an interesting point of conversation about migrant identities and the process of belonging in regional areas. On the one hand, those migrants are incorporated into Australian cultural and social practices: they have acculturated into dominant culture through the language,

education and social institutions. They share the same everyday culture, and they successfully manage their own businesses, take political posts in local government, and so on. On the other hand, they have inherited a strong and continuous cultural tradition and faith that is a central aspect of their upbringing and everyday life. This cultural 'otherness' is not forgotten or blurred, but rather intensified. As for newly arrived migrants, for them music becomes a key practice of supporting cultural identity and passing cultural tradition through generations:

> For a Sikh, music is everything. All our scriptures are written in musical scales, our meditation, our meditational skills are all about music, it's all about the singing of the hymns. Anybody can learn music, and it's really encouraged. (Joseph, member of Sikh community, Coffs Harbour)

The area of Woolgoolga near Coffs Harbour is famous for its Punjab Sikh community population, a community of farmers who resettled in the area from various parts of New South Wales and Queensland in the early twentieth century. The Sikh population constitutes a minor proportion of the population of the Coffs Harbour local government area (LGA) (1346 people of a total population of 72,000). Even though the population size is comparatively modest, the Sikh population is visible on a cultural map of Coffs Harbour. This cultural presence was leveraged by the building in 1969 of a Sikh temple that has since become a cultural hub for the community, and a multicultural landmark for the wider Coffs Harbour area. Joseph's grandfather was one of the first settlers in the area. Joseph started to learn tabla and other instruments at the age of seven. Since that time, music practice has been a part of his everyday life and the life of his family:

> I play tabla, and percussion in general, I love drums and Punjabi chords and I muck around with normal western drums if I have a chance. We have a lot of music in our family. My wife plays harmonium, my son plays sitar, and my daughter plays harmonium as well, my eight years old [son] learns piano as we speak and learns tabla as well from a wonderful man who is now living here in the Northern Beaches. It's quite a long process [to learn playing tabla] and you sort of never learn it all, and I can really do it at home, I'm a kind of home-grown player. Because we live in a regional area and there are no schools that could teach Indian classical music, I just had to learn from another player. We had this guy visiting us from India, and I made a point of making time and learning from him. (Joseph, member of Sikh community, Coffs Harbour).

Some points of comparison and contrast between the circumstances of the newly arrived and the 'established' migrant settlers may be found. Undoubtedly, the established migrant communities have additional means for supporting cultural identity, such as their more secure financial situation. For example, a family can buy musical instruments and arrange music lessons from professional teachers (Joseph and his son have music lessons from prominent Australian tabla player Bobby Singh). The space of multicultural expression for migrants of the third and later generation is expanded, as it has been practised by several generations of the community members. In the case of the Punjabi Sikh community in Coffs Harbour, the building of the temple was, in Joseph's words, a pivotal moment for the community's cultural legitimation. However, music-making in the home as a key place for practising belonging remains equally important for the 'established' migrant communities, as the issue of public regional outlets and opportunities for diverse cultural expressions remains. The attempt to create such places, and therefore expand regional opportunities of music-making, can also be seen in Joseph's effort to bring music practice to a grocery shop that he owns and manages:

> Instruments are in our dining room, we don't have a normal … what you probably call a coffee table in our lounge rooms, we have instruments everywhere. It's very important. Even though it's annoying in a way, because sometimes it gets in a way of our morning 'getting ready' routine, because sometimes we found ourselves playing … Because we want to play and it's quite hard to stop. It is very important, and we try to play as much as we can, anywhere we can. We've got a piano in our hardware shop in Woolgoolga, and when people walk past, they can stop and play piano, and we encourage it.

Filling his grocery shop with musical instruments (Joseph mentioned only piano, but his regular social media reports from the shop also show tabla and harmonium) and music-making seems to be a DIY strategy of expanding regional spaces of musical and cultural expression. The contrast with a newly arrived migrant in this case is in the ability to own the business and a space, and therefore fill it with unorthodox functions. Newly arrived migrants from Syria recall that their workplace back home was also a space for playing musical instruments. However, the idea of playing tambur in a barber shop in Coffs Harbour didn't meet with much appreciation from a local owner:

> He is not practising music like before. In Syria, Renat was working as barber, he had his own shop, and he was practising [music] all day. If there is

> customer or no customers. Sometimes, customer wanted a haircut and listen to his music. Since we moved to Coffs Harbour, because he started to study English, he also wants to do like hairdresser certificate because we just run away from our country without any certificates and stuff, all our life has changed … He is busy with work, but here in Coffs Harbour you are not allowed to play at work. (Female member of Yazidi community, Coffs Harbour)

The contrast between newly arrived and comparatively established migrant communities is in the visibility of practices of belonging. Most of newly arrived migrant music is 'hidden' from a public view – it is music-making at home. With time, migrants have the opportunity to practise music at the public places, in their stores or workplaces. Migrants of the second or third generation may have enough financial capital to establish their presence in community public places, with music as a part of them. However, home remains the predominant space of music-making for several generations of migrants living in regional areas. This fact illustrates that multicultural expressions continue not to be converted into an accepted mainstream social and cultural practice.

Conclusion

Several points need to be highlighted in concluding this chapter. First, home is the predominant space for cultural expression for migrant communities in regional areas. 'The process of home-building' happens through the agency of music that fills a new, unfamiliar space with meanings and symbols of the homeland. Through music-making as a 'sonic space' of belonging, emotional attachments to a new place are created. For newly arrived migrants, the ability to 'feel at home' is an integral part of emotional safety and confidence. Music practices are utilised in order to provide a continuation of cultural traditions within families and communities, resulting in the appearance of home music schools, 'men's sheds' with music activities and family bands. However, the fact that cultural expressions are limited to a home space seems to be a specific regional feature. Spaces for multicultural expressions – predominantly festivals – exist on a kind of 'pop-up' basis in regional areas. Therefore, the private space of home is a primary space for doing the 'necessary work' of connecting past and present, recreating the meanings of new home, self, necessary actions and purpose. Music-making – alone, or with children or close members of the community – represents a 'necessary work of symbolic creativity … that can provide us with a sense of ontological and,

by implication, existential security' (Wilson, 2012, p. 51). The space of regional belonging, therefore, is subdivided into sharply contrasting areas of private space of belonging and an 'outer' world, with the limited entrance opportunities for alternative cultural expressions. Migrant musicians and their 'grass-roots' knowledge of music qualities in issues of wellbeing, together with existing studies on music's impact on mental health, could provide a foundation for settlement practices of belonging and mental health within regional migrant communities. For newly arrived migrants, the qualities and meanings of music highlighted in this chapter are evidence of its significant role in a process of transition between the state of 'non-belonging' to one of belonging. The revealed meanings of music in migrant's everyday life also present an agenda for a discussion of regional spaces for cultural expressions as a vital component of resettlement process for newly arrived migrants.

7

Hip-hop and migrant youth strategies of belonging in regional areas

Introduction

Age and the meanings and utilisations of different types of music are interlinked. Age is a definitive factor in defining an individual's cultural and social capital, and music functions as a tool of cultural expression and social inclusion. Music is an integral part of youth cultures globally, playing a vital role in identity-making (Bennett, 2000). This chapter will illustrate that young people of migrant backgrounds living in regional areas arguably constitute a stand-alone cohort of 'regional migrants', with their specific agendas of belonging and employment of music strategies addressing those agendas. This chapter aim to canvass the particular role of hip-hop in the process of identity-negotiation for regional migrant youth. Hip-hop, which was developed predominantly as an urban phenomenon, is performed by migrant youth in regional areas. The chapter will argue that migrant youth's engagement in the regional hip-hop scene is an effort to create a space for an 'alternative' to established cultural expressions of regional identity.

Definitions of migrant youth tend to comprise two interrelated aspects: age and generation. Following the classic United Nations definition, 'youth' are persons aged 15 to 24 years old.[1] Alternatively, the Australian Institute of Health and Welfare defines youth as 12–24 years of age.[2] Despite the shifting borders of youth, one of the defining characteristics of this period is that it is a specific life-stage between 'childhood' and 'adulthood'. Erikson (1968) describes this life-stage as 'almost a way of life', with its most significant feature being a crisis of identity, where childhood role models and social connections are no longer fit for purpose, resulting in a period of identity confusion and, consequently, the formation of a new set of relationships between oneself and the world (Erikson, 1968, p. 128). During this period, meaningful ideas, trustworthy relations and unification with traditions are searched for, analysed and tested (Erikson, 1968, p. 130). Such an understanding of a linkage between youth age, identity and its cultural expressions led to the establishment of subcultural theory,

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1 www.un.org/development/desa/youth/what-we-do/faq.html

2 www.aihw.gov.au/reports/children-youth/australias-youth/contents/introduction

in which youth cultural movements, including hip-hop music are investigated in relations to identity formation (e.g., Stratton, 1985; Blackman, 2005; Hall and Jefferson, 2006; Brake 2013).

For the purposes of this chapter, 'migrant youth' are defined as 'second generation of migrants', which 'encompasses the immigrants who were born in the country of destination to at least one immigrant parent or who immigrated to the country of destination before they turned six' (Vukojevic, 2019, p. 298, cited in Portes, 1997). Despite having a higher level of acculturation than newly arrived migrants through learning English language from childhood, and receiving education and professional training within institutions of the 'host' country, the second generation is defined as liminal, belonging neither to the country of origin nor to the host country, but somewhere 'in between'. Their 'third place' cultural belonging is constituted by a 'hybridity of identity' (Back, 2008; Hall, 1988), in which cultural practices and upbringing within non-Western migrant families 'clash' with the institutionalised cultural traditions and social practices of the Western 'host' countries in which young migrants were brought up. Shushytska (2019) defines 'metics' as those who live simultaneously in two 'worlds', both Western and non-Western epistemological systems. The particular idiosyncrasy of those who share 'several cultures, languages and identities' is that they have an ability to 'juggle cultures' in order to solve the contradiction of belonging to conflicting ideas, feelings, ways of life. By doing so, 'metics' are likely to find the 'middle term' obscured from the major cultures (Shushytska, 2019, p. 419).

By providing those definitions and contexts, it can be suggested that while inhabiting several simultaneously intertwined 'crises', migrant youth are involved in a dialogue between two or several incompatible cultural 'worlds' and at the forefront of resolving, or at least juggling, some of their contradictions. The chapter presents results of interviews with five hip-hop artists from Wagga Wagga and Cairns of aged between 17 and 32. Three participants were relocated to Australia at the age of three, five and six years old; two other participants were born in Australia. Participants' profiles are contrasting in terms of their cultural backgrounds (Liberia, South Sudan, Māori and India, the Democratic Republic of the Congo, Mexico), gender (four males and one female), education and career (trade worker, university students, professional musicians) and pathways to Australia (children of skilled migrants, refugee settlers). This chapter examines their music as a practice and a space in which the process of juggling cultural contradictions occurs. In this process, hip-hop is utilised as safe space of self-expression and investigation of cultural otherness, and as a

creative practice of inventing new definitions and metaphors of self. The examination of migrant youth's music-making contributes to the understanding of music as a practice of negotiations of cultural citizenship for non-Western migrants in the regional areas, outlined as one of the purposes of this research.

Hip-hop as a glocal practice

What is the connection between regional Australian migrant youth, their 'quest' for cultural belonging, and global hip-hop culture? Hip-hop first appeared in the African American suburbs of The Bronx as a dance (break-dance), vocal (rapping), painting (graffiti) and music (sampling, DJing) counterculture. Being born as an expression of African American cultures in the early 1980s, hip-hop has spread globally as a vocalisation of marginalised youth. Hip-hop's distinctive feature is seen as being a 'connective marginality', in which hip-hop is defined as 'a medium to disseminate an education of self-expression for disenfranchised and disadvantaged young people across all ethnic backgrounds' (Clapham & Kelly, 2019, p. 10).

Some critical conceptualisations of hip-hop are formulated around 'localisations' of global hip-hop. At first, dissemination of hip-hop was seen through the lens of 'American cultural imperialism', where 'regional versions' were compared and contrasted with the unique features of the original American hip-hop (Alim and Pennycook, 2008, p. 28). However, the diversity of local appropriations of hip-hop culture makes it evident that localisations of hip-hop cannot be judged as simply mimics of the American 'standard'. On the contrary, hip-hop provides a global community with which individuals can connect, while remaining 'local' through the infusion of local languages, traditions and musical styles. Hip-hop expressions around the world are being 'localised' through the contribution of local narratives and unique strategies of reworking local youth agendas (Bennett, 1999). Each social and cultural setting produces its 'own' hip-hop. Pennycook and Mitchell (2008, p. 30) insist that 'hip-hop has always been local', with 'global' hip-hop culture in fact consisting of reflections of local narratives of struggle. Equally, particular sets of reidentifications involving language, narratives and message, as well as musical, philosophic and poetic traditions, make hip-hop 'local'.

'Migrant hip-hop', as a part of global hip-hop culture, has been examined in various countries (e.g., Rose, 1991; Bennett, 1999; El-Tayeb, 2003; Condry, 2006; Yeh & Lama, 2006; Tervo, 2014; Creese, 2015; Bodunrin, 2019). In those studies, migrant hip-hop is examined through the lens of negotiations between non-Western 'cultural minorities' and a

‘dominant’ national identity, usually represented by ‘white’ Western cultures. Therefore, hip-hop is seen as a strategy of gaining cultural citizenship ‘where other forms of belonging have seemed unavailable’ (Williams, 2018, p. 446). In a similar vein, Tony Mitchell (1996) identifies Australian migrant hip-hop in the suburbs of Western Sydney, where young people of Greek, Italian, Lebanese and Vietnamese backgrounds ‘have been attracted by the racially oppositional features of African American hip-hop and adopted its signs and forms as markers of their own otherness’ (Mitchell, 1996, p. 194). Even though later studies (e.g., Wilson, 2012) focus particularly on the role of hip-hop for migrant youth (e.g., Sudanese youth), investigations of migrant youth narratives in regional Australia are yet to be undertaken. Despite the growing presence of migrant hip-hop on the national music scene and media (Mitchell, 2007, p. 109), its marginal status as a popular music genre can be indirectly confirmed through the most recent survey of the Australian popular music fields, in which hip-hop was not mentioned (Dibley & Gayo, 2018). Moreover, hip-hop continues to be considered an urban underground culture that exists within underground DIY networks, infrastructures, labels and independent producers in Sydney, Melbourne and Perth (Mitchell, 2007). While the regional localisations of Indigenous Australian hip-hop are represented in emerging studies on Aboriginal hip-hop (Minestrelli, 2016; Clapham & Kelly, 2019), regional migrant hip-hop practices have not been examined.

Thus, regional migrant hip-hop remains doubly uncharted territory. The existence of regional hip-hop artists poses the question of the regional hip-hop scene’s existence and migrant musicians’ strategies of music-making within the existing music landscape. As such, migrant hip-hop main narratives and agendas, and strategies of ‘juggling’ hybrid identity through hip-hop practice, will be the focus of this chapter. Equally, it will explore the regional migrant hip-hop relations with ‘urban’ national and transnational hip-hop scenes through which regional migrant youth attempt to signal their presence and build music careers.

Regional hip-hop agendas for migrant youth

Several regional distinctive features define migrant youths’ cultural experiences of belonging and form agendas of music practices. These include small numbers of non-Western migrant communities settled in regional areas (described in Chapters 3 and 4), a lack of facilities and infrastructure for diverse music-making, and recognised diversity of practices of belonging (described in Chapters 4 and 5). Each of these factors has different impacts on young migrants; consequently, their role in migrant youth’s practices of belonging vary. Migrant

youth's family pathways to Australia, social class and gender are the factors that interplay with the mentioned 'regional conditions', and therefore form different narratives in their music and their professional engagement with music.

One of the most distinctive features named by all young hip-hop musicians interviewed in this study is the absence of peers who share the same age and cultural belonging. If migrant communities are overall small, the cohort of culturally diverse young people is even smaller – sometimes those people presented in single numbers, just themselves. The absence of peers of the same race, age and cultural background becomes a fundamental reason for a feeling of alienation:

> From my understanding, I think it's gotta be a condition, an environment they [the majority of local teenagers] raised around, and they kinda used to it … That's why I'm so pro-integration … and I think because these kids weren't enough around African kids, they saw somebody who looked different, and they looked like an alien! That's why I think regional areas are very different to metropolitan areas. They all talk shit, but they don't put racism to it [laughing]. There is lot more acceptance [in urban areas]. In these areas there is not enough people from different backgrounds so they can get used to it. I think it's more an ignorance thing in a sense. It's more lack of knowledge about it. (Lexx, musician of Hispanic background, Wagga Wagga)

For culturally diverse youth, school represent a space of cultural conflicts, with migrant youth's subsequent alienation as cultural 'outsiders':

> I felt that [Australia] is a safe haven and all I needed to do is basically to learn language, but because back in my country our language is like pidgin language, words are bit cut up, so I could understand bit here and there but … Schooling probably was the hardest part … When I first had a racism act done on me, I really didn't understand what they were trying to say, until they said, 'Black pig, go back where you come from'. This is where it kind of occurred to me that not all the people have the same values as me. I just wanna live, be loved, love and that stuff. I had no idea! I'm still learning … I didn't know me being an African … I didn't know I was an African, and a white person called Caucasian. I didn't know that there were Aboriginals. I mean, eventually you

> get to those understandings, education teaches you that, but then it was just flooded down like 'you black, go'. (Collin, Wagga Wagga)

School for the participants interviewed is associated with the most challenging time and communications, defined by racialised language, attitudes and relations. As some participants commented, the explicit alienation based on race permeates youth's communication; however, the implicit exclusion is a practice embedded in everyday conversations and language. As such, non-Western migrants are alienated as 'outsiders', who due to race cannot join the Australian 'white space' (Uptin, 2021):

> Where are you from, darling? You have such good English!' What other language I supposed to have? It literally comes to the point when you have a little script in your head that you practise your whole life just explain to people [that] – 'Yes, I'm a Sudanese … I've been in a refugee camp in Kenya. I've been here since I was three!' You know, you have this little script. Sometimes it is very frustrating, like … I was always very good at school, I always had very good grades, and I've been with same class for years and years, and I might be talking with parents in a sporting event, and at random they'd say to me: 'You have such good English!' This is what frustrates me. You know me, you know me for years and years! How can I have bad English?! (Olivia, Wagga Wagga)

Alienation based on racial distinctions is the practice that equally applied to migrant youth of various social status and class. As hip-hop artists witnessed, private or public schools equally share same practices of distinction between 'normal Australians' and African-Australian youth, in which accents and skin colour are the factors of exclusion:

> My accent was different, because I went to the International American School, my accent was like [a mixture of] American and African, now it's mixed with the Australian one … I faced a lot of racism, especially in my first school. Everyone was always making fun of me because I'm from Africa, no one came from Africa in my school, they called me 'an African kid' – 'it's an African kid!' But when I become more mature and grew up, I thought that I'm actually proud of being African, why am I ashamed of it?! (Dave, artist of Kenyan background, Cairns)

Relations based on hierarchy and dominance through race-related language spread across various youth groups.[3] For those who represent a racial minority in the regional cultural landscape, cultural exclusion becomes a fundamental point of crisis:

> I never entered a high school because I was bullied a lot, because conveniently enough I looked … quite different [laughs]. It wasn't even safe at my house because I was followed from the school. Because regional Australian schools are really notorious for, like, racism. Really bad. I remember this African guy, he was obviously from out of the country because he had accent, he got pretty much forced out of school, and it was like not teachers made him leave, but he was bullied so badly that he just had to leave. (Lexx, hip-hop musician of Hispanic background, Wagga Wagga)

However, the lack of multicultural experience, and therefore cultural awareness in everyday social practices, cannot be dismissed as an attribute of a 'troublesome young age' that eventually disappears. In some regards, this may be seen as a continuation of cultural and social practices based on deep historical divisions between 'white' locals and 'non-white' 'outsiders'. Interviewed hip-hop migrant musicians from Cairns, for instance, have a strong association with the local Indigenous community and musicians, based on their 'non-white' similarities. They reflect on the issue of cultural belonging as something that constitutes the regional cultural landscape and defines young people' life trajectories:

> When I was a teenager, I had friends up here in Cairns, and they would limit themselves because of their skin colour. And I thought it was their decision, but really, I found out that it's not … They limit themselves to be more than they are. To work in a retail store – they wouldn't try even ask to work in a retail store because it was not a job for the black-coloured skin. But for me, I always did the opposite of what they thought. Because I always used to say to myself – if this person can get it, why I can't I get it? I always kept breaking through this racism card and kept walking forward. But the people – my friends, my family – they were kind of saying, why are you working in this shop? This is not for us.

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[3] As one of participants mentions in the interview, a racially based attitudes, expressed through language and definitions of each other, underline relations between 'white' Australians, non-Western Australians and Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander teenagers. As a participant recalls, a racial slur, or conflicts between groups of teenagers are a part of normalised interaction between all three groups.

> And literally I had to have these talks in the black community – this is stopped, this is over! By limiting yourselves like this you are not going to get anywhere! (GG, hip-hop musician of Indian and Māori descent, Cairns)

Regional migrant youth' living experiences are constituted by everyday cultural and social relations that have been built on a recognition of 'dominant' and 'minor' cultures, and consequently the ability to belong. As Uptin (2021) comments regarding this dilemma, the criteria of 'integration' for non-Western migrants are not given and clear; moreover, the 'integration' may never be achieved as the borders of belonging explicitly or implicitly assume racial belonging (e.g., Uptin, 2021; Phillips. 2022). However, the cultural conflict is also something that crosses the migrant youth's family space. Relations within the 'family' (which can be understood as immediate parents, siblings who have migrated or are living in the country of origin, and the family's broad cultural heritage) constitute another point of existential pressure that migrant youth must negotiate:

> When it comes to our community when we explain that we want to express ourselves through music or, you know, they don't see it as a good career path. They are going like, 'What are you doing with yourself, it's not going to take you anywhere? You need to be this, you need to be a doctor, you need to be this.' They put this stereotype that when you come to Australia, you need to be doctors, you need to be that. It is hard to break out of that, because you don't want to disappoint them, but at the same time you also have grown up in different culture, in Australian culture; you grown up learning English … and you have both cultures to battle, to juggle with. On this side you can speak English with the world, you can mingle with Aussies, and everything is beautiful and great, life is good. And then you go to that side, and they feel like they are losing you, you are not yourself, you are not doing what you should be doing. (Collin, Wagga Wagga)

This 'family dilemma' can be understood as conflicting visions of life trajectories existing between parents and children. As such, 'family' defend the safety of their cultural traditions and form expectations of young migrants as those who must continue the cultural traditions of the 'home' country. Also, for many, safety becomes a fundamental framework, according to which migrant children need to choose a 'safe' and 'guaranteed' future through their choice of profession. Migration policies unequivocally indicate the expected from migrants' social

pathways of integration through conventional professions. However, a 'safe' pathway often doesn't address migrant youth's feeling of exclusion, as they have two 'home countries' to belong to. This dilemma of cultural belonging was formulated as 'being an African inside the house and being an Australian outside' (Interview with a young Congolese musician, Coffs Harbour).

Moreover, the lack of cultural models for the social inclusion of migrant youth can also be related to parents' successful or unsuccessful cultural and social acceptance. Some migrants interviewed (e.g. GG and Lexx) reflected on the issue of the inherited 'message' of cultural exclusion as a part of the family upbringing and domestic culture. Therefore, often the immediate family cannot provide the sources or models of relevant and productive life pathways in Australia, which prompts migrant youth to seek for such sources in the popular culture and media sphere.

Hip-hop as a creative practice of being: Reworking hip-hop tradition in the search of authentic representation of self

The scarcity of relevant social, cultural and family models creates a context in which hip-hop culture offers spaces and creative sources for re-making oneself:

> I was going through all that stuff with bullying, there was stuff at home that was going on, you know, my dad was pretty abusive and stuff. Pretty much I would hang out with my homies and they were into rap, and I was relating more and more to music. Because it was more and more like 'Fuck the system', 'fuck everything', and I was about that. Like everything in a world, fuck the world. I remember listening to Tupac, and I started studying his lyrics, really heavily. Tupac is a great lyricist, there is no doubt about that. Eventually you started to write your stupid little lyrics. I had no concept of how to write anything like that, I just kind of started. (Lexx, Wagga Wagga)

This situation may be seen through the metaphor of 'nothingness' as an existential snapshot that portrays migrant youth's state of being. Writing poetry and lyrics becomes an act of inner speech, through which 'nothingness' of being turns into 'something':

> I was very confused, I was very closed in, I was very shy. I started writing poems at school. I used like a poem-like genre, you know, like Shakespeare, I was really into that type of thing. I started writing and it really kicked off when I got feedback from people, they couldn't believe it. It gave me a bit of hope for me. I have got

> something. I was made for something. Because back in my mind … I was thinking that I was nothing. I have got nothing to give. But always, for some reason, where was a little speck of light that was saying that you are something. And from that, and feedback from people I was able to build my own personality, and my own confidence. (GG, hip-hop musician of Indian and Māori descent, Cairns)

The topic of writing lyrics as an emotional outlet for frustration, and eventually space of achieving emotional comfort, was raised by several musicians. For them, creative writing becomes a way of connecting with self, a space where one's 'own voice' can be found. Hip-hop lyrics in this case are a 'diary', a space for autobiographical reflection:

> When I'm stressed, I'm writing, as an outlet. Even if it's not a poem or a song, it will be a good stream of consciousness. I'm just talking and writing anything, anyhow. It's probably best outlet I have. Also, a lot of the times I found myself writing, writing thoughts that I didn't even know I had in my head. It puts things into perspective, it slows down thoughts as well. (Olivia, Wagga Wagga)

The description of the process or self-expression through the composing of lyrics contains distinct metaphors of meaning and fulfilment of the creative process of writing. It can be seen through topics such as hope, light and energy, or oppositions like the 'jail' of existence as opposed to the 'freedom' of expression:

> It makes me feel free, letting these stories out. It's basically my diary that I'm putting into the world. Some may read it, and some may not. And I'm okay with that, as long as I get it out before my time comes to leave this Earth. So basically, I see it as my freedom, like my 'get out of jail' card. Because right now, I can call a jail what is my head. I don't wanna be trapped in my own self, feeling that there is no help. There is a lot of help in plenty of places, it's just a matter of finding [the] right help and being around [the] right people. So, for me, it's a freedom thing for me, a freedom for myself. (Collin, Wagga Wagga)

Recognition of self as 'being something', being a creative author of one's own 'text', can also be seen through the lyrics of songs:

> I'm spitting my rhyming
> Hoes keep whining
> Can't see the lining
> Party with no inviting

I'm glowing like diamonds
Pull up with gold I'm shining
(Dave, Cairns)
Watch out watch out I'm a diamond
Shine bright when the times is right
Imma shine so bright like a full moon light
And I'm thanking God for this brand-new life
(Collin, Wagga Wagga)

In both sets of lyrics, metaphors of value, such as gold and diamonds, are portrayed as something invisible and unrecognised by the others. They both express confidence in their uniqueness and value. Dave's statement is a statement of achieved self-sufficiency, which doesn't need someone else's approval to be recognised as such '(party with no inviting, I am (already) a diamond'). For Collin, however, it is shine which is yet to be seen and recognised for its full value ('when the time is right'). It is an anticipation of shining and recognition of its value. The following lines precede Collin's statement:

Got a chip on my shoulder
And I know they notice my odor
Gotta live for pops and my mumma
I'mma play that part for my mumma

This is a portrait of the present moment, in which he feels as being ostracised by 'them', which constitutes his life's condition. Life's perspective is to sacrifice time for taking care of parents left behind in another country. Therefore, a moment of 'shining like a diamond' is a hope postponed for the future. Such deeply personal lyrics can be seen as an indicator of social distinctions existing within migrant youth. As a young refugee, Collin relocated with his father's new family; his mother stayed and still lives in Liberia. Dave's parents relocated from Kenya as skilled migrants and had a family already living in Australia. For Collin, the agenda of providing for the others (family, parents) is prioritised over working on his own dreams and talents. It is a situation of navigation through life in which parental help is absent and recognition from others is not given. Instead, it is the migrant youth's generational responsibility to provide this help and earn cultural recognition.

The notion of hip-hop as a space of self-affirmation is closely related to the topic of music and wellbeing (Nikulinsky & Bennett, 2019). As Nikulinsky and Bennett's research

reveals, in remote areas music for young people can be an essential tool for finding solace and expression of vulnerability. As a mirror, 'music enables one to recognise one's self' (Nikulinsky & Bennett, 2019, p. 192). Migrants' hip-hop practices in regional settings can be seen as an attempt to shorten the proximity between non-Western youth and pop music culture. At the same time, it is an effort to claim their identity, place and voice in regional Australia.

The 'crisis of youth' (Erikson, 1968) for migrant youth can be a search for meaningful answers to questions of self within the predominant culture, where alternative cultural identities unavailable as possible role models. Therefore, hip-hop becomes a cultural space where migrant youth can find meaningful reflections of self:

> It's rap. It's started from me not being able to talk with anyone about my issues and realising that they won't understand. I started here from a poetry, a poetry slam here in Wagga called Raw Poetry. I just started with me and feeling that buttered up that I can't talk to anyone. My friends wouldn't understand, they wouldn't react the same way, as I would want my mum to react or my dad. I don't feel comfortable enough to go somewhere and talk to someone, explain them something so they would not understand. So, if I put it in my rap, I assume that few will understand, and it gives me hope. I know that I said this thing, and there is a beat to it, it's catchy, and someone can come and listen to my lyrics. And they can say that 'this guy went to some things'. This is what it's all about. They are more engaged rather than me saying 'hey man …', this kind of way, and 'bla-bla-bla, get over it, mate, you will be alright', you know … (Collin, Wagga Wagga)

Hip hop is seen by migrant youth as a strategy of communication, relevant to the search for meaningful social relations. Also, through poetic and slam social gatherings, the relevant social circle of peers and soulmates can be created.

Hip-hop also signifies an educational space of culture that forms ideals and, utilising Erikson's (1968, p. 130) words, 'an inspiring unification of tradition':

> It's easy to understand the [American] artists, how they grew up, I feel the same way, I feel really connected with them; the way they write their lyrics

> and their wordplay, I can catch exactly what they say. B.o.B., Daylyt[4], a battle rapper … They cover legitimate situation in the world on a large basis; they talk about things that matter – child trafficking; they talk about the fact how they hate these things happening and its being undercover; it's an educational thing that I'm going through when I'm listening that kind of music; it's basically telling me that – hey, you don't need to always rap about drugs and that, and struggle and all that. You can rap about … basically, about making sure that society is aware of what is going on behind closed doors. (Collin, Wagga Wagga)

Hip-hop is therefore a relevant cultural 'tradition', which provides an opportunity for creating cultural connections and communities. Such utilisation of hip-hop by regional migrant youth correlates with music practices of rural Australian youth. (Nikulinsky & Bennett, 2019). As such, music practices and music consumption online provide a sense of 'community membership', of belonging to a 'family' and a community of people who speak 'the same language' (Nikulinsky & Bennett, 2019).

This sense of connectedness also prompts the creation of music and hip-hop poetry. Many migrant musicians note that their experiences of their cultural and social being aren't represented in popular hip-hop. The topic of 'being authentic', being 'truthful', was registered in several conversations with the regional hip-hop artists. The 'search' for authenticity' may be seen through the lens of authenticity as a strategy of distancing from the mainstream commercial rap (Mitchell, 2007). As such, musicians claim their independency from over-commercialised forms and formulas of hip-hop, exploited by global music industries – particularly American hip-hop. On the other hand, the regional migrant musicians' claim for authenticity can also be seen as request for relevant representation and documentation of their life experiences through music:

> Today's music is full of profanity, even worse than it was in the 90s. And this is what I will never understand, and I'm trying to fight for myself, especially here in Australia. Because we are different from the American culture. And we should, as the Australians, make our own stand in history. Reality, my reality is all in my music that I write. Sometimes I want to have fun with it,

[4] Both B.o.B and Daylyt are American rappers

> most of my songs are about my life and everything that I have been endured. I just feel that me brining that up to a surface that is real to me, it should be real to others as well. Because it's a real story. Because I'm not talking about – 'I'm tracking 50k, I got a Lamborghini' – I am not talking about trash. At the end of the day, it means nothing to me. My biggest goal is to bring a change, to bring back realism in music. (GG, hip-hop musician of Indian and Māori descent, Cairns)

Another correlation between global hip-hop and local hip-hop practices is the notion of masculinity and male gender representations in lyrics (e.g., Dave's lyrics above). To a degree, it can be seen as another way of claiming space and legitimisation of self through the popular language codes provided by popular hip-hop music.

Creese's research on hip-hop and the representation of gender among African teenagers in Vancouver is particularly relevant in the Australian regional context. As in regional Australia, African Canadian youth 'are typically one of the only African and Black children in their schools, their neighbourhoods, and their larger peer groups, reflecting an urban space in which Black/African bodies stand out amidst the majority of European and Asian origins' (Creese, 2015, p. 203). As Creese points out, popular culture – including hip-hop – is a fundamental part of a local cultural landscape, and a source of images of blackness for migrant teenagers, as it is for the rest of the population. Young African men, she argues, construct their image according to the notions of a 'black cool guy'. This image might be seen as macho, hyper-heterosexual and violent, but at the same time it signifies physical power, charismatic presence, displays of wealth and chic 'cool pose' (2015, p. 207). For young people in Vancouver, such positioning has several advantages. They are more likely to be associated with mature adolescent men through displays of masculinity; and they are likely to be more popular among their peers and, particularly, teenage (white) girls. According to Ibrahim (1999), language conventions, such as raced and sexualised notions of 'niggers', 'bitches', greetings like 'I wanna say whassup to all my Niggers' are a part of linguistic markers of belonging. In his interview, Dave points on the value of brotherhood and shared belonging, explaining that 'niggers mean MY niggers, my brothers', which he applies to his friends in Kenya and Cairns. Yet these notions should be tested in more detail in the Australian context, as Australia's colonial history may suggest other narratives and interpretations of 'black' masculinity. However, these notions still provide some insights into

how images of global hip-hop culture are utilised by regional migrant youth in rethinking their gender and cultural belonging.

Hip-hip interventions in 'juggling' cultural belonging

The 'realism' of hybrid belonging and efforts to depict and reflect on cultural identity can be seen in various language strategies and narratives utilised by migrant artists.

'Juggling cultures' may be seen through 'juggling' languages, where common features of migrant youth songs are native tongue languages:

> I am Australian citizen. I didn't know how to explain it. I feel all the way Australian, but I'm still hundred percent African as well. I am African Australian. I identify myself with Sudanese culture more, because my family are Sudanese, and I'm surrounded by it 80 per cent of the time; My first poem was called 'Africa'. I was talking [about] how beautiful it is, how much pain it's been through as a continent. I was talking a lot with parents [while writing the poem], I was talking about the lines I was writing, and I was able to translate it for the performance, because parents were teaching how to translate, and back home we used to say like this, and like this … (Olivia, Wagga Wagga)

Or a native-tongue accent:

> I do feel Australian, definitely. But I also feel Liberian. I had a lot of criticism from people who were saying that my music won't go anywhere because I don't rap in the Aussie accent, which is a bit awful for me here, because there is a language barrier, I can't fully commit to one side. I can't do it, it can't happen. I can't rap with the Aussie accent. (Collin, Wagga Wagga)

As manifestations of belonging, an attempt to 'stitch together' two cultural 'worlds' can be seen in the rap artist's utilisation of languages and accents. The utilisation of native languages in recordings or performances reflect their perspectives and modes of living. However, these are not always received positively – Lexx recalls of being accused of swearing by a performance organisers when he used Spanish language in one of his songs (Interview). The ability to bring cultural identity into lyrics and spoken word becomes a means of liberation from the linguistic constraints of the English language from the point of view of a non-native speaker:

> I don't need to follow any rules with it. Language is flexible, versatile, changing. I use language, but I don't need follow literary constraints. I can say what I want, the way I want, when I want. I can talk about what I want and a way I feel, and it's just me and my words. I feel this is a way I convey a lot of emotion. I write a lot of essays, I'm at uni now, but I feel like the more I dismantle my previous language knowledge on how to write and how to speak English, it sort of gives me a freedom to express my own English, my own speech, my own way of communicating. Just a freedom that allows me to express myself. (Olivia, Wagga Wagga)

The ability to dismantle the structural constraints of the English language through creative words, rhymes and rhythms becomes a way of not just legitimising migrants' cultural belonging, but transcending the constructed cultural conflict between 'Western' and 'non-Western' worlds. In their lyrics and music, these worlds are combined through the newly found metaphors of symbols of self, through new images that combine features of both identities:

> I always put some hints in my album covers like a photo of me on one side, and then looking at the other side: or just using black and white. Because I feel sometimes, I'm on my 'black' body when I'm here, and when I'm in Kenya I'm in my 'white' body. I feel that I'm two different people sometimes. (Dave, Cairns)

This forced ambivalence of cultural belonging is undergoing constant efforts to transcend the conflict and find a new language of self. Lexx describes his songs as reflections of his investigations of the history of conflicts. He is particularly interested in World War II, the Vietnam War and conflicts between the United States and Native Americans, as well as between the United States and Mexico. Each of these stories represents some part of his direct family history and is therefore related to his own being. His song '1862' portrays 'his native cousins', American Indians and the imagined story of their lives in the 1800s. Historical context becomes the imaginary space within which the events of the past are reinterpreted, and through which belonging is recreated. Lexx defines his music as a 'transcribed experience of being a human': as a sum of his temperament, upbringing, personal tastes and personal dramas (Interview). A continual attempt to confine regional hip-hop artists in binary framework of 'national' and 'multicultural' identities meets resistance as a false assumption that doesn't reflect their state of being:

> I am a Mexican. I am an Irish. I am a Scottish. I am a German. I am a Prussian and then I am a Cuban and a Mongol. If I have to identify myself, I just can say that I am human. (Lexx, Wagga Wagga)

Some of the hip-hop artists in Wagga Wagga developed their hip-hop practice from slam poetry competitions, in which improvisatory poetry is practised. The ability to engage in a creative live action in which linguistic constraints don't have a power of naming or defining, creates a space where the relevant 'inner speech' about self can be found and practised. This phenomenological aspect of hip-hop as a live linguistic practice of constructing self can be seen through the musician's self-reflections:

> Powerful
> I'm a woman
> I'm wonderful
> Full of wonder
> I'm colourful!
> I'm sure
> I'm not a drop in the ocean
> I'm the ocean you try containing
> In the drop that you are waiting for
> Nor realising I have no fear
> Of falling with no ferns on the ground
> One fails to catch me
> Amongst the flowers
> I will be found
> The lessons you rely on
> The foundations you forgotten
> With the mother as beautiful as nature
> There is no doubt
> I was begotten with imperfection
> With imperfections that only increase
> The defuse tensions in nations freely
> (Olivia, Wagga Wagga)

This example of a female gender representation and agenda in Australian regional hip-hop is worthy of more detailed commentary. Creese (2015), in her study of gender, hip-hop and identity in Vancouver, argues that black teenage girls are more racially and gender disadvantaged than males, and consequently find themselves even in more insecure positions. A principal reason for this is that women are likely to be judged more for their physical attractiveness. For young black girls, it can be a 'minefield' where few people look like them in the predominant 'white' culture of beauty, with its standards of straight and silky hair, tall and slim figures, fine features and smooth white skin. These judgements of beauty are also highly exploited in hip-hop culture, which often portrays 'black' women with lighter skin, and Western-like hair and bodies. It also frames women as hyper-sexualised and 'exotic', often reducing a person to hyper-sexualised body parts. As a result, Creese states, 'African-Canadian adolescent girls almost never see themselves in the popular images of Black female beauty that do exist' (Creese, 2015, p. 2014). Aggressive feminism is another strategy of non-Western female representation in hip-hop, which portrays women as a fighting force for black women's rights (El Tayeb, 2003). As El Tayeb states, black women's voices were historically equally powerful to men's voice in race movements in Europe in the 1980s, in which music was a part of emancipation movement. However, Creese argues, black female participation in social movements created an image of an aggressive black female, which became another cultural trap for youth in their search for relevant reflections. The lack of relevance to migrant youth of representations of black women in popular culture might be a reason for the creation of poetry and lyrics with explicit images and metaphors of femininity, in which tropes of ocean, flowers, forest and fern, and soft colourful power are used (see lyrics above). The creation of an 'alternative' vocabulary describing femininity through such lyrics can also be seen as a strategy of distinction from over-sexualised or 'aggressive' female representations in hip-hop culture. Such a lyrics can be seen as a request for a more complex and 'colourful' representations of black femininity, which is powerful enough to 'defuse tensions in nations'. Albeit more critical investigation of femininity in hip-hop is required, such an example can open an opportunity to discuss a call for a female 'power' to be reimagined and to offer images alternative to objectivations of gender in popular culture.

Creative flexibility of language, provided through hip-hip rhymed and improvisatory poetry, allows room to be created for searching for and inventing definitions of self. In this process, migrant musicians 'juggle' languages and accents, historical events and their biographies, cultural stereotypes and created metaphors to represent 'authentic selves.

Migrant youth tend to avoid cultural or race definitions of self, in which duality of belonging to 'Western' and 'non-Western' culture is portrayed as irrelevant.

Migrant hip-hop practices within existing regional music scenes: Outlining the challenge

If urban hip-hop can be described as a 'DIY field', as an underground infrastructure of independent artists, labels, shops and performing spaces, then the regional hip-hop scene might be characterised through the gap between aspirations to practise hip-hop and regional capacities to maintain a hip-hop music scene.

For young migrant hip-hop musicians, the outlets that traditionally were arranged for migrant communities as avenues for cultural expression – for example, multicultural festivals – may not be seen as a relevant platform for their music. Some, being also DJs or MCs, may utilise these platforms as a part of their cultural community contribution and feel grateful for this opportunity to perform. However, most migrant hip-hop artists gravitate towards creating 'professional' music products and positioning themselves in the Australian music scenes and industries. In attempting to pursue this ambition, migrant hip-hop artists negotiate a tripartite identity: as regional music artists, hip-hop genre artists and young musicians:

> There are all races here, white rappers, indigenous rappers; those people are from everywhere; here is a guy called Marsh Mini, he is Aboriginal; he is really God-like, he is really talented, and he can freestyle and everything; same as the guy called Kale. Cairns has a really good hip-hop scene, so many talented rappers here. But they don't know what to do with their talent, they are so underground, they don't have resources here. So, it's like – 'ahh, it's not going to go anywhere!'. Sometimes I feel like if they grew up in a bigger city, they would have wanted go for it. Because it's much harder to make it here in Cairns. (Dave, Cairns)

To a degree, regional migrant youth experience the issues of limited music infrastructures and unsustainability pertinent for the local Australian music scenes in general. The 'inherently fragile' (Bennett et al., 2019) infrastructure of regional music scenes can be attributed to multiple factors, such as distances between regional and urban areas, small population and therefore demand in music, live music decline or regional income decline that informs the demand for live music (Bennett et al., 2019, p. 8). In this situation, young hip-hop musicians face issues in terms of bringing their music to the audience:

> The only thing that is holding me back is money. Because it's all about ads. You can pay for YouTube ads. That's why it called 'Rap game'. It's a game of who do you trust, how to play it best, how to market it best. That's why every coin cent I get, I always invest into my music. I don't buy items. This shirt is from Kmart. This is how I dedicated to it. Marketing, marketing. Everyone thinks that music is just singing, but if you want to take it professionally, it's marketing, mixing, mastering, merch, live shows. That's why you have to have your manager, but no managers come to Cairns. We have very limited studios and those studios cost heaps to go, like $150–200 for one-hour session. When I make a song, it can be from five hours to five days to make it. (Dave, Cairns)

The idiosyncrasy of the hip-hop genre can also be a deterrence factor that adds to the issue of fragile infrastructure, limited outlets for live music and declining interest in live music (Bennett et al., 2019). The predicament for young hip-hop musicians can be explained through the concepts of 'hard' and 'soft' music infrastructure, introduced by Geoff Stahl (2004). According to Stahl, 'hard' infrastructure' consists of 'material' institutions of production and practice, whereas 'soft' infrastructure comprises human connections, networks and relations. 'Hard' music infrastructure in regional areas is usually represented by local music hubs, such as radio or pubs, which are not willing to take risks with young hip-hop artists who want to play original music in a genre associated with derogatory language and a 'moral decline of Australian youth' (Clapham & Kelly, 2019, p. 9):

> They [regional places] are pretty good with pub bands, which is a good thing for people who play guitars and in bands, they got a lot of gigs, or single artists. Rap though … I don't see so much happening because it's so 'in your face' kind of culture, and it might be that they have to be careful to choose artists, whether or not they would be willing to provide a content that doesn't have such activeness and swear words and that sort of things. As an artist, I don't really feel comfortable if I have to blip out some of my words in my songs. Because I spend so much time writing these words and lyrics, and that's who I am, and I'm trying to express it. When I have to blip it out, I don't think it's worth it. (Collin, Wagga Wagga)

Moreover, regional live venues function as a developed ecosystem built upon bonds of familiarity between a local band and the audience (Bennett et al., 2019). The ties between the community and music that articulates the community's social identity have formed regional music styles and audience expectations. Therefore, hip-hop music can be seen as rather challenging to the musical styles and forms of audience appreciation developed through decades of tradition:

> Cairns, it's a small country town, so, like I said, if hip hop is not number one in Australia, then, how would it be in a regional small country town area? I live in an area which is still listening to country songs. So, my music, it's a battle. It's a battle of ages. (GG, hip-hop musician of Indian and Māori descent, Cairns)

The established music scenes 'monopolised' by particular genres (e.g. pub rock, blues, covers on popular songs) pose a challenge for migrant youth's musical expressions, represented by 'unconventional' genre of hip-hop. The lack of community support was vocalised as a one of the main deterrence factors to pursuing a musical career. Some of participants referred to a local community's perceptions of arts as a deterrence factor. The common perception, as hip-hop musicians note, is that 'big talents' are produced in metropolitan areas and by global music industries, whereas 'regional' areas are the places for consumption of a global musical product rather than places of its creation. Such a 'division of labour' between metropolitan and local music, where local identities deprive themselves of creative function and connectivity with centres of art production, was named as a deterrence factor for young musicians to make an art career in regional areas. The limited 'hard' infrastructure for music creation and consumption created particular music practices. Single musicians or duos, as a commercially viable formula, constitute a significant part of the popular music scene; however, the creation of a new musical scene and practicing unorthodox musical genres (such as hip-hop) for regional areas may be seen as a more challenging task than incorporation of already existing regional musical traditions of rock and blues. That is a lack of pathways for young musicians to grow professionally, which some hip-hop musicians identify as a deeper issue of a 'regional mentality' - an assumption that artists can and should create professional pathways themselves:

> The [local] mentality is that arts don't need to be supported. It's like, 'Oh, you do it by yourself, you will succeed by yourself'. Well, I am writing music by myself. It's a bigger preconception that artists don't need support slips into

> community and individual mentality. I think if the community is more willing to work with artists instead expecting the artists to work by themselves … Like, anything I wanted to do I had to do my research, get support from other organisations, I had to come very prepared to 'knock the wall'. It would be a lot easier if I went to the 'wall' and said – hey, this is something I'd like to do, do you have a space for this? And they'd say – 'yes', and we would do it. Or, they would say, 'No, we don't have a space, but this is how we could help you to create one.' It would have been very good because it means that anyone, any sort of artistic pursue, they could go that way confidently, they could be comfortable and grow in their community. (Olivia, Wagga Wagga)

This issue is exacerbated by the fact that migrant youth lack knowledge and experience of social pathways in the arts and specifically music. Such knowledges and experience is not inherited as a part of family's social capital or networks. Hence, the understanding of 'how things work' in terms of musical pathways, social networks and connections has to be learned 'from scratch':

> As a first-generation Australian, or even as a young refugee in Australia, it's a new culture you are adjusting yourself to. And if you find that you are good in music, you are good in arts, it's very few people you can turn to, who can help you to nurture your talent. And even if you go to your parents and they support you, they are also new to this culture, they are also new to this country and this town. They might not know where to go with it. They like – 'Oh, you are good at this, but how we make this go further? And this is that we are missing here, that little 'in between'. Yes, we can build talents to a certain point and then we need to go further there is not many resources for that. (Olivia, Wagga Wagga)

Moreover, young migrant musicians associated with cultural minorities are not viewed as credible players by other members of the local music scene:

> The first thing I did was to contact my radio stations that I had here, I have contacted papers that I had [read]. I wouldn't [have] been able to put the song out there. Nothing at this time. Everyone was like – 'oh yeah …' So, I had to get more support from out of Australia and I found out that I got more support in America than I did in my own country, and that was a problem. But then when the song came back here to Australia, that's when it started. It is very

> hard for people in regional isolated areas to get out there, to have that support, to push forward, because I think, like I said before, music is going mainstream in America, so if you'll notice over there and you're going to get noticed over here, which is a problem really because you know … I'm [of] an Indian background. It shouldn't have taken [such way to get known] in America to be noticed here in Australia … To notice me [here] when I'm [already] here. (GG, Cairns).

In the opinion of young migrant musicians, local areas do not identify themselves as areas of music production, innovations and experiments, in which youth can find a space. This lack of regional orientation on arts production as a part of regional identity explains the scarcity of opportunities for young and experimental music, where their ideas and collaborations could be tested:

> For me, to be able to stay in Wagga a bit longer music-wise I probably would like to have some facility where artists and dancers could go over and we could have like talent nights, and in that way, it wouldn't be blipping, it would have been 18 +, so it's kind of show yourself, express yourself, we are not judging. (Collin, Wagga Wagga)

The pointed gap in regional areas' identity as a space of art production poses the question of local music's integration into regional, national and global scenes, connections and infrastructures. The lack of articulated local cultural and music strengths and positioning on a national/global cultural landscape means these connections are not supported on an institutional level by arts industry stakeholders or government arts policies. It ultimately limits regional areas' opportunities to participate in national and global scenes by facilitating local music talents and scenes.

Spatial identities of regional migrant youth: Connecting regional, national and translocal geographies through hip-hop

The issues of regional cultural production and challenges of migrant youth music-making are reminiscent of David Farrugia's (2013, 2014, 2015) studies of regional migrant youth's mobilities. Farrugia suggests that rural and regional youth were particularly marginalised in the context of the urban industrial and following post-industrial growth in the twentieth and twenty-first centuries. That is because metropolitan places have become epicentres of

economic production, which has created inequalities between rural/regional and urban economies. Moreover, urban areas have gained a symbolic advantage as 'drivers' of modernity. Farrugia points out the symbolic hierarchy between 'rural' and 'metropolitan':

> Rural areas are often constructed as either rough, rustic and conservative, or as idyllic sanctuaries from the complexities of modernity (Valentine 1997). Rural places are associated with nature, whereas the urban is associated with culture. Cities are thereby positioned as the sophisticated centre of modern distinction, as refined, elegant and urbane. Thomas et al. (2011) draw on Bourdieu's discussion of the production of cultural worth to argue that the 'distinction' associated with the metropole is constructed against the low cultural worth of the rural. (Farrugia, 2015, p. 6)

Farrugia argues that popular culture supports the 'bias' between rural and urban, and has been built on a dichotomy between two imaginaries. He notes that 'metropolitan economies of "cool", such as leisure and culture consumption, and night economies, constitute a cultural 'share' of service economies, attributed to metropolitan areas. Together with the infrastructural advantages of metropolitan areas as hubs for popular culture, urban areas are also supported by symbols of glamour, sophistication, opportunity and success. Regional and rural places lack such cultural phenomena and generally struggle with the transition to service economies. Also, they are associated with places of 'traditional' economies and lifestyles, where 'nothing happens' for young people. Regional youth's mobility, Farrugia (2015, p. 8) argues, is a logical response to the existing regional cultural and economic inequalities. According to Farrugia, the 'mobility imperative means that rural youth must often be mobile in order to access the resources they need to navigate biographies and construct identities'.

The mobility imperative, as Farrugia points out, is implemented through migration from regional to urban areas, or through 'imaginary' mobilities. Music and practices of hip-hop are a form of imaginary mobility, through which regional space is reworked as connected to global geographies and hubs of 'cultural sophistication'. The attempt to practice urban hip-hop culture in regional areas reflects Farrugia's notion of localities as socially imagined, in which places are reinterpreted and reinvented through cultural and social practices. Hip-hop is one such practice, which allows young people of migrant background an opportunity to reimagine the place and themselves as connected to global hip-hop culture.

The efforts to expand local spatial borders can clearly be seen in hip-hop lyrics. In these attempts, regional hip-hop youth position themselves as a part of the global scene but distanced from cultural geographies. Dave, in his own words, is 'puttin' a city on a map' through his songs 'Cairns to LA', 'CNS' (the acronym for Cairns)[5] and 'Up North'. Regional hip-hip is inevitably localised through video, as most artists release their songs in the form of video clips. Subtropical images of Cairns, ocean views and parked yachts in the harbour recalibrate a remote provincial town that can easily be mistaken for a glamorous Californian suburb. At the same time, the video narrative utilises conventional hip-hop images, such as young men chilling, remote suburbs and abandoned industrial sites that symbolise a gap between struggling youth from the outskirts[6] and well-to-do towns. Such strategic utilisation of conventional hip-hop video narratives within original Australian locations creates a desirable effect of connection, portraying Australian regional places as a legitimate part of the global hip-hop symbolic landscape.

Regional hip-hop musicians attempt to renegotiate the geographical and cultural inequalities between cultural centres and 'peripheries'. These efforts can be seen in their various strategies of music-making and career-building. Young migrant hip-hop musicians invent multiple strategies and channels for music-making in order to support their musical careers and find pathways to the audiences. These DIY ways of music-making eventually lead to the creation of 'soft' infrastructure of regional hip-hop scenes:

> I used to go to some of my friends here in Wagga who can also record, but at that time I didn't know how to engineer some stuff. I am not good at that now, but I know how to put a beat sample down and put my vocal on it, so I do it in my home in my free time. I compose it myself. I find an instrument I like, or an instrumental I like. I find it on YouTube, and I let it play bit by bit and lyrics just come out of me. (Collin, Wagga Wagga)

Most of the hip-hop musicians in regional areas, such as Wagga Wagga and Cairns, are self-educated and teach themselves through free lessons and programs available on YouTube.

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5 The acronym is well-known for its usage as an IATA airport code for Cairns.

6 Farrugia (2013, p. 7) notes that the dichotomy of 'regional disadvantaged' and 'urban privileged' youth is not simple as seems. He quotes Reynolds (2013) and Cahill (2007), who documented the effects of urban social change and gentrification on the emergence of classed and 'raced' youth identities living in neighbourhoods in East London.

Regional music institutions or educational facilities, such as regional conservatoria network in New South Wales, mostly provide opportunities for learning classical music, rock instruments (guitar, drums) or jazz. Some migrant musicians admitted that they couldn't attend such programs because they couldn't afford the tuition fees. Regional spaces and programs of music education, their continuity and their connectedness with contemporary music scenes and industries are issues that need to be addressed:

> I remember specifically my mum, she gave me an ultimatum, she was like 'ok, you need to figure out what you need to do', because I was a Year 10 dropout, I had really no idea what I wanted to do, and my mum was like, 'Oh, you like cooking, you could become chef, you could do this, you could do that', and I just didn't know what I wanted to do, so we went to TAFE, and the lady up there … The first thing she asked me was 'What do you want to do?, and I was like – 'Music!', and she was like – 'Oh, we've got no music courses', and I was like 'Ughhh!' … My mum enrolled me into cooking courses, and I went to a cooking course. I love cooking, but not like that! It's an intense environment, there is a lot of coercing, a lot of swearing. I do a lot of coercing and swearing, but … Jesus Christ! That's the next level! [laughing]. (Lexx, Wagga Wagga)

In some locations, such as Wagga Wagga, music workshops for migrant youth become a triggering point for their involvement in contemporary music, such as electronic dance music and hip-hop. The local migrant settlement services provider, Multicultural Council Wagga Wagga, has been collaborating with Sydney-based organisation Heaps Decent for more than a decade. The success of such long-lasting collaboration can partially be explained by the fact that Heaps Decent's founder and DJ Nina Agzarian grew up in Wagga Wagga as part of a migrant family. During the years of collaboration, her organisation has provided dozens of workshops and courses that cover the basic aspects of electronic and hip-hop music-making. They focus particularly upon lyric writing workshops, making beats and learning sampling programs, as well as basic courses on the use of technical equipment, such as mixers and computer programs for music sampling. As a result of this series of workshops, participants can record and release their own LPs. Some of the hip-hop artists recall that they were able to travel from Wagga Wagga to Sydney and Canberra to perform the best song created during the workshops.

The Heaps Decent musical program in Wagga Wagga has led to the emergence of a number of hip-hop artists. It has also provided a foundation for creating the artists' personal and professional networks by connecting them with other regional areas and, most importantly, the hip-hop music scenes of Canberra and Sydney. These networks of 'friendship and music' comprise migrant youth of various backgrounds, such as Turkish, African and Pacific Islander.

Regional musicians actively interact with musicians from different countries and geographies, such as the United States, the Solomon Islands, Fiji, Papua New Guinea and Kenya, often utilising their cultural origins or involvement to create hip-hop practice as a foundation for collaborations. These local connections result in regional migrants' participation in international creative collaborations. In contrast to Franz's (2015, p. 48) research on migrant youth networks in Austria, ethnic homogeneity is not a unifying factor in such networking. It is more likely that migrant youth create strong ties within broader networks of 'hip-hop musicians', in which their non-Western migrant origin is a factor in creating professional connections and collaborations. The significance of such interactions between translocal, urban and regional hip-hop scenes is that regional migrant musicians create social capital based on cultural unity but, equally importantly, based on the shared belonging to hip-hop culture.

Acting as an introduction and induction into hip-hop music, regional migrant youth programs in regional areas do not extend to the next step, such as building a professional musical career. The lack of programs that would address career steps and further professional development for those who have already been introduced to hip-hop music is a visible educational gap and an issue – particularly for young artists:

> They would come down every two weeks and do workshops for 'disadvantaged youth' – they work with Multicultural [council] Wagga, with juvenile youth. They go to different high schools in Wagga to nurture creativity. But that's again, an initiative from Sydney, and again, they come for a period of two weeks, and the project ends. They work with young kids, like 13 to 25. And you could see how in half an hour kids write a song, they record the audio and they produce the entire track! We listen to it and it's a real talent. You can see that these kids are really cool, they can really sing or rap; it is a proper artistry! And you've got like a virtual reality contest, and

> kids are creating images, - and this is so awesome! They [are] drawing, they [are] painting, and it's so amazing. But I think there is not enough outlet for [a] young migrant creative to really get at. (Olivia, Wagga Wagga)

Therefore, young artists have to seek educational and career opportunities themselves, inventing their own connections between various regional art scenes, and metropolitan and translocal actors. In an attempt to build opportunities for self-expressions and career, regional migrant musicians work on creating regional hip-hop 'soft infrastructure'. For instance, to find spaces for cultural expressions and experimental art, hip-hop artists utilise 'neighbour' networks, such as spoken word contests. For some hip-hop artists, improvisatory poetry and spoken word are a predominant part of their art. The regional blend between poetry, battle rap and hip-hop appears to be a natural collaboration for emerging regional youth arts. The Raw Poetry slam club is a small circle of young poets who gather once a month in Wagga Wagga. Some hip-hop musicians admitted that this event provided one of the rare occasions to grow their talent and their audience, as well as launching their artistic careers.

However, as a new form of art that is booming in urban areas, regional slam doesn't provide enough opportunities to grow within regional areas:

> But it was the only group that did a slam poetry in Wagga, and they met monthly, so I spend a whole month before I had a chance to perform; they had no funding, no community support; a group of friends who decided – we all perform, we should make a space for ourselves. I went to Sydney, Melbourne, Canberra to do some workshops and shows. It gets a bit better now, but still to progress you have to look at moving away, you do have to look at taking trips away. It was frustrating, it was very hard to find artists with whom I could create events and such. (Olivia, Wagga Wagga)

The majority of young migrant musicians see urban areas such as Melbourne, Sydney, Brisbane or Adelaide as places where they could make a musical career and form their fan base:

> We don't have big events every night [in Cairns], we are not like Melbourne; if you get a chance to perform in these festivals, it's a really big thing. They all are supporting local talent, they agreed to put me in a line up. It was a very big opportunity to me, but obviously it got cancelled because of COVID. (Dave, Cairns)

For some, the utilisation of online streaming services and music websites in the regional areas become a predominant strategy of maintaining and sharing their music:

> All my music is actually on Soundcloud. I have got some on iTunes and Spotify. It's hard to keep a track of the audience, I know that there are a lot of kids out of Wagga, like 17–18 years old, who catch a meaning of my songs, which I appreciate. I have always seen my music as my get away card, it's always not just my hobby, but my freedom card, so I have never thought about taking it so far. I did consider putting some of the songs on Triple J but I didn't know how to get there. (Collin, Wagga Wagga)

For others, however, streaming services become a way of transcending the limitations of regional music scenes and finding a global audience:

> When I look at my stats [on Spotify] I can see that my audience, a lot of my thousands and thousands my fans they are actually coming from a worldwide, like Brazil, Germany, Turkey … Turkey is actually my number one country. It's so weird! I was expecting Australia would be my biggest audience. Don't get me wrong, I still have a big audience in Cairns. (Dave, Cairns)

The substantial fan base that can be generated through streaming services is a strategy undertaken by some musicians to monetise their talents and supplement their living as musicians in regional areas. In an attempt to establish a musical career online, some musicians utilise online distribution services, such as Distrokid, in order to achieve better targeting and rotation. However, those few hip-hop rural migrant musicians who put a significant effort into making money on streaming services admit that it is rather unachievable. The inability to earn enough money by utilising streaming services prompts artists to consider leaving regional areas and relocating to urban areas with more developed music scenes:

> We live in the age of the internet, you can attract anyone in the world, you just need to market that place; but with Cairns. it's a population. If you look at the rapper who grows up in LA, it's a huge city, huge music scene, all they need is their neighbourhood to start playing their music. Here in Cairns, we don't have a population close to 200,000. On Spotify you will be paid a grand for one million streams. I have a song that reached 350,000 downloads and I'm only having $150 for that. Which is not bad, I'm not complaining. But the possibilities of jobs are not enough here. When you in Sydney or Melbourne, it's a huge scene

> and population, and managers. Managers are not going to go to Cairns to find you, because they look at the population and it's tiny. (Dave, Cairns)

The current publications on streaming service business models, where even popular artists suffer from a lack of income,[7] show that this sector of the global music industry may not be a 'magic wand' for emerging artists who have yet to establish their name and brand. However, the rationale for making the effort and growing the online audience for regional young migrant musicians is in the ability to attract record labels and managers:

> No one starts taking your music seriously until you start putting numbers. You may be the best musician in a world, ever, but unless someone can see numbers, like, ten thousand streams or twenty thousand, when people start taking you seriously. So, people could see me through the years, but I only started putting on numbers this year, the end of last year [2019]. It took many, many years. So, when people started to see these numbers, when I started to get respect. (Dave, Cairns)

Despite the significant bias in monetising policies, streaming services, act as a global talent platform, where some musicians might occasionally be fortunate. As a result of 'putting on numbers', they receive record deals and invitations from international labels. In the case of GG from Cairns, rotation of the song 'Mama' on the radio in Los Angeles caused a 'Mama craze'. This included press-releases from a significant music distributor 'Global Sound Group' (UK), rotations on radio stations in the United States and a number three position on the Trend City Radio charts, which resulted in a record deal with Bentley Records, NY (owned by R&B artist Luke Dayz). International attention resulted in GG's 'discovery' by the Australian national and local media, with multiple press appearances on ABC Radio Melbourne, Cairns Star FM, the *Cairns Post* and local tourist guides. Such a successful pathway is, however, rare for a regional hip-hop musician.

A more conventional pathway for regional hip-hop artists would not be different in its logic to the majority of regional artists. Most of them aspire to relocate to urban areas;

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[7] There is a limited research available about the streaming services business model. However, some recent investigations reveal significant disadvantages of these business models for of artists' ability to earn an income with the help of streaming platforms. See www.abc.net.au/news/2021-02-12/uk-streaming-inquiry-peaks-under-the-hood-of-the-music-business/13143718

however, only a few actually make this transition. The social capital of their parents (e.g. skilled migrants with university degrees) and financial capital may be seen as factors that impact migrant youths' ability to relocate and enter universities to pursue a music career. Those who remain in the regional areas tend to gain employment within the existing sectors of the regional economy. However, if the research shows that regional musicians tend to have one or even several occupations related to music (Green et al, 2020),[8] young migrant musicians tend to participate in professions unrelated to music (such as social work or trades). Such pathways can guarantee them a stable income in secure jobs that are less volatile than music-related occupations. In such cases, these individuals remain involved with music but compose and perform from time to time, when the occasion arises. However, they don't see the opportunity to devote themselves to musical career unless they move to urban areas. The lack of social connections and accumulated financial capital prevents them from moving. As discussed above, for a 'first generation of Australians', particularly of refugee backgrounds, the career agenda may be seen in the light of family support and social safety, so in terms of finding a stable income rather than the pursuit of a music career in which financial success is not guaranteed:

> I've got things to do. I've got my mum [in Liberia] to think about. I'm worried about my family back home because it's a war there. Also, living as a single man is expensive. I need to be in the city, to be approached, where music culture is really lively. (Collin, Wagga Wagga)

In some exceptional cases, regional hip-hop musicians utilise the same strategy of remaining employed in jobs with a regular income in order to set up a hip-hip production business. In the case of Lexx, money saved from 'Christmas presents and odd jobs here and there' (Interview) allowed him to purchase his own equipment, which resulted in his ability to become an independent producer. Lexx, a hip-hop musician and a founder of Tical Records, described it as being an 'X, Y, Z of hip-hop equation' (Interview) in which he creates music and then controls the production cycle. Tical Records combines the functions of recording label, video production company and booking agency. On Lexx's 'clients list' are artists from Wagga Wagga, Sydney, Canberra, and the United States. Such a strategy can be seen as an attempt to create a hip-hop music hub within regional settings, which at the same time works

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[8] https://theconversation.com/a-long-way-to-the-top-australian-musicians-balance-multiple-roles-to-make-their-careers-work-140840

within regional, national and international networks. The creation of a hip-hop space as a business entity in a regional area utilises 'networks of music and friendship' and their financial capitalisation. In the absence of other actors in the regional 'hip-hop field', Tical Records utilises the same strategy as individual regional hip-hop artists by attempting to work in the more developed hip-hop scenes and markets outside regional Australia but retaining its centre of production within the region. Such an approach can be seen as a prospective model of relationships between regional, urban and translocal music scenes, within which regional hip-hop music communicates with the developed Australian and international music scenes, providing talents and 'products' produced within regional areas. However, the viability of such an approach may depend not just on the individual efforts of a few, but on the development of a supportive environment that allows for the development and retention of artists and music products within regional areas.

Conclusion

Despite multiple difficulties, regional migrant hip-hop can be named as a visible part of local music. Young migrant hip-hop musicians utilise the range of existing opportunities, such as multicultural and youth festivals and events, projects of resettlement services or spaces of 'neighbouring' arts. To them, expressions through hip-hop play multiple roles. Migrant youth utilise hip-hop as an outlet for the expression of their cultural 'hybridity', and as a musical culture built around the discourse of culturally marginalised otherness. Through the creative process of composing hip-hop songs, they negotiate, or 'juggle' cultures' oppositions and conflicts. This juggling can be seen through their utilisation of languages, images and musical traditions of both cultures, through the creative process of inventing their own definitions and metaphors of self that transcend the binary logic of belonging. Furthermore, hip-hop can be seen as a tool of negotiation of belonging within existing social groups (e.g. peers) through positioning themselves as musicians and creative artists rather than as 'migrants'. Moreover, hip-hop musicians strongly position themselves as representatives of a global musical culture. As such, they articulate their mission to make an Australian contribution to the global hip-hop through bringing meaningful generational narratives and uniting Western and non-Western cultures:

> We could have made a big name [in global hip-hop] a long time ago, if we wanted to. But, it's the lack of support and believing in that person, and I think believing in the [hip-hop music] industry. When you talk about hip hop

> artists, people who would think that that's a 'black' thing. And they probably wouldn't want to support that, because what has been portrayed [as] the drinking, the women, the cars. All the profanity, all this kind of thing is hip hop in the eyes of Australia. But, like I said, everything should unfold as it should, and with the new generation today, that is what's changing the game. It's bringing all the nations together. It's bringing cultures together, everyone has one. So hip hop is just, if you notice, hip hop is a music in every single culture now. (GG, Cairns)

By creating their pathways in regional places, migrant hip-hop musicians expand regional spaces for multicultural expression. They do this by participating in existing cultural events with 'alternative' music styles, accents and agendas. More importantly, they expand regional cultural landscapes by rethinking regional space as connected and embedded into global hip-hop culture, networks and routes. In doing so, they are putting remote regional places 'on a map' by shortening cultural distances between various geographies:

> I always try to stay truthful to myself, even if I try to match the American marketing. I want to tell my story because I don't want to be forgotten, that I never was from Australia. I always rap about Cairns. I call it CNS. I always rap about my area, about growing up here in Cairns. I'm doing it for Australia. If I ever gonna make it one day, I don't want to be forgotten, like – 'He is an American'. So, Australia can be the next thing. (Dave, Cairns)

This process of connecting distanced geographies and identities can be seen as an effort to reinvent culturally marginalised local space and bring to them features of 'global' culture through hip-hop symbols and practices. Hip-hop practices in regional areas can be seen as migrant youth's attempt to address the issues of regional symbolic and structural inequalities. By establishing the spatial identity of regional migrant youth as integrated into a global cultural process, regional migrant youth eventually rework local social and cultural practices, claiming them as 'glocal'.

What is the cultural and social impact of this effort by migrant youth to 'rewrite' the understanding of 'regional' Australian identity? Even though the theme of regional cultural production and regional social change is a subject for another chapter, some insights can be shared to finalise the topic of migrant youth. This question can be seen as a part of a discussion about dominating narratives of youth, which can be understood as 'providing the

change' and is associated with future opportunities and positive aspirations, or as with 'troubles' and societal disruption (Giroux, 2012). By analogy with hip-hop's predecessor, jazz, at the beginning of the 1920s, cultural change can be purposely cancelled, banned as breaching established societal norms and morals, and black African American 'messengers' of these changes labelled as 'demons of discord' (Johnson, 2010; Whiteoak, 2014).[9] Undoubtedly, rethinking regional places as part of the global musical ecosystem could be seen as an opportunity for regional cultural development. The presence of grassroots hip-hop scene recalibrates regional places from places of 'nature' where 'nothing happens' to places that contribute to global music through generating authentic musical life. If supported, such a change of approach could lead to regional participation in national and international music scenes, empowering growing music scenes and migrants' translocal connections, and providing regional means for national and transnational growth. The change of approach to youth music cultures, particularly hip-hop, can address the existing symbolic inequalities between 'regional' and 'urban' and, ultimately, the issue of the migrant youth's out-migration. By supporting the infrastructure of migrant youth music production, it can address regional structural inequalities and accommodate emerging talents. Further, the utilisation of hip-hop in educational and social practices can provide an important change for migrant youth. For instance, support and facilitation of 'local cultural heroes' can be a tool of social pedagogy in working with young people, as hip-hop is widely utilised as a creative pedagogical practice addressing the issues of intercultural communication (Alim, 2011; Ibrahim, 2016). Finally, hip-hop can be utilised in regional spaces as a powerful instrument of wellbeing initiatives in school and community programs. Through creative writing and composing music, it can help navigate the issues of migrant belonging and exclusion.

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9 Cultural and social outcomes of the ban on 'coloured' jazz musicians performing in Australia for several decades can be debated, but arguably it had impacted a peripheral Australian status in the global jazz movement (Johnson, 2010).

8

Migrant music in social practices of belonging and community engagement

Introduction

This chapter aims to investigate migrant music as a social practice that constructs migrant communities' collective identities through re-enacting cultural symbols and meanings. At the same time, music is a practice of intercultural communication that facilitates migrants' inclusion in 'wider' regional communities. The chapter will discuss in detail strategies of utilisation of music as a vehicle of intercultural communication, regional communities' spaces of intercultural negotiations, and opportunities and barriers in migrant community acceptance through music practices.

The notion of 'community' is widely utilised in politics and media when it is required to underline a unity, an identity or an agenda shared by everyone. In such messages, various geographical areas, cities or a nation function as a 'community', a collective cultural 'whole' (Cheong et al., 2007). This statement is embedded in the current socio-political framing of migration, examined in Chapter 4. The current migration framework constructs Australia as 'Family Australia' and 'Team Australia', highlighting the value of unity over diversity and a requirement of migrant cultural integration. Shared values and practices, engagement with the production of common good and relations of trust are seen as a characteristic of a socially cohesive society. The term 'social cohesion' can be seen as underpinning this concept. Schaeffer, 2016, p. 8) states that social cohesion includes

> feelings of trust, reciprocity and solidarity, as well as a civic infrastructure of associations and engagement that generate the foundation or social environment in which people produce and share public goods and undertake collective endeavours. Social cohesion is a social lubricant that makes people share, cooperate, and engage. Social cohesion has a cognitive component, in feelings of trust, and trust-related sentiments. It has a behavioural component in the forms of civic infrastructure, and in membership in associations and other engagements in public social life.

However, the understanding of social cohesion in a multi-ethnic society and social capital, which is 'a backdrop for social cohesion' (Cheong et al., 2007, p. 25), is contextual and value based. For instance, following Bourdieu, Cheong argues about the contextual and dynamic nature of the concept of social capital. As such, she examines the transformation of understanding migrants' 'bad' or 'good' social capital in the United Kingdom, in which creation of migrant communities was initially perceived as a normal practice but later recognised as threatening migrants' integration into a wider community. She notes that racial policies and societal attitudes towards racism, together with the dominant religion of the hosting society, largely impact migrants' ability to 'integrate'. As the analysis of Australian migration policies illustrated (see Chapter 4), the complexity of the immigration process and the process of reception of new arrivals by a community of a hosting country is largely underplayed as factors impacting trust and a sense of belonging (e.g., Mungai, 2014; Boese and Moran, 2021). Migrants' social capital and the cultural 'baggage' that migrants 'bring' with them directly impact their ability to form community networks (Village, Powell & Pepper, 2017). Koopmans, Lancee and Schaeffer (2014) draw a comprehensive theoretical framework of factors that impact 'positive' or 'negative' experiences of diversity. They underline three major factors that constitute negotiations of belonging and the ability of various cultural groups to cooperate. Psychological group biases, based on everyday experiences of diversity, can lead to out-group favouritism and a feeling of threat for a hosting community's identity and safety; alternatively they can lead to cooperation and reduced anxiety. Cultural differences in the understanding of public good and its distribution, according to Koopmans, Lancee and Schaeffer, are underpinned by economic inequalities that exist between various groups. Finally, social networks and 'ethnic clustering' – social, professional networks' density between migrants and the 'hosting community' – are seen as key indicators of trust and cooperation. Together with three major factors, other mechanisms are engaged in experiences of diversity, such as institutional (state policies, media representations) and moderating mechanisms (e.g., positive personal intergroup contacts). A combination of these factors in a particular locality can lead to inclusive identities (those who interact with a variety of ethnic groups) or to segregation and social isolation (Koopman, Lancee & Schaeffer, 2014).

For this chapter, notions of social capital, social networks and everyday experiences of diversity are viewed as highly relevant to music-making. The studies of music as an instrument of intercultural communication and as a practice of community identity examined

in Chapter 2 demonstrate multiple qualities of music as a social practice of engagement. Music involves personal interrelations, which lead to building new social relations of trust and cooperation through engagement in a 'common good'. In this process, music is utilised to negotiate images and sounds of otherness, which allows the building of a sense of commonality and helps migrants to negotiate their status in new countries. Music is a foundation for building social networks, based on music practices. Finnegan (1989) suggests that musicians' 'pathways' into music practices in regional towns, apart from simply providing social networks, also signify in-depth symbolic engagement between musical 'worlds' of various musical traditions. Therefore, migrants' musical pathways can be seen as a negotiation of their cultural identities through music-making, and as a way of building social capital in new settings.

Music pathways in this chapter are examined as participating in migrants' effort to build social connections within regional settings. By building these connections between various actors (within migrant communities, or intercultural connections with 'broader' communities), music is utilised as a driving force of social engagement and as an instrument for the negotiation of cultural identities. This chapter focuses on migrant music-making and its roles in regional places of worship, as often they become a primary space for community interactions within regional areas. The chapter examines music's role in building migrant community identities within regional and translocal migrant communities.

Together with the question of how migrant communities utilise music as an instrument of social and cultural inclusion, the question of *where* these events are organised is equally important. As Radford (2017, p. 498) argues, regional spaces are spaces of social encounters of various cultural identities, and a 'product of practices, trajectories, interrelations'. Radford (2017, p. 498) states that regional and rural spaces represent a particular challenge for 'visible migrants', as these spaces have been historically associated 'with whiteness and dominance of Anglo-Celtic population'. Therefore, the visual presence of migrant communities can be viewed as an 'affective experience with others', which can produce new meanings of places, or lead to the erosion of belonging, if the migrants are not accepted. As Radford (2017, cited in Noble & Poynting, 2008, p. 130) observes, practices of belonging are interrelated with a question of space: 'Belonging, and non-belonging, are, of course, not simply cognitive processes of identification, but are highly charged, affective relations of attachment to and exclusion from particular places.' Therefore, the question of 'ownership of space', or expanding the existing spaces for migrant communities' cultural practices, will be a focus of this chapter.

Music-making in places of faith as a space of community engagement and negotiation of migrant cultural identities

Places of worship as regional centres for multicultural encounters

Most regional migrant musicians interviewed for this study are engaged in religious practices as a part of their cultural identity. Predominantly, regional Australian migrant communities profess various forms of Christianity in their home countries, belonging to Catholic, Baptist and Anglican churches, the Salvation Army, the Jehovah's Witnesses and the Adventist Church, among others. These faith groups would have different ethnic backgrounds – for example, the Catholic faith would be shared by Filipino and Indian communities in Wagga Wagga; Bhutanese, PNG and Congolese communities would attend masses of the Salvation Army in Cairns. Practising faith in a new place of living equally also constitutes a foundation of cultural identity for non-Christian regional communities of Yazidi or for Sikh migrants.

The important role of churches in regional areas can be explained by a comparative scarcity of places and outlets for cultural expression within regional settings, as well as social spaces and occasions for making new connections. Existing migrant settlement services provide limited programs that address issues of belonging on a daily basis. Therefore, church may be seen as one of the main social institutions in a regional landscape where faith-based cultural identities can be practised on a regular basis. For the Christian-based communities, the church may signify a 'first point of contact' with community. For them, the importance of the church as a familiar 'home' space can be explained through the multiple roles played by church in their home cultures:

> In the Philippines it would be four or six masses a day. It would be set up from 6 am in the morning till seven in the evening. Because Philippines recognises the blessing, I guess, for everything they have in their lives, so this is how we grow up. When I arrived in Australia, I looked at the masses and it was like 'Oh my God, there is the only mass at 6 pm!' So, if you're working, you are likely to miss this mass. This … just gives you a context of how big it is. In the Philippines you won't find an empty church. (Member of the Filipino Catholic Choir, Cairns)

With a diverse geography of representation (for instance, participants from the Democratic Republic of the Congo, Zimbabwe, South Sudan; Bhutan, India, Philippines, Indonesia, Papua New Guinea, Myanmar and the Pacific Islands were actively engaged in regional local faith

practice), faith practice from these countries is incorporated into local cultural traditions. Many 'localisations' of Christian faith created culturally specific ways of music-making, in which music is often enacted as a central, rather than peripheral, element in the practice of worship:

> As a Congolese or as an African, I can't do gospels without using cultural instruments, and cultural language and voice, and meanings. When we sing as a choir, we use musical instruments which are ours. You can't just dissociate a choir from musical instruments. Like in [the] Congo, our former cardinal Maruma enculturated mass that has been practiced in Catholic church. That cardinal made a mass a Congolese right [to practise]. And during that mass you are in, you feel like not ending the mass, because you sing, you dance, you play – all sort of instruments. We express our faith as Congolese, including voices, instruments, dance, body language. (Musician, Bakhuba Multicultural Choir, Congolese community, Toowoomba)

Through music, meanings of religious practices are perceived and activated. In this case, it is fair to say that without culturally specific ways of practising music, religious practice can lose its meaning and value for migrant faith practitioners.

As a result of 'localisation' of Christian faith in various countries, local traditions of music, dance and language become an integral part of faith practices:

> It was a Pentecostal church, or Christian church here. It's very common in [the] Congo and in the most part of the world outside … Well music with my faith, it's, it's a big deal. It is. It's one of those things where they work together really well, because when we're singing when we were singing, you get into the spirit and, you know, it's everything to do with faith. And then you start praising God, you know, and it's one of those things. Again, having been able to praise and having faith is one of those things that gave us hope, you know, for a better future, and a better life. (Musician in The Brothers band, Congolese community, Coffs Harbour)

In some countries, the church is actively integrated into the educational process, often in the absence of secular institutions with similar functions. For some migrants, the church represents an institution that provides acceptance and safety, social and family support for communities in those countries:

> It's family [where music is practised]. Most of the families have music because it's really a part of our daily life. You will see mum doing farming, she will be singing. And then in school, you learn to sing and dance. Most of the schools back in Africa are Christian, or church based. Because [the] government invests very little in education. It is only all these churches that invest in arts, in education. (a member of Congolese community, Toowoomba)

Music, childhood education and church may be the same factor of identity and memory for many regional migrants:

> In my childhood, I was in [a] church choir. It was every week, every Sunday. So, we had a practice on every Saturday. And the music is mainly, it's a church music. If we go to the church, we will have masses. Depending on the regional language, those things will be the same. But we didn't sing any kind of English music in our churches, in Kerala. But here in Wagga Wagga [we] have got English masses in our regional way of tradition. (Member of Malayali community, Wagga Wagga)

As some migrants explained, in a new country church becomes a space in which cultural traditions are reworked in a subtle way through utilising English language. In some way, it becomes the migrants' response to new settings, and their intention to modify traditions to adjust them to new circumstances of living. In this case, church becomes a powerful stakeholder in the process of negotiations and transformation of migrants' cultural traditions.

The role of the church in the negotiation of migrants' identities can explain the reason for the migrants' reliance in the church in their 'new' lives. They seek social connections with a new community, and cultural expression that they would have in their home country. To a degree, regional churches satisfy this aspiration, being an epicentre of regional community life. Many churches confirm this status by expanding their presence in regional community lives beyond services and masses, offering a wide range of 'extra-curricular' educational, charity and social activities. For instance, a Pentecostal Christian Church in Wagga Wagga offers various social and education groups for people of different ages – that is, youth groups, kids' gatherings, programs for older people. Charity fundraising events are among the common activities that churches may organise in connection with local schools or age care facilities. A Baptist church in Coffs Harbour arranges youth worship groups. These groups are in many ways youth social clubs built around music. The purpose of a worship

group is to provide the musical component of masses; therefore, these gatherings represent music rehearsals and worship at the same time. For young migrants, such a worship space represents an opportunity to practise their faith and at the same time practise music with cultural styles and elements that are familiar to them. It can be said that the church in this case represents an important institution in which culturally relevant music can be practised on a regular basis in regional settings.

Another reason for migrants' active involvement in local faith institutions is their international activities, which make them known to migrants long before they relocate to Australia. Some organisations, such as the Salvation Army, act as a global faith-based charity, actively participating, among other things, in the support of refugees in African camps in Kenya, Rwanda and the Democratic Republic of the Congo. Church often serves as a first point of the community meeting for newly arrived migrants, and as a continuation of a home tradition. Such a combination of novelty and familiarity creates an important bridge between an already known and an unfamiliar social and cultural environment. For instance, the global activity of the Salvation Army provides some dividends for the small charity office in Cairns, which many migrants see as a familiar and friendly point of help. The Cairns Salvation Army branch directly works with the local settlement services provider, Centacare FNQ.[1] In this partnership, the Salvation Army as a charity organisation provides a space for welcoming events for newly arrived migrants. Both independently and in partnership with the settlement services, it also provides educational and social activities for newly arrived and existing ethnic groups. Local police authorities work together with the Salvation Army's newly arrived congregation to communicate their messages about crime prevention to various migrant communities. The Bhutanese, Papua New Guinean and African communities rent the church hall (for a nominal fee of $10 a month) to run their own social and religious meetings. For example, the Bhutanese community, which was struggling to participate in the English-based services in other churches, now arranges its own service in the Salvation Army space. In this case, the Salvation Army has provided the community with the opportunity to have culturally specific worship events. At the same time, Bhutanese youth participate in sporting and music events arranged for the entire congregation. Other ethnic community organisations (such as Cairns African Association) utilise the Salvation Army space to run their own social

[1] Centacare, in turn, is a social services agency of the Catholic Diocese of Cairns.

groups, such as women's groups or youth groups, or even to record their own podcasts on different issues: children education, employment opportunities for women and so on.

Music informs various activities of the Salvation Army in Cairns. First, 18 newly arrived Sudanese boys were enrolled in the local branch of the Just Brass Salvation Army music project, which has been running across Australia. Second, the Salvation Army's pastor provides lessons on music theory for Papua New Guinean and African communities, together with training community leaders from various ethnic backgrounds. 'Worshipping groups', which consist of a band and a choir, include members of various ethnic backgrounds:

> The Salvation Army has always had like choirs or brass bands, and in the modern era sort of more, you know, rock band kind of a format. I play a lot of music myself and that's been part of my journey. When I engage with these different communities, they, again have this understanding of music that, you know, it all just comes very naturally. And what I'm doing at this moment is teaching people, I guess, how music works, basic theory. Music is another language, and say it's something we have in common, but it's also expressed differently. So, if we can make a connection on that level, I think it goes a long way to deepening the relationship beyond words … which can be a struggle [laughing]! (Salvation Army Pastor, Cairns)

For communities that practise forms of religion other than Christianity, the process of community engagement is significantly more challenging, as spaces for community practices are simply absent. Therefore, such communities have to build spaces of religious and social presence to effectively create a 'community focus' themselves. The Sikh community in Woolgoolga may be seen as a benchmark for non-Christian faith-based communities, where music in the temple becomes an anchoring factor for the local community to stay and grow their presence in the regional areas. To them, having such a space becomes the only opportunity to keep their identity, so its necessity is existential:

> Just to give you a reference – the first Sikh Temple in Australia was built in 1968, which was in Hastings Street, but it was a little bit off, a little bit towards the town. The second temple, with which my family and early families in Woolgoolga had a lot to do with, was built on a highway, on a main road, River Street. The important thing that happened in a River Street temple was that we employed a musician, in 1969, for the opening, and then,

> continuously. His family came from Cairns, and he was a musician, he was a Minister [of sermons], he could read the scriptures. But in my mind, the most important thing was that he could bring the music to the temple. And that temple is very-very prominent now because this area later on became an area of a Pacific Highway. Everybody in Australia, everybody in the world knows it. But we were able to keep it because of the music. Because it was somebody there who was singing, and we all would go. I know it is a part of our practice and this is what he was going to do, he was able to perform there. We were kids, at very early ages, all the congregation just would go there. Later we employed another guy [musician], and after him, another guy. Because they came, they brought their families, and they were teaching kids how to sing, and these families still all sing. So, music has become … It's not [just] something that we do on a Sunday. It has become a part of our existence. (Joseph, a member of Sikh Community, Woolgoolga)

Such evidence can provide some insights on the role of music for regional communities' ability to sustain themselves. Places of worship ultimately become spaces of music practice, through which cultural identities that do not exist in other regional institutions can be expressed, lived and imparted. If Western institutions in regional areas provide a range of spaces for music-making, such as educational institutions (schools, universities) and leisure institutions (pubs, concert halls), together with practising music in churches, then spaces of worship often become the only space of practising cultural identities through music for non-Cristian-based cultures. Some communities, such as the Nepalese community in Toowoomba, expressed concerns about lacking 'their' place of worship as a place for cultural practices and a community centre; building a Hindu temple in Toowoomba is seen for them as an existential task of supporting their community's identity. As the Sikh community case demonstrates, a community formation around the temple over several decades can provide cultural identity and a brand for the entire regional territory. As such, music practice becomes an intrinsic way of sustaining cultural identities, as cultural traditions are expressed and imparted through music practices in places of worship.

Newly arrived migrants, music in church and community inclusion

Church as a social space plays a particularly important role for newly arrived migrants of various social and cultural backgrounds:

> For Nina, it's like a gift from God, it's like she got that gift because when she started to sing at [a] young age, she was pulled to the gospel music she felt this 'pull' to gospel. So, it's a gift, and once she knows that it's a gift, she wants to use it for good. Given that this gift came to her at the early age, she decided, even if she was young, to bring other young people together and start a choir, so she could bring people together. For Nina, music can bring a lot of peace, a lot of calm, and can bring people together. Given where she has come from, being together and helping each other means a peaceful progression. (Leader of Cairns African Association)

The conversation with Nina occurred through two translators from the Cairns African Association, which organises social meetings at the Salvation Army, Cairns. One member of the Association translated English questions into Swahili, and the second interpreter translated Swahili into Kinyarwanda, the language that Nina speaks. Nina had arrived in Australia 18 months previously and was still gaining her confidence to begin speaking in English. However, she was a choir leader at the Salvation Army where she was able to continue her life mission of 'bringing people together'. Masses held by the local Salvation Army branch had become a place where Nina could meet with her community members and learn English while singing:

> Choir, it is a mixture of people. Even if they come here to the Salvation Army, they join a choir, a choir of Australian people, they combine efforts. They may be singing in a language that they need to understand, but this a united gift [of singing], it seems that they understand these songs. They may have put a song on a video screen in English, they may not understand that, but they can read and sing. Or they can recognise it as a tune form back home. If you sing 'Jesus Loves Me', you may sing it in Kinyarwanda or Kikongo or Kikuyu [languages], it sounds the same, but it's written in a different [English] language on a screen. (Leader of Cairns African Association)

For those who have spent several years in refugee camps, music practices in church may signify one of the few available social and cultural activities, which they continue in Australia:

> I would say it was, was a little bit more special in a camp. From my own perspective, it was just one of those things where if it wasn't happening … you are keen, you're waiting for it, you know, because you get to meet all these people and you just get to, you know, once again, you get to forget. And it's a good feeling, you know, it's one of those feelings, where you sort of don't want to lose. And it's one of those things that kept us going in the camp, and not just my family. Pretty much everyone that's in the country. You're living by the moment you know you could wake up tomorrow and you're not there anymore. This person is not there. So, yeah, it was just one of those things. (Member of The Congolese Brothers, Coffs Harbour)

At the moment, The Congolese Brothers' founder also serves as a youth worship leader:

> I'm a worship leader at my church as well. Well, I select songs that we do every Sunday. And we have our worship team. There's about 10 of us. And I pretty much teach songs and tell people how to sing and how we're going to be singing during the service and I bring new songs for them to practise, and yeah … stuff like that.

For many, church attendance in refugee camps signifies a productive and safe space in which feelings of liminal existence can be reimagined through a productive and uniting practice of music-making. Music activities in church become a kind of positive reinforcement, in which the purpose of existence is reinstated. In Australia, the church space is utilised in a similar way, as a space of managing anxiety of living in an unfamiliar environment, gaining the sense of confidence and purpose. Furthermore, music activities in church provide additional opportunities for migrants' empowerment through their ability to take leading roles in teaching music and arranging worshiping groups. For some, such music practices become the only available space of social recognition of their musical skills and cultural traditions of their music-making.

The demography of regional 'new arrivals' who attend church and practise music is socially and geographically contrasting. For instance, the Filipino Catholic Church Choir in Cairns unites skilled migrants of different ages, genders, professional backgrounds and motivations to sing. Among their motivations might be meetings with their own Filipino community and practising faith according to their cultural traditions:

> I left [the] Philippines about 30 years ago and worked overseas in different countries. Having worked in different countries had given me the opportunity to experience what it is like to be a migrant and integrate with the other cultures. In those times, in those years, music was a part of their culture, but it was a bit different when you don't have the same cultural experience with your, the same Filipino community. A lot of these people and countries were welcoming, at was a given, through music. My involvement in music was predominantly through church. And then, when I moved to Cairns, Mila [a choir master] asked me if I would like to join their church choir. Being a part of the [choir] group and the number of people who were congregated and were coming to practice every week and purely for the love of music and for the service to God has really given me the inspiration. I just feel encouraged by dedication of everyone. (Female singer, Filipino Catholic Choir, Cairns)

Music practices in church can be also a way of making initial social connections in migrants' new area of living:

> I'm the youngest member of the choir, I migrated to Australia in 2017, so I am comparatively new [to the country]. I moved to Brisbane first, stayed there for two months. My family is really a part of the church. I got a contract from a construction company here, they talked to me on a phone, they offered me a job. They asked me about the job in Cairns and I asked them, 'Where is Cairns?' because lots of Filipinos are in Sydney or Melbourne but haven't heard of Cairns. When I moved here, I went to the church, as my mum told me. I found a booklet what says that there will be a Filipino mass every first Sunday of the month. And I attended that mass, where I met Mila. She asked me if I wanted to join a choir, so I joined – we don't do auditions! [laughing]. Every Monday at 6 pm we are practising. It helps me a lot, as a person, a Filipino person in Australia, it makes me feel where I belong, to meet Filipino and have the community – it's just awesome. (Young male singer from Filipino Catholic Choir, Cairns)

These church music activities of newly arrived migrants reveal that culturally familiar practices play multiple roles in migrants' abilities to create new social connections and feel confident in an unfamiliar social environment. Church music practices become an important

social practice of engagement through which newly arrived migrants form new connections and are also familiarised with the country. It also reveals the importance of having culturally specific forms of faith expressions, as it becomes a way of practising identities in an otherwise culturally unfamiliar environment.

Negotiations of belonging through the music in church

Music as a part of Christian church practices varies greatly in terms of cultural traditions, styles, and languages, which determine negotiations of belonging for regional migrant communities.

Many communities may have their own 'cultural' services and prayer groups. The ability to set up a 'cultural service' may depend on many local factors, such as an ability to rent a space, have a priest from their cultural community to conduct a worship service and knowledge of the English language. The ability to worship in a native language and 'native' traditions of the self-expression, such as dance and songs, may be seen as one of the constituting factors of faith practice:

> Another thing is many languages. So, there is a prayer group. If you want to listen to devotional songs, there are different groups that happened in different churches and temples and, you know, they hire a hall for a prayer ceremony and stuff like that. You may be able to hear it. Yeah, they have good songs in Malayalam prayers, the whole service is in Malayalam, which will give you a good exposure to songs and music for Christian devotional songs, Malayalam songs. (Member of Malayali community, Wagga Wagga)

Some migrants (such as the Indian community from Kerala province) underline that the point of difference between the 'Australian' style of worship service and 'their' faith expressions may be just a language, where the melody of the songs can be the same. Therefore, it is easier to participate in the gathering that unites various ethnicities. However, for others, the point of significant difference can be the usage of instruments or the degree of emotional affinity:

> Back home the church is vibrant. As in here, there are traditional hymns, back home it is (played) in a contemporary composition that makes people dance, things that make people jump for joy! Once in a while, we have done that [conducted the service in our style]. We have done that, and people were very excited about. But church has its own rules about that way [of worshiping].

> Hopefully in the future we can do it [our service] on a yearly basis. (Member of South Sudanese community, Wagga Wagga)

A pastor from the Salvation Army in Cairns explains cultural differences in self-expression between the Australian worship styles and the African migrant group style from his perspective:

> Even worship styles … like you know, in our Western Church ideals, it's very kind of structured: one person speaking at a time. It's very ordered. Music has to be just so … whereas, like [the] Congolese community, for example, they just sing in three-part harmony naturally, they don't even know. They, again, have this understanding of music that, you know, it all just comes very naturally. They sing beautifully, they dance, and dancing is really important as part of worship expression. So, they've come with a Christian belief and expecting to come to a Christian country. That is the perception. But their worship style is very different. It's very fluid, and so engaging with that is both joyful and … confusing (laughing). There's a guy, Pastor Peter, who leads that congregation and … he dances. It's kind of like a duck movement, and he makes just kind of 'flax seeds' arms, and a little bit on struts … And he makes it look so cool. If I did the same thing, I would have looked utterly ridiculous [laughing]!

This point of cultural differences of expression within one Christian faith becomes a subject of negotiations of belonging within the parish. Language and style of worship, including utilisation of dance and music, can be seen as a turning point of inclusion and exclusion as an indicating factor of 'otherness'. Recent case studies of migrant integration through faith groups in Italy, the Netherlands and Ireland (Agyeman, 2017; Agyeman and Kyei, 2019; Conner, 2019) argue that arranging separate 'migrant' parishes may be an indicator of cultural exclusion, as migrant groups feel marginalised in the main parish, so tend to arrange services within the same parish that are culturally relevant for them. In regional Australian settings, given that migrant communities constitute a marginal part of population, such a tendency can be seen in the effort to preserve migrant cultural identities through arranging ethnically based worship groups and services. Examples of this can be seen, for example, in Filipino masses in Cairns, Indonesian masses in Toowoomba and Malayali services in Wagga Wagga.

However, church policies in managing culturally specific faith practices play a key role in negotiations of belonging between migrant communities and a 'wider' population. Regional churches accommodate migrant communities through various approaches. In some regional churches in Wagga Wagga, ethnic communities would constitute a part of the united congregation:

> There are three or four major cultural groups. We have a large Filipino community. We have a large African community. And I know that when I say Filipino and African, there's a lot of different cultural groups within that. We have a fairly large Indian community as well. Outside of that, there's sort of smaller groups of different things, but they're sort of the three biggest ones that we have seen. Actually, recently we saw a fairly large [Pacific] Islander population come through. (Pentecostal Christian church pastor, Wagga Wagga)

To make space and manage negotiations of various cultural expressions (and cultural needs), the churches organise special 'multicultural days' where every cultural group can be a part of a united mass and demonstrate their own way of worshipping. On other days, the gatherings would proceed in a 'traditional way', which for this church would mean utilisation of contemporary music instruments, such as drum kits, keyboards, electric guitars and a choir section. The pastor of the church rationalises the balance between 'multicultural' and 'traditional' expressions in the following way:

> I guess our belief is that even though we've all come from different cultures, and we all have different backgrounds. We also have the same God. And so, that supersedes culture or different cultures. In our church we believe is that we all come under the same God. We all have one culture, which we believe is the Kingdom [of God] culture. We have a very versatile worship team, or music team. So, there's Indians, as Africans. There's Filipinos, there's all sorts of people involved in the team as well as many Caucasians. I know that there are other churches that would have specific services for specific cultures, so they can segregate in their own language, and I think that's fantastic. Now, but here in Inspire [church] we don't segregate, everyone comes together as one. (Pentecostal Christian church pastor, Wagga Wagga)

Such an approach may be seen as a model for integration under the common and uniting demeanour of faith, with a particular musical style of worship. In some regards, such a model emulates the current model of migration policies created by the federal government, which

assumes migrants will join the existing cultural practices in order to integrate into Australian culture and lifestyle. In such a scheme, migrant communities have an opportunity to express their 'alternative' cultural belonging in a form of one-day festival, whereas the rest of the year belongs to the 'main' culture. Following a similar approach, ethnic groups are united in a common music activity within a church congregation. Such music activities are represented by contemporary styles of music with rock and pop music elements, which can be familiar and appealing, as global music styles, to various cultural groups. To present culturally specific ways of worshiping, some regional churches arrange special days of 'cultural worship', in which various migrant groups can conduct a mass in their language and musical style at the end of the general mass.

Despite the benefits of such an approach in its attempt to build a culturally united congregation and facilitate social engagement between diverse cultural groups, it can also potentially minimise a space for the alternative version of faith expressions. As Agyeman (2017, p. 114) notes in his research on the Ghanaian Catholic parish in regional Italy, 'it gives a chance for Catholic migrants to express their faith in their own language and culture, it provides a little opportunity for them to share their religious experiences and faith through dialogue and daily interaction with the local church members'. The fact of diverse cultural groups present in the same mass does not necessarily signify the same sense of belonging or social interaction between those groups. Therefore, the provision of a 'separate' time and space signifies subtle ways of othering culturally different expressions of faith.

Another approach is a 'hybrid' style of gathering, where service messages are delivered simultaneously in different languages. In the Salvation Army, a service takes place with the translation of messages and songs into three languages: English, Swahili and Kinyarwanda. Such an approach allows for the accommodation of a big audience of newly arrived migrants in the united mass. However, negotiations of such an approach with the 'main' English-speaking audience can be challenging for the church:

> Having different congregations is challenging for Australian communities. The Australians kind of think that, 'No, they should be like us. If they are going to live here, they should be like us.' That's not necessarily a bad thing. It's good that we learn from each other, but particularly for the first generation of migrants the sense of belonging is the most important thing. If the adults can find a space where they belong, and they feel valued and

> included, then the kids are growing up in [a] community. They're going to school. They're playing sport. So, they are doing these things that they're able to integrate a lot easier. Whereas a lot of the time, parents are at home, they're isolated. They don't have a lot of connection in the community. (Salvation Army chaplain, Cairns)

In an attempt to accommodate various worship traditions and the community's view of the cultural canon, the Salvation Army prioritises the agenda of cultural expression through providing space for culturally specific types of worship for the newly arrived migrants. Providing a sense of belonging for the first generation of migrants may affect the success of the second generation in terms of inclusion and community engagements. In this case, presenting the space for 'culturally different' expressions is seen as a necessary condition for effective community engagement. Such a thesis, expressed by the Salvation Army chaplain, correlates with the notion of belonging as 'a socially mediated matter [which is] related to the discourses and practices of socio-spatial inclusion and exclusion, a means of defining membership to a group and ownership of a place' (Conner, 2019, p. 31).

The 'ownership of space' for cultural expressions through music proves to be a powerful 'bonding agent' (Ley, 2008) for multicultural communities sharing the same services at the parish with the rest of congregation. As the research data reveal, the moments of sharing their cultural traditions of worship become events empowering cultural acceptance. Such events of intercultural communication provide migrants with the feeling that 'their' ways of worshipping are understood and appreciated:

> I never heard a negative comment about our music. People want it to be happening. People want us to sing every Sunday in the church. They love it, because the rhythm, the beating is totally different, it is not as in this classical music from the North [Western European] church. This is alive music that put all people together, and you feel this togetherness when you sing at the end of the mass. This is a great opportunity for us to get known by the broader community. Because, for example, by the end of each performance with [the] Bakhuba group and multicultural choir we have everybody surrounding you – to congratulate you, to greet you, to encourage you to come back next time. You feel belonging to that community. Your sense of belonging grows, and you feel a part of community. Music is really that connecting point, a meeting

> point when you feel that everybody wants you to be a part of them. And we enjoy that [laughing]! (Member of Congolese community, Toowoomba)

The role of the regional church as a provider of space for belonging and social engagement for multicultural communities is particularly evident in a regional context. Often, it can be characterised by limited spaces for multicultural expressions in regional areas, where 'multiculturalism' happens on an irregular basis, in the form of annual festivals or other events. The church therefore takes a leading role in providing space for intercultural communication, acting as a place of shared Christian faith and as a regional community centre. The church may act as the first point of socialisation and community engagement for newly arrived migrants, as well as various regional migrant groups in general. For many migrant communities, utilising cultural expressions of faith through music and dance, together with language, can be seen as a key element of practising faith, home culture and expressions of belonging. Therefore, the amount of space provided to culturally different expressions can significantly impact migrants' sense of belonging, as well as their ability to function actively within the community and communicate that sense of belonging to the next generation. However, as the data show, sharing the same faith does not automatically provide a sense of belonging and community engagement. Music and an expressive style of worship signify cultural demarcations and faultlines between faith communities and their cultural traditions of worship.

Worshippers of migrant backgrounds often feel excluded by a congregation that may not appreciate their language or culturally specific forms of worship. The requirement to 'assimilate' through a demand to worship in the English language and common music styles leads to the opposite reaction, which can be seen in separately arranged cultural worshipping groups and 'cultural' services. Such a situation mirrors exclusionary practices on a bigger social scale, in which a demand for conformity leads to the cultural and social separation of migrants from the main faith community. The emerging literature on the church as a space of social cohesion confirms that even though they may share the same faith, various cultural groups tend to build lines of division on the basis of racial, ethnic and cultural differences (Agyeman, 2017; Conner, 2019). Culturally separated services may be seen as a reflection of the existing cultural divisions within regional communities, and specific national, cultural or ethnic migrant communities' attempt to create their own cultural space. Equally, as the research data show, minimising the cultural presence of migrant groups within the

congregation affects the feeling of acceptance and belonging to the parish and, in broad terms, to a community.

The provision of space for various musical traditions of worship within the parish, through multicultural worship groups, training and supporting multicultural priests in their traditions of worship, multicultural choirs and music-based 'extra-curricular' educational and social activities may be seen as a platform for creating ties of belonging within communities through shared activities. Provision of the space for migrants' musical expressions of faith is not something that works only for the benefit of migrants. Intercultural communication within the church as one of the key community hubs impacts understanding of diversity in regional communities, where negotiation of cultural identities takes places in the shape of a parish's social curriculum, styles of masses or multicultural events. The key question (and challenge) of this process is a recognition of mutual responsibility and effort that each side undertakes to understand the depth of the other's cultural traditions. Equality of cultural 'worlds' of expressions, regardless of the size of a migrant community that represents these 'worlds' in a particular Australian location, can broaden regional horizons of self-identification. Expanding migrants' cultural contributions through bringing in different sounds and styles of expressions can enrich a regional church's faith practices and the church's positioning as a multicultural community centre. Moreover, many migrant musicians who participate in worship groups are also active in a 'secular' regional music space, utilising the church as a space where they can practice and develop their music skills. Examples of musicians from the Myanmar community in Wagga Wagga, The Congolese Brothers in Coffs Harbour and the Bhakuba Multicultural Choir from Toowoomba provide points of convergence between regional churches, migrant musicians and regional music scenes. Therefore, the church may be seen as a space that contributes to migrants' presence in a regional music scene, through providing support and opportunities for migrant music-making.

Music-making in a process of building regional migrant communities

For many communities, particularly those that comprise humanitarian entrants resettled in small numbers, the agenda of 'having a community' becomes a challenge of creating a cultural unity from new settlers. In this process, cultural unities are created by those who had never existed as a unity before:

> If you think of South Sudan, we have 64 tribes. And even those who live here doesn't [sic] speak the same language. Yeah, so we don't speak the same

> language. When people are seeing us from outside, everybody thinks we're all the same. But, when you come closer, you will find out there is a lot of diversity. As I said, we don't speak the same language, but we brought closer speaking in English, and Bari [language, colloquial Arabic]. When we come as a community together, then we asked to speak in English or Arabic, and some [parts of communication] need to be translated. (Member of South Sudanese community, Wagga Wagga)

These social unities of different cultural identities form partly as a response to a main perception of migrant communities in regional host communities. Often, these complexities of cultural belonging are simplified in government policy documents, media, census data or everyday language practices to notional unities of 'Indians', 'Filipinos', 'Africans', 'Indonesians', 'Pacific Islanders' and so on. Such a general perception of migrant identities that are in fact culturally distinctive unities can be seen as an outcome of 'othering' non-European communities, in which their real belonging is labelled as 'other' than Western. Equally it shows that such unities are cultural constructs created in Australia. For many of those Australian migrant communities, social, cultural, political, linguistic and religious practices in their countries of origin are distinct and significant. Therefore, following Anderson's (1983) thesis of 'imagined communities', these communities are 'imagined' in Australia through the ascription to them of unifying qualities and features. The reaction to such generalisation from people who once shared a nominal geographical proximity of their home countries is the creation of new social and cultural bonds between each other. In this process, cultural boundaries of the past are reworked to establish and underline ties of familiarity and connectivity:

> There are only 12 [families in Coffs Harbour] of Burundis. We have welcomed our neighbours from Rwanda. They also are taking part in the group [music group]. In Coffs Harbour, we are forming [a] Burundi, Congolese and Rwanda refugee community, but it's still a formation, because it has different cultures, different motivation and different problems. You know, we have to work out the best, you know, how to work together, the type of communication we are going to have, solutions-wise what we are going to do, in each scenario. So, we are trying to build a stronger community that can lean on each other. But again, you know, those are the things needs to be discussed within communities. You know, back home, countries often

> can get into conflicts. So, we want to make sure, when Burundi is fighting Rwanda, we don't end up in conflict over here … Yeah, yeah, we are working on it, and there is positive progression that I can see. And we also have drums to bring that to conclusion. (Musician, Burundi community, Coffs Harbour)

As Lundberg (2009) notes, music for migrant communities can be seen as a part of a 'DIY identity kit' that is enacted as a part of common activities, such as festivals, sporting and art events, and national celebrations. Music in this process of reimagining communities acts as a shared point of value, a shared practice of cultural expression, and therefore as a 'lubricant' (2009, p. 170) that is able to smooth differences and create a new quality for establishing unity:

> Because we are from the Pacific Islands, and islands are made of so many different countries. The Melanesian, Polynesian, and Micronesian families. We have more than 800 languages and, you know, it's all come combine all the language different songs from different parts of the country. And it's really something that we found was very special. It brings us together in our community. I became part of a team; we [my husband and I] became very active in our community and we participated in all 'Language and Culture' events. (Member of PNG Association, Toowoomba)

For many migrant musicians, ties of cultural belonging do not necessarily reflect ethnic identities. For instance, the Bakhuba group in Toowoomba unites as many members from different African cultures as it does Australian members. Nga Matawaka, the Māori cultural group from Cairns, unites members of New Zealand Māori descent, as well as members of Polynesian and Greek ancestry. The ability to attract members of different ethnic backgrounds is explained by these people's appreciation of the Māori's respect for traditions and faith:

> Because we are [a] performing arts group, we embrace everyone and anyone. Regardless of if they come and do not to perform, we will still welcome them as a New Zealander. We have got PNGs associated with us, we have non-indigenous Māori who are PNG[2]. We have got Greeks who are a part of us, and Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander community as a part. They come under our umbrella, and they just love the group, they love our singing, they

[2] Papua New Guinea

> love our culture, it's very respectful, it's grounded in faith - all these things are come together. (Nga Matawaka leader, Māori community, Cairns)

This illustrates that, in many cases, regional migrant communities are 'imagined' in new cultural and social settings through shared activities and practices. It can be seen as an outcome of small community numbers, in which the geographical proximity of living in former home countries becomes a factor of unification. It can also be seen as a reaction to a unification constructed by host communities, in which common features are ascribed to culturally diverse identities. As such, migrants of diverse cultural heritage construct new social and cultural connections, utilising music as a bridging element.

Music practices in regional migrant communities: Meanings, strategies and spaces of music practices

'Common activities' that constitute the regional migrant community-building process may vary, from small male or female gatherings to all-community events and public celebrations.

Almost each community has at least one, but more often two or three, gatherings each year. For many post-colonial countries, these would be Independence Day (i.e., Congo, India, Zimbabwe, Philippines), religious events (for many, Christmas, and Easter) or culturally specific events (i.e., Diwali for the Hindu community, Onam for Kerala Indians, Genocide Remembrance Day for Syrian and Iraqi Yazidis).

Migrant community events are mostly practised behind closed doors, as private functions – usually in rented halls. In such events, music becomes an intrinsic part of the entertainment:

> Initially, we will start with games. And then, in between, because it's a big community, we have to start a meal preparation. Then, once they all set as it for the meals, they'll start with the introductory, you know, there will be welcome speech. And then we'll dance and there will be some be some children, they'll be performing. Children also perform as well. So then, at the last they keep the song section, it will be group session, it will be single section. So that people can sit back and enjoy. I mean in the last year it will be the same pattern. There is no change, but there will be difference in the programs, only the way the music we select it can be English and Hindi or what are the language what those people are performing. We use karaoke during the programs to sing, but on some occasions, we have a couple of guys

> who play keyboards and guitar. (a member of the Indian community, Wagga Wagga)

For many, singing and dancing constitutes a basic art-form that is core to the celebration of the community's unity:

> Sometimes we can get about 10 or 20 people … because we have a big group, we might have a group of dancers, so you might have maybe, you know 10 people, five people singing and dancing, and, you know, 200 people show up because it's a National Day, and when people hear [about our celebration], they come from Brisbane and all the different parts of the nearby surroundings. (Member of PNG community, Toowoomba)

These meetings have an exceptional status in migrants' lives, as events of self-reflection as migrants, and as a part of cultural unity:

> We get busy with trying to, you know, keep up between all these things, and we tend to … we don't realize it. It kind of takes away something from us, we lose a bit of ourselves in that whole process of settling in. We want to, you know, continue our journey and be stronger together, not just on our own, because we are not by ourselves. There are others who also have a journey, so music is one common way … You don't have to tell a lot of things and explain everything. But do you know if we're going to sing … I'm sure people will not have any objections to that [laughing]! (Member of PNG community, Toowoomba)

Music is utilised in those gatherings in different formats, depending on the community. In some communities, such as the Indian community where dance is the main art form of cultural expression, music would accompany dances that are performed by women and children of both sexes. Performances, consisting of singing and dancing, would be rehearsed at home and then presented to the community. These events, attended by whole families, have a pronounced pedagogical goal:

> I've hinted to the aspect of its teaching utility, you know, teaching values and beliefs and social norms. It's entertainment, but it's also part of educating young people about our culture, our traditions, our belief, our value. Our way of life. So, a lot of things are done through music, but of course it's also entertaining and of course you can imagine kids just having the best time when

> he is being played dancing around singing along, attempting to play some of the instruments. (Member of the Burundi community, Coffs Harbour)

Community events are seen by migrant communities as a point of reconnection with their homeland. These events also become a space of reworking understandings of what the homeland and home culture are in new settings. For instance, despite religious, cultural and geographical differences, the Indian community associates itself with the whole variety of cultures that have been perceived in Australia as 'Indian':

> We don't speak the same language. We don't follow the same God. And we don't follow the same sort of, you know, food taste, taste of music, everything's different that's what like India, being an Indian country but there's so many states … You will have Muslim in it, you will have a Christian in it, you will have a Hindu in it. So, the thing that binds us together [in Australia] is one community program. As I said, I'd like taking our kids [to India] and knowing all the cultures, all the religions, all the festivals as much as we can. But we are in Australia, we will be taking them and that's what we had been doing. We went to celebrate Holy [festival of colours]. Same with Christmas, Diwali. So, that they [children] know – Okay, it's an Indian festival. This is what happens there. And this is how we, you know, get together and socialize, and get in touch with the Indian culture. (Member of Malayali community, Wagga Wagga)

Addressing the issue of music-making and connection with a community through music follows two major patterns. For community events in regional settings, many communities actively communicate between communities from different locations, creating music-based connections and touring pathways. For instance, Yazidi musicians from Coffs Harbour, Wagga Wagga, Toowoomba and Brisbane would travel between their communities for weddings and other community 'gigs'. Community events would for them constitute the main reason for socialisation, discovery of the Australian landscape, professional interaction and an opportunity to gain an additional source income. The same principle would apply to 'community musicians' from other communities, such as the Myanmar community in Wagga Wagga, who would interact and participate in the community events in Sydney or Canberra, or Zimbabwean musicians, travelling between 'African' events in Wagga Wagga, Canberra and as far away as Townsville, Queensland. Such community-based music routes involve participation in events as a solo musician or member of a band. Also, if necessary, regional

musicians create temporary unions and 'bands' for some big occasions, leveraging each other's' musical capacity and inevitably expanding social connections. For instance, Yazidi musicians from Toowoomba invite musicians from Brisbane and vice versa to local weddings or travel together to other areas of Yazidi communities' settlement (e.g. Coffs Harbour). In this case, the lack of critical numbers of music professionals within cultural communities in the same location creates social connections and networks between various geographical areas. Through such networks, newly arrived musicians get an opportunity to explore various locations, expand their professional music contacts and earn an income.

Music-making and exchanging music between cultural communities exceeds regional borders, creating each community's own 'cultural map', consisting of important dates, events and touring routes. Regional communities are also connected with bigger cities through events, where musicians from Toowoomba, for instance, can be invited to some event in Brisbane, or musicians from Wagga Wagga can travel to Sydney. Such integration may be happening through an organisational level, where created regional associations (such as the Indian Association in Wagga Wagga, PNG and Indian Associations in Toowoomba, Filipino Association, Malayali Association, African Association or Kenyan Association in Cairns) communicate with organisations and associations in other areas. However, it often happens on an individual, peer-to-peer, musician-to-musician level. For instance, Zimbabwean musicians from Wagga Wagga would travel to Armidale and Townsville as they have community connections with musicians in these locations; Sikh musicians from Sydney have strong ties with community in Woolgoolga, which can employ them to teach their children.

For newly arrived migrants, music skills become a valuable 'currency' that can quickly and efficiently be exchanged for faster community penetration and social connections. In the case of the Filipino community in Wagga Wagga, music and organisational skills were combined:

> Being in that area … its regional! I [am] used to fast-paced life, and you're now in the community where is so quiet. You don't know anyone. So the first thing that came to my mind is to bring in an artist. A Filipino artist. I did my research – they haven't done any event of the Filipino artist in this area, in the Riverina area. Because sometimes it's just major cities! They are deprived of the entertainment. Having one-on-one experience with an artist in your own region – so that's what I thought of. And I thought – I have to know my own community. And how do I do that? And I am a talent manager, so I requested an artist of

> mine from the Philippines who also appeals to the market in this area. And that artist helped me to put a low fee when I explained the scenario, what I want to do it here. And luckily, there were like [a] hundred attendees. It was like more for break even, but the objective was to put a database of people, get to know sponsors, the community. And because I had to have a front act before the show … So, I get my kids, volunteers who want to dance, then I trained them, I taught them some songs in our house, and they performed before the show – it was an exposure for them too, so I killed two birds with one stone. (Music teacher and entrepreneur, Filipino community, Wagga Wagga)

The initial success eventually led to a community-based music school that works predominantly with children of South-East Asian migrant backgrounds:

> It was a way to know other parents, other kids. This is how it started, actually. Because I saw the gap – no one is into development of these kids. They love music, they love to perform, they have the talent, but I think it was a gap in development. That's where I came in. (Music teacher and entrepreneur, Filipino community, Wagga Wagga)

Some musicians, such as Yazidi musicians in Toowoomba, treat community events as their main 'job market', where their musical skills and musical culture can be fully appreciated. For instance, musicians from Iraq would be experts in Yazidi music, but also play Turkish and Kurdish music. Even though they don't see themselves as fully dedicated to music in Australia, as they used to be in their home country, they regularly perform in various geographical locations where their Yazidi community is present. After being in Australia for just two years, their touring geography would have covered major Australian cities and regional towns of New South Wales and Queensland, with the presence of Iraqi and Syrian Yazidi communities. 'Special occasions' (such as parties, weddings, Yazidi New Year and the Celebration of Spring festival) would constitute the main point of community gatherings and be inextricably linked to that music.[3] Yazidi communities in regional New South Wales and Queensland, particularly Toowoomba, have created a stable performing schedule based

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[3] For the Yazidi group, music constitutes not just a part of the social curriculum but, more importantly, a faith foundation, where myths of creation are 'handed down orally through types of musical hymns known as *qawls*'. Storytelling through singing, faith rituals and celebrations through collective singing and dancing may be seen as a backbone of the Yazidi cultural identity.

on regional events in various locations (Brisbane, Toowoomba, Wagga Wagga, Coffs Harbour) that allows them to practise music on a regular basis. Recent investigations of intersections between faith and creative industries (e.g., Warren, 2018) open up a new space for conceptualisations of arts practices, faith and economies, signalling about overlooked workers and niches of cultural economies on a rise. Such conceptualisations allow us to look at regional migrant musicians, particularly those practicing music within faith communities with a new set of optics. Such faith-based creative endeavours may be seen not only as a marginalised 'community music', but as a creative business practice, and a part of the growing regional cultural economy.

The role of virtual spaces in music-making and sharing in translocal communities

The creation of touring routes between regional communities is one way by which regional communities address the issue of live music for their community events. For musicians themselves, as has already been noted, connecting with communities in various geographies becomes a way of discovering the Australian social and cultural landscape, a way of getting new connections and an opportunity for music-making. However, together with creating pathways within Australia, 'community music' is created and practised beyond Australian boundaries. Most of the regional migrant communities, as well as 'community musicians', extensively utilise the internet, particularly social media such as Facebook and YouTube, to create, share and consume music. For instance, the Bhutanese Orchestra in Cairns, consisting of eight men, can rarely travel due to the significant cost of travelling between interstate and intrastate places that are a significant distance from each other. However, their Facebook page, where they regularly stream their concerts from the backyards of their houses in Cairns, has 1500 subscribers, mostly from the United States, another place of Bhutanese humanitarian settlement. The COVID-19 pandemic has only exacerbated the issue of distances and travel costs for regional migrant musicians and pushed their presence deeper into the digital space. The increased isolation due to border closures and cancellation of gatherings made digital space the only available opportunity for exposure of migrant communities' social and cultural practices. The Bhutanese Orchestra, for instance, was giving regular online concerts to lift the spirit of its community across various countries:

> I have a lot of my childhood friends, my relatives they are in the United States. So, we perform for the people in the United States, we perform for the people around the world and pass the message [about COVID-19] that 'This

> is it. Here we still have a long way to go. We can overcome this, because we have overcome, we have overcome the hardest time of our life'. That nineteen to twenty years in a refugee camp was worse than this. That's how we start we share our positive messages just through music and we have been performing Facebook like digital life virtual life. That's what we do. (Member of the Bhutanese orchestra, Cairns)

The example of the Bhutanese community and its Facebook concerts illustrates how dispersed communities are in the Australian and global landscape. For many migrants, translocal connections signify not just ties with a country of origin, but multiple ties with various global geographies, where their families were resettled because of humanitarian conflict. Bhutanese, Congolese, South Sudanese, Myanmar Kachin, Zimbabwean and Yazidi regional communities are actively engaged in global connections, supporting contacts with family members and friends in the United States, Germany, Turkey and Canada. Through activation translocal connections, migrants facilitate 'regional cosmopolitism' (Krivikapic-Skoko, Reid & Collins, 2018; Schech, 2014), in which translocal migrant connections and their cultural, economic ties impact regional involvement in global cultures and economies. Castles (2002) states that translocal communities epitomise the globalised world and connected geographies. Papastergiadis (2001), examining the 'turbulence of migration', particularly investigates the concept of deterritorialization as a type of cultural formation of modernity, enhanced by global mobilities. Deterritorialisation can be described as an 'alienation of culture' from a territory, and therefore as one that 'seeks to unhinge itself from notions of exclusivity and superiority' (ibid, 2001, p. 118). Cultural affiliations and links between cultural communities in various geographies transform practices for both a territory and a migrant community. Therefore, the aforementioned regional migrant communities can be seen as agents of deterritorialization, and their cultural connections as having a potential impact on a regional area of migrant living.

How are translocal cultural links enacted through digital space? For many communities, their home country is recreated through images, memories and connections with family and community members through social media and messengers. Regional communities recreate their cultural unities in virtual space through arranging community pages and groups, publishing news from home countries, providing greetings with major calendar events, and regional news. Music can be seen as one of the elements of community regional life and exchange. Such a recreation of cultural connections also happens on an individual level:

> What'sApp and Facebook have really kept us close together, really every day. We have families (back home) and when we feel [we are] missing them, we start playing cultural music. We let them listen and enjoy from far through these IT facilities. I travelled personally with my wife to Canada and America three years ago for a one-month holiday, and they welcomed us with music and then we were fortunate to attend the wedding ceremony [of the members of a local Congolese community in Canada] and celebrated with music. You feel like … You connect with your hometown through music and dance, and food. And we loved it. We spent one month in Canada and America; every day was really a celebration of life. (Musician, Congolese community, Toowoomba)

Digital space represents a readily available opportunity to practise identity, even in the absence of immediate social connection in the place of residence. In that context, it provides an opportunity to speak one's native language and reflect on 'new life' experiences. Such experiences are valuable and typically missing in the 'offline' opportunities for interaction. Recording music and sharing it via social media becomes one means of cultural expression and support of social connections with family members, who are often scattered around the world.

Interviews with community musicians reveal that almost none of them utilises professional recording studios, due to various factors. Financial constraints and an ability to invest any money on recording their newly created music would be the main deterrents. A lack of social connections and lack of familiarity with recording and production also affect community musicians' aspirations to produce their own music. Many of them do not regard themselves as 'professional' enough musicians to make a recording. However, some regional musicians who pursue a musical career utilise their translocal connections to produce their music in Australia. DIY ways of producing and sharing musical content in regional settings often involve translocal connections. For instance, one of the practised methods of recording songs in regional places becomes a partial production of music in and outside Australia. Family and cultural translocal connections allow regional musicians in Australia to compensate for the lack of instruments, musicians, or production skills by outsourcing them in their cultural communities outside Australia – in Germany or India:

> Last year I recorded two songs. It's very hard for me, but then I have a friend in Germany. I sent my song, my voice for them. They have a studio; they have recorded the music and after that he sent me all music here. I also have a

> friend here, she has a studio also, I recorded my voice with music here and, I sent it to a Germany to fix everything (Yazidi musician, Coffs Harbour).

Such translocal collaboration makes regional production affordable and generally viable for migrant musicians. In the case of Yazidi musicians in Toowoomba, it allows them to promote songs they created in Toowoomba further, in communities in Germany, Lebanon and Turkey. Utilising translocal connections, Yazidi musicians living in Toowoomba produce and promote their new songs. Their band in Iraq was split due to humanitarian settlement procedures, so part of the band was relocated to Germany and another part was sent to Australia. Two brothers – musicians in Toowoomba – compose songs, provide voice recordings and shoot video clips for their songs in Australia. The final production of the song, however, occurs in Germany, when the final 'product' is uploaded on Facebook and YouTube. Such collaboration provides Yazidi musicians in Toowoomba with an opportunity to maintain musical connections despite geographical distances and to produce musical products for both communities – in Australia and Germany. For both sides of the band, this means they can continue their careers as musicians, negotiating the scarcity of local sources or skills. Transnational music production therefore allows migrant musicians to reconfigure boundaries of locality and its opportunities, and create musical products to support cultural identities in distanced geographies.

However, only a particular cohort of regional migrant musicians utilise the digital space for musical production and exchange. The ability to utilise social networks depends on a range of factors, including age, digital proficiency and ability to invest in a minimum amount of equipment (camera phone, laptop or digital camera). These factors define an opportunity to access and utilise DIY music practices and technologies. For many who do not have relevant digital skills or technical equipment, 'offline' music-making, such as that done at home, can be the most viable opportunity for music practice. Despite being comparatively cheap and requiring less organisational effort (e.g. finding recording studios or video specialists to film a video clip), the 'digital' way of producing and sharing music through DIY technologies may not be accessible to everyone. To a degree, age and familiarity with technologies, digital literacy skills and financial capital to obtain necessary equipment become barriers in accessing contemporary digital methods of music-making. Even though migrant music may exist in abundance in some regional migrant communities, the lack of recordings – be they DIY or 'traditional'– can be a serious impediment to the communication of migrants' art and culture to their own community (or, for that matter, to the 'wider' community). The only opportunity that remains for those migrants to present and share their musical culture is

within a limited public space of a regional territory. In this case, the issue of recording and sharing music becomes not just a hurdle for migrant musicians to support their translocal connections, but also a missed opportunity for regions to expand their cultural borders.

Conclusion

This chapter has illustrated the role of music-making in migrants' agenda of creating new social connections within regional communities, in which negotiations of cultural identities become an integral part and an outcome of social encounters. Music-making in churches may be seen as an essential instrument in the expression of migrant identities. The 'ownership of space' and cultural encounters within already established regional cultural practices, such as worship, become a major factor in negotiations of boundaries of belonging and acceptance.

For many regional migrant communities, music becomes a key element in the recreation of cultural unities in regional settings, where familiar and relevant social and cultural practices are often absent. Acting as a 'bonding agent', music participates in (re)creating connections of belonging, as much on a local level as on a translocal level. For many community members, music becomes a way of participating in community life through performing in community events or cultural educational practices. For many newly arrived community musicians, music is capitalised on as an asset that speeds up migrant community engagement and as a way of gaining social status within the migrant community. Creating and sharing music within migrant translocal communities via digital space also becomes a means of supporting translocal identities and as a way of producing music and gaining translocal audiences. In turn, an ability to support translocal connections, via sharing or producing a musical product, can be a factor that impacts regional areas, as musical translocal exchange is a factor of deterritorialization and 'regional cosmopolitanism'.

The next chapter will further explore migrants' music strategies of building social connections with the wider community and the presence of migrant music in the regional music landscape. The issue of migrant intercultural engagement through music will be investigated through questions of public spaces of migrant music, migrant music participation in regional music scenes, migrant musicians' ability to sustain themselves through music in regional areas and their contribution to regional cultural production.

9

Music, migrant livelihoods and social inclusion in regional Australia

Introduction

This chapter aims to further explore music's value and potential in migrants' strategies of social interaction and their building of social relations with 'broader' regional communities, represented mostly by the settlers of Western European descent. As highlighted in Chapters 4 and 7, this type of sociality arguably becomes a crucial factor in negotiations of belonging in which cultural acceptance or exclusion can be seen as two possible outcomes. As Schaeffer (2016, pp. 8–9) argues, social cohesion – which refers to a 'level of trust, trust-related sentiments and civic engagement' – facilitates the creation of civic infrastructures of associations and engagement, through which people produce and share common goods and undertake collective endeavours. Ethnic diversity can be a source of anxieties and tensions, which impacts trust negotiations, and therefore social engagement.

Social engagement and social cohesion do not just play a role in a subjective feeling of acceptance, but directly impact migrants' participation in local social life and economic production. Before the COVID-19 pandemic, the Deloitte report, published in 2019, specifically pointed out the economic benefits of migrants' social inclusion in Australian society. Among others, the outcomes of productivity in the workplace, improved employment outcomes, reduced cost of social services and enhanced mental health are identified in the report (Deloitte, 2019).[1]

The interrelations between social cohesion, based on feelings of acceptance, and economic benefits may be seen as echoing Bourdieu's theories of capital (Bourdieu, 1986). In this chapter, Bourdieu's theory of cultural capital and its consequent development in other studies (e.g. Erel, 2010) will be a focus. First, the notion of interlinkage and convertibility of one capital (cultural, social, economic) into another will be utilised. This chapter focuses on music as a form of cultural capital, particularly as embodied and institutionalised capital, as defined by Bourdieu (1986). This capital includes cultural skills and knowledge – that is, musical skills, but also dance and language – inherited and exhibited 'through mind and body' cultural traditions, ideas of community, space and so on. Formal and informal education, of which musical knowledge and upbringing are a part, is also considered as a part of cultural capital. Second, as Bourdieu (1986)

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[1] *The Economic Benefits of Improving Social Inclusion*, 2019.

notes, the acquisition of this capital and conversion of it to social or other forms of capital depends on the 'field' within which this capital exists and communicates: 'The structure of the field, i.e., the unequal distribution of capital, is the source of the specific effects of capital, i.e., the appropriation of profits and the power to impose the laws of functioning of the field most favourable to capital and its reproduction (1986, p. 284). Third, the idea of 'field' as a defining factor and a condition of migrants' cultural reproduction, elaborated by Erel (2010), is essential for an understanding of migrant capital's utilisation in regional settings. Erel (2010) argues that the idea of capital as a 'cultural rucksack' of cultural resources, which migrants 'pack' in their home countries and later 'unpack', does not reflect the complexity and dynamism of migrants' cultural capital and its utilisation in a new country. Migrant cultural capital is highly diverse within communities as a product of gender, ethnicity and class within a group. Most importantly, this capital is not simply 'unpacked' in the new country; migrants rework the cultural resources they brought with them and develop new resources to engage 'in bargaining activities with institutions (such as professional bodies or universities) and people (such as employers or managers) about the value of these treasures' (Erel, 2010, p. 649). In this process, migrants challenge the existing 'national capital' – which, Erel argues, is present explicitly or implicitly, for example, in a professional market through a notion of necessary local professional experience, despite formally validated international education – through 'elaborating systems of value'. In other words, through the agency of migrant cultural capital that migrants inherit and create as a response to a new social and cultural context, the standards of cultural capital and 'value' of residential countries expand, diversify and, ultimately, change. Moreover, through these 'bargain activities', migrants create mechanisms of validation of their cultural capital by negotiating their cultural capital with an ethnic majority, migrant institutions and networks. Given the constructed and dynamic features of migrant cultural capital, Erel suggests that the term 'migrant specific cultural capital' is more accurate than 'cultural capital'.

The purpose of this chapter is to outline how music, as a form of migrants' specific cultural capital, participates in negotiations of migrant status and, more importantly, is converted into social and economic capital. Regional music scenes can be seen as a 'field' within which these negotiations occur. We can see the ways in which migrants utilise the agency of music to create distinctive musical products, communicate messages about their cultural identities, and therefore establish a space within a local music scene and local institutions. We also can see how music scenes and regional communities and institutions perceive migrant music and migrant identities through the provision of spaces, categorisations of migrant music or the creation of exclusionary

hierarchies. We can see how the process of negotiation occurs by outlining the barriers that migrant music experiences or, in some cases, examples of social and economic capitalisation of migrants' cultural capital. Through the cases of migrant music participation in the regional music scenes, we can argue whether migrant cultural capital 'transforms, partially or completely, the immanent rules of the game' (Erel, 2010, cited in Bourdieu and Wacquant, 2007, p. 99). This interaction with the existing music scenes is particularly important in the regional context. As identified in the previous chapters, regional areas are lacking facilities and infrastructure to accommodate and consume migrant music-making. Hence the process of negotiations of migrant capital, perceptions of migrant music, and opportunities for and barriers to migrant inclusion into regional music scene are essential to understand.

This chapter examines the insights on social and economic utilisation of migrant music in three specific parts. The first part documents ecosystems of migrant music presence and examines the strategies used by migrant musicians to negotiate their capital. The second part focuses on multicultural festivals as the leading platforms for negotiation of migrant cultural capital and its conversion into other forms of capital. The third part discusses features of regional music scenes and the regional landscape that become deterrents to migrant music's social and economic capitalisation.

Negotiations of migrant cultural capital in regional culture eco-system

The subject of places and spaces for migrant music has been explored in previous chapters, while focusing on home music-making, music-making for migrant youth and music-making in regional churches. Through these topics, the issue of regional spaces of daily multicultural encounters was raised. However, a more comprehensive inventory of such spaces needs to be provided. The regional map of migrant music presence can be subdivided into several overlapping spheres, or ecosystems. The term 'ecosystem' is utilised here to underline an interlinked community of diverse actors that exists within one public domain – that is, social and welfare institutions, arts and music, business and entertainment. Strategies of migrant negotiations of cultural capital within which ecosystems exist may differ; however, it is accurate to say that music is articulated to establish new contacts and deliberately utilised in this way. Several general strategies can be seen as typical, such as creating new places for music-making in the regional area; joining already pre-established local music groups and finding ways to engage with local music scenes; choosing 'Western' musical instruments and creating particular 'Western-friendly' repertoires to communicate about themselves and their

cultures; participation in the local multicultural events. It is also evident how local music stakeholders 'respond' to migrant music through categories of cultural shows or interactions between musicians, which allows migrant music to 'fit' into the ecosystem's activities.

Performing multiculturalism in the 'welfare' ecosystem

Many migrant musicians are involved in local welfare and charity networks. This type of involvement has its distinctive characteristics, as its function is around organisations and institutions related to the issues of social work, migrants' settlement, age care and education. In many cases, migrant musicians are affiliated with these organisations. For many migrant musicians, settlement services or organisations acting as settlement services (church-affiliated NGOs, such as the Salvation Army, the Red Cross or Centacare in Toowoomba and Cairns) act as a primary gatekeepers to Australian life, providing migrants with new contacts and social networks. Many migrant musicians remain in those organisations, driven by a desire to help to new migrant arrivals on a volunteer basis or, in cases where a relevant diploma is obtained, as employed workers. For instance, the leader of Bhakuba Multicultural Choir in Toowoomba works as a settlement officer in the local organisation Mercy Toowoomba; the leader of ZimPride Marimba sustains himself as a social worker in Wagga Wagga; a hip-hop DJ from Kenya is employed as a youth worker in the settlement organisation CentaCare, Cairns. The CARMA organisation in Cairns, arranged by the local Fijian Association, works with the local aged care services provider DiversiCare because the president of the volunteer CARMA organisation works in this sector. Young migrant artists from Cairns and Wagga Wagga are involved in youth programs initiated by the local settlement services. Similarly, migrants from Fiji and Sri Lanka, who are involved in music activities organised by local churches, are officers in the CentaCare local settlement organisation, and Yazidi musicians in Toowoomba are involved in welcoming events for new migrants, organised by the local organisation You Belong. Some musicians are involved in educational projects aiming to introduce Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander cultures and a concept of 'multicultural Australia' to local youth in schools. For instance, Burundi musicians from Coffs Harbour volunteer for workshops in the local school, while music groups in Cairns (represented by Māori artists) perform locally and have even travelled

interstate and internationally[2] to present music of the Aboriginal people of Australasia as part of an educational program initiated by the state government:

> Councils would contact community groups and let them know that there were events coming up. And would approach us, and we would then perform at local festivals. We had our overseas experiences which were due to connections that we had made through our local performances … There was an American Indian group that would travel to Brisbane for this festival … We then went over and did a touring performing to all the way from LA, all the way up through to Canada. We did both private and public bookings there … We were contracted to the Queensland Government as well to do education workshops in early childhood and also private schools, where we would take our culture and cultural implements and we would do education summer dance workshops through the Education department. So, through those networks we were then able to travel abroad and also continue educating [through] singing and dancing. We went to America, Fiji, Hawaii up to Canada performing a lot in remote schools and indigenous schools. Just to show other indigenous cultures, you know, what can be achieved through sharing your culture, what it looks like. (Artist, Māori community, Cairns).

To a significant degree, this ecosystem of various social, educational and health services constitutes a social circle for migrant artists and forms part of migrants' social capital, based on these institutions' contacts and networking opportunities.

However, the conversion of this social capital into migrant income seems not to be straightforward. Most migrant music performances are not renumerated and cannot be seen as a basis for a sustainable income. Migrant artists may receive some financial support (as youth program workers acting within a grant program to support local migrant youth) or compensation for some costs, such as fuel for long-distance travel. However, driven by motives of providing help to other migrants, education for the general public or moral support for migrant communities, such work does not equate to a paid 'job'. This ecosystem of 'welfare' networks or charity networks functions on a volunteer basis and, to a significant degree, has no relation to regional music scenes in the more conventionally understood sense as a network of live music venues, events and stakeholders (Bennett et al., 2019; Bennett et al., 2020).

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[2] It is important to underline that this international travel occurred before 2016 and was sponsored by the then state government.

The regional entertainment eco-system

The relationship of migrant music to a regional tourist market as a part of the destination's attraction was vocalised by numerous musicians from Cairns, underlying that they have been working as a part of the entertainment programs in clubs and restaurants, corporate events, programs on cruise ships and in casinos. This type of migrant music presence can be related to a second main ecosystem of migrant music's presence, in which events initiated by business stakeholders, local councils or individuals can be the 'entry' point for migrant musicians to the local entertainment market. In this ecosystem, migrant music is often categorized as a 'cultural show'. Apart from being an exotic and engaging form of entertainment, which may be required by some (for example, aged care facilities), its demand can also be explained by the need to present Australian multiculturalism (for example, in schools). This type of non-Western music performance has acquired the name 'cultural show' – a term used for any kind of music or performance presented by Aboriginal or migrant artists:

> We have been traveling everywhere. We have performed in Canberra. We have performed in different corners of Sydney. We have performed in Newcastle. Yeah, we have performed everywhere in Coffs Harbour, basically. At schools, hospitals, Harmony Days, refugee weeks, all those things. We have had private hirings, when people were having weddings, we were invited to play at the wedding – I mean, white Australian weddings [laughing]! (Musician, Rafiki Connections, Coffs Harbour)

The concept of 'cultural shows' has received more market exposure in various cities of Queensland (Cairns, Gold Coast) because of its orientation towards tourist and events markets. Some performers, who originally settled on the Gold Coast and later relocated to Cairns, provide some insights into how 'cultural shows' were practised in their career:

> We did a lot of Gold Coast [shows], because there's a big tourism in the Gold Coast. We would perform in dinner theatres, theatre themed restaurants. So, there was a period of my life, where we would perform there every weekend culturally and they would have the Polynesian theme. So, I also would dance, and we would provide the food. My parents are caterers or so they would put on a special Polynesian meal for that evening for the Polynesian night (Performer, Fiji community, Cairns).

Aboriginal and migrant 'cultural shows', consisting of music and dance, become an attractive entertainment product for their exotic and massive appeal (performers are usually dressed in

their national costumes and perform in groups of at least five or more people). The engaging and highly emotional style of a 'cultural show' (be it drumming and singing in the case of Burundian musicians or performing the *haka* for Māori artists) contributes to its success as a unique product of the regional entertainment market.

The genre of 'cultural show', in which some migrant music is popular, can be described in relation to a discussion of commodified authenticity and Western invention of world music (Connell & Gibson, 2004). It is symptomatic that this type of shows equally included Australian Aboriginal and migrant musicians from various African and Pacific countries, positioning their performance as 'historical', 'traditional' and 'authentic'. To a degree, such 'cultural shows' may be indicative of Western perceptions of non-Western cultural expressions, where musicians from 'pre-modern' cultures and places represent a glorious but lost time. In this context, migrant musicians, whose intention is often expressed as introducing their cultures and 'sustaining our culture' (Interview, Rafiki Connections, Coffs Harbour), are often trapped into the inevitable game of fetishisation of places that the audience expects to see. In this context, both sides participate in re-creating the place, underlying its specific qualities and features and omitting others through costumes, expressive dance movements or repertoire. However, the primary outcome of that act is that 'cultural shows', as migrant cultures, highlight the distinction between 'contemporary' – modern and postmodern – Western music and 'exotic and premodern' migrant cultures, accelerating cultural and social distinctions between migrant groups and European audiences. Such a perception of migrant music cultures indicates the borderlines between mainstream and 'foreign' cultural expressions, in which 'foreigners' are seen as exotic, but hierarchically less advanced cultural expressions compared with pop music practices of a cultural majority.

Migrant musicians' strategies of engagement with regional music scenes

The third major ecosystem of migrant musicians' presence, as discussed previously, is their involvement in regional music scenes through their affiliations with other local musicians or event organisers. In the case of Yazidi migrants in Toowoomba, the band You Belong is organised by a musician who works in the eponymous settlement service provider.[3] For a Yazidi musician, as he stated in his interview, participation in the band became a way of learning the English language and about the Australian popular music. As he wants to pursue

[3] https://youbelong.org.au

a musical career in Australia, he regards his participation in local music-making as an informal 'training course' in Australian culture and language, where he studies rhythms and melodies. At the same time, the band created songs infused with Yazidi harmonies and rhythms, creating a balance between familiarity (from the perspective of the local audience) and unknown Yazidi songs, tunes and language. A similar approach is seen in Coffs Harbour, where Yazidi, Sikh and African musicians are invited to local festivals (i.e. the Winter Festival in Bellingen) and collaborate with local artists. For many, such contacts become a means of accessing the local music scene – which can be seen, for example, in migrant musicians' participation in the local market days (Coffs Harbour) or invitations from festival organisers. The Bhutanese Orchestra from Cairns participates in Tablelands Folk Festival in Townsville; ZimPride Marimba from Wagga Wagga also appears at this event.

The strategy used by some migrant musicians in adapting songs specifically for Australian audiences is to communicate through music and rework cultural perceptions. For instance, many musicians intentionally include 'Western' instruments, such as electric guitars, drum kits or keyboards, to underline the contemporary nature of their music and to adapt 'native' music songs for 'Western' audiences:

> Because we find ourselves in a different environment, we have to get to different people. There were times with the band in Canberra when we played original sort of music. It would be just drums, shakers and the voice, without the guitars, without the additional Western instruments. And then, if we added for example dembira for our traditional songs and then played bass, which would follow the same bass lines after dembira. It wouldn't change much, but because we are adding a drum kit, adding all kinds of other enhancements, it sounds different. But the origin, the stem is the same. And also, [we play] globalised and westernised genres such as Soukous.[4] It is not native, but it is a compromise, crossover genre. (Musician, Zimpride Marimba, Wagga Wagga)

Some musicians from African countries – for example, The Congolese Brothers from Coffs Harbour and Māori musicians from Cairns who position themselves as native New Zealanders – incorporate well-known, appreciated and commodified genres of music, such as

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[4] Soukous is a genre of dance music from Congo-Kinshasa and Congo-Brazzaville. It derived from Congolese rumba in the 1960s and gained popularity in France in the 1980s.

reggae, in their repertoire. Simultaneously, the success of The Congolese Brothers was based on their utilisation of contemporary Congolese reggae songs, which they would sing in Dinka or French, combined with the 'Western' repertoire, which would include Bob Marley or in the reggae adapted version' of Michael Jackson songs. Such 'deterritorialization' of cultural identity through music (Connell & Gibson, 2004) significantly simplifies migrants' chances of local success, providing common ground for communication with the audience. The Māori cultural group Nga Matawaka from Cairns utilises its hybrid New Zealand cultural identity, performing well-known American soul and pop hits from Aretha Franklin, Marvin Gaye and others. The love for reggae, however, became a particularly beneficial common ground in the group's attempt to find its audiences within Australian 'Western' and Aboriginal audiences:

> We enjoy reggae, we love reggae. New Zealanders love Bob Marley, we call it the 'hobnob'. When we moved to Queensland and we heard some of our artists, like Patea Māori Club, which is a big group in New Zealand, and they were playing them here! And we had no idea that people know these songs! (Nga Matawaka leader, Cairns)

For Māori migrants in Cairns, reggae or soul genres become points of connections with a 'diaspora' of local Indigenous and African communities as a part of a shared black Global South ancestry (Abogaye, 2018). As some studies reveal (e.g. Alvarez, 2008; Abogaye, 2018), such musical genres – particularly reggae – cultivate trans-regional Indigenous identities of the Global South and their cultural exchange through the shared narratives of a struggle for dignity and the dehumanising effects of globalisation. Also, as appropriated by the Global North genres of 'black' music (e.g. hip-hop, reggae), such genres become a language of communication with a wider Australian audience. In this case, a Western repertoire or globally commodified genres of music illustrate migrants' aural belonging to the 'Western' world, expanding the borders of cultural perceptions of 'native cultures' as 'pre-modern' and, ultimately, marginal. In the attempt to 'speak the Western language' in music, migrant musicians seek to illustrate the proximity of their cultural belonging and their relevance to the agendas of the Australian audience.

This attempt to utilise music to rework marginal migrant status is particularly pertinent for migrant musicians of refugee backgrounds. Some young musicians underline the popularity of their 'native' Congolese music (hip-hop, reggae) to the contemporary young audience and tourists, particularly backpackers. The Bhutanese orchestra in Cairns, for

instance (despite its leader being involved in a heavy metal group and composing music in a fusion style) practises traditional Bhutanese music as a way of 'sending a message' to Australian audiences:

> That's one thing that people have it, because as soon as you hear 'Bhutanese', 'a refugee', then you start looking at that people as poor, weak, humble, helpless. People who are struggling to live here in Australia, looking for a job, living on a Centrelink benefit. I think that as soon as you've said that he or she [is] from a refugee background, your skill is gone. They don't see you as a skilled person … and that's one thing that the Bhutanese orchestra is trying to do. We want to present ourselves as an Australian (orchestra). With a different cultural background, not as a refugee. With a different background. Yeah. And it's all about how people see a refugee and what they understand about [a] refugee. So, the only thing we can do [is to] change the perception, through contributing something that the wider community accept. And music, and the food, those are the things that we [all] can accept without a question! And the more opportunity we get, the more education we give, and more understanding, they will have about the immigrants, refugee immigrants. (Leader of the Bhutanese Orchestra, Cairns)

According to the leader of the orchestra, spiritual Bhutanese music has potential as a healing therapy. Because it is 'bringing harmony and peace' (Interview, leader of the Bhutanese orchestra) to the Bhutanese community, it can be a valuable gift from the Bhutanese culture to the Australian culture. By depicting their art as spiritual and capable of 'healing', migrant musicians refer to the spiritual tradition of Buddhism and the global New Age movement, through which spiritual practices were acknowledged and reworked by the Western world. In this context, through their music, musicians reposition themselves through their belonging to the advanced spiritual traditions of the East, including their music as an integral part of the same cultural context. Moreover, it also can be seen as an effort to negotiate migrant perceptions, in which socially marginalised refugee groups convert to culturally complex, spiritually advanced practitioners. As such, they have knowledge and skills to offer, which can be utilised in mental health and wellbeing practices in Australia. In this effort to rework migrant status, music is utilised by migrants as a tool that can effectively communicate and engage, as a practice that can refer to already existing images of the place and as a skill that can create new contacts and audiences. Therefore, migrant music can be seen as a vehicle

leveraging migrants' efforts to build bridging connections through collaborations and new networks, or reworking marginalised images of migration.

Only a few migrant musicians mentioned their concerts at the local theatre or community halls as solo shows (Bhutanese Orchestra, Cairns, a young hip-hop artist in Wagga Wagga). Wagga Wagga's Syrian musicians and young artists of Sudanese background receive significant organisation and promotional support from local music activists involved in the local Multicultural Council in a professional capacity as community officers. Such advocacy for local migrant artists led to these musicians' shows at Wagga Wagga's Civic Theatre in the Art state conference in 2020.[5] Such advocacy is underpinned by a motivation to support and provide public recognition for otherwise marginalised artists, absent from the local music space. Such events are an initial form of public exposure for those artists, providing a space for communication and ultimately encouragement for migrant artists from the local public and the conference organisers. However, such performances are isolated events, rather than happening on a regular and recurring basis, which the artists have also confirmed:

> We do, we do have very special fans and very special followers, because [a] couple of times before the Covid we performed, we just organized [it by] ourselves, contributing money, and the families helped us to do. We organised two spiritual events, like we played spiritual music, light music for peace, music for harmony. And we did have all the wider community. People were participating and coming, buying the tickets. We did have three to four hundred (attendees) in the hall listening. We did have that! Like $35 is not a small amount, but people, people did contribute that, and they did come to our event, and they thanked us for bringing this thing to this country. They just talked about music, and how much they liked us. The difference, I think, [that] we do get acknowledgement. If we get an opportunity to be out there more … But we don't get that opportunity often to be [present] more [in the community]. (Leader of the Bhutanese Orchestra, Cairns)

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5 https://artstate.com.au/artstate-arts-program/arts-events

Creating new music spaces

The issue of hard and soft music infrastructures (Stahl, 2004) has been discussed as a challenging factor for sustainability of local regional music scenes (Bennett et al., 2019). For migrant communities, having the sonic space, which they could claim as theirs, is a challenge of migrant cultural representation and migrants' visibility in the local music landscape:

> The issue we have got at this moment is that we don't have [a] multicultural centre, or a multipurpose centre for the community groups. I wish we could have something like … Brisbane has that (BEMAC – AB). [The] Gold Coast got a multicultural centre and other places down south, but up here is nothing. It is important for us that we have a platform, a foundation, a home where we can run more cultural events, music events, educating our children that they won't forget the culture they come from, our heritage. It is important for us to have a place that we can call it a home and where we can have our community events, daily. At this moment, every time we do a festival, we have to look for an office space, or a venue for every community group, and I feel very bad [about not having a space]. It is one of the biggest challenges that we have up here. We don't have a support from a local government. A little bit, but not much. Because we have been talking to them to find a space, I don't think they are interested much in supporting multicultural communities. And you know, I have a full-time job. I do this volunteer work for CARMA for 14 years, because I am passionate about promoting my culture, and I am passionate about connecting people to people. I lived in so many countries before so it's connecting me to the places [where] I used to live. It is so wonderful to see every year in the festival people, our children, our youth re-engaging. It's very educational what we do. And even the tourists, they come and join the event, and watching us. So, it's very important that we have a base that communities can utilise. (CARMA Festival organiser, Cairns)

Such an issue was frequently vocalised in the interviews with migrant musicians in all four areas of the field research. Traditional places of music-making, such as concert halls and pubs, are associated with the 'European' canon of music and identity practices, in which non-

Western migrants feel culturally irrelevant. Also, for some they may be associated with a lack of safety:

> For me, in Coffs Harbour, when I came, the only place you could find a band, or any sort of music, or entertainment was in a pub. Now, pub … It's not a place for everyone! Particularly migrants see this place as a taboo, it's a place where we don't go to. Because it brings trouble, people get drunk and fight, and so on. Now, if we could then create a place where an entertainment can be alcohol free. I don't see why music cannot be [played on? – unclear -S]. When we limit the music for only this group or that group it becomes hard to use it [music] as [an integral part of] settlement. (Musician, Rafiki Connections, Coffs Harbour)

Therefore, practising music to create social connections is inevitably linked with the scarcity of regional multicultural spaces and the need to find a creative solution. For some individuals, public spaces, unclaimed and relatively free of regulations – such as a bank of the local river, or a park – have become a way of creating new contacts within the community:

> Here in Wagga … when we came, we were new, we didn't know anyone, people here … As a way of connecting with the community, we thought if we start the initiative there. We would go to Wagga Beach, Marrum River Beach, to play the music every Sunday afternoon, what we called 'Wagga Beach Music Sundowner'. Every afternoon we would play our marimbas and took our drums there. And we would do a barbecue and invite members of the community to join us eating and also playing with us. And from then we would begin a conversation. People were curious about our music, instruments, they were curious to know what's their history, that's their origin, and we begin to tell. As we tell, they also ask us about our country, about us coming to Wagga, to Australia – What made you come here? When we begin to tell that story. But the conversation starter is the music. (Musician, ZimPride Marimba, Wagga Wagga)

Regulations in work spaces or other public places (such as shopping centres) make practising music as a means of gaining social connections harder for newly arrived migrant musicians. Financial capital, however, plays a role in the ability to establish such places, which can be

seen more clearly through the example of the third generation of migrants practising their music in their personally owned shops and businesses.

Another example of 'creating the space' can be seen in the entrepreneurial music project in Wagga Wagga, where musicians and music teachers opened a music school:

> It was an accident, because the main thing was a concert production. But I didn't have a job here, and I love music. I came from the family of musicians, back to Philippines I was a managing director of a recording company. I want to develop people. I want to discover people, talents. So, I started to do it on a side, because I wanted to know how it's done here in Australia. I enrolled myself in a workshop New Faces Talent, and it was like a two months' workshop, and then I get an award as a best actress and the best singer, and my daughter received the third place in modelling. People here in Wagga Wagga told me, 'Why don't you teach? Why don't you teach my daughter, my son?' It was born out the request, the demand. (E-Talent Academy, Wagga Wagga)

The issue of finding spaces for music practitioners from migrant backgrounds does not necessarily involve the creation of separate infrastructures and spaces, but rather rethinking the existing regional arts infrastructures as platforms of empowerment of multicultural expressions. As such, it could be a community space *shared by all* for music fusion practices and multicultural dialogue based on music engagement. In such an approach, migrant cultural expressions can be normalised as a part of a local community practice of identity, which can be seen as a manifestation of cultural and social inclusion. Migrants' efforts to expand the meaning of existing regional spaces seem to be entrepreneurial, grass-roots endeavours that also may be taken as a case-study of how the existing regional landscape can be rethought through adding a new art dimension. As such, art function can be added to public recreation spaces (parks and beaches), stores or other work spaces. Such a creative approach to regional spaces can be leveraged by local cultural planners and settlement policies, empowering migrants' cultural expression and their contribution to the area. Regardless of the possible strategies of utilisation for migrants' grass-roots ideas, such initiatives clearly indicate a growing regional multicultural audience and the need for spaces for music-making and music education.

Regional multicultural festivals: Perceptions and negotiations of migrant cultural contributions to regional music scenes.

The central regional platform for migrant musicians' public presentations remains multicultural festivals, present in each location. As mentioned in Chapter 4, multicultural festivals appeared at the beginning of the 2000s as platforms promoting multiculturalism in the regional areas that started migrant resettlement programs. The events' funding schemes, organisers and aims have diversified over the years. At its core is the federal government framework (Multicultural Month) in which the state governments provide financial support for various multicultural events, including music festivals. These events have multiple names in multiple locations, such as the Fusion Festival in Wagga Wagga, Harmony Day in Coffs Harbour, the CARMA festival in Cairns and the Toowoomba Languages and Cultures Festival). Some areas, such as Cairns, have several festivals initiated and organised by the settled migrant groups, with small grants[6] provided by the state government. In Cairns, it is the Cairns African Festival, Chinese New Year celebrations or Holi Festival (promoted for the 'wider' community as a 'Festival of Colours').[7] In Cairns and Toowoomba, migrant groups themselves arrange multicultural music festivals. In Wagga Wagga and Coffs Harbour, the main event organisers are the local council officers, collaborating with the state's settlement services providers, social services and non-profit organisations specialising in migrant support. Organisational and funding schemes for these festivals vary in Queensland and mostly rely on migrant communities as organisers and the state government as a primary financial provider. The participation of the local government in Cairns and Toowoomba is a stark contrast, whereby the CARMA Festival in Cairns receives only state funding and the support of the state MP (interview, festival director), without any significant contribution or collaboration from the local government; this makes the event reliant mostly on volunteers. In Toowoomba, by contrast, the festival organiser acts as a liaison between various community groups and local and state governments, providing all the main multicultural activities in the city as an event organiser. The main festival organisers and

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[6] An average grant budget for multicultural events is $5000, obtained through the Department of Local Government, Racing and Multicultural Affairs (e.g. *2019–20 Celebrating Multicultural Queensland Report*), CARMA's multicultural festival as a landmark event received $25,000 in 2022. www.cairns.qld.gov.au/council/news-notices/media-releases/media-releases/community-grants

[7] However, on Holi Festival music tends to be represented by recorded Indian popular Bollywood hits, rather than local community music groups; dances are the main art element of the event.

funding schemes in each location represent migrant events stakeholders and their perceptions of migrant cultures and arts, including music. These events should also be seen as 'bargaining platforms' or places of encounters between migrant communities and visiting members of the general public. It is fair to say that all festival events represent an important public platform for the diverse communities' cultural expressions. For these communities, it often becomes the only avenue to enable them to be publicly accessible, so such an opportunity is recognised as exceptional:

> Music is very important for everyone. It takes you back [to] where you come from. It [is] your identity, you can express your feelings, yourself. In all events, I always say to people: 'You don't need to sing in English, I'd like to hear more about your culture, guys, you sing in your language!' From my Fijian community [perspective], we do it all the time. When we go into church, we sing Fijian, when we get together for our community events, we all sing together in our language, and it's a great feeling for the kids who grew up in Cairns to hear that. Music creates an atmosphere, and everyone can feel welcomed. Our elders, in the communities, they are very gifted. They always want to come and show us some of their artwork, that they do normally at home every day. So, it's a whole package, everybody got involved into it, and it's an enjoyable thing to do. (CARMA festival organiser, Cairns)

Festivals become a point of activation of diverse communities, triggering the creation of various cultural forms, such as dance, music or artworks. The festival plays a role as a primary artistic expression for multiple communities, gathering as a community and 'remembering' belonging. In this case, the value of events lies in reinstating cultural identity and unity for migrant communities, which may not have other opportunities to assemble as a unity. Such understanding of an event is inherent for events organised by migrant communities themselves.

However, despite the articulated value of festivals as an occasion of a community gathering, those migrant communities position these events as platforms for communication with a 'wider' community. According to event organisers and migrant musicians, such events become an education platform for a broader community to learn about various cultures present in the location:

> Australia is a beautiful country; I am blessed to live here. But also, it is [a] very, very diverse country, especially up here in Cairns. And I think it is

> educational for other people; and also, you are sharing your culture with other people through music. It's incorporated with the cultural awareness. And music in this, it is very powerful and motivating, and very emotional as well. It can make them happy; it can make them sad. And the focus is to be happy. (CARMA Multicultural Festival organiser, Cairns)

Events as places of multicultural encounters become a meeting point with cultural practices (dance, music, national cuisine, fashion, rituals, artworks, language) of migrant communities, that are usually absent from the regional cultural landscape. Therefore, such events can be seen as familiarisation with forms of cultural capital that are unknown in most regional communities. Migrant cultures in such festivals are usually presented through a combination of food, dance, music and traditional dress, and perceived as colourful, carnival-style events,[8] aimed at exhibiting attractive features of migrant cultures. Such festivals undoubtedly bring a variety of social dividends, such as positive feedback from the audience and new contacts within the community. They also become a platform of cultural recognition, with the centre of attention being communities or persons, often marginalised as migrants or refugees due to their 'non-local' status, language abilities or social status (working in 'unattractive' industries such as meat production or being unemployed). For some migrants, as these festivals heavily rely on exhibiting traditional cuisine, it even becomes a test of their ability to create a food-related local business. In this variety of culturally specific art-forms, music plays a special role as a way of making the atmosphere one of celebration:

> [Music is] a very gentle approach to communicating culture. Largely, because when music is played people are often focused on being happy and the positivity of being entertained and the laughter and things like that. So, in a sense, strong messages can be communicated through music and being received positively because people are not focusing on … It's not like sitting and having a serious conversation. So, people are already in a positive mind frame if you like. Because I think most of the time, even when I think about myself, if I booked myself a ticket to go to an entertainment event, I'm in a space of being excited. Looking forward to it. But when I am bumping into someone and having a strong conversation, I'm not in the same sort of mind frame, if you know what I mean. So, it's easy for your biases to be triggered when you are going to an

[8] In some areas, such as Tamworth or Cairns, multicultural events are named as carnivals.

> entertainment. So, I think [a] strong message can be communicated graciously through music. And people can be more receptive of it in a more gracious manner, than through the conversation or written form of communicating the same message. (Musician, Rafiki Connections, Coffs Harbour)

The importance of such familiarisation and communication about migrant cultures can be seen from a community sustainability point of view. The lack of regional cultural competencies and other challenges, such as a housing crisis or lack of available opportunities in the local labour market, may trigger antipathy towards new arrivals. In Coffs Harbour, for instance, multicultural events are managed by a specially appointed position of sustainability officer within a local council, whose responsibility is to address the 'frictions' between migrants and local communities, triggered by the array of discrepancies in regional development. One issue is that local multicultural communities are not perceived as part of daily economic or cultural life practices (Interview with a community sustainability manager, Coffs Harbour). This creates a range of complexities of acceptance, triggered mainly by marginalised migrant or refugee status and images of refugees vilified in the national or global media. In this situation, festivals are seen as a platform to rework images of cultural otherness through portraying migrant communities as business-oriented, entrepreneurial and enriching the local cultural landscape. Migrant cultural capital becomes a 'selling point' to the Australian community to exhibit the benefits of migrants' presence in regional communities through their contribution to the regional cultural landscape, particularly music. Migrants' musical cultures are portrayed as able to contribute to the mainstream entertainment landscape of regional areas and a fundamental understanding of idle time and individuals' emotional expressions. Also, migrant music is seen as capable of redesigning the localised 'Western' approach to places of music-making, where particular designated spaces (pubs, community halls) hold a community recreation function:

> You know, you can go and see some live music in the pub but … by the time people lose their inhibitions enough, it starts to get … like a whole aura of drunkenness and becomes a whole [silly] thing. Where this is sort of … you just have it at the drop of your hat, without any stimulation at all. You have got people who have been through some of the most insane hardships and traumatic experiences, who just channel so much joy and bring that and share that with the whole community of people. I think it's a powerful, powerful thing. When we were doing these kitchen concerts, we were asking them is it

> a regular thing [music] or it's a special thing for the camera, they were like - 'no, we do it every weekend'. But for the community it brings so much vibrancy in an otherwise fairly grey and monotonous landscape. We live in a beautiful place. But we don't have our own vibrant culture that isn't contained within a venue, you know. (Harmony Festival organiser, Coffs Harbour)

Following the approach of reworking images of migrant communities, local multicultural events in Coffs Harbour are marketed and built for the broader audience as a family festival, where the dominant subject of exhibiting migrant cultures has shifted to be a 'celebration of everyone's journey who calls Coffs home' (Interview with Harmony Festival organiser). Hence, the migrant narrative is smoothed by equalising everyone's ancestry as constituting the local landscape. Coffs Harbour's history, biodiversity and cultural diversity are proclaimed as intrinsic to a local identity. Such positioning can be seen as an effort to rework standard distinction practices between 'migrant' and 'local' communities, which inextricably assumes the right to belonging for the 'local' European majority and refuses the same rights to non-Western migrants. Such a drift from the approach that initially set up multicultural policies and local multicultural events in the 2000s as an exhibition of 'migrant cultures' is noted by migrant musicians themselves:

> The only point of contention I'd say is when people have been welcomed and then they still [have been referred] as refugees. Because it's kind of undermines your attempt to feel at home. Because you can't be, you can't call somewhere at home if you are seen as a refugee, if that makes sense. That's probably, I would say, I can generalize to most of the cultural communities in the Coffs Harbour that I've interacted with, they feel a bit uncomfortable that even at events like Harmony festivals or Refugee week … They should try to find [a] different way of describing these events. And I know that this is how the funding [of these events] works. When you're thinking about the actual individuals you are describing, think that they've been given a permanent residency, which means they potentially are going to be here forever, if they so choose. So, allowing them to feel different by using different language is quite essential. (Musician, Rafiki Connections, Coffs Harbour)

Other migrant musicians expressed similar attitudes towards positioning such festivals as rhetorical celebrations of multiculturalism. Recognising their significance as places of 'familiarisation' with the local migrant communities as an essential role of such events, they underline that this process does not create a substantial institutional change in local cultural practices:

> I think it's important to participate in such programs because we live in a multicultural society. And we have to mingle with people from every culture, we have to know about it. It's really good that we have to know about their [other migrants] culture, and we have the respect for their culture. I find, it's a great opportunity to for us to go and see what's there. What's their culture, their food, their lifestyle, their kind of music. But it's more familiarisation I think, rather than bringing some change [into Australian culture] because I don't think that they… would like to change Australian ways of things into ours [migrants' ways]. I think that what it brings to the society is enjoyment for listening and seeing what other cultures are doing. And it's a time of enjoyment. (Member of Malayali community, Wagga Wagga)

Despite the multiple benefits of such events as platforms of cultural communication, the framework of the annual 'celebration of multiculturalism' demonstrates its limitation as a colourful and entertaining symbolic gesture that remains within the paradigm of cultural distinction between 'local' Australian and non-local others. The reason for such limited effect of these platforms of social cohesion may not lie in festivals themselves. The absence of migrant cultural encounters as a part of regional social and cultural fabric makes the efforts to introduce multicultural communities on an annual basis insufficient to negotiate images of others, and therefore communicate and negotiate cultural and social belonging. Irregularity of cultural communities' art expressions in regional public spaces is reminiscent of Hage's (1998) notion of a 'controlled otherness'. As such, culturally diverse practices have a limited exposure, and therefore do not interfere with established cultural practices and identities. The lack of places for practising multicultural identities makes the concept of 'boutique multiculturalism' more appropriate than a discussion of 'rural cosmopolitanism' (Krivokapic-Skoko et al., 2018). Radford mentions that boutique multiculturalism can be defined as 'the multiculturalism of ethnic restaurants, weekend festivals, and high profile flirtations with the other … which honours diversity only in its most superficial aspects' (1997, pp. 378, 384). The pursuit of some festivals in exhibiting national cuisines as a primary feature of migrants' cultural worlds, in the absence of supporting the creation of complex products and

collaborations – including music – may be seen as a part of the boutique multicultural trend. However, it should instead be seen as a call to redesign approaches to the festivals, as well as organisational skills and the funding they require to satisfy their function as platforms for meaningful multicultural exchange.

Negotiations of migrant music as cultural capital in the regional cultural landscape

Given their colourful and carnival-like atmosphere, multicultural festivals are a turning opportunity for the local entertainment and cultural landscape, utilising migrant resources to build a destination point for local or state audiences. Some festivals (Fusion Festival in Wagga Wagga, Harmony Day in Coffs Harbour) articulate these events' growing potential on the local tourist map, attracting the attention of thousands of attendees.[9] Event organisers in Wagga Wagga and Coffs Harbour underline their plans to market these festivals as points of regional tourist attraction, where migrant cultures become a valuable asset:

> As far as tourism destination goes, for many years Coffs Harbour was trying to sweep the refugee thing under the carpet because it's a welfare issue that might not appeal to people. There I think that we need to present the amazing part if this. You know, it's there, let's shine the light on the fact how much an asset it is. We are trying to work slowly with people from a commercial sector, such as Surfing Australia,[10] to show how much cultural diversity has got its appeal. (Harmony Day organiser, Coffs Harbour)

Recognition of migrant cultural capital as a part of local cultural production and as a tourist attraction is seen as having the potential to recalibrate migrants' regional presence from a 'welfare issue', associated with marginalised cultural minorities to a regional strong point:

> We just started to work together to promote Coffs Harbour as a destination point – and we definitely see the potential for multicultural events. (Harmony Day organiser, Coffs Harbour)

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9 Wagga Wagga's annual Fusion Festival attracts 20,000 people per day; Coffs Harbour's festival attracts around 8000 people.

10 Surfing Australia is the governing body for the sport of surfing in Australia, which holds eponymous and well commercially supported surfing competitions across the country, including Coffs Harbour.

However, for some areas the most appreciated and 'sellable' points of multicultural communities that attract big tourist numbers are represented by traditional food cultures rather than art. Such emphasis on 'foodification' (commodification and reduction of migrant cultures to food products) of migrant cultural capital on the festivals can be a barrier to more symbolic arts practices, such as music. This is because of the financial policies on which these events are based. As Fusion Festival participants in Wagga Wagga mentioned (Interview with Filipino singer and educator, Wagga Wagga), food stalls arranged by migrant families have a direct commercial return from selling food, whereas music and dance performances are not financially rewarded.

The issue of receiving an income from music as a part of migrant cultural capital stems from the established images of migrant art and established ways of representing it, including festivals. For instance, festivals aiming to showcase migrant artistic expressions don't necessarily have a developed policy of rewards or fees for participating artists. At best, festivals may reimburse the cost of fuel or hired transport for the bands, as festivals have a long reputation of 'migrant cultural expression', which assumes that migrant communities will voluntarily 'share' their art with the rest of the community. Such performances are perceived as amateur cultural expressions of communities, as something that 'they do anyway'. Hence, they cannot be counted as a 'professional' skill or product and financially rewarded. For some event organisers who try to encourage migrant arts production, such an attitude becomes a challenge of defending the budget spent on musicians' fees:

> I had this sort of classic anecdotal conversation with the risk manager at our council and we had a session with our insurer. And they are basically saying that everyone who performs on the stage needs to provide their own insurance, right down to the Aboriginal Elder giving a welcome to the country. And I was just like 'whoa!' We can't do an event [with such a requirement]. If I can put on the stage people who are so professional that they have their own public liability insurance to perform, then it's going to be the same three bands that perform in every event in this town. That will kill our event. It was only the issue because we are paying them [the artists]. The insurance guy was saying, 'Can't they just dance for free? Why do they have to get paid?' And I was kind of outraged because I get sick of people thinking that artists should just be doing it for exposure. And this is actually one of the biggest events in Coffs Harbour! You know, we have got community members for whom life is a flatline of dole payments, and if they come up

> with an innovative, entrepreneurial idea, they might get some pocket money for it. For me, to pay to someone $300 for their drumming group to perform for 10 or 15 minutes on the day, it's like the only time in the whole year that they might have more than, you know, $40 a day to live on. And out of that, they have to maintain their drums – some groups, like the Burundian drumming group, have a lot of maintenance with their drums, buying their costumes to perform. (Harmony Festival organiser, Coffs Harbour)

To a significant degree, such a common perception of migrant art as an amateur practice can be rationalised by the volunteer nature of festivals, where migrant communities are asked to present their art and where expressions of any artistic quality are welcomed. The framework of 'celebration of multiculturalism' as volunteer participation translates to the fact that all artistic efforts to create their performance, such as the purchase or maintenance of instruments, rehearsals and renting spaces for rehearsals, and costume purchases, are costs that the artists must meet themselves. The sequence of such an approach to migrant performance as amateur self-expressions is an effort to minimise these costs, which may explain the lower quality of performances. In this case, the perception of migrant arts as amateur leads to amateur products, as artists have to minimise production costs. Some areas, however, introduce grants to support performing artists:

> The City Council invite[s] and support[s] more community grants. I'd say each community might be able to get $400–$500 to be able to put an act together so they are financially supported. The rehearsal, because often doing rehearsal is the hardest because you need to hire venues for your rehearsals. So, City council tried to support that [by grants], so you get the opportunity to have [rehearsals] somewhere safe. To do rehearsals and then, you get a couple of hundred bucks on the day to cover the meals and you know, all the effort. And so, it is really an acknowledgement, not so much a payout. (Musician, Rafiki Connections, Coffs Harbour)

The existing attitude towards their music as a 'natural', 'given' skill and expression, and therefore free of cost, becomes a serious hurdle in migrant musicians' considerations of a musical career. According to musicians, music from 'community groups' is not recognised as a part of local music scenes due to the locally established sharp distinction between 'amateur' migrant music and 'professional' musicians practising in western pop genres. The ability to

grow as a local musical product is undermined as by the lack of payment, but also by a lack of recognition as contributors:

> When we performed with Soweto Gospel Choir,[11] it is a HUGE international group, the Council were more than happy to pay for their flight, and fares and food and accommodation but again, then we go and put our quote forward it's sort of like 'Oh, no'. And it was an $800 or $900 quote, it was two years ago, and it was 'No, look, you are a local group, we just pay you $400'. And I'm thinking – this is not justifying our performance. You know, as musicians, we need to be able to pay to musicians [in the band] fairly, if you want a quality show. We don't want to go on a stage and look crappy, we won't anyway. It's just not justified how they can spend 10 grand, 20 grand on a big group [rather than] an ethnic group here, who contribute so much to the community, and they just sort of keep you down there. We rehearsed for two months to make sure we are up to standard with the Soweto Gospel Choir, we had to hire voice trainers, we had to hire certain people. It is different from performing in a pub, where you sing normal pub songs, but when you [are] put on the international stage, with the Soweto Gospel Choir or Sounds of Australasia you can't … you can't just go on stage and do a normal thing that you usually do in the pub. (Leader of the Nga Matawaka, Mãori community, Cairns)

The lack of recognition for migrant music as a cultural product (or as something with the potential to become a musical product) leads to the fact that most migrant musicians who aspire to continue their music-making in a community or on a commercial basis have to provide enough financial capital to sustain their practice. Their migrant status may play a role in their ability to finance their music-making. For musicians from refugee backgrounds, it can be a significant hurdle, in combination with a potential lack of English proficiency or employment. For many, the financial costs of registration as a business and knowledge of the bureaucracy of obtaining various registrations and licences are barriers that ultimately stop them from active participation in regional music scenes. However, for skilled migrants, financial and social costs of music practice can equally apply, together with the need to

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[11] Soweto Gospel Choir is a South African gospel choir that holds several Grammy awards for the Best World Music Album (2006, 2007, 2018).

provide for a family or invest time in a job (which is a condition of their visa's renewal). Self-funding and self-investment into music-making and creating music products become a common practice for most migrant musicians. Therefore, it defines the instability and fragility of their musical pursuits. As Taylor (2015, p. 281) notes in his study of regional creative economies driven by cultural clusters and products, 'without capital flows, much creative work cannot realize its economic potential'. In the case of migrant music, established cultural perceptions of migrant communities as 'outsiders', and migrant events' financial policies can affect the ability to develop their music practices into a competitive cultural product. Simplification of migrant musical or performing skills and a lack of infrastructural and financial facilitation leave migrant capital mostly unutilised as a part of the regional cultural profile. Still, festivals and other regional activities with a migrant music component in them demonstrate the potential to transform them into regional cultural assets.

Regional cultural intermediaries

The issue of migrants' ability to sustain themselves as musicians through creating music products and participating in local music scenes is complex, as many factors define it. Altogether, these factors contribute to the ecosystem of migrant music sustainability in regional settings and migrants' ability to convert their cultural capital into social and economic capital. The lack of financial support and the reputation of migrant music as 'naturally inherited', simplistic cultural expression may indicate the absence of cultural expertise and validation of migrant cultural capital – particularly music and its subsequent translation and adaptation to local music scenes. To some degree, such an issue can be formulated through the notion of cultural intermediaries, whose function can be defined as validation of culture and its translation 'in modernist aesthetic terms' (O'Connor, 2015, p. 281). O'Connor provides a historical overview of the term 'cultural intermediaries' suggested by Bourdieu in his discussion of the rise of a new petty bourgeoise comprising 'all the occupations involving presentation and representation (sales, marketing, advertising, public relations, fashion, decoration and so forth)' (Bourdieu, 1984: 359, cited in O'Connor, 2011, p. 3). O'Connor argues that new cultural intermediaries became pivotal agents of urban cultural economies in the 1980s. The author notes that with the growing popularity of creative economies or cultural industries as a dominant concept for rethinking the urban industrial landscape, the role of cultural intermediaries expanded: 'It can be suggested in general that cultural intermediaries became more engaged first with an expanded cultural policy, then gradually with the economic and planning agendas' (2015, p. 6). In regional areas, distanced

from urban cultural industries, the lack of a substantial cohort of such cultural stakeholders may be a barrier to validating migrant music as a form of regional cultural capital. Undoubtedly, each area has a cohort of actors, such as musicians, event organisers, arts stakeholders and settlement services providers who are deeply engaged in migrant communities and appreciate the value of migrant cultural expressions, including music. These agents become a driving force for public events with migrant musicians' participation and, ultimately, migrant musicians' social networks and audiences. In an overall landscape, however, such a cohort of people constitutes a small population segment. Limited platforms for migrant music presentation deter the formation of the consumer audiences necessary for the popularisation and legitimation of migrant music. Further, the regional cultural framework is dramatically different from the urban one. As O'Connor (2013, p. 6) states:

> Cultural intermediaries became increasingly engaged with economic development and urban policy agendas as a way of creating a context in which they can prosper. However, this engagement came with a powerful imaginary in which culture and economy would be combined in new ways that would transform the city.

The distinction between the cultural sector's role in urban and regional areas is drastic. As Farrugia (2015) notes, urban areas utilised their cultural assets to transition from industrial to service economies, where regional and rural regions' cultural production was not recognised and utilised as a driver for regional economies on such a mass scale. Also, as discussed in Chapter 4, non-Western immigration was inherent to urban areas, which allowed the establishment of cultural translators as a particular cohort of people, responsible for production, translation and, to a degree, consumption of migrant cultural products and services. In the context of a subsequent increase of the regional migrant presence, including the arts field, such a function may appear crucial to mediate between new forms of cultural expression and existing ones. However, the current small migrant population and comparative lack of knowledge of migrant cultural capital aggravate migrant musicians' efforts to engage in regional life through their musical skills. The division between music from migrants' communities and music from Australian musicians becomes clear when migrant musicians play 'Western' music or offer services in teaching Western classical or popular music. The lack of knowledge about migrant musicians results in mistrust of their musical skills, which can be evident through the example of a teaching school in Wagga

Wagga, managed by a musician of Filipino background. She comments that she had issues attracting students of non-migrant backgrounds due to her ethnic profile:

> Because I was trying to reach out to the Australian community to get enrolees in my school, but sometimes they know – 'Oh, it's an Asian'. So, they don't. That's the thing I'm starting to study now from a business point of view. I might just focus on an Asian market primarily, a market of my customers. Because I taught Indians, I taught Burmese, I taught Myanmars … the browns. But if it's the way … Sometimes they [the Australians] think it twice. Unless maybe they see me perform. Because that's the thing – when I perform in front of Australians, they say 'wow!' But, of course, when are you offering [a] service to them through the website, or through the word of mouth or [phone] calls, they don't know you. You know what I mean? (Musician and music entrepreneur, Wagga Wagga)

Some regional intermediaries point out that the inclusion of multicultural music as a part of tourist attraction and destination events might result in the growing of local knowledge about migrant arts. The reasoning behind such an assumption is that visitors from urban and more culturally sophisticated areas, who are familiar with diverse cultures, can communicate their knowledge and appreciation to the local audiences. In such a scheme, visiting urban tourists are seen as cultural agents, familiarised with multicultural urban attractions, services and products, and capable of validating migrant cultural capital for the local audience:

> Nurturing a next generation of multicultural music, so young people can see that it's viable, not just for dancing, but for a live music and then brings some amazing acts that would have got gigs in WOMAD, but just happened to be living in Australia. It would have been that we are doing now with the WOMAD 'bent' to it, but always been totally grassroots, authentic to who we are and where we are, and centring around meeting the locals. It always would have been 'Come and meet people of Coffs Harbour'. Just like the thrill you have when meeting people when travelling overseas. The most memorable experience is when you're meeting the locals. The fact that it would draw people from other areas to come because it was cool [and] would build our local audience, because sometimes they just need somebody to point out that this is cool. (Harmony Festival organiser, Coffs Harbour)

Intensification of urban-regional connections is seen by regional cultural stakeholders as a way of creating local cultural expertise and appreciation of diverse cultural services. To a degree, it can be seen as an attempt to smoothen the sharp urban-regional cultural contrasts by creating pathways for urban-regional exchange through the setting up local landmark activities.

Regional music scenes, infrastructures, and regional orientation to cultural production

The ability of migrant musicians to participate in local regional music scenes, and therefore create social networks and monetise their cultural capital, undoubtedly rests on the regional music scene's ability to accommodate new actors and unconventional musical styles and genres. The barriers to young migrant musicians were examined in Chapter 6. However, it is important to overview the place of migrant music in the context of local regional music scenes and regional cultural production. Such an overview summarises issues of and barriers to utilisation of migrant music as a part of regional music scenes and, at the same time, indicates strengths and opportunities for migrant music development.

The lack of everyday places for migrant musical expressions can be seen as a sequence of the overall scarcity of music infrastructure. Pubs as places for regular music gigs accommodate already established musical genres of pub rock and pop, represented by a cohort of local or touring musicians. Regional concert halls or theatres can be an alternative space. But, as they operate on a capacity of several hundred people, it is a barrier for unknown local migrant musicians to guarantee the audience, and therefore the theatres' revenue or simply a financial break-even. As mentioned earlier, there are existing examples of utilisation of local theatres by migrant musicians in Wagga Wagga and Cairns through the help of local intermediaries (settlement services providers, local migrant communities). However, such examples remain a positive exception from a standard practice in which theatres rely on well-known local and national artists who will guarantee the audience and income:

> Like here at the theatre. We are buying shows, you know – this is a part of what we do as a venue for hire. So people just hire the building and put a show on. Yeah. So Jimmy Barnes will come in and put on the show. Um, but sometimes we fill those gaps with a bit of a programming budget that we have. Okay. Well, yes, if we want the Opera Ballet and some pieces of their show, you know. And we can sort of curate that a little bit and filling gaps. But with that, budgets are obviously going to be strange for the next few years. And we have to be really conservative with that. We are going to go for the safe bets and the ones that

> will sell the tickets, because we just simply can't afford it. It's too risky to provide a venue for growing projects unless they bring the audience with them. We can't spend thousands of dollars on marketing something that's too long, they're going to get 50 people along with them. (Regional Arts Services Network officer, Empire Theatre, Toowoomba)

The COVID-19 pandemic caused a significant disruption to regional music life, where imposed lockdowns, bans on singing and dancing, and bans on public events led to the further deterioration of already fragile regional music scenes (Bennett et al., 2019). In such a situation, local artists and bands suffer from a lack of spaces, volatility of 'soft' and 'hard' infrastructures and declining interest in live music due to the audiences' financial constraints. The COVID-19 pandemic increased regional competition for spaces in which to perform, in which unknown migrant artists have less chance to perform.

Besides the pandemic, the image of migrant artists as 'unprofessional' is prevalent in regional local music scene stakeholders (venue managers, music events organisers). As most migrant communities' music is hidden from the public eye, it is perceived as something that appears once a year in a local multicultural festivals, and therefore is not on a regular part of the local music scene. Moreover, the fact that most of the migrant musicians do not earn an income as musicians and are engaged in other local industries disqualifies them from being categorised as professional musicians, from the point of view of regional music stakeholders:

> But yeah, at the multicultural festival that's run by the Toowoomba migrant society … That's [the time] when everybody comes out. It's in Queens Park. It's on Sunday and everyone does a performance. So, you'll end up having a group of Indian ladies doing a dance and other groups, and playing some drums and, you know, all the sudden you think 'where have all these people been?! They come out of nowhere!' And when they disappear again. Because they certainly don't do it professionally. It's a cultural expression, it's certainly not their work. (Regional Arts Services Network officer, Empire Theatre, Toowoomba)

The conceptualisation of regional music-making suggested by Finnegan (1989) requires re-examination in the current regional Australian context. Understanding the 'professionalism' of musicians in the Australian regional setting relies heavily on the musician's ability to earn income from the profession. To a degree, it stems from the existing regional professional

markets, where musicians are approached in the same vein as tradesmen or other 'labour' professionals that provide a particular service utilising their skills. Therefore, earning an income is seen as a primary indicator of professionalism. As many migrant musicians recall, such a mindset becomes a barrier in their attempt to overcome the complexities of musical pathways, including creating spaces and advocating for their art, together with demonstrating various skills, from purely musical to marketing or event organising. The concept of music as a commercial practice also echoes the 'urban' vision of music as an industry, in which various music stakeholders, such as 'venues, clubs, recording studios, and performance spaces act as conduits for economic and social networks' (Florida et al., 2010, p. 786). As such, music as a part of a 'scale and scope economy' is validated as a market for music employment and music consumption. The application of the same vision into regional settings significantly limits its actors and music's role in regional areas. An alternative conceptualisation of regional music as a scene, rather than industry, as Bennett et al. (2020, p. 327) argue, 'encourages a broader perspective than the industry focused, economic oriented agenda'.

Regional music's significance, apart from economic indicators, can therefore be validated through addressing regional agendas of creative activity, social connectivity, or cultural exchange with local and translocal geographies. However, if regional music is ascertained purely as a form of economic activity, only particular types of music or numbers of musicians can satisfy the criteria of economically viable 'productivity', due to multiple challenges in local regional music (Bennett et al., 2019). Thus, the challenge of migrant music existence within regional music scenes, apart from the visible challenges of validating its value, gaining new audiences and creating places of practice and presentation, is conceptual. It is a lack of recognition of music-making itself as a practice with multiple tangible symbolic, social and cultural outcomes for the community and regional production. Therefore, the lack of such recognition creates a set of approaches and practices within which migrant music as an actor and potential contributor is largely absent. On a regional level, it also illustrates that regional music functions within the concept of the material economy rather than the creative economy, where symbolic production equally participates and contributes to the regional sustainability as material goods and services (Taylor, 2015). To a degree, it confirms Farrugia's (2015) thesis about the distinction between regional and urban economies, built in the twentieth century. Despite the creative orientation of some Australian

regions,[12] the regional areas examined in this thesis do not have established frameworks and practices of creating symbolic products as a contributing part of regional production.

Conclusion

In conclusion, the migrant music presence within the regional settings can best be defined as fragmented. It is largely presented within educational, health, aged care and charity institutions as a practice that addresses or illustrates the issues of mental health, multicultural recognition and intercultural communication. It has its presence as a commercial or potentially commercial product (as some musicians don't charge for the shows) in areas that work with symbolic assets of the territory (tourism, entertainment). It is less present but still traceable in regional festivals or clubs as an element of local music scenes. The most visible space for migrant music presence is annual multicultural festivals, which represent a leading community event in most areas. However, its potential as a part of local music scenes is undermined by its volunteer nature. Given the volunteer, unpaid approach of most migrant music events, and their occurrence on an annual basis, it excludes migrant musicians from music scenes in which regular paid work is a measurement of professionalism. Within those avenues and platforms, migrant musicians create their social contacts and networks. Migrant musicians utilise music's agency to negotiate their migrant status, and cultural identity through a range of strategies, such as creating a 'Western-friendly' repertoire and genres of music, utilising conventional electric instruments (e.g. guitars, drum kits), and positioning themselves as practitioners of spiritual traditions. Through these strategies, we can trace the effort to validate migrants' cultural capital within the existing 'national capital' – which, as Erel (2010) argues, explicitly or implicitly, presents its own metrics and validations of cultural capital.

In the complexity of such a picture within which regional migrant music exists (with limited regional music infrastructures, multicultural spaces for arts, cultural translators and a prevalent under-funding of migrant music events), migrant musicians have few avenues to support themselves through their cultural capital and turn their music into a source of financial income. Moreover, such a situation creates a vicious circle in which potential

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[12] According to the *Regional Growth Prospects Report*, issued by the Regional Australia Institute in 2019, only four regional areas in Australia have creative economies as a regional driver: Byron Bay, NSW; Anangu Pitjantjatjara, South Australia; Hobart, Tasmania; and Surf Coast, Victoria (2019, p. 26). Such a low number can also be indicative of a purely economic validation of the regional arts.

musical capital has limited sources to grow and form a commercially appealing regional product. 'Amateur' cultural expressions may well remain as such, as their transformation into quality products requires educational, promotional and financial sources, and public support. However impressive migrant musicians' efforts are, or however devoted a local audience they may have, those necessary steps rest upon a prevalent framework for estimating migrant capital and its potential contribution. This framework defines the design of regional migrant policies and regional art processes or public perceptions of migrant art, of which music is a part.

The perception of migrants and their art expressions as a 'welfare issue' defines their current presence on regional music scenes and impacts their ability to implement their cultural capital because it is not perceived as an asset. Such an issue can be seen as a conceptual chasm in which migrant cultural capital does not participate in regional production as a contributor to regional economies. Therefore, migrant cultural capital is not seen as a regional cultural strength, and thus not regarded as a potential investment. Thus, addressing the main subject of this chapter about the ways migrant music contributes to migrants' social and economic engagement with a broader community, it is evident that migrant musicians essentially utilise their music as a grass-roots social strategy. However, their ability to sustain themselves as musicians is mostly unsuccessful, due to the existing perceptions and validation of migrant music by regional music stakeholders.

The other significant barrier is challenges of validation, and therefore development of local regional music scenes, in which volatile infrastructures and 'urban' perceptions of music as a form of economic production cast doubt on sustainability. Migrant music as an integral element of migrant cultural capital that can be converted into other forms of capital for migrant and regional benefits, therefore, is yet to be utilised. This situation prompts a discussion of regional music (as a proxy for regional arts) as an integral element of migrant policies, in which the existing division between the 'regional arts' sector and 'multicultural affairs' sector can be reworked into interdisciplinary approaches and initiatives. At this moment, two sectors are enacted as separate realms of government policies, with their agendas and target audiences. Nevertheless, regional migrant communities and their musical practices are the living examples of how both agendas – regional arts and regional migration – are intertwined. Therefore, a more inclusive approach can be enacted to enhance migrant cultural inclusion through the arts. In adopting such an approach, local art stakeholders, such as musicians, can be activated to create collaborative projects or shared spaces that could lead

to the normalisation of migrant music practices as a part of local community culture. However different these initiatives might be, it is important to underline that a multicultural framework in regional arts is a necessary step towards accommodating cultural expressions of the growing regional migrant population and activating migrants' regional contribution through their cultural capital.

The final chapter will discuss the interrelation of arts migration policies, and migrant contribution to regional development in more detail.

10
Conclusion: Music's roles in the practices of regional migrant resettlement

Introduction

This thesis has investigated various functions and meanings of music-making in regional migrant resettlement. The aim of the study has been to address a gap in knowledge concerning regional aspects of immigration in Australia, particularly migrants from non-Western backgrounds. The purpose of the research was to highlight the specificity of the Australian regional socio-cultural context in negotiations of migrant belonging and practices of multicultural encounters in regional settings. This specific context was outlined in Chapter 4 and can be characterised through two conflicting sets of regional settings. First, this context can be characterised through the process of transformations of regional identity, in which non-Western cultural identities and practices are yet to receive recognition and institutional inclusion. The obstacles confronting regional identities' change can be characterised by the lack of established infrastructures and practices that would support non-Western cultural identities, which in turn impacts migrants' cultural and social inclusion. Second, regional settings are impacted by the current 'post-multicultural' migration framework. This framework assumes the government's facilitation of migrants' inclusion in mainstream Australian society and the leveraging of migrant employment capabilities. Negotiations of differences and the creation of spaces and practices distinct from mainstream cultural practices, however, are mainly viewed as an individual rather than an institutional responsibility and a process, according to the post-multicultural assumption. Hence the recognition of regional areas as historically and culturally distinctive spaces of non-Western settlement, and the need for creation of infrastructures for culturally diverse practices, have not been recognised as an issue for the federal government's policy engagement. In this context, everyday cultural practices, such as music, become a sound reflection of non-Western cultural exclusion and migrants' efforts to create culturally diverse spaces and negotiate their cultural identities in the regional settings. The thesis has thus investigated regional migrant music practices as practices of 'cultural citizenship' and explored the potential of this to contribute to regional settlement agenda and policies.

The purpose of this concluding chapter is to summarise the key research findings. First, the roles of music in creating practices of belonging and wellbeing will be discussed, emphasising music's meanings for newly arrived migrants. Second, the chapter outlines regional migrant youth's utilisation of music. Third, it will examine music's role in supporting regional migrant community cultural practices, in which migrants utilise music as a building element in the creation of regional migrant unities and as a practice of negotiating cultural identities with broader regional communities. Finally, migrant participation in local regional music scenes will be summarised as affecting migrant cultural and social inclusion. This examination will draw attention to music's potential in migrants' ability to sustain themselves through negotiation of their cultural capital.

Furthermore, the chapter will discuss the research's limitations, including geographical reach of the study (the research having been conducted only in two states of Australia), and data limitations, caused as by geographical limitations but also, methodological limitations. The chapter also will propose topics for future research investigations. As such, a particular emphasis will be on canvassing possible arts policies interventions which could leverage migrant's cultural expressions. Also, it will underline the importance of the research findings in the discussion of regional cultural development and propose questions for further research. The chapter will conclude with an overview of the contribution of this research to the current practices and potential future directions of regional migrant settlement and regional development.

What are the roles of music? Summarising the research findings

This study contributes to the understanding of various challenges of regional resettlement, which migrants address through the agency of music. Expressions of identity through music for migrants from various cultural backgrounds are perceived as fundamental cultural practices of their home country and migrant identity. Therefore, music is utilised as an essential element in the process of transition from 'non-belonging' to 'belonging', in which cultural identities are reworked and re-established in new cultural and social settings. This process can be illustrated through a metaphor of home – a feeling of home as a sense of belonging, which should be reconstructed and 'built' anew. The cultural and psychological process of construction of new spaces of belonging encompasses the revision of the past's cultural experiences and relevance in the present context. Music in this process is enacted as an instrument that not only reorganises the past, but contains a mechanism of orientation in

the future. It happens through migrants' ability to rework fears and frustrations, and create a readiness to embrace challenges of resettlement. As the study reveals, music-making as a practice of 'affective belonging' (de Martini Ugolotti, 2020) plays a significant role in migrants' mental health and wellbeing by filling the space with everyday symbols and rituals. When characterising the music, the images of home, community, country and culture are inevitably imbued with emotional connotations of joy, inner peace, togetherness and unity, and feelings of engagement. Through music-making, unfamiliar space can be rethought and rearranged; it corresponds to a sense of safety and hope, a shared and rediscovered enjoyment through collective music-making. Through the process of music-making, challenges of resettlement can be 'forgotten' and then receive a more positive revaluation. Music is enacted as a culturally relevant individual therapy in the absence of alternative communicative space that addresses vocalisations of settlement experiences. Individual and collective music-making becomes a way to recreate familiar cultural practices and emotional, symbolic, cognitive and cultural affiliations with a regional place.

The utilisation of home space as an 'art space' illustrates how migrants address the need for cultural expressions and work on the continuation of cultural traditions within families and communities. At home, music is utilised as a practice of cultural pedagogy. Family bands, musical 'men's sheds' in the backyard, home-based singing and dance schools provide continuity of migrant cultural traditions in regional settings, from which other sources of cultural identity and practice are often absent. To migrant adults, music is associated with a valuable skill and with their children's ability to benefit from the two cultural worlds of their home countries and the Australian culture. Therefore, the meaning of music-making is exceptional and essential as both cultural tradition and a strategy of managing the future. Home music practices are also indicative of scarcity of regional places for everyday musical expressions. This research reveals that the space of migrant belonging can be sharply contrasted between 'public' spaces, in which migrant cultural practices are not present, and a private home, in which cultural identities can be expressed through music in a safe manner. Thus, many everyday migrant music practices in Australia's regional areas are hidden from the public eye, which casts doubt on the success of the existing migrant music experience as a practice of cultural inclusion. Conversely, the utilisation of public spaces reveals the existing distinctions between migrants and broader 'local' communities, in which educational, leisure and entertainment migrant practices are mostly absent. Even where

migrant musicians actively utilise music as a practice of belonging, its benefits – in terms of the scarcity of institutionalised public presence – are limited.

This study places a particular emphasis on the investigation of music practices among migrant youth. As the research states, the issue of cultural belonging for 1.5 and second-generation migrants (those who were resettled in Australia at a young age or are children of migrants of non-Western backgrounds) has a different meaning than for resettled adults of the 'first' generation of migration. For migrant youth, music mediates several crises of identity simultaneously, in which a transition from childhood to adulthood is exacerbated by negotiations of belonging to different cultural 'worlds'. These cultural worlds can be contrasting epistemological systems of Western and non-Western cultures, in which young migrants have to 'juggle' their contradictions to find a compromise and create their narratives of belonging and productive life pathways.

As this study illustrates, regional migrant youth utilise hip-hop as a global music culture to rework local agendas of belonging, usually formulated in terms of racial and cultural exclusion. To them, hip-hip signifies several functions. It represents a relevant cultural tradition of narratives of self and a language upon which migrant youth reflect on their own experience and create a form of moral imperatives. As a cultural tradition that often depicts socially or culturally marginalised black youth, hip-hop becomes a source of race and gender images, and relevant language through which the process of acculturation (described as 'becoming black') occurs. Hip-hop provides a sense of cultural belonging in a regional context of scarcity of relevant cultural and age role models. It also becomes a safe space in which frustrations regarding exclusion can be expressed and reworked. Creative flexibility of language, provided through hip-hip rhymed and improvisatory poetry, offers possibilities for inventing definitions of self. In this process, migrant musicians 'juggle' languages and accents, historical events and their biographies, cultural stereotypes and created metaphors to represent 'authentic' selves. The regional migrant youth quest for authenticity manifests irrelevance of mainstream identifications of citizenship, based on race or ethnicity.

Hip-hop is also used to renegotiate social hierarchies as it repositions migrant youth from a 'cultural minority' to a creative artist, as they define it, of a global popular culture and a thriving industry, invented by culturally marginalised voices. The examination of migrant regional hip-hop reveals substantial contributions to reworking regional terrain as areas of cultural production. As Farrugia (2015) suggests, regional areas are characterised by images

of cultural 'emptiness', whereas cultural abundance and sophistication are defined as features of the urban cultural landscape. The creation of regional hip-hop practices can be seen as an attempt to overcome such regional disadvantages and put regional areas and existing cultural practices 'on the map' of a global hip-hop movement. Local hip-hop practices can be seen as migrant musicians' efforts to connect regional areas with global cultural geographies, through utilising transnational networks of belonging and creating international collaborations. Such an ambition to reimagine regional landscapes as a centre rather than a periphery of cultural production poses a question regarding further recognition and facilitation of regional migrant music as a contribution to Australian music and the development of relevant strategies. It requires addressing the gaps that exist in local music scenes and regional identities, which regional migrant musicians have identified. The lack of spaces for experimental youth music, affordable educational programs in contemporary music, and challenges concerning penetration of musical scenes for musicians from non-Western backgrounds working in 'unorthodox' musical genres were named as significant barriers for young migrants to practise music in a professional capacity. The lack of connectedness with urban and regional music industries or long-term programs of regional music support prompted some to consider other professions or relocating to the urban epicentres of music production and consumption.

Overall, the lack of multicultural acceptance and necessary socio-economic capital for sustaining migrant youth as musicians were highlighted as preventing them from regular music practice or professional careers. Migrant youth hip-hop, therefore, exists primarily as an underground scene. Only a few research participants could proceed with their musical careers by establishing relations with translocal hip-hop scenes (such as American labels) or accumulating enough financial capital to sustain their musical production in regional areas. The strategies that regional migrant youth undertake to connect with global music scenes, and to navigate their biographies and careers, provide some valuable insights into possible strategies of utilisation of migrant music in the arts, youth and migration policies.

The role of music in regional migrant communities' cultural practices and in negotiations of cultural identity within wider communities

The study has also revealed that music plays a role in migrants' attempts to build regional migrant communities and negotiate their identities within a broader regional community. For many migrant communities, music is enacted as a unifying practice that neglects cultural differences among various sub-groups of regional 'Africans', 'Indians', 'Pacific Islanders'

and so on. The quality of music is evident in the need to reassemble historically disconnected identities into a new cultural unity. In doing that, regional migrant communities rework songs and dance into new musical compilations that everyone can share in new settings; they utilise musical traditions to reinforce a common cultural pride and solidarity in a new land. Music performances and dance constitute an important part of local community events and celebrations, such as religious festivals and celebrations of countries' independence. Through such events, migrant communities reinforce their cultural unity and the social ties between community members. Music is also utilised in creating 'binding' connections between ethnic communities in various metropolitan and regional geographics, where travelling musicians participate in gatherings and concerts in various locations. Many migrant musicians, therefore, create their touring routes and performance schedules based on community connections across Australia. This 'necessary work' in building up regional migrant communities can be seen as particularly important for the communities whose presence in regional areas is comparatively new.

The utilisation of digital space for supporting and practising translocal identities has become one of the strategies undertaken by migrant musicians. Social media, such as Facebook, has become a platform of reconnection and cultural exchange for migrant communities in various geographies. This fact is evident, for example, in the case of Yazidi musicians, who create music collaborations, recording and releasing songs through their translocal networks. Digital space provides the opportunities for cultural expressions that are unavailable locally. For instance, regional musicians find it unaffordable to utilise regional recording studios or purchase the necessary equipment to produce their own music. To overcome these issues, musicians use digital space to exchange with their fellow musicians in other countries and gain access to essential recording technologies. Some musicians also utilise social media and messenger apps, such as WhatsApp, as a primary way of reaching out to their communities scattered around the world. Through performing or exchanging the music through such media, geographically distanced cultural unities are kept together. The examples of Yazidi musicians in Toowoomba and Coffs Harbour, and of Bhutanese musicians in Cairns or Congolese musicians in Toowoomba, are illustrative of the translocal character of cultural identities, which build their social practices and cultural identity beyond a particular geographical terrain. Such digital music-making and exchange shed light on how contemporary cultural identities are practised and how music participates in creating translocal identities. It also brings an additional consideration of how regions are interwoven

with the global cultural and migration process. However, the ability to utilise digital space for musical connections and collaborations depends significantly on digital literacy and age. Older generations of migrant musicians, unfamiliar with digital tools, continue to practise their music locally, so they have to rely on regional capacities to accommodate their music. In this regard, they are more disconnected than younger migrant musicians, as their music practices are defined by the locally available spaces, such as music at home and annual festivals within their community.

Regional places of worship become another key space for migrant music practices in which migrants of various age groups are involved. Migrant music's representations in churches are a crucial indicator of migrant cultural acceptance and community engagement in regional areas. Inclusion or exclusion of various migrant communities can be seen through the time and space given for 'alternative' musical expressions of faith. Separate worship groups with ethnic-based church choirs, and separate sermons for each ethnic group, indicate the sonic borders between various cultural identities. Utilising different languages and worship styles within events attended by the entire regional congregation, on the other hand, can be seen as an effort to equalise the value of diverse cultural expressions of faith by providing a space for such expressions. Migrant musicians often participate in music worship groups as musicians and choir members, or take the position of worship group leaders, which is an equivalent of a church music ensemble. Through such musical engagements, migrants negotiate their social status and gain recognition within a congregation. The agency of church authorities in recognising and managing various musical expressions for the regional faith communities plays a key role in providing pathways for migrant' negotiations of belonging within regional communities.

For those of non-Christian faith (such as Sikh communities, Yazidi communities and Hindu communities), the opportunity to have a place of worship can be definitive in their ability to practise faith and cultural identity through the combination of religion, singing and dancing rituals. For such communities, the lack of spaces for cultural expressions can lead to more isolation and exclusion compared with migrants of a Christian-based cultural identity.

Migrant music in regional music scenes: Negotiations of migrant cultural capital and barriers to inclusion

The issue of spaces for multicultural expression was a critical focus of the research. Negotiations of cultural identities can be seen as a necessary condition for achieving social

acceptance between various cultural groups, which directly impacts migrant participation in local social life and economic production. Negotiations of migrant cultural identities and capital cannot be achieved in the regional spaces of multicultural encounters. Therefore, examining migrant music's presence in the regional cultural landscape was one of the study's aims. The focus was mainly on regional music scenes and other areas of regional cultural production as spaces where migrant cultural capital can be evaluated and utilised. The main subject of examination was the question of migrants' contribution to regional cultural production, and therefore migrants' ability to sustain themselves through music practices.

The research reveals that migrants' presence in the regional cultural landscape is fragmented. Migrants, on the one hand, actively utilise various regional networks and actors to practise their music and exchange for social recognition, gaining relations of trust and acceptance. They actively use music as a 'currency', a valuable skill that can be exchanged as part of various forms of capital. To do that, they attempt to create their own spaces for culturally diverse music, rethinking conventional spaces – for example, public parks, the bank of the river or local shops – as art spaces in which music, as a form of artistic expression, can be practised. Migrant musicians expand the regional terrains of arts practices through such action, suggesting new functions for the existing regional arts spaces, such as theatres, community halls, galleries or musical venues. Moreover, migrant musicians make efforts to adapt their music for regional Australian audiences. For instance, migrant musicians introduce 'Western' musical instruments and electric versions of music into their repertoires. They negotiate those repertoires, introducing themselves to already known genres of reggae, ska or pop. They invent narratives about the origin of their music to find a common language with Australian audiences and the popular music practised in regional communities. Through various strategies, migrant musicians attempt to position their cultural capital as relevant and beneficial to the regional areas of their settlement area.

Migrant musicians utilise various regional 'ecosystems' in which their music can be in demand. For instance, they actively participate in 'welfare' networks of charity organisations, educational institutions and migrant services organisations. Local charity organisations or volunteers and workers of settlement services become the first audiences and promoters of migrant music, seeing migrant music-making as a necessary expression and as a valuable contribution to regional art. Such support is not institutional, but a result of informal or semi-formal grass-roots interaction with migrant communities, in which musical skills or a commitment to practise music are realised as essential. Local actors find ways of supporting

and promoting migrant musical expressions through helping them in arranging concerts and performances, connecting with other regional arts actors and finding sources of financial support. This local 'layer' of regional cultural intermediaries is invaluable. It creates a necessary first step for migrant musicians to form a band or find their first local audience, a stage to perform on or a studio or space in which to record a song. Each of the four locations examined in this research demonstrates that migrant musicians and their music receive attention and acknowledgement as a legitimate part of the local cultural landscape through the agency and mediation of those dedicated enthusiasts. In this case, the lack of migrants' social networks or knowledge of local music scenes is compensated for by the agency of cultural intermediaries. As some locations (such as Wagga Wagga or partially Coffs Harbour) demonstrate, long-term initiatives (such as youth music workshops or collaborations with 'metropolitan' artists) supporting migrant musical expressions result in the emergence of local migrant artists.

Besides 'welfare' networks, migrant musicians engage with local entertainment businesses (cruise ships in Cairns, event companies or restaurants), in which their cultural practices can be capitalised as a commercial product. However, migrant musicians' participation in regional music scenes is problematic. As discussed in Chapter 7 and Chapter 9, regional art spaces are characterised by established musical practices and networks. Regional music scenes are, in turn, fragile and unstable as they often depend on audiences' out-migration, musicians' abilities to sustain themselves through music, and the absence of infrastructure and sustainable regional strategies of cultural development. In this context, unfamiliar genres and sounds can be marginalised or seen as culturally irrelevant. Besides that, the lack of cultural familiarisation and introduction to migrant music often makes migrants' efforts to penetrate regional music scenes particularly challenging. The lack of migrants' social and financial capital, or time to sustain their music practices without institutional acknowledgement or public encouragement, also impacts their ability to capitalise on their musical skills. This issue particularly defines the musical pathways of young artists of migrant backgrounds, whose exclusion from a local music scene happens due to the lack of local opportunities to practise global music genres, such as hip-hop or other genres deemed unconventional in the regions. The lack of spaces and everyday music practices also results in an inability to find stable pathways for intercultural communication, which also could contribute to social acceptance and economic sustainability for first-generation migrant musicians. Existing annual multicultural events, such as Harmony

festivals, undoubtedly become the primary avenue for exhibiting migrant artistic potential. However, given the scarcity of daily migrant musical expressions, such effort to create a multicultural music presence loses impetus in the normalisation and acceptance of migrant music expression as part of the regional cultural landscape. The fragmented, pop-up nature of public migrant music events with limited or no budgets for compensating artists confirms images of migrant musicians as amateurs, excluded from the regional professional music industry. A systematic presence of migrant cultural expressions in the fabric of regional life is indicative of migrant cultural inclusion or exclusion. In the current regional context, it can be characterised by the gap between 'promises of multiculturalism and realities' (Papastergiadis, 2000). Papastergiadis (2000, p. 202) states that 'nowhere have we witnessed an open acknowledgement of the need to develop multicultural institutions at all levels of everyday life, nor a radical commitment to redefining the traditional concepts of citizenship and belonging'. Such a statement is also confirmed by later investigations of current Australian multicultural policies, characterised by a 'paradox in "celebrating" cultural diversity while stripping funding and resources from governments and programmes designed to respond to disparities at the intersection of race and class' (Forbes-Mewett et al., 2021, p. 5). The lack of migrant music practices as a form of normalised and institutionalised multicultural acceptance is an illustration of this paradox. The appropriation of migrant music in the form of one-day festivals without infrastructure and avenues to sustain this presence for the rest of the year speaks unequivocally about the distinctions between legitimate and marginalised practices of cultural identities. The potential for migrant cultural capital to be converted into social and economic forms of capital thus needs to be discussed as a part of regional cultural practices and policies.

Concluding the findings of this research, it is fair to say that music practices play multiple roles in the process of regional settlement. Migrants utilise music as a space for negotiations of cultural identities, and expand existing value systems of music, regional identities, social acceptance and migrant regional cultural contributions. Music is practised on a grass-roots level, through which migrants negotiate their belonging and rebuild their regional 'home'. However, it also reveals the necessity for migration policy interventions to facilitate these negotiations and rethink regional areas as spaces for multicultural encounters. As noted in Chapter 4, the post-multicultural framework seems to be a premature assumption of the state of multiculturalism in Australia. It is particularly evident through the current examination of migrant music in regional Australia. Based on the findings of this research,

the institutional utilisation of a multicultural framework in regional settings can significantly leverage migrant acceptance through music practices and lead to multiple outcomes in terms of social inclusion and regional cultural production.

Limitations of the research

Several methodological and conceptual limitations have affected this study. Specifically, the methodological limitations are mostly related to field research disruptions caused by the COVID-19 health crisis. The inability to conduct the research through observations at each location reduced the richness of data. Musical events and field observations can expand the understanding of everyday music presence in each location. Disrupted arts and settlement activities in each area also led to a limitation of sources provided for the research (interviews or contacts).

Another methodological consideration was the presence or absence of migrant communities in the digital space, which was the predominant source of contact for each location. Some of the migrant musicians or communities were not available through social media or digital spaces, even if their regional existence was confirmed. Therefore, the research is not a comprehensive representation of all migrant music and migrant communities in each location. The discrepancy between migrant communities living in each area and their digital representation was an issue for the research during the pandemic, which also reflected a more significant issue of connectedness and migrant inclusion during the health crisis.

Health crisis limitations and the research timeframe did not allow me to examine some potential regional stakeholders of local music scenes, and therefore migrant music. For instance, an obvious limitation of the investigation is media such as community radio or national broadcasting companies. Media may play a significant role in forming images of migrant cultures and providing opportunities for negotiations of identities, through the provision of airtime, representation of artists and opportunities for engaging with an audience. Another topic of examination missing in this research is schools and, more broadly, a regional educational system, which can be represented by local professional colleges, universities or courses in arts institutions. Potentially, these play an essential role in migrants' acceptance through installing the presence of multicultural music. The role of regional education systems was mentioned multiple times in conversations with migrant youth and migrant families when commenting on the absence of opportunities to present and practise multicultural music. I also conducted interviews with the Cairns Music Teachers' Association and the CEOs of regional conservatoria in Wagga Wagga and Coffs Harbour. The insights

gained from these data confirm that schools/musical institutions as spaces of multicultural encounters and opportunities for musical interventions are significant actors in regional migrant policies. However, given the schools' closure during COVID-19 lockdowns, it was impossible to conduct interviews with representatives of regional educational systems. Research on migrant music-making at schools and its impact on migrant youth' life strategies and cultural acceptance constitutes an important subject for further research.

Sports activities as a part of the community's social life and as spaces of negotiations of cultural identities also represent a missing component of this research. Examination of community sports and community arts as holistic spaces of community identity may provide insights into how music in communities is and can be organised. It could also provide some insights into how a dichotomy between 'arts' and 'sports' can be reworked into complementary and cross-disciplinary activities that leverage both sports and music in obtaining goals of community inclusion. Given that sports in regional Australia represent a significant (and well-subsidised) part of a community's leisure time, youth education and multicultural musical interventions that could be a part of the sport would be a point of the prospective investigation. Music is a part of sporting events (arranged performances and rituals before games, soundtracks during games, audience participation); thus, migrant music has the potential to be introduced and normalised through regional communities' sporting practices. Given that many migrants actively participate in sport, such means of migrant music's fusion into a local community has potential.

Another subject for perspective research is music-making in regional places of worship. As the research revealed, places of worship play an essential role in regional areas as agents of community inclusion. Some studies (e.g. Agyeman, 2017; Conner, 2019) indicate that this subject needs further attention to deepen understanding of its role in migrant music-making.

The research of regional spaces of worship presented in this thesis should be seen as an attempt to draw attention to music-making as a factor in regional migrant resettlement and create an overview of its roles and regional spaces where migrant music exists. Through the mapping of those places, regional cultural and social everyday practices can be seen as essential for migrant inclusion. The work further considers how migrant inclusion through music can potentially impact regional sustainable cultural development. The insights gained can contribute to the design of regional migrant and arts policies, in which music can become

a significant player, and it prompts further discussion of the role of migrant arts in regional development strategies.

Outlining implementations of the research findings and directions for further research: Inclusive arts policies as an element of migration policies and regional creative production

This section aims to provide insights into how music can be utilised as an element of regional migration policies. Even though such a topic represents a field for further investigation, some suggestions related to regional settlement policies can be made based on the findings of the current research.

In implementing those findings, the arts sector and policies seem to be an instrument that can impact migrant policies, such as migrants' music development. However, most of the art interventions are created by the federal Australian Multicultural Council and implemented by the state social services. As a result, all 'migrant affairs', including the arts, are absent from the focus of the federal and state art policies, as they are the responsibility of 'another department'. This institutional and bureaucratic distinction imposes a gap between migrant music and 'the rest' of Australian music, which excludes migrant artists as a regional arts audience and an asset. Undoubtedly, there are some exceptions to the noted gap, as regional migrant artists can be recipients of state arts grants and therefore are the audience for the state arts departments. However, most of the regional migrant musicians interviewed for this study do not participate in arts grant programs due to their unfamiliarity with procedures, the complexity of application processes or a general disbelief in their potential for success.

Migrant cultural and social inclusion through music begins with inclusive policies, in which 'migrant' music should be understood as a part of 'Australian' music', rather than being excluded on a cultural basis. Therefore, federal and state actors need to see migrant regional communities as one of their specific target audiences, with a range of specific needs, such as social and cultural orientation. By accommodating artistic expressions (poetry, storytelling, performing, etc.) and wider cultural practices (be it mode of dress, celebrating events and other gatherings, cultural components in education and upbringing) from the first days of arrival as a part of the regional art landscape, social and cultural inclusion can be achieved through communication with local art institutions and actors. In this vein, multiple music-based resettlement programs can be created with the participation of local musicians, recording studios, choirs, churches, wellbeing professionals, education institutions and event organisers. At the same time, such resettlement programs could simultaneously work on facilitating local

musical products, with migrants' participation in them. The engagement of newly arrived migrants into a local music scene or practice can result in the creation of new social relations and networks, and lead to collaborative products. Such engagement can be seen as a practice of cultural and social inclusion, rather than a tokenistic acknowledgement of regional diversity. It could also work as an instrument of empowerment, in which migrant musicians could associate themselves as a part of a local cultural process and a community. Such an approach to arts interventions in settlement policies could facilitate addressing the institutional gap of multicultural music inclusion in regional arts institutes and practices through cross-cultural collaborations and joint music initiatives.

The recognition of migrant music as an equal and contributing part of the regional musical landscape is a framework that assumes the active presence of migrant music as a part of local cultural practices and dialogue between various musical expressions and cultural identities. This framework could be named 'cultural transmission', which 'includes both passing on the tradition from one generation to the next and the passing on of tradition to other communities that do not belong to the culture' (Saglam, 2009, p. 334). As Klebe (2009) notes, the utilisation of migration policies encompasses a range of formal, non-formal and informal institutions: state-sanctioned, local and grass-roots. The advantage of implementing migrant music initiatives is that many already exist as grassroots, local initiatives, which could be facilitated and encouraged by systematic and organised state policies and/or local government. Some areas, such as Cairns and Wagga Wagga, have established good precedents for migrant arts empowerment through providing authority and leadership roles of young migrant artists. As youth leaders, they teach other migrant youth DJ-ing, song composition and sampling. Such cases would have been even more effective if they were employed within 'migrant' communities and across local youth regardless of their cultural backgrounds.

Similarly, hip-hop musicians of migrant backgrounds could be employed by local schools, youth workers or educational departments as local music tutors with valuable musical capital and experience. Migrant musical expressions as part of regional Australian culture can be implemented by activating migrant participation in local shows and events, providing free-of-charge rehearsal space, or employing local community spaces, such as libraries, for regular musical gatherings.

The list of those initiatives can easily be expanded. However, the point of this part of the conclusion is not to provide a range of possible ideas but rather to underline the

importance of creating a nexus between the regional arts and migration policies, and a principle of interconnectedness between two sectors. Implementing a more inclusive multicultural approach in the regional arts sector requires a considerable change of approach towards migrant music as a part of migrants' cultural participation and presence in regional life. The shift in policy leads to the necessity to 'reassemble' the ecosystem of regional music-making, with various actors and formal, non-formal and informal institutions involved, to accommodate and facilitate migrant cultural expressions. However, it is fair to assume that such change will secure the right of equality of representation and equity of multicultural identities in regional cultural practices.

Therefore, a further direction for this research is the creation of strategies for migrant music interventions as a part of inclusive migration and regional art policies. Such strategies should include an array of initiatives from a local to federal level, and require the activation of regional music as an agent of migrant wellbeing, cohesion and cultural production. On a local level, it can lead to rethinking music's and musicians' involvement in health and educational institutions and practices, regional innovations and production, leading to local musicians' participation in settlement initiatives, the creation of new educational programs and job opportunities for the arts sector.

Outlining implementations of the research findings and further directions of the research: Migrant music in a framework of regional cultural sustainable development

As this research illustrates, the issue of migrant music regional existence stems from regional music practices in general, in which the fragile infrastructures of music scenes are often overlooked as a part of regional production and identity. The facilitation and 'activation' of migrant music might not be possible in places characterised by an overall fragility of music infrastructures, funding and sustainability. At the same time, in some places (e.g. Cairns), it is evident that regional music functions as a part of regional cultural production to support regional tourist attractions. Those complexities prompt a broader discussion about the recognition and estimation of the value of music in strategies of regional development, of which migrant music is an integral part.

The research presented in this thesis has investigated the nexus between migrant music-making, regional resettlement policies and regional development. It highlights the value of migrant music in those aspects, and therefore the need to invest in migrant musical expressions. The estimation of the importance of migrant cultural expressions, however,

stems from a broader debate about 'instrumental' (functional and measurable) value and the intrinsic value of arts (Crossick & Kazynska, 2016). The value of the arts is also evident through the sector's impact on civic and political engagement, management of conflicts, regeneration of spaces and communities, and personal wellbeing. Thus, purely economic impact assessments of the arts cannot capture the vast array of indirect or long-term effects of arts and culture in a broader economy, its opportunity costs or its long-lasting impact on the economy (2016, p. 90).

Similar evaluations of regional creative arts have been undertaken in Australia (e.g. Jayne et al., 2010; Ashton, Gibson & Gibson, 2015; McDonald & Mason, 2015). These studies challenged the urban orientation of creative theories and expanded the understanding of the role of arts for regional areas. As such, the remoteness of Australian cities and towns from each other, a geographical disconnect and vast distances challenge the established creative industry theories (e.g., Florida, 2005; Landry, 2012), in which creative clusters of economy (tourism, music, fashion, arts industries) are based on mass audiences, intense communication and exchange between diverse creative actors. Neither demography nor economy is a driving factor for creating this capital in the Australian regional areas. Through creative work, regional settlers re-establish ties of connectivity with the space as well as connectedness between each other. In regional settings, creative arts facilitate social exchange and production based on relations of trust and commonality (Taylor, 2014). To paraphrase the famous characteristics of the Australian geographical landscape as a 'tyranny of distance' (Blainey, 1966), it can be said that creative arts address the essential gap of social isolation and cultural inequalities of the regional areas. This process occurs through rethinking 'regional' areas, usually perceived as cultural peripheries, as centres of original art production, to which the arts are connected and which relate to other cultural 'centres'.

Such notions of meanings and value of arts in the regional areas prompt a similar discussion of regional migrant music as a 'valuable', and therefore 'investment-worthy', element of migration and regional policies. Migrant music can be seen as an integral element of regional cultural production, whose value goes beyond purely instrumental measurements and short-term outcomes. This research has demonstrated the value of music-making in creating relations of belonging, managing challenges of wellbeing and providing spaces for engagement and inclusion. Therefore, migrant music can be seen as a form of regional intellectual capital, where ideas, beliefs and cultural practices affect regions' cultural sustainable development (Throsby, 1995, 2012). Intellectual capital, as a form of cultural capital, impacts cultural

sustainability and is interconnected with the economic and social development of a place. In the vein of the studies outlined above, it is fair to say that migrant music should be considered within a framework of regional cultural sustainable development, which may lead to its revaluation and implementation as a component of regional development.

Further research into migrant music as an agent of settlement policies and regional development requires the development of methodologies for the evaluation of music's impact in sustainable regional development. How can migrant music's impact on regional cultural, social and economic development be estimated? What models and range of evaluation systems are relevant to such estimation? What are the opportunity costs of migrant music for settlement policies? As the research has underlined current and potential music outcomes in various aspects of migrant regional settlement, qualitative and quantitative methodologies need to be developed to ascertain its impact.

Conclusion

The examination of the role of migrant music-making in regional areas indicates a 'cultural shift' in understanding the process of migrant resettlement and the role of music (as a proxy for arts) as an actor in migration policies. Through this research, the interdependency between migrant musical expressions and the local art process, migration policies, art policies and regional development is evident. A question of the implementation of music as an efficient instrument of migrant policies is, in fact, a question of how regional areas are imagined: what vision is considered for regional areas and what policies are created to facilitate that vision? In the context of a 'countryside in crisis' (Luckman, 2015), exacerbated by COVID-19, questions of how regional areas will manage the influx and outflux of population, provide social cohesion and strengthen their intellectual capital for sustainable development and wellbeing become integral parts of a new regional vision. The framework of regional cultural sustainability and multiple studies of the role of the arts in regional areas provide insight into how arts and culture can address ongoing regional development issues. Migrant music-making, in this case, changes the scope of thinking and the approach to migrant capital and its regional impact. It illustrates how those immediate benefits of migration, such as addressing labour shortages, can also be assessed in a longer perspective of benefits for regional cultural sustainable development. In this context, a regional migrant presence can be understood as addressing the gaps in local economies and as a driving force for regional change.

Creating new forms of expression in regional areas, offering new dimensions of understanding music, local and translocal migrant music practices, enriches and multiplies human capabilities in regional areas. Regional human capabilities correspond with the concept of wellbeing as 'a freedom of opportunities to be and to act' (Crossic & Kaszynska, 2016, p. 36). Migrant musicians have the potential to impact regional wellbeing and livability by providing diverse dimensions of lifestyles and cultural practices. By utilising music as an instrument of wellbeing, as a 'lubricant' for building migrant communities and connections in a wider community, migrant musicians demonstrate how these grassroots initiatives can be implemented in migration policies. However, they also show how migrant intellectual capital can be utilised for creating cohesive communities, in which intellectual capitals of diverse cultural identities can be seen as a platform for the communities' inclusion and production.

Undoubtedly, as Throsby (1995) suggests, any intellectual capital needs 'maintenance', through which it can be supported, encouraged and developed. As the research shows, migrant music as a form of migrant cultural expression is fragile and fragmented; it lacks recognition and spaces where it might grow and leverage its potential as a regional cultural asset. To boost its potential, it needs more inclusive policies, in which migration policies correspond with art and regional development policies. The experience of countries such as the United Kingdom, New Zealand and Canada shows that cross-border policies can be implemented. In those locations, the categories of wellbeing, quality of life or living standards are implemented as an overarching concept of government policies, encompassing the full range of social, economic and cultural criteria. For instance, New Zealand's Standards of Living Framework[1] can be seen as a vocal example of principles of cultural sustainability policies. The framework includes 'cultural capability and belonging' and 'engagement and voice' factors of wellbeing, together with housing, safety, work and other conventional socio-economic parameters. Such a framework assumes equality and equity of diverse cultural practices as an integral part of policies and institutions. The implementation of the cultural sustainability framework requires a readjustment of the post-multicultural framework in migration policies. It also prompts a rethinking of migration as a domain of 'welfare' institutions and exclusionary categorisation of multicultural communities in various policies.

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[1] www.treasury.govt.nz/sites/default/files/2021-10/tp-living-standards-framework-2021.pdf

Regional Australia has accumulated positive practices in fostering migration and capitalising on migrant mobility as a driving force for the country's development and prosperity. My three-year research journey has discovered regional advantages and positive cases in accommodating migrant communities and their musical expressions. Regional areas are undoubtedly associated with several advantages among migrant communities. The research participants of migrant backgrounds referred to multiple benefits of regional lifestyle, such as a comparatively easy management of their first years of settlement due to the lack of urban 'chaos' and complexity; a comparative ease of accessing educational or housing resources for family growth; a more relaxed atmosphere; and a smaller community. The presence of local migrant communities was named as one of the defining factors in migrants' sense of belonging (Collits, 2009; Krivokapic-Skoko & Collins, 2018); therefore, a regional multicultural profile is vital for fostering and promoting regional migration. Equally, the invaluable asset in promoting regional migration is regional communities, which significantly define migrant feelings of acceptance. Regional areas have accumulated valuable experience in fostering migration at a semi-grass-roots level. A positive attitude towards migrants and the generally welcoming intention of local communities can be seen as a foundation for regional practices of migrant settlement. New regional cultural practices can be created, based on the existing migration and arts stakeholders (e.g. local charity organisations, volunteers, settlement services) and existing cases of fostering migration through the arts. Those regional capabilities in fostering migration should be considered in future migrant policies as leveraging migrants' regional settlement and regional belonging.

This research has demonstrated multiple aspects of migrant music as a resettlement agent. It has also provided insights regarding barriers that exist within regional cultural practices and presented successful cases of migrant music's interventions in challenges of resettlement. Most importantly, the research has contributed to understanding migrant music's potential as a force of regional transformation. Given the rich Australian experience of fostering and leveraging migration, regional migrant music can contribute to building Australia's capacity as a multicultural nation.

Appendix 1: List of participants

Table A1.1: Interview participants

Migrant musicians by ethnic backgrounds	Location	Number
Sikh musicians	Coffs Harbour	1
Congolese musicians	Toowoomba, Cairns, Coffs Harbour	6
Kenyan musicians	Cairns	3
Yazidi musicians (Iran and Syria)	Coffs Harbour, Cairns, Wagga Wagga	7
Zimbabwean musicians	Wagga Wagga, Coffs Harbour	3
Myanmar musicians (Kachin community)	Wagga Wagga	3
Bhutanese musicians	Cairns	1
South Sudanese musicians	Wagga Wagga	2
Filipino musicians	Wagga Wagga, Cairns	8
Burundi musicians	Coffs Harbour	2
Nepalese musicians	Toowoomba	1
Indian (Malayali) musicians	Wagga Wagga	2
Haitian musicians	Cairns	1
Fijian musicians	Cairns, Toowoomba	3
Māori musicians	Cairns	3
Liberian musicians	Wagga Wagga	1
Indonesian musicians	Toowoomba	2
Musicians of Mexican backgrounds	Wagga Wagga	1
Total migrant musicians		50
Regional music stakeholders (local, state)		
Migrant communities and associations (African Association, Kenyan Association, Malayali Association)	Cairns, Toowoomba	3
Multicultural festivals organisers	Cairns, Wagga Wagga, Coffs Harbour	3
Record studios	Coffs Harbour	1
Queensland Music Teachers Association	Cairns	1
Women in Harmony Multicultural Choir	Toowoomba	3

Regional Arts Development Organisations, NSW	Coffs Harbour, Wagga Wagga	2
Regional Arts Services Network	Toowoomba	2
Regional Arts Services Network, state office	Brisbane	2
Music NSW (state and regional arts programs)	Sidney	1
BEMAC (Brisbane Multicultural Arts Centre)	Brisbane	1
Local church priests	Wagga Wagga, Cairns	2
City mayors	Wagga Wagga, Coffs Harbour, Toowoomba	3
Settlement services providers		
Settlement Services International	Sydney, Coffs Harbour	2
Multicultural Australia, Queensland	Toowoomba	2
YouBelong	Toowoomba	1
Anglicare	Coffs Harbour	1
The Red Cross	Coffs Harbour	1
Multicultural Council Wagga Wagga	Wagga Wagga	1
Centacare FNQ (Catholic Diocese of Cairns)	Cairns	2
Heaps Decent, music programs for participants of multicultural backgrounds (Sydney–Wagga Wagga)	Sydney	1
ICE music programs for participants of multicultural backgrounds	Sydney	1
STARTTS (rehabilitation and trauma services)	Coffs Harbour	2
Charles Sturt University, Humanities, Social work and human services, lecturer	Wagga Wagga	1
Total music stakeholders and settlement services providers		39
Overall participants		89

Table A2.2: Musicians of non-Western backgrounds by gender and age

Total migrant participants	50
Female	21
Male	29
Age	
Twenties	8
Thirties	12
Forties	15
Fifties	13
Sixties	2

Table A2.3: Migrant music activities

Music activities (overlapping, performed by same persons)	
Family music practices and migrant community events music (singing, dance, playing instruments)	39
Church musicians (choirs, bands)	28
Music bands (participation in festivals and events)	17
DJs and hip-hop musicians	7
Music-related business entrepreneurs	2
Music instrument-makers	3

Appendix 2: Questionnaires

1. Type of group: Migrant musicians

Participants: migrants and migrant groups representatives and individuals who practice music

Music and wellbeing

- What's your story of migration?
- Do you think music was helping you in your journey and if yes, how; if not, why?

Music and belonging:

- How would you describe yourself? How do you feel yourself in Australia? Are you a migrant and what does it mean?
- Do you keep connection with your ethnic community/family and how? Business ties, cultural, relatives?
- How often would you typically participate in live performance each week or month?
- Do you think music you practice reflects who you are? How can you illustrate it?
- Does music help to keep the connection with your heritage and culture? Why does it important?
- How do you practise music in the community or family? Community gatherings, events. Could you describe event and musical part of it? Genres, who, how?
- What do you feel when you play/perform music in your community? What is the role of music in your community?
- Do you connect with musicians/music via the internet. How do you exchange music and with whom? If you practice music yourself, where do you perform and record, what is your audience and from what localities?
- Are you a member of any musical organisations, unions, associations? Have you received grants for your musical activities? If yes, from what organisations?
- Translocal belonging: Do you think music from a country of origin helps you in your life in Australia? How music benefits your life here?

Music in the place of living: acceptance and engagement

- How other people see you? As a local, as a migrant, with what sentiment?
- Do you think you accepted in the community and if yes, how it manifested? How you're a part of the community?
- Do you participate in cultural events? Sport events? Main community events?
- Is your music a part of your life in a current community? Is it a part of school lessons or sports events? Is it a part of cultural events or radio programs? Yes, No, Why?

- What actors and people you are engaged the most? Local council, multicultural services, schools, music evets organisers?
- Do you think music could be a way to present yourself and your culture to your community? Do you believe that music could explain who you are for people who don't know you much? Yes, no, why.
- Do you think what change would it make in your life if the music was a part of local social and cultural life? Would other people like it and find useful?
- Have you ever come across stereotypes about yourself and do you think music could help to overcome some misunderstandings?

Music and income, music and economic benefits:

- Do you think you could make your musical practice a full-time profession? What are issues, and what should be done to make it a full-time profession?
- What kind of changes would you propose/do yourself to practice music in a professional capacity in the region?

2. Interviews with local music actors

1. Music landscape: How much music is part of your community life? Where is music practised in the community? i.e. Community events, Celebrations, Schools, Sport, Live Music Venues, Church, Choirs, bands?
2. Understanding of music's role: Do you think music essential and why in your community, the organization you represent, Australia?
3. Awareness of migrants in the community: What migrant groups do live in your area? Could you describe them and characterise? Country of origin, a language they speak, size of communities, how long do they live in the area?
4. Community's multicultural landscape: How do you interact with migrants daily?
5. Do you think migrants and migrant groups are fully engaged in your community's life? How exactly? What are the barriers, if any?
6. Do migrants participate in the community's main cultural events? (Anzac Day, Christmas, Australia day, Local festivals?)
7. Do they participate in the community's social life?
    - Sports clubs
    - Farmers markets
    - Pubs
    - Shops
    - Local radio
    - Informal working relationships
8. Is the music of the migrant groups/individuals an element of community every-day life, gatherings? And if not, why?

9. How do you think the community's utilization of migrant's music could enhance migrant's engagement into the community's life? If not, why? If yes: What kind of impacts can you name?
10. Do you think Migrant Music can be an element of the community's cultural and social events? Yes, Now, Why.
11. How do you think your organization could contribute to migrants' musical expressions as part of their engagement into the community? What steps are necessary to make it happen? What are the barriers?
12. Do you think migrants play a role in the development of your region? If yes, do you think music can facilitate it, and how?
13. Could migrant musicians offer attractive cultural services and products what may benefit the region? What is necessary to make it happen?

3. Migration policies stakeholders (state, local settlement services organisation)

1. What are the main priorities of regional migrant programs? (Federal, State, Local)
2. Are where the benefits of regional migration? No/Yes/What are they?
3. How can you describe the main issues and barriers in the process of regional migration?
4. What projects and initiatives are implemented to facilitate migrant's engagement into social and economic regional life?
5. How do you measure the impact and success of these initiatives?
6. What organisations and institutions are involved in implementing these programs and initiatives?
7. What is the place of music in these programs? Why? Are there particular musical initiatives? What are the budgets?
8. What is the involvement of music actors in different levels into programs of regional migration? Why? Local musical scenes, federal music organisations (such as Music Australia), State organisations (such as NSW Regional Art, etc.).
9. How do you see the role music plays in local communities' and overall life in Australia?
10. What do you think could be done to facilitate migrant's integration into regional life with music as an instrument of engagement?

Appendix 3: Consent Form

Project title: **Migrant Music in Regional Australia**

GU ref no: 2020/153

Chief Investigator: Professor Andy Bennett (Griffith University)

Research Assistant: Ms Alexandra Block (Griffith University)

- I have read the information sheet, and the nature and the purpose of the research project have been explained to me. I understand and agree to take part.
- I understand that I may not directly benefit from taking part in the project.
- I understand that I can withdraw from the study at any stage and that this will not affect the confidentiality of the information provided now or in the future. I also understand that I may also refuse to answer some or all of the questions if I do not feel comfortable with those questions.
- I understand that I may be video and audio-taped during the study and that I have the right to request that parts of the interview not be transcribed if, on reflection, I feel this is appropriate. I may also request a copy of the video and audio interview transcript.
- I grant the University the exclusive and royalty free right to reproduce and use in its ongoing activities the audio-taped data which have been produced in the course of the project.
- I understand that the raw data files and written transcripts will be stored in a locked filing cabinet in the office of Professor Andy Bennett for 5 years after the project has been completed. Only I, and the university researchers involved in the project will have access to the raw data tapes for the purposes of the research.
- I understand that wherever practical, the university will acknowledge my participation in the project.
- I understand that, upon request, I can be provided with a summary of the project findings for my reference.

Name of participant:

Signed: Date:

I have explained the study to the participant and consider that he/she understands what is involved.

Researcher's signature and date:

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