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EXPLORING MUSICAL ACCULTURATION:
THE MUSICAL LIVES OF SOUTH SUDANESE AUSTRALIANS, FILIPINO
AUSTRALIANS AND WHITE AUSTRALIANS IN BLACKTOWN

Samantha Dieckmann

A thesis submitted in fulfilment of requirements for the degree of
Doctor of Philosophy

Sydney Conservatorium of Music
The University of Sydney

2016
Statement of Originality

I declare that the research presented here is my own original work and has not been submitted to any other institution for the award of a degree.

Signed

Date December 31, 2015
Abstract

The central aim of this thesis is to investigate the musical lives of three distinct ethnocultural community groups. Using ethnographic and grounded theory methods, this study explores the musical practices of South Sudanese Australians, Filipino Australians and White Australians in Blacktown, New South Wales. By researching musical participation in these three case study groups, this study aims to elucidate the relationship between various factors underlying individual and collective musical acculturation processes. Significant factors include the reasons for and attitudes towards cross-cultural contact, the sociohistorical and situational factors determining the context in which cross-cultural contact takes place, and the role of power and dominance in shaping cross-cultural interactions. Other determinants include the various ways ‘community’ is experienced, the maintenance and loss of heritage and homeland cultures, and the musical activities that generate and reflect participants’ understandings and experiences of the preceding. The interplay between these areas of inquiry positions this study at the nexus of music education, sociomusicology, ethnomusicology, acculturation psychology, intercultural relations and urban sociology.

It was found that the types of musical activities with which participants engaged illustrated the importance they placed upon maintaining heritage traditions. This was often related to their attitudes towards multiculturalism and integration into mainstream Australian society. For all of the ethnocultural communities studied, nationalism and transnationalism played a major role in acculturation processes. The music with which South Sudanese Australian participants were occupied was significantly influenced by South Sudan gaining sovereignty during the project’s data collection phase. Many of the participants had migrated to Australia long before their new homeland country was declared an independent nation-state, and music was used to represent and facilitate debates surrounding South Sudanese nationalist discourse. In the Filipino Australian case study, it was found that the collective self-consciousness with which the participants assimilated into colonial cultural forms had a marked effect on the music with which they engaged. The contradictions in their music consumption patterns resonated with the ironies underlying Filipino nationalism generally. Finally, music was similarly significant in the renegotiation of cultural
boundaries and identity reconstruction for participants in the White Australian case study. Within the highly diverse Blacktown region, interpretations of ‘Australian’ and mainstream music were seen to contribute to the notion of White Australia as the dominant community of the receiving society.
Acknowledgements

I have had the privilege of being mentored by Associate Professor Kathryn Marsh for the past ten years. Her supervision of both my honours and doctoral theses has led to the most fruitful working relationship of my career, and I am fortunate to have her advice and support both professionally and personally. Kathy will always have my heartfelt thanks, not only for the various and significant opportunities she has afforded me, but most importantly for her perpetual and earnest belief in my potential.

I have also enjoyed the encouragement of several other members of staff at the Sydney Conservatorium of Music. In particular, I would like to thank Michael Webb, James Humberstone, Peter Dunbar-Hall, Jennifer Rowley, David Larkin, Catherine Ingram, Kathleen Nelson and Matthew Hindson. Their keen and perceptive questions have helped clarify the direction of my research, and their interest in my work has been a constant source of motivation. I would also like to acknowledge the enormous privilege it has been to receive an APA scholarship and University of Sydney Merit Award for this doctoral project, and thank the Commonwealth Government and the University of Sydney for this financial assistance.

I extend sincere gratitude to all of the participants in this study, who generously contributed their time and thoughts to this project. Whether they live, work or study in Blacktown, it brings me great joy that we share the neighbourhood I call home.

I would especially like to thank my fellow doctoral students. When the process of writing this thesis became particularly gruelling, your words kept me going. I could not have endured without the sympathetic rallying cries of Alexis Kallio, Athena Lill, Christine Carroll and Wendy Brooks. It is equally important to mention my friends outside of academia, Tanya To and Zi Hao Li, whose regular efforts to raise my morale have been greatly appreciated.

I will always be grateful for the love and encouragement of my parents Errol and Ruby Sebastian, whose unwavering support is a foundation I continue to rely on. I would also like to especially thank my grandparents, Cesario and Rosalinda Balasi, and my uncle Bong Balasi, for sourcing requested books and music in the Philippines, and for the time they spent translating Filipino songs with Mum and I. Thanks are also due to Rowena Sebastian for offering her translation services, and Paul Dieckmann for his design skills. I have called on the help of my aunties, the indefatigable Ana Rita
Balasi and Jeanie Murphy, in ways too numerous to list here. My work and study over the past five years would have been much more difficult without their generosity and support. Finally, my brother Kevin Sebastian undertook the enormous task of proofreading my thesis on very short notice. I am very grateful for his enthusiasm and willingness to help, which were invaluable in getting this thesis over the finish line.

I am indebted to many people for either their direct contribution to this thesis, or their indispensable encouragement throughout the process of producing it. Above all, it has been the support of my husband Tyrel Dieckmann that has empowered me to pursue and reach this goal. For his constant patience, generosity, understanding and love, I will always be thankful.
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Chapter 1
Introduction

The Parameters of this Study

The central aim of this thesis is to investigate the musical lives of three distinct ethnocultural community groups. Using ethnographic and grounded theory methods, this study explores the musical practices of South Sudanese Australians, Filipino Australians and White Australians in Blacktown, New South Wales (NSW). By researching musical participation in these three case study groups, this study aims to elucidate the relationship between various factors underlying individual and collective musical acculturation processes. Significant factors include the reasons for and attitudes towards cross-cultural contact, the sociohistorical and situational factors determining the context in which cross-cultural contact takes place, and the role of power and dominance in shaping cross-cultural interactions. Other determinants include the various ways ‘community’ is experienced, the maintenance and loss of heritage and homeland cultures, and the musical activities that generate and reflect participants’ understandings and experiences of the preceding. The interplay between these areas of inquiry positions this study at the nexus of music education, sociomusicology, ethnomusicology, acculturation psychology, intercultural relations and urban sociology.

Musical Acculturation

As an academic field of inquiry, the study of musical acculturation has traditionally been an ethnomusicological pursuit focused more on specific music practices and genres than the identities and broader culture of those practising the music. From the mid 20th century onwards, a number of ethnomusicologists, adopting key anthropological concepts and approaches1 of the time, theorised about how culture contact affects change in musical practices (e.g. Merriam, 1955; Kartomi, 1981; Nettl, 1978). In one of the first definitive articles to link acculturation studies with musicology, Merriam (1955) hypothesised that music is more likely to undergo significant changes upon culture contact when the original musics share characteristics

---

1 In particular the work of American anthropologist Melville J. Herskovits, whose interests included African and African American studies, and whose 1937 paper article was titled The Significance of the Study of Acculturation for Anthropology.
with one another. He then discussed the impact that cultural exchange with Westerners had on the music of two groups: Flathead Indians, and ‘Africans’ (with particular reference to Belgian Congolese music). In contrasting the two it was evident that: (a) the Belgian Congolese music was much more similar to Western music, sharing musical properties such as harmonies and polyphony and the use of stringed instruments for accompaniment, and (b) the Congolese music changed much more considerably than that of the Flathead Indians. Merriam asserted a causal link between these two observations, contending that the prior similarities between Western and Belgian Congolese music accounted for the more significant changes upon exchange, demonstrating the viability of the hypothesis.

In keeping with Merriam’s (1955) argument, Nettl (1978) considered the congruity between original musics important to the interchange that takes place upon exchange, defining syncretism as the “results when two musical systems in a state of confrontation have compatible central traits” (p. 134). However, Nettl looked further than the relationship between the musical systems, considering the effects of a society’s wider motivations on their musical behaviour and their attitudes towards adopting elements from other musical cultures. He argued that the initial priority should be to establish the nature of the intercultural relations being considered, outlining motivations that might arise in non-Western societies that come into contact with Western culture. Nettl conceptualised these motivation types as being located on a continuum which represents, on one side, the extent to which members of a non-Western society want to keep their traditional culture intact and, on the other side, the extent to which they are willing to adopt the Western cultural system. These motivations heavily informed the ‘typology of processes’ that Nettl constructed, which frames a number of responses that non-Western societies have had to the arrival of Western music in the 20th century. These responses range from abandonment, in which musical traditions are completely lost or abandoned, to the antipodal process of preservation, in which musical traditions are protected and maintained by being consciously isolated from cross-cultural contamination. Adaptive processes vary in emphasis, with exaggeration involving the presentation of non-Western musical traditions in hyperbolised forms in order to cater to Western notions of exoticism and

---

2 Nettl contended that this has only happened exhaustively with particular Australian Aboriginal communities.
modernisation entailing the strategic adoption of Western-compatible musical properties for the survival of the musical system. Relatedly, Westernisation pertains to a non-Western society incorporating elements of Western music that are then considered central to it, regardless of how inconsistent these elements may be with their musical tradition.

Kartomi (1981) aimed to qualify terms commonly used to describe the musical processes and outcomes that result from culture contact. By exploring the underlying assumptions and etymological roots of terms such as hybrid, creole, fusion, integration, syncretism, borrowing, mixing, pastiche, and transplant, Kartomi revealed the conceptual shortcomings of widespread designations while validating others. In particular Kartomi suggested that many of the terms used to describe musics that have developed after culture contact are not helpful because they focus more on the parent cultures and musics than the one in focus, the child music. She contended that the uniqueness and creativity of the child music is what those who identify with it enjoy and are most cognizant of, and that to become fixated on the combination of disparate elements diverts attention away from the significance of the distinctive musical product being considered. Therefore, musical transculturation, musical synthesis and musical syncretism were deemed favourable because they do not focus on the parent cultures but instead imply “a complex process of fusion and transformation of impinging musical cultures” (p. 233). However, Kartomi noted that because these labels focus exclusively on the processes undertaken as a result of culture contact, the response to these processes still required categorisation. Consequently, Kartomi assigned terms to a number of musical practice responses to intercultural contact. While some, like musical impoverishment, strongly resembled Nettl’s (1978) typological categories, others were less familiar. In comparing the two classification systems, the most remarkable distinction is in Kartomi’s inclusion of music compartmentalization, in which individuals in a culturally plural society digest musical styles of a number of ethnic groups (including their own) during childhood, mentally partitioning the distinctive musical cultures. A key difference between the two typologies, which perhaps explains Nettl’s omission of music compartmentalisation, is that Nettl particularly considered non-Western responses to Western music in the 20th century. Dissimilarly, Kartomi’s argument was more generic and applied to various types of pluralistic societies and intercultural encounters.
Of especial significance to the current study is Kartomi’s (1981) critique of the key term, acculturation. She asserted that acculturation is not a useful term because: (a) it suggests that there are pure, isolated cultures that exist before acculturation; (b) it has many contradictory meanings, which could be confusing; (c) it has, because of its origins, ethnocentric and supremacist overtones; and (d) like other terms she aimed to discredit, it focuses on the parent, rather than offspring, musics. Kartomi contended that acculturation’s many and conflicting meanings, some of which refer to the adoption of a different culture and some to the loss of culture with subsequent proletarianisation, are the reason for Nettl’s (1978) avoidance of the term. Despite their respective avoidance and invalidation of the term, both Nettl (1978) and Kartomi (1981) can be considered contributors to the study of musical acculturation in that their theories were direct descendants of Merriam’s work in the area as initially presented in his 1955 article entitled *The Use of Music in the Study of a Problem of Acculturation*. Further, they provided theoretical frameworks addressing the foundational core of Merriam’s work, how culture contact affects change in musical practices. Importantly, although their typologies were generated some time ago, Merriam’s (1955), Kartomi’s (1981) and Nettl’s (1978) work still holds ideological significance in formulating current ideas about musical acculturation. However, Kartomi’s criticisms of the term acculturation were convincing and perhaps influenced its fall into disuse, despite continued academic interest in the musical outcomes of intercultural exchanges (for example Campbell, 1996, 2004, 2011; Diehl, 2002; Levi & Scheding, 2010; Marsh, 2012, 2013; Reyes, 1999; Stokes, 1997; Turino & Lea, 2004). Therefore, renewing pursuit of this area of inquiry, both in adopting the term and using it as a lens through which to explore music and culture contact, requires a justification which addresses Kartomi’s concerns. In order to explain how the current study answers Kartomi’s critiques, it is first necessary to outline further advancements in the broader study of acculturation.

**Acculturation Psychology**

While acculturation studies first emerged in anthropology, the tradition continued to be developed by sociologists before making its most recent and prolific progress in psychology (Sam & Berry, 2006). Here, acculturation is the process involving cultural exchanges between two (or more) initially distinct cultural groups. Related to the psychology of immigration, acculturation considers the changes enacted in each
community as a result of these cultural exchanges. Although there are many acculturation theories in psychology, the fourfold paradigm that dominates the literature is attributed to Berry (Rudmin, 2003; Weinreich, 2009). Berry’s (2001) framework outlines various strategies that both the host society and the migrant community can utilise in response to migration. The host society can adopt one of four policies: multiculturalism, melting pot, segregation or exclusion. Correspondingly, the migrant community can integrate or assimilate into, or separate or marginalise themselves from, the host society. The strategy that either group chooses is dependent on two primary issues: the extent to which maintaining the migrant group’s heritage culture and identity is prioritised; and the extent to which the groups seek relationship with one another. Figure 1.1 illustrates how these two issues determine the preferred attitudinal position of both the immigrant group and the receiving society.

![Figure 1.1](image)

**Figure 1.1.** Varieties of acculturation strategies in migrant communities and in the host society (from Berry, 2001, p. 618)

From the perspective of the migrant community (the circle on the left), when individuals display a desire to maintain their heritage culture and identity (as represented by the positive symbol on the left of horizontal line) and seek no relationship with wider society (as represented by the negative symbol at the bottom of the vertical line), the separation strategy is defined. From the perspective of the larger society (the circle on the right), encouraging the maintenance of the migrant group’s
heritage culture while also taking an interest in developing a relationship with that migrant community results in the employment of the multicultural strategy. In this way Berry’s framework outlines how the nature of intercultural contact is “rooted in the distinction between orientations towards one’s own group and those towards other groups . . . a relative preference for cultural continuity or contact” (Berry, 2006a, p. 34). These orientations are shaped by a number of factors, including the sociopolitical background of the communities and the reason behind the contact. Berry (2006a) has identified three dimensions that account for such influencing factors:

- Voluntariness of contact. To what extent did the individual or group choose to come into contact with the other? Are they acculturating voluntarily or involuntarily?
- Mobility. Did this group receive the migrating population, or were they the migrating population?
- Permanence. Is the period of contact temporary or permanent?

Berry’s acculturation framework, as seen in Figure 1.1, illuminates how responses to migration are affected by migrant groups’ and their host society’s emphases on heritage cultures and identities, and the extent to which migrant groups and host societies relate with one another. While Berry’s model identifies particular migrant acculturation strategies (integration, assimilation, separation and marginalisation) and host society policies (multiculturalism, melting pot, segregation or exclusion), the approach adopted by either group is influenced by factors such as the voluntariness and permanence of the contact. These factors affect not only what strategies are utilised, but also the direction and nature of the changes that result from cross-cultural exchange.

**Directionality and Dimensionality**

Two fundamental issues in all acculturation psychology research and theory are directionality and dimensionality (Sam, 2006; Sam & Berry, 2006). The former concerns the direction in which change takes place when groups experience contact and cultural exchange. For example, an assimilationist perspective suggests that one group undertakes the changing process by moving unidirectionally towards the other, stationary, group. Conversely, the assumption of a bidirectional perspective is that the
groups involved in exchange experience mutual change, although the extent of each group’s influence on the other may vary. This reciprocal influence imbalance often accounts for the “power differences, in terms of either economic power, military might or numerical strength” (p. 15) between the groups involved. Intertwined with directionality, the concept of dimensionality shifts the emphasis from the direction of the process of change to notions of cultural loss, maintenance and identity. The unidimensional position suggests that cultures involved in exchange exist on the same dimension but are mutually exclusive, and therefore cannot feasibly be maintained simultaneously. Thus the development of a new cultural identity necessitates the loss of the original cultural identity. Bidimensionality posits that the original culture and the new culture function on two separate dimensions. This enables groups to adopt new cultures through processes wholly unrelated to the maintenance of their original culture.

**Adopting the Fourfold Paradigm**

There is a significant body of literature related to music and acculturation, which is primarily concerned with how musical engagement affects ethnocultural identity and facilitates social cohesion and positive intergroup relations (see Bergh, 2010; Biddle & Knights, 2007; Campbell, 2011; Folkestad, 2002; Frankenberg et al., 2016; Gilboa, Yehuda & Amir, 2009; Grierson, 2006; Kirschner & Tomasello, 2010; Hebert, 2011; Marsh, 2012, 2013; Odena, 2010; Pettan, 2010; Sebastian, 2008; Sousa, Neto & Mullet, 2005; Slobin, 1992; Stokes, 1997; Turino & Lea, 2004; Whiteley, Bennett, & Hawkins, 2004). Much of this work represents an inversion of the current study’s areas of inquiry, and is therefore beyond the scope of this literature review. Honzlová’s (2012) work represents the only study of which I am aware that uses Berry’s acculturation psychology theory to examine how culture contact affects the musical practice of distinct ethnocultural groups in a particular multicultural region. In this way, the framework for Honzlová’s exploration of how specific types of self-representational music performances in the Czech Republic relates to migrant performers’ acculturation orientations directly parallels the current investigation. The

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3 For example, Frankenberg et al. (2016) and Marsh (2012) evaluate how music participation in formal music programs affects young migrant students’ orientation towards their heritage and host cultures, fostering social integration. The current study aims to identify the way that particular ethnocultural communities’ acculturation orientations are embedded in their everyday and ceremonial musical practices.
direct adoption of acculturation psychology is evident in Honzlová’s use of Berry’s fourfold typology to categorise various strategies regarding musical self-presentation. The performing musicians’ relationship with their audiences—in particular, the contrast between how they associate with ‘external’, Czech spectators and ‘internal’ patrons who are members of the immigrants’ communities—is central to Honzlová’s framework. In her findings Honzlová identifies four strategies that parallel Berry’s framework⁴, with the categories being differentiated not only by the interaction with audiences, but also by the level of visibility that the related performances enjoy. These strategies are outlined below.

- Impressive musical fusion, parallel to successful integration, occurs where various musics are fused and adapted to create “sophisticated and attractive ‘exotic’ music which is acceptable to a Czech or an international audience” (p. 375). This music reflects the musicians’ “multi-faced reality” (p. 375).

- Music of invisible enclaves, corresponding to separation, occurs when repertoire related to the musicians’ homeland is performed in private celebrations attended almost exclusively by participating community members.

- ‘Ethnic’ music for entertainment, aligned with marginalisation, occurs when immigrant musicians perform relatively familiar ‘ethnic’ music as background music. This is part of the accepted norms for particular social contexts, such as the performance of Cuban son in bars and restaurants. In these contexts the music is not the focus and there is very little interaction, and even acknowledgement, between the musicians and the listeners.

- ‘Exotic’ music as an example of multiculturality, or ‘seeming integration’, in which music is exoticised at events promoting multiculturalism. Honzlová suggests that this results in the Othering or spectacularisation of living traditions.

Honzlová (2012) emphasises that while the framework above reflects “the character and level of [the migrants’] integration in the Czech environment” (p. 384), the categories are dynamic and malleable in nature, utilised fluidly depending on the context. Honzlová demonstrates how, in studying the effect of culture contact on

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⁴ Because Honzlová examines musical performances in which migrants are intentionally representing their ethnocultural identities, no parallels for the assimilation strategy are explored.
musical practices, acculturation psychology can be exercised in a way that overcomes some of Kartomi’s (1981) concerns. Firstly, in utilising Berry’s framework, Honzlová withdraws from the historically assimilationist affiliations of the term acculturation, establishing an interdisciplinary link to its widely accepted definition in acculturation psychology. While Kartomi argued that the term acculturation was confusing because of two common yet divergent interpretations of the term that were present at the time—the first of which refers to the adoption of a different culture, and the second of which refers to the loss of culture—bidimensionality allows for acculturation psychology to address both in a single, coherent theory. Certainly, both of these components are attended to in a holistic manner by Honzlová (2012).

Honzlová’s framework shifts the focus from the musicological, analytical elements of specific genres to the organisational schemes that shape specific musical self-representations. In doing so, she highlights the musicians’ intentions as responses to how they are perceived, and the cultural expectations placed upon them in the environments studied. By studying musical phenomena as self-presentation, Honzlová draws attention away from the parent musics to that which Kartomi considered central: the music that is currently practised, the offspring music. In discussing intercultural musical synthesis and disputing the usefulness of tracing the heritage of specific musical elements, Kartomi argues, “It is a matter of setting into motion an essentially creative process, that is, the transformation of complexes of interacting musical and extramusical ideas” (p. 233). Despite Kartomi’s assertion that the lens of acculturation prevents one from discerning this creative process, Honzlová’s (2012) conclusion echoes her position:

Musicians are active agents who choose and elaborate their self-presentation and they consciously realize their intentions there. . . . [T]he way immigrants treat their music, how they adapt and arrange it, how they conceptualize the “authenticity” or “representativeness” of their music (representing “their” culture to Czechs), and the way of their overall self-presentation reflect the character and level of their integration in the Czech environment. The framework of their activities is based on the identification and fulfilment of expectations of an audience with whom they aspire to interact. Different features of each musical self-presentation then imply their acceptability and appropriateness in each context. (p. 383)

It is clear that utilising acculturation psychology enables the study of music acculturation to overcome a number of Kartomi’s (1981) concerns. However, despite its usefulness, Berry’s fourfold model does not explicitly address what was perhaps
Kartomi’s central contention with acculturation as a concept: the assertion that pure, isolated cultures exist before culture contact. Even within the discipline of cross-cultural psychology, the fourfold paradigm and other elements of the most commonly examined acculturation theory have been questioned. In order to rationalise the adoption of Berry’s framework, and consequently its underlying assumptions, it is important to be aware of the arguments against Berry’s typology and other approaches to acculturation psychology.

**Beyond the Fourfold Paradigm**

**Theoretical and typological flaws.**

The assumptions behind Berry’s ubiquitous acculturation theory, including the fourfold paradigm and the strategies defined therein, have not gone unquestioned. A number of scholars have drawn attention to flaws within the concept and model, providing suggestions for alternative theories and methods (see Bhatia & Ram, 2009; Brown & Zagefka, 2011; Doucerain, Dere, & Ryder, 2013; Kwok-bun & Plüss, 2013; Rudmin, 2003; Sammut, 2012; Schwartz, Montgomery & Briones, 2006; Schwartz, Unger, Zamboanga, & Szapocznik, 2010; Schwartz, Vignoles, Brown & Zagefka, 2014; van Oudenhoven & Benet-Martínez, 2015; Weinreich, 2009). Weinreich (2009) asserts that there are two central weaknesses in Berry’s model of acculturation. Firstly, he argues that the assumption that agency and self-awareness are exercised in choosing acculturation strategies is misplaced. He contends that the notion of ‘strategies’ connotes that people actively determine their attitudes towards mainstream and heritage cultures. Instead, he argues, these convictions are not consciously decided but shaped by their “biographical history of successively made identifications” (p. 130).

The second inadequacy Weinreich identifies in Berry’s model is what he considers over-simplification in framing the process as the rejection or acceptance, or moving away or moving towards, mainstream or heritage culture. In view of these weaknesses, Weinreich suggests that enculturation more accurately encapsulates organic self-identification processes. In contrast to the acculturation models in which cultures are conceptualised holistically, Weinreich argues that enculturation more precisely expresses individuals’ tendencies to adopt specific cultural components with which they naturally identify. At the heart of this concept is not a confrontation between
macro mainstream and heritage cultures, but rather, essentialist sentiments attached to
the notions of ethnic ancestry and cultural orthodoxy.

Weinreich’s reservations about framing the outcomes of culture contact as
conscious strategies that reflect specific attitudes resonates with findings by Rudmin
(2003) and Sammut (2012). In keeping with Weinreich’s emphasis on the significance
of a person’s biographical history, Rudmin argues that acculturation typologists ignore
situational variables such as access to employment and other environmental signifiers.
By omitting these variables from the research, the causal explanations in findings
become biased towards what are characterised as inherent constitutions, such as
attitudes and personality, which are central to the typology. Sammut (2012) also
disputes the fourfold paradigm’s prioritisation of attitudes, contending that a capacity
to relate to others’ differing views is more relevant to achieving positive intercultural
relations and successful acculturation outcomes. Sammut reaches this conclusion by
presenting findings from a study of Maltese immigrants in the UK. The three cases
discussed in the article would have been difficult to examine using traditional
acculturation frameworks, supporting Sammut’s notion that acculturation is not
necessarily associated with migratory and settlement attitudes so much as the ability to
see from other perspectives.

Work by Weinreich (2009), Rudmin (2003) and Sammut (2012) represents a small
sample of literature which problematises the nature of the acculturation process and in
particular its theoretical framing (other examples include Bhatia & Ram, 2009;
Doucerain et al., 2013; van Oudenhoven & Benet-Martínez, 2015). Other critiques of
acculturation typology evaluate specific acculturation strategies as defined and
advocated by the Berry framework. For example, Schwartz, Unger, Zamboanga and
Szapocznik (2010) dispute the validity of the marginalisation strategy, which they
assert is theoretically flawed. They suggest that developing a cultural sense of self is
inherently reliant on availing oneself of accessible cultural elements, an actuality that
marginalisation disregards. In addition to this suppositional fault, Schwartz et al.
(2010) support their argument against the notion of marginalisation by contending that
it seems to be absent from empirical findings. Similarly, Weinreich (2009) questions
Berry’s (1997, 2001, 2006c) assertion that integration is the strategy most likely to
result in positive, psychological wellbeing for minority groups, and which is most
negatively related to discrimination. He cites empirical research demonstrating how
those who maintain what they perceive to be orthodox traditions in their culture, and “remain with their unchanging sense of ethnic identity” (p. 134), have experienced higher self-evaluation and less identity diffusion than those who have integrated.

**Methodological faults.**

Theoretical and typological flaws are not the only problems identified with current inquiries into acculturation. Common approaches to studying acculturation have also raised questions regarding the deficiencies of chosen research designs. Brown and Zagefka (2011) assert that, at the time of the article’s publication, many studies only investigated one group in isolation and majority groups tended to be neglected. They argue that this is particularly incompatible with acculturation studies because it is inherently an intergroup phenomenon and a matter of exchange. Instead, Brown and Zagefka suggest that acculturation researchers should simultaneously assess majority and minority groups, empirically examining encounters of intergroup interactions, both experimentally and in naturalistic contexts. Rudmin (2003) also calls for a focus on both minority and majority groups, recommending the adoption of qualitative methods to understand the motivating factors of each, from their own perspectives.

Schwartz, Vignoles, Brown and Zagefka (2014) strengthen the advocacy for acculturation to be studied as a particular manifestation of intergroup relations. They encourage the trend in the most recent acculturation studies and theories, which draw attention to the bidimensional nature of acculturation and heavily emphasise the intergroup exchanges that are prioritised in findings by Rudmin (2003) and Brown and Zagefka (2011). However, Schwartz et al. (2014) contend that there is still neglect of several variables that foster the interplay between migrant and receiving groups in any particular context, and the ways in which these ultimately moderate the acculturation process. These variables can be defined by a number of relevant theories and concepts that Schwartz et al. outline, including, among others: self-categorisation theory, in which people define themselves by observing and comparing ingroup and outgroup differences; social identity theory, which suggests that social identities arise from a recognition of favourable group distinctiveness (Tajfel & Turner, 1986); reactive ethnicity, which suggests that some minority groups might hold onto their heritage identities more aggressively in reaction to perceived or actual discrimination; and segmented assimilation, which takes into consideration the multiple cultures available
to adopt or assimilate into aside from the mainstream one. Here, the significance of identity resonates with Schwartz et al.’s (2010) reconceptualisation of acculturation, which shifts the focus from affective, behavioural and cognitive changes to changes in cultural identity.

**Faults in the key terminology.**

Both Schwartz et al. (2010) and Schwartz et al. (2014) expand on the connection between acculturation and identity, representing literature which interrogates acculturation psychology not on the basis of its theoretical and typological construction, nor on commonly used research designs, but on the way grand, underlying concepts are defined. Building on arguments by Schwartz et al. (2006), the relationship between acculturation and identity is recognised as interdependent, with migrants’ sense of personal, social and cultural identity a significant determinant of their adaptive response to contextual change. Through interventions that promote positive identity development in young migrants and foster accessibility in the receiving society, difficulties throughout acculturative processes can be alleviated. Weinreich (2009) also emphasises the role of identity in response to migration, where conflicts in identification are addressed through producing innovatory expressions of newly constructed identities. While both Schwartz et al. (2006) and Weinreich (2009) draw attention to identity as foundational to acculturation, their divergent conceptions of identity shape their explication of how the two interrelate. Schwartz highlights the interplay between personal, social and cultural dimensions of identity, and Weinreich underscores the perception of self in relation to a temporal awareness of existence, claiming that a person’s identity is defined as, “the totality of one’s self-construal, in which how one construes oneself in the present expresses the continuity between how one construes oneself as one was in the past and how one construes oneself as one aspires to be in the future” (p. 127).

Other concepts foundational to acculturation theory include nationality and ethnicity. Brown and Zagefka (2011) argue that future acculturation research should consider how nationality and ethnicity are conceptualised and portrayed. In particular, they question whether the notions are presented in ways that could be characterised as essentialist. Arguably, the fourfold acculturation model could be interpreted as delineating between exclusive groups, the members of which share intrinsic and
permanent features that determine to which group they can belong. Brown and Zagefka’s inquiry into the conceptualisation of ethnicity and nationality echoes Weinreich’s (2009) concerns. The latter contends that ethnicity and ethnic identity are not as definitively bounded as implied by Berry’s model of acculturation, and instead that “developments following migrations, technological innovations, inter-mixing and hybrid marriages will result in changing boundaries between distinctive ethnic groups and in some cases make for porous boundaries between them” (Weinreich, 2009, p. 128).

Other critiques of acculturation psychology contend that the discipline ignores definitions and theories of culture, despite the inherent presence and significance of the phenomenon to its etymology (Boski, 2008; Chirkov, 2009; Tardif-Williams & Fisher, 2009; Weinreich, 2009). In critically analysing the trends in acculturation research at the time, Chirkov (2009) argued that culture itself was absent from acculturation studies. According to Chirkov, culture is commonly operationalised in a way that suggests its direct correspondence with notions of ethnicity or nationality. Instead Chirkov asserts that, although they are related, these terms are not interchangeable. Therefore, without first establishing a definition of culture, acculturation research promotes the conception of culture as a generic, essentialist and predetermined entity (see also Tardif-Williams & Fisher, 2009; Weinreich, 2009).

As demonstrated, critics have questioned typological, theoretical, methodological and definitional elements of Berry’s fourfold model of acculturation. Berry (2009) has responded strongly to a number of the criticisms outlined above, arguing that most of the critics’ assertions are not corroborated by direct reference to his work, but instead are protestations that do not accurately reflect his acculturation theories. For example, he contends that rather than dismissing critical issues such as power dynamics in majority–minority group relations, or the extent to which conscious choice is exercised by acculturating groups, acculturation theory provides a framework within which such issues can and have been examined. In other words, while such concerns may not be explicitly incorporated into the fourfold paradigm, it does not mean that the model is an unsuitable instrument for investigating the multilayered and nuanced realities of cross-cultural contact and exchange. The extent to which such realities can be examined through acculturation psychology in general, and Berry’s model in
particular, is particularly evident in literature pertaining to acculturation in multicultural contexts.

**Acculturation in Multicultural Contexts**

Berry’s (2013) review of 40 years of Canadian acculturation research has highlighted three ways in which multiculturalism has manifested itself as a phenomenon worthy of study: “as demographic fact (the presence of cultural diversity in the Canadian population) . . . as an ideology (the general desirability among Canadians for maintaining and sharing this diversity); and as a public policy (governmental orientation and actions towards this fact)” (p. 664). These three categories exist in acculturation literature around the world, with the definitional emphasis in each driving divergent findings. In particular, the limited use of the term multiculturalism to describe demographic cultural diversity has led to its conflation with separatist rather than integrative attitudes, contributing to the notion that it “carries the risk of accentuating cultural differences . . . and exacerbates the ‘us–them’ type of thinking” (Berry, Poortinga, Bruegelmans, Chasiotis & Sam, 2011, p. 340). Everyday usage of the term has also taken on this meaning, encapsulated by the idiom ‘multiculturalism has failed’. Importantly, such critiques often refer to societies wherein the scope of multicultural policy is limited to the tolerance and celebration of different cultures (Berry, 2013; Berry & Sam, 2013; Leong & Liu, 2013). Tseung-Wong and Verkuyten (2013) argue that this restriction is reflected in most social psychological research, which primarily investigates the endorsement of multicultural ideology by majority and minority group members and the consequential effects on intercultural attitudes. He suggests that such literature fails to observe the equitable participation and civic belonging of each group.

In contrast, within acculturation psychology multiculturalism involves two key emphases as indicated by its position in the fourfold paradigm: the maintenance of the heritage cultures and identities of various ethnocultural communities in a multicultural society; and the equal participation of all of these communities in the broader life of the society (Berry, 2013; Berry & Sam, 2013; Berry et al., 2011). As was alluded to in previous sections of this chapter, Berry (1997, 2001, 2006b, 2006c, 2013) posits that multiculturalism, and its ideological counterpart integration, constitute the most positive, successful adaptation strategy available to individuals and groups living in culturally diverse societies. Three interrelated hypotheses explicate the key principles
of this multicultural ideology (Asaratnam, 2013; Berry, 2006b, 2013; Berry & Sam, 2013; Berry et al., 2011; Noor & Leong, 2013). The Multicultural Hypothesis proposes that confidence in one’s ethnic and cultural identity, as well as one’s socioeconomic status, leads to, “sharing, respect for others and the reduction of discriminatory attitudes” (Berry et al., 2011, p. 344). The Integration Hypothesis posits that psychological and social wellbeing increases when individuals and groups engage with mainstream and minority groups. Relatedly, the Contact Hypothesis asserts that the contact between mainstream and minority groups necessarily promotes mutual acceptance.

Empirical studies elucidate lived experiences related to these three hypotheses. Berry et al. (2011) assert that since its introduction, the Multicultural Hypothesis has been largely substantiated. However, in a review of 35 years of multicultural literature in the *International Journal of Intercultural Relations*, Asaratnam (2013) has found that,

Majority groups prefer that minority groups should assimilate, except in instances where they perceive that the minority groups’ migration is involuntary. Minority groups, on the other hand, generally prefer to maintain their own culture . . . Tensions between majority and minority groups may escalate unless efforts are made to foster common ground; perhaps by emphasizing that uniformity is not a pre-requisite for unity. (p. 680)

Noor and Leong’s (2013) and Sibley and Ward’s (2013) findings resonate with this recommendation. Noor and Leong (2013) examine the veracity of the Multicultural Hypothesis by comparing Singaporean and Malaysian acculturation processes. She has found that in Malaysia, the governmental use of ethnic labels as political categories carrying distinct privileges results in negative inter-group attitudes. In contrast, Singapore’s policies are found to foster a multiculturalism that “emphasises self-reliance, justice and equality to produce an inclusive, superordinate Singaporean identity” (p. 723). Despite a history of harmonious multiculturalism, however, the recent rise of immigration to Singapore has produced new levels of resource competition that threaten existing intercultural relations, supporting the Multicultural Hypothesis. Similarly, Sibley and Ward (2013) have found that while there is widespread ideological support for multicultural principles in New Zealand, resource redistribution based on group-level structural inequality is not favoured. In this way, these studies demonstrate how the hypotheses underlying multicultural ideology are
conditional, as qualified by Berry’s (2013) statement that, “A high level of social cohesion will only be attained when the transition to civic incorporation is achieved” (p. 673).

Both Noor and Leong (2013) and Sibley and Ward (2013) investigated culturally diverse contexts that contained several ethnocultural groups, making reference to dominant group bias. Some acculturation researchers have suggested that contemporary multicultural contexts cannot be adequately examined through majority–minority or mainstream–heritage distinctions, as new patterns of migration and globalising technology re-shape individual and collective identities. It is argued that the bidimensionality of the fourfold paradigm does not account for such hyper-diversity (Doucerain et al., 2013) or superdiversity (van de Vijver, Blommaert, Gkoumasi, & Stogianni, 2015), wherein cultural affiliations are multilayered, dynamic and mobile, and sometimes involve a recombination of elements from various ethnocultural groups. This is particularly the case because in many regions ‘majorities’ are increasingly fading in dominance due to continued migration (see van Oudenhoven & Benet-Martínez, 2015).

In order to account for multiple and combined cultural affiliations, various identity frameworks have been developed within acculturation psychology. Arasaratnam (2013) posits that growing up in multicultural environments with several cultural influences results in the formation of blended identities marked by low levels of ethnocentrism and high levels of intercultural competence. Similarly, Doucerain et al. (2013) have found evidence of individuals engaging in naturalistic frame switching between various cultural behaviours, dependent upon contextual cues. The fluidity inherent in these processes suggests “a hybrid cultural identification . . . [that] might represent a qualitatively different phenomenon, rather than a mere mid-point between heritage and mainstream poles” (p. 697). This phenomenon resonates with Kim’s (2008, 2015) notion of intercultural personhood, in which individuals respond to prolonged periods of cross-cultural exchange by identity transformations “defined not by the characteristics of a set of two or more specific cultures, but by one of the well-known cultural maxims: the whole is greater than the sum of its parts” (2015, p. 7).

Notably, acculturation psychology literature is not governed entirely by these transcendent identity constructs, and categorical, structural understandings of blended identities continue to be used. Models such as Bicultural Identity Integration (BII)
have been developed to measure and describe the relationship between mainstream and heritage affiliations within bicultural identities, representing the extent to which the distinct values, ideas and norms with which one is affiliated are considered to be in conflict with each other (see Benet-Martínez, Leu, Lee, & Morris, 2002; Phinney & Devich-Navarro, 1997; van Oudenhoven & Benet-Martínez, 2015). Such models are discrepant with identity constructs, such as those espoused by Doucerain et al. (2013) and Kim (2008, 2015), which contradict the compartmentalisation of cultural identity influences. For example, very recent research by Liu (2015) has found that for Chinese in Australia, bicultural identity is generally experienced as switching between, rather than merging, mainstream and heritage cultures, which are perceived by participants to be distinct. Liu explains that for those who regularly switch identities, their fluency in the English language and adoption of Anglo-Australian cultural norms do not preclude their continual recognition as ‘Other’ because of their physical appearance. In this way, Liu’s research highlights the ways in which systemic conditions are instrumental in shaping how acculturation and intercultural identity development are experienced in multicultural contexts. Given the importance of these macro factors, the following section contextualises the current study, providing a brief overview of cultural diversity and multicultural policy in Australia.

**Multicultural Australia**

From the country’s colonisation in 1788, Australia’s nationalist narratives have undermined Indigenous sovereignty and normalised White Australian national belonging⁵. From 1901 onwards, a series of racially defined migration and citizenship laws that have collectively come to be known as the White Australia Policy officially sanctioned the standardisation of this narrative⁶. Modifications to these laws gradually became more inclusive, with significant shifts after World War 2 until, in 1973, the Whitlam government abolished the last traces of racial discrimination within the migration act. The intervening period, in which Australia accepted increasingly diverse migrant groups, was also marked by a slow shift away from resettlement policies championing cultural assimilation. By the time the Whitlam government dismantled the last vestiges of the White Australia Policy, the notion of multiculturalism had been introduced into the national discourse. Four years later, the Fraser Government

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⁵ Australia’s history of white assimilation will be examined in greater length in Chapter 7.

⁶ For example, the *Immigration Restriction Act 1901* restricted migration to Anglo-Celtic applicants.
administered the country’s first official multicultural policies. These policies, codified in response to the *Galbally Report* (Galbally, 1978), provided guidelines for promoting equal opportunity and access among all migrants. They also emphasised support for the maintenance of migrants’ heritage cultures, which were seen to be useful throughout the course of resettlement.

Since Berry’s (1997) advocacy for integrationist and multicultural strategies for navigating cultural plurality, a debate has developed between supporters of multiculturalism and proponents of social cohesion (see for example Martineau, 2012; Meer & Modood, 2012; Sammut, 2012). The debate, which has surfaced in the arenas of politics, public policy and academia, impacts considerably on the contexts in which acculturation is currently examined. This includes Australia, the context for the current study, where history, character and government policy have invariably been shaped by the country’s sometimes controversial immigration policies (Burke, 2002).

Harris (2009) asserts that multiculturalism has traditionally been conceptualised and enacted in ways that construct and universalise majority ‘norms’. In focusing on multiculturalism in the context of Australian youth studies, Harris supports Hage’s (2000) argument that multiculturalism propagates an Anglo-centric ‘white nation fantasy’, manifesting in an essentialised Australian culture and nation that Others can and should adapt to. Harris’s critique also resonates with Martineau’s (2012) observation of the separatism in mismanaged multiculturalism, in that differences are objectified and fetishised by the dominant culture and fixed ethnic cultures are encouraged to “harmoniously ‘live-apart-together’” (p. 191). Further, in keeping with Martineau’s argument, Harris identifies the positive potential in cultural clashes. From this perspective, racist conflicts are considered stages in a developing set of social relations, and an inevitable part of the democratic process of claim-making that constitutes *everyday multiculturalism*.

Dunn and Nelson (2011) criticise multiculturalism on different grounds, claiming that multiculturalism advocates are frustrated with current multiculturalism policies because the emphasis on celebrating diversity fails to address everyday issues about racism and privilege. *New racism* consists of discourses of denial and deflection as opposed to outright, direct racism. This type of racism ensures that the cultural elite are not subjected to the discomfort of acknowledging their cultural privileges. Dunn and Nelson identify the presence of this type of racism in Australia in both mainstream
media and public sector employment, where Anglo Australian cultural privilege is evident in significant over-representation.

Ho (2011) addresses a similar concern, considering the abandonment of public schools in Western Sydney by the local Anglo Australian communities. While schools generally characterise micropublics, where engagement and negotiation across difference is unavoidable, Australian governmental policies have promoted further division between public and private sectors of schooling, leading to cultural (ethno- and religious-) segregation that limits everyday multiculturalism in these settings. In keeping with Martineau’s (2012) and Harris’s (2009) findings, Ho claims that multiculturalism often fails to acknowledge the inevitable conflict of worldviews, asserting that this is a result of the Western liberal’s traditionally idealised goal of harmony. This approach to multiculturalism results in related programs aiming to address issues of difference by recognising and realising previously unperceived commonalities. Ho suggests that it would be more helpful and realistic to aim for recognition of the other's legitimate presence in a shared space through negotiation in cohabitation. While this already occurs in culturally diverse schools, potential encounters with difference will continue to decrease if the trend in public–private schooling continues. On the other hand, Blair (2015) has found that for Anglo-Celtic youths in the Western Sydney region of Penrith, participation in everyday multicultural spaces (such as culturally diverse schools) does not necessarily foster positive intercultural engagement. She calls for

- safe spaces and means for dialogue as platforms that allow people to actively engage with the ideas and values of others, to debate and critique, to passionately reject the beliefs/ideas they feel are worth rejecting . . . a set of procedures and norms are needed that allow the possibility of incompatibility to be acknowledged. (p. 446)

Importantly, recent governmental shifts from multicultural to social cohesion policies have been criticised for returning to assimilationist, Anglo-centric homogeneity. The Australian shift towards social cohesion is outlined in Harris’s (2010) brief review of increasingly integrationist policies, from Multicultural Australia: The Way Forward (National Multicultural Advisory Council, 1997) to A National Action Plan to Build on Social Cohesion (Department of Immigration and Multicultural and Indigenous Affairs, 2006). Criticisms of the government’s multicultural agenda at the time of writing suggest that, on the federal level, these
trends have continued. In particular, former Prime Minister Abbott’s championing of the term ‘Team Australia’ have been questioned as a device through which Muslim and Arab Australians’ national commitment are unfairly interrogated\(^7\) (Crowe, 2014; Grattan, 2014). Further, appointments to the federal Multicultural Council are characterised as exhibiting “no sense of a government for whom these multicultural issues are anything other than marginally symbolic” (Jakubowicz, 2015b, n.p.), while local governments and the state service Multicultural NSW have been embroiled in a controversy surrounding the commemoration of violent, overseas events (Jakubowicz, 2015a).

Exploring the validity of either side of these debates is beyond the scope of this chapter. However, in order to provide a sociopolitical context for this multiple case study, it is important to highlight the prevalence of such arguments within Australia’s political and public domain. Although some of the literature pertains to issues that occurred outside of the time and place of data collection, they have been reviewed in order to encapsulate the general landscape in which multiculturalism has been (and continues to be) experienced in Australia.

### Defining the Areas of Inquiry

A review of acculturation literature problematises the seemingly sharp demarcations in Berry’s fourfold model, especially in relation to contemporary manifestations of multicultural society. This study aims to examine musical acculturation in light of the various complexities highlighted here, with particular emphasis on how multiculturalism is encountered and enacted by Australians with different ethnocultural backgrounds. In order to clarify the focus of investigation, and ameliorate terminological critiques of earlier acculturation studies (see p. 13), key terms will be defined below.

Although the term *ethnocultural group* could imply a collective based exclusively around ethnicity\(^8\), in the context of the current study the term should be taken to pertain to intersectional modes of self-identification involving the dimensions of

\(^7\) Former Prime Minister Abbott used this phrase in the context of discussing anti-terror laws that would revoke citizenship from those connected with terrorism, defining Australian nationalism in opposition to security threats. At the same time, there were debates about amending Section C of the *Racial Discrimination Act* to remove legal protections from racial vilification (in the name of free speech) and the ongoing controversies about Australia’s asylum seeker policies.

\(^8\) The dictionary definition of the term ‘ethnocultural’ refers selectively to ethnicity (*Australian Oxford dictionary*, 2004).
ethnicity, culture and nationality. The boundaries around and within which these categories are defined, constitutes one of the study’s core areas of inquiry. In this way ethnocultural identities, both individual and collective, are considered malleable constructs. The processes through which such construction takes place vary across each of the case studies, as will be discussed in detail in the findings chapters.

Similarly, this thesis aims to address issues raised by postmodern anthropologists, pertaining to culture as a fixed notion that disregards agentive individuals and their varied experiences (Berry et al., 2011). The constant fluctuations in social and cultural interactions, from which participants actively derive meaning and self-identification, are investigated. At the same time, the concept of culture is not rejected. Instead, it is considered a useful construct within which the shaping of such meaning and self-identification can be explored. In particular, this thesis aligns with Berry et al.’s (2011) twofold conceptualisation of culture as involving both an external, objective reality that characterises the lifestyle of a collective group, and an internal, intersubjective, “set of shared meanings and symbols that are constantly being created and re-created during the course of social relationships” (p. 228). At various points throughout the findings, either (or both) of these dyadic culture dimensions are examined, as determined by the participants’ own frameworks for understanding and clarifying their cultural experiences. Similarly, heritage is employed in terms of the participants’ own constructions of the term, in relation to their country of origin or ethnocultural group membership. In its totality, the phrase heritage culture and identity refers to how individuals think and feel about themselves in terms of their country of origin or ethnocultural self-identification, and the culture (in both senses of the word) with which they are therefore affiliated. In the context of this study, heritage culture and identity is examined with a specific focus on musical (and associated dance) forms of cultural expression. It is important to note that this emphasis on musical cultural expression does not encompass musical analysis of the examples included. While some of the aesthetic elements of the music are dissected, this is done in a limited way, and only where such analysis serves to highlight broader findings about the social aspects of heritage culture and identity expressed in performances.

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9 Berry et al. (2011) refer to these two types of culture as ‘culture 1’ and ‘culture 2’, as coined by Hunt (2007).
10 The nature and construction of these boundaries can be convoluted, as will be explored at length in the findings chapters (especially, as will be seen, in the White Australian case study).
This study aligns with Berry’s (2009) argument that the acculturation framework is a valid construction within which complex issues underlying cross-cultural contact and exchange can be examined. The definitions provided for ethnocultural group, and heritage culture and identity, draw attention to the thoroughness with which participants’ identities and musical lives are considered. In attending to the various experiential and contextual particularities, it is intended that this study competently answers the matters raised by acculturation sceptics such as Chirkov (2009), in keeping with the discipline’s recent, self-reflective body of literature (see Ward & Kagitcibasi, 2010). Taking this into account, *musical acculturation* constitutes the broad framework for the study, insofar as the main areas of inquiry are the processes involved in musical cultural exchanges between initially distinct cultural groups, and the changes enacted in each as a result of these cultural exchanges. Importantly, the tripartite multiple case study design inherently constructs musical acculturation as a potentially multidirectional phenomenon (see pp. 6–7).

**Outline of the Thesis**

In this chapter, I have outlined the aims of this thesis and provided a framework for investigating the stated areas of inquiry. In order to contextualise this interdisciplinary project, I have reviewed ethnomusicological studies that have explicitly linked music with acculturation, and explained why the latter term has since fallen into general disuse within the discipline of musicology. I have also reviewed the literature related to acculturation psychology, with a particular focus on Berry’s (2001) definitive fourfold paradigm that has shaped the parameters of this study, as well as its application in multicultural societies. Finally, I have contextualised the project in relation to sociopolitical and cultural factors related to Australia as a multicultural nation. In reviewing these varied bodies of literature, this chapter provides a rationale for studying cross-cultural musical exchanges and cultural self-identification through the lens of acculturation. Further, in outlining the foundational terminology underlying this project, this chapter also aims to situate the study’s adopted methodological principles.

In Chapter 2 *Methodology* the tenets underlying the study’s chosen methods are reflected upon, with especial attention drawn to researcher positionality and the significance of Blacktown as the broad context under examination. The chapter
provides details about the sampling, data collection and data analysis practices that were employed throughout the investigation, with continued consideration of related epistemological and ethical issues. It is intended that these reflections will constitute valuable contributions to the body of literature on qualitative methodology.

The findings of each case study are considered individually in Chapters 3 and 4, 5 and 6, and 7, respectively. Chapters 3 and 4 examine the South Sudanese Australian community, Chapters 5 and 6 the Filipino Australian community, and Chapter 7 the White Australian community. In Chapters 3 and 5, South Sudanese and Philippine migration to Australia and subsequent resettlement trends are reviewed, before each community’s significance within the Blacktown region is explained. These outlines provide context for subsequent chapters 4 and 6, which examine each community’s musical activities with particular focus on cross-cultural musical exchanges and the self-representation of cultural identities. The complexity of the White Australian community as a collective ethnocultural identification necessitates its conceptual and structural distinction from the first two case studies. Here, the emphasis is on how whiteness constitutes Australia’s perceived mainstream culture. Thus, Chapter 7 integrates an examination of the sociopolitical and historical factors underlying this cultural dominance with related findings about the musical lives of this study’s White Australian participants. The contrast between the three case studies highlights the different ways cultural exchange is experienced by participants of varying backgrounds, ages and migration histories.

The final chapter Musical Acculturation in Blacktown draws comparisons between the three case studies in order to address the areas of inquiry more broadly. While the previous five chapters aim to richly detail how musical acculturation is experienced within the characteristic milieu of each community, Chapter 8 goes beyond thick description to provide a more panoramic analysis of the data with reference to acculturation psychology models. This theorising is followed by a discussion about the implications that musical acculturation has for community music and music education sectors, as well as cultural and arts policy, and acculturation studies more generally. In particular, recommendations are made in relation to how multiculturalism is positioned ideologically both within Blacktown and, more widely, Australia.
Chapter 2
Methodology

Ethnographic Grounded Theory

The central aim of this thesis is to investigate the musical lives of its participants, elucidating the relationship between various aspects of cross-cultural contact, including the sociohistorical and political factors under which it takes place, and how such factors determine orientations towards acculturation and experiences of ethnocultural identity and community. This study’s areas of inquiry emphasise pre-existing contexts and musical experiences, echoing the qualitative preference for the “study of natural social life” (Saldaña, 2011, p. 3). Denzin and Lincoln (2008) describe the qualitative methodological approach as the “study [of] things in their natural settings, attempting to make sense of, or interpret, phenomena in terms of the meanings people bring to them” (p. 4). In order to understand and represent participants’ perspectives and musical experiences I draw on aspects of several genres of qualitative research (Saldaña, 2011), most notably ethnography and grounded theory.

Like many terms that have evolved throughout the complex history of anthropological research, ethnography, in both definition and practice, is neither distinct nor uncontested. Some descriptions of ethnographic work seem synonymous with explanations of qualitative research, emphasising natural settings as the context for study. In a list of ethnographic characteristics, the first feature that Hammersley and Atkinson (2007) identify is the context in which research takes place. Unlike studies in which the researcher establishes the conditions, ethnographic work is conducted in the everyday settings in which the studied phenomena naturally occur. In ethnography,

[t]he search for universal laws is downplayed in favour of detailed accounts of the concrete experience of life within a particular culture and of the beliefs and social rules that are used as resources within it. Indeed, attempts to go beyond this, for instance to explain particular cultural forms, are sometimes discouraged. (Hammersley & Atkinson, 2007, p. 9)

Ethnography is also pertinent to the stated areas of inquiry because of its long establishment as a method for local studies (Deegan, 2001). The propensity for ethnographers to investigate and depict the interplay between a local place and the
social patterns therein correlates with my research. This is apparent in that my areas of inquiry include Blacktown as a local city area, the shared and exclusive musicking of distinct ethnocultural groups residential to the region, the extra-musical (e.g. social, cultural) effects of these activities, and the relationship between the preceding.

In the fields of both grounded theory and ethnography there are proponents for an integration of the two methods (Charmaz, 2014; Charmaz & Mitchell, 2001; Hammersley & Atkinson, 2007; Timmermans & Tavory, 2007). While in practice the methods are not mutually exclusive, ethnography accentuates submersion in empirical data towards eventual rich and detailed descriptions of everyday life and traditional grounded theory emphasises the development of theory with little or no influence from extant concepts or categories. Despite these and further underlying differences (such as epistemological foundations) the ways in which a combination of these methods is useful include more focused data collection and theoretical interpretation for ethnographers and more attention to detail in grounded theory. This is particularly pertinent because “limited data and ‘instant’ theorizing have long been associated with grounded theory” (Charmaz & Mitchell, 2014, p. 43), which was developed in response to richly descriptive qualitative research that failed to provide sociologically significant conceptual abstractions (Timmermans & Tavory, 2007).

In particular this study adopts a constructivist approach to grounded theory (Charmaz, 2008, 2014), which moves away from the objectivist, positivist assumptions of the method’s earlier articulations. This practice does not reject the usage of pre-existing theoretical concepts or insist on the development of a completely original theory. Instead, constructivist grounded theory ensures that where extant abstractions are used they must, as Glaser (1978) asserted, earn their way into analysis. Thornberg (2012) outlines how informed grounded theory can use literature appropriately by adopting *data sensitizing principles*, including: theoretical agnosticism, in which existing theories should be considered “provisional, disputable and modifiable conceptual proposals” (p. 250); theoretical pluralism, which institutes negotiations between discrete and sometimes incompatible theoretical perspectives; and theoretical sampling of literature, in which the researcher is involved in an ongoing, cyclical process between data analysis, data collection and reviewing literature. These principles played a significant role in my approach to literature. In

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particular I utilised data sensitising principles when handling Berry’s (2001) acculturation theory, which was significant in the formation and direction of my research problem. Rather than using acculturation theory to predetermine the methodological approach or analytical categories, however, it is used to pose the foreshadowed problem; the starting point which grounds an ethnographer’s interest in a particular domain of social life (Hammersley & Atkinson, 2007). Unlike classic psychological acculturation studies, this study does not test the acculturation model but rather considers the various concepts encapsulated by the theory as a subject of ethnographic interest. Despite this pointed focus on the topic of acculturation—which is traditionally associated with quantitative, scientific methods—the research orientation remained open-ended and exploratory.

**Tracing Boundaries in the Multiple Case Study**

While this study sits within a qualitative paradigm and has been conducted in accordance with ethnographic grounded theory, it has also been designed as a multiple case study. Where case studies are characterised by the delineation of a single case (e.g. a person, group or place) that constitutes the subject of investigation, a multiple case study involves a number of such bounded cases. Unlike intrinsic case studies, in which the focus is on the specific case and not the comprehension of abstract concepts or theoretical phenomena (Stake, 2008), multiple case studies tend to explore phenomena or conceptual frameworks as they occur (or not) in various settings. This research involves three ethnocultural groups in Blacktown, each of which constitutes a single case within the multiple case study. These are the South Sudanese Australian community in Blacktown, the Filipino Australian community in Blacktown, and the White Australian community in Blacktown. As Stake suggests, these cases were not chosen to ascertain a thorough understanding of each particular case, in and of themselves. Instead they have been investigated to gain insight into how musical acculturation takes place in various contexts.

The cases chosen exist among an abundance of other ethnocultural communities in multicultural Blacktown and for the purposes of the study are conceptualised as

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12 Acculturation theory is traditionally studied as a model to be tested with quantitative instruments, the most common being the self-report questionnaire (Arends-Tóth & van de Vijver, 2006).

13 Coined by Malinowski (1922), who Hammersley and Atkinson (2007) refer to as the “often regarded . . . inventor of modern anthropological fieldwork” (p. 3).
distinct ethnocultural communities. However, these clear categorisations do not encompass uniform and distinct identities. Instead the heterogeneity that exists within each can result in contention over the boundaries that define community membership, a phenomenon explored in later chapters. In discussing how sampling processes in case studies differ from those in other qualitative research methods, Brown (2008) highlights the two-level sampling process intrinsic in the design. Researchers must first decide on the case to be studied before identifying potential participants within the case. Both of these levels of sampling are accounted for in the following chapters of the thesis. There, the significance of each chosen ethnocultural group is explained in order to justify its selection as a case study. Further, the rationale for inclusion of participants and relevant forms of data within each case study is likewise described.

While the sampling procedures for each individual case study will be discussed in further chapters, it is important to note the function of Blacktown in the formulation of this multiple case study, in that the local government area is the broader context under examination. Indeed, Blacktown could be conceived as the wider case study which the three internal case studies serve to explicate. Therefore the overall question with which this study is concerned is not, “How is the phenomenon of musical acculturation experienced within the South Sudanese Australian, Filipino Australian and White Australian communities in Blacktown?” Instead, the study aims to use these particular communities to gain an understanding of the more far-reaching question, “How is musical acculturation experienced in Blacktown?”

The purpose of strategically sampling particular ethnocultural groups within the area is to explore the effect of the many dimensions distinguishing acculturating groups. The bearing that these dimensions have on the current study is evident in the following research questions, which do not represent the broad areas of inquiry but illuminate some of the acculturation issues that were considered relevant.

- What is the effect of perceived dominance or non-dominance on musical cultural exchanges?
- Are the groups experiencing musical cultural exchange because of voluntary or involuntary contact?
- Is this contact permanent or temporary?
- Is the group being investigated the sedentary, receiving community or the community that has migrated, and what effect does this have?
By focusing on particular ethnocultural groups, this study allows for a comprehensive consideration of how such background experiences impact upon the adoption of particular musical acculturation strategies. As Swanborn (2010) explains, “a case study is an appropriate way to answer broad research questions, by providing us with a thorough understanding of how the process develops in this case” (p. 3).

Case studies are not associated with any particular research paradigm or methodological approach, but instead are identifiable by the focus on a particular case. Although they can exist across innumerable spheres of life, cases may be recognised wherever bounded social structures encompass distinguishable, characteristic features (Brown, 2008). As boundaries are the essential indicator of a case study, in my research design I have arbitrarily drawn boundaries around Blacktown as a geographical area and the broad context being investigated, and three ethnocultural groups within Blacktown, as individual cases to be studied. The abstract and intangible nature of these borderlines, however, became evident in the process of data collection. It would have been unproductive and nonrepresentative to erect inflexible boundaries around Blacktown and refuse to undertake research in related, but external, field sites. Members of the case study communities who reside in Blacktown attended and participated in a number of musical pursuits outside of the area. These pursuits included community-specific festivals that, for logistical reasons, were held in venues outside of Blacktown. To disregard these events would mean neglecting a number of experiences of great consequence to the ethnocultural groups, leaving the multiple case study incomplete. In this way, the perimeters that determine the multiple case study context are somewhat open-ended, accommodating for the examination of any experiences that shape the musical lives of those in Blacktown. The indistinct edges around Blacktown as the wider case study resonate with the suggestion that natural areas and social areas do not necessarily correlate (Brunt, 2001). Given the principal role that the site plays in the construction of this multiple case study, what follows is a justification for the selection of Blacktown as the context for this research.

Why Blacktown?

Blacktown is an area constituted by cultural pluralism, making it an appropriate context in which to study acculturation. Located in Western Sydney, which is recognised by census data experts as “Australia’s multicultural epicentre” (Glenn,
2012, n.p.)\textsuperscript{14}, the city of Blacktown was the place of settlement for the second largest number of migrant arrivals to NSW between 2006 and 2011 (Glenn, 2011). Despite such a substantial number of migrants, however, Blacktown is not overwhelmingly culturally diverse when compared with some of its Western Sydney neighbours. To a degree it owes its significant number of migrants to its population size, having been identified as the largest local government area in NSW (Blacktown City Council, 2012b). Table 2.1 demonstrates how, despite having a larger number of culturally and linguistically diverse (CALD) residents, Blacktown has a much smaller percentage of such residents in comparison with the other highest-ranking areas in NSW.

Table 2.1.\textsuperscript{15}

*Top 10 NSW Local Government Areas by Total Number of Culturally and Linguistically Diverse Residents*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Rank</th>
<th>Local government area</th>
<th>Total CALD</th>
<th>Total persons</th>
<th>CALD% of total persons</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>Fairfield</td>
<td>131,162</td>
<td>187,765</td>
<td>70%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>Blacktown</td>
<td>111,183</td>
<td>301,099</td>
<td>37%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>Bankstown</td>
<td>99,792</td>
<td>182,352</td>
<td>55%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>Liverpool</td>
<td>89,766</td>
<td>180,143</td>
<td>50%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>Canterbury</td>
<td>87,793</td>
<td>137,453</td>
<td>64%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>Parramatta</td>
<td>83,831</td>
<td>166,859</td>
<td>50%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>Rockdale</td>
<td>52,900</td>
<td>97,340</td>
<td>54%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>Auburn</td>
<td>52,376</td>
<td>73,737</td>
<td>71%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>Sydney</td>
<td>50,685</td>
<td>169,506</td>
<td>30%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>Holroyd</td>
<td>50,528</td>
<td>99,164</td>
<td>51%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Having established the significance of population density on Blacktown’s identification as the place of settlement for the second largest number of migrant arrivals to NSW in the five years subsequent to 2011, it is also important to note that compared with other Australian averages, Blacktown has a higher proportion of a)...

\textsuperscript{14} Web blog posts from .idblog provide reliable analyses of data sourced from Australian Bureau of Statistic censuses. .id is a company of population experts who aim to make the enormous census statistical data corpus more accessible by building demographic information products for, among other clients, local and state government.

\textsuperscript{15} This table has been taken directly from NSW Government (2012, p. 6).
persons born overseas and b) persons from a non-English speaking background. Table 2.2 compares Blacktown with Greater Western Sydney, Greater Sydney, NSW and Australia in terms of these variables.

Table 2.2.\textsuperscript{16}

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Blacktown</th>
<th>Greater Western Sydney</th>
<th>Greater Sydney</th>
<th>NSW</th>
<th>Australia</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Population born overseas</td>
<td>37.6%</td>
<td>35.3%</td>
<td>34.2%</td>
<td>25.7%</td>
<td>24.6%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Population from a non-</td>
<td>31.5%</td>
<td>29.8%</td>
<td>26.3%</td>
<td>18.6%</td>
<td>15.7%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>English speaking</td>
<td>background</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The above statistics outline Blacktown’s migration profile, illustrating its demographic relevance to the subjects of this study’s inquiry. However, Blacktown is also of particular sociological interest because of the city’s reputation as embodying the often negatively portrayed characteristics of Western Sydney. Burchell (2003) traces the historical evolution of the Western Sydney that exists in Australia’s national imaginary, citing Sydney’s housing development, born of a political will driven by World War 2, as a significant preamble. Throughout the middle decades of the 20th century new suburbs were built in Sydney, typified by fibro cottages and temporary classrooms that provoked ridicule from inhabitants of the older, more respected northern and eastern suburbs. This mockery of Western Sydney, whereby social stratum is determined by real estate, instigated the rise of

the twin axes of Sydney’s socio-political divide. . . .: it was Sydney versus the west (or, if you prefer, the west versus the rest). Even today the evening television’s news bulletins attribute every other homicide generically to a place called “Sydney’s west”. . . . Citizens of almost every fashionable suburb within 10 kilometres of the CBD regard the idea of moving to “the west” in roughly the same way that young members of the Victorian propertied classes regarded the possibility of being sent to “the colonies”. (Burchell, 2003, pp. 18–19)

The above quote intimates that the media has had a special part to play in the perception of Sydney’s west, a conjecture that other writers confirm (e.g. Collins & Poynting, 2000; Peel, 2003). Collins and Poynting (2000) argue that as the target

\textsuperscript{16} Taken from Blacktown City Council (2011b).
audience, the white, middle class, English-speaking majority’s views are perpetuated in the stereotypes and myths published in the mainstream press. Similarly, Peel (2003) identifies common phrases that emerge from news stories about western Sydney, which is a place that journalists “ventur[e] into” and find “mounting social problems” (p. 16). Mount Druitt, a suburb within the Blacktown local government area, has been described as: “the Housing Commission Ghetto” and “wasteland, wantland” by The Sydney Morning Herald (p. 16); “an Urban Desert” by The Australian (p. 16), and; “an underclass beset by social problems” by Time (p. 21).

Symonds (1997) offers an interesting analysis of the classist portrayal and rejection of the west, postulating that it reflects an underlying endeavour for modernity, enlightenment and urbanisation. Where Western Sydney is imagined to be associated with the Australian bush, the cosmopolitan centre of Sydney must spurn and shed this image to rightfully claim itself as a civilised, cultural city (Butler, 2007, p. 208). In such a dichotomy, Western Sydney becomes characterised as “a cultural wasteland. . . . Sydney’s historical waste” (Symonds, 1997, p. 88); a premise that accounts for some of the media descriptions identified by Peel (2003).

In some ways the depiction of Western Sydney as a cultural wasteland seems contradictory to its renown as Australia’s multicultural epicentre. How can the dwelling place of so many cultures lack culture? Despite the existence of many inherently cultural activities being pursued by Western Sydney residents (as demonstrated in later chapters), instead of being seen as a source of its abundant cultural richness, the region’s ethnic diversity has become synonymous with its reputation for racism and criminality.

Burchell (2003) describes how the findings of the 2001 AES survey\(^\text{17}\) were used by liberal intellectuals to condemn Western Sydney’s relative social conservatism. In the context of frequent debates about Australia’s asylum seeker and refugee policies, intensified by the interception of the asylum seeker vessel, the Tampa, Western Sydney’s AES–reported high levels of anxiety about immigration were labelled as racism, reinforcing the concept that patterns of suburban development in Western

\(^{17}\) The Australian Election Study (AES) is conducted in the midst of every federal election campaign since 1987. Participants are randomly chosen from the electoral roll and asked to respond to 380 questions that aim to reveal trends in political opinion.
Sydney somehow “predisposed its occupants to a peculiarly insular, ungenerous outlook on the world” (p. 46).

In contrast, Aquino (2012) reports that Western Sydney is a place where Hage’s (1997) everyday multiculturalism is manifest and culturally rich occurrences are commonplace. In this way, residents realise the scope and complexities of globalisation via mundane experiences. Peel (2003) echoes this argument, identifying everyday multiculturalism and tolerance at work in the Blacktown suburb of Mount Druitt, contrary to its reputation for racism. He suggests that official rhetoric problematically fails to recognise the undramatic manifestations of multiculturalism that are commonplace in such suburbs. Further, Peel draws attention to the sense that residents of Mount Druitt (and demographically similar areas) dislike being educated by proponents of Australian multiculturalism, when they perceive themselves as having much more experience living with the realities of cultural diversity being promoted. Importantly, Peel found that in Mount Druitt, for those who experience poverty, the ‘us’ and ‘them’ dichotomy exists much more significantly in terms of class, rather than racial or ethnic, division. Nevertheless, ethnic disunity is seen in the Australian public imagination not only as the source for Western Sydney’s racism, but also for its reputed high crime rates. Writing on ethnicising criminality and criminalising ethnicity, Collins and Poynting (2000) suggest that in certain areas of Western Sydney the ‘threat’ of working class youth is experienced as racialised youth. They verify the ethnicising of criminality by analysing the language in police reports, the media and politicians’ comments about crime.

Notably, the various stereotypes about Western Sydney are no longer sustained exclusively from external sources, as the west-versus-the-rest dichotomy fails to reflect more recent class divisions within the region. Various writers have commented on the class diversity that exists within Western Sydney (Butler, 2007; Burchell, 2003; Kenna, 2007; Randolph, Ruming, & Murray, 2010). As in the case of the initial stigmatisation of Western Sydney, real estate and housing have been paramount in the development of this internal social exclusion. Kenna (2007) concludes that gated communities, otherwise known as master-planned estates, encourage sociospatial polarisation. In interviewing Glenmore Park residents, Kenna found that although respondents defended Western Sydney against its negative associations, their positive comments were framed to carefully distance their particular residential area from
typical Western Sydney identifiers. In this way, respondents ultimately reinforced the stereotypes about the wider region, as exemplified by the following comment: “It’s too stereotyped – if you tell people you live in the western suburbs they automatically think ‘Mt Druitt’ people. But it’s who you are not where you live!” (Kenna, 2007, p. 310).

In addition to the division between gated and non-gated communities, public versus private housing has been recognised in political, academic and lay discourse as a significant component of social exclusion. As public housing is prolific in Western Sydney (and Blacktown) suburbs, the discussions are relevant to a consideration of sociospatial polarisation within the region. In a multi-case study of four Western Sydney suburbs (including Blacktown’s public housing-dominated area, Shalvey), Randolph et al. (2010) argue against the oversimplified equation between public housing and social exclusion. They assert that there are several other dimensions involved in the experience of social exclusion, namely: neighbourhood, social and civil engagement, access, crime and security, community identity and economic characteristics. The image conjured by these discussions of social exclusion is that despite stereotypes, there is incredible diversity not only within the Western Sydney region or the local government area of the “perpetually troubled” (Burchell, 2003, p. 32) Blacktown, but also within specific suburbs such as Mount Druitt (Peel, 2003). While this diversity has been accentuated by processes of residential segregation, real estate alone cannot delineate where the borderlines of segregation are situated.

As the most recent census data demonstrates, Blacktown is a paragon of cultural pluralism within the Australian multicultural epicentre that is Western Sydney. This makes Blacktown a singularly rich context in which to study cross-cultural musical exchanges. Further, the association between ethnicity and racism, and ethnicity and crime, in the public imagination of Western Sydney, means that attitudes towards the maintenance of heritage culture are particularly interesting to examine here. Similarly, investigating issues of identity is especially pertinent to a region where residents are stereotyped by their geography. The sharp sociopolitical divisions between Western Sydney and other areas of Sydney, as well as the social exclusion that exists within Western Sydney itself, assures that the study’s underlying concepts of identity and community provide a resonant foreshadowed problem to be researched.
While the above stated reasons offer substantial pretext for the choice of Blacktown as a research setting, one of the principal purposes behind this research decision has yet to be disclosed: I am a resident of Blacktown myself, and was born, raised and have lived in Western Sydney my entire life. Thus, in addition to the geographical area’s demographic and sociological suitability to the study’s topics of inquiry, Blacktown was chosen with a myriad of (conscious and subconscious) personal motivations in mind. These included anticipated easier access and convenient travel to fieldwork sites. Further than these logistical concerns, however, was my self-concept as a Western Sydney and Blacktown insider, a member of the community to be studied. In the initial stages of my study I regarded this identity as a research privilege that would allow special insight into the field. Even more complicated than this, however, is my attitude towards the region of my residence. Since young adulthood I have been keenly aware of my passion for Western Sydney and its people. I have often sought opportunities to serve my community in my profession and have asserted, on multiple occasions, that ‘I have a heart for Western Sydney’. When I read literature about Western Sydney, I not only take an interest because it is academically relevant, but also because I feel it is written, in part, about me.

How might it be to live in, or to come from, a place that is a byword for failure? What possibilities does this open and close for the futures of young people who have a taint of this place on them when they enter the world of work and schooling? This section explores two media events that link young people to this place via a “geography is destiny” discourse that is seen to inevitably blight their futures. (Gannon, 2009, p. 611)

While this description of Western Sydney could arguably be described as essentialist and melodramatic, to some degree I consider myself to have experienced this geography as destiny discourse, an experience that has very much fostered the development of my antithetical passion and pride for the area. In the interests of academic honesty I must also concede my subsequent desire to publicly commend Western Sydney, which exists in my living memory as much more than the stereotypical place that prevails in the Australian imagination. This partiality and “the complex political nature of [my] geographical inhabitation” stirs me to “politically act . . . in the interest of the place [I] call home” (Grunewald, 2005, p. 264), problematising the ethnographic requirement to regard research settings as anthropologically strange (Hammersley & Atkinson, 2007). Because of my marked personal orientation towards the research setting, it is therefore essential that I
thoroughly situate my research positionality.

Insider–Outsider

The role of researchers in the co-construction of knowledge demands that they formally acknowledge their values, interests and orientations as determined by their sociohistorical location (Hammersley & Atkinson, 2007). Therefore I have conceded my biases, as I am aware of them, regarding the research setting. In order to further set the context for my sociohistorically-constructed findings, I will now present a brief overview of my own background.

I was born in Westmead, in Western Sydney, in the mid 1980s. My parents are both Australian citizens of Filipino heritage who migrated to Australia before their teens. Because of their familiarity with the language, and also because they grew up speaking different Filipino languages, my parents primarily spoke English at home. Consequently English is my mother tongue and only language. Throughout my childhood and teenage years, my social life outside of school consisted of extended family events. My family was never particularly participatory in Filipino community events, and I cannot recall the one time I attended a Filipino festival in my earliest years. Similarly, I have very few memories of my visit to the Philippines when I was five years old. For most of my life, my experience of (what I understood to be) Filipino culture extended no further than my very interdependent notion of identity and family, a regular enjoyment of karaoke and the staples at my grandmother’s table. Although music was a significant part of my life, as I had learnt classical piano from the age of seven onwards, I first took an interest in Filipino music on my second and most recent trip to the Philippines in 2006 (in my early 20s).

My schooling experience has played a significant part in my interest in cross-cultural exchanges. For the entirety of my pre-tertiary education I attended public schools in Western Sydney. Of these, Chester Hill High School was the most important to the formation of my perception of Western Sydney; it was here that I became aware of the region’s reputation. During my senior high school years Chester Hill High School underwent a media storm when it was identified as a hub of gang-related activity (e.g. Kidman, 2002a, 2002b; Wood, 2002). I watched my principal deal with unwanted and sensationalised media attention, which reported that he was “forced to accept urgent [police] intervention” because of “a fresh eruption of Asian
“gang activity” (Kidman, 2002a, n.p.). The school’s apparent association with “shootings, drug deals, extortion and related playground stabbings and brawls” (Kidman, 2002b, n.p.) was made public. After my departure, as recently as 2009, the school continued to feature negatively in the media, as “attacks between rival ethnic groups occurred at the school almost weekly, with Lebanese youths battling Asian groups both inside and outside the grounds”, which was apparently characteristic of the “culture of violence at a public high school in Sydney’s west” (Barrett, 2009, n.p.). While I did not deny that events took place to inspire such reports, my adolescent self reacted proudly against the stereotypical assertions which generalised students at the school. Although I did not conceptualise it as such at the time, I was keenly aware of the geography is destiny discourse that distorted some of my peers’ self-image (see Gannon, 2009). I was also incensed by the ethnic gang rivalry stereotype, when my experience of the majority of my peers’ interactions was an ordinarily functional everyday multiculturalism (see Hage, 1997; Harris, 2009).

Since high school I have been fortunate enough to complete my tertiary music education qualifications at The University of Sydney. I have had experience teaching in both school and community settings. I am also married to a White Australian man with whom I relocated, approximately seven years before the time of writing, to Blacktown. I have often joked with friends that moving to Blacktown was like ‘going home to the mother ship’ as the area is renowned for its large Filipino community. In actuality my interactions with the official Filipino community only strengthened as a result of my study. Admittedly, this was one of the more personal motivations behind my study: to acquire a knowledge of the musical traditions of my cultural heritage. Yet despite this lack of participation in community events, the gap in my knowledge of heritage folk culture and my inability to speak either of my parents’ mother tongues, being Filipino was an unmistakable part of my sense of self. The manifold nature of my ethnocultural self-identity raised, and continues to raise, questions about the extent to which I could claim insiderness in the Filipino Australian case study. These questions reflect the methodological complications of insider research, which have been contemplated and contested throughout the history of ethnography.

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18 The use of this terminology is explained in detail in Chapter 8.
Hellawell (2006) describes the traditional anthropological undervaluation of insiderness, which was seen to pollute objectivity. Unlike in anthropology, in which “the gravest academic sin was ‘to go native’” (p. 485), ethnography conventionally involves a conscious effort by outsiders to become native whilst also retaining the remoteness necessary to cast a researchers’ eye on the studied phenomenon. While there have always been advocates both for and against insider research, Hellawell espouses a balanced position as researcher perceptions are benefitted by empathy and alienation. Dwyer & Buckle (2009) assert that experiencing both insiderness and outsiderness is inherent and unavoidable in qualitative research, where researchers can be described as insider–outsider. As Dwyer and Buckle delineate,

this hyphen acts as a third space, a space between, a space of paradox, ambiguity, and ambivalence, as well as conjunction and disjunction. . . . There are complexities inherent in occupying the space between. Perhaps, as researchers we can only ever occupy the space between. We may be closer to the insider position or closer to the outsider position, but because our perspective is shaped by our position as a researcher (which includes having read much literature on the research topic), we cannot fully occupy one or the other of those positions. (pp. 60–61)

This non-binary perception of insiderness–outsiderness is echoed by other conceptualisations of researcher positionality, some of which are particularly useful in presenting my location as a Blacktown resident researching Blacktown residents, a musician researching musicians and a Filipino Australian researching Filipino Australians. Hellawell (2006) describes a common contemporary researcher perspective by imagining the insider–outsider spectrum not as a single continuum but as a range of parallel continuums in which elements of insiderness and outsiderness exist alongside each other. Kim (2012) describes the bond between the researcher and the researched as a plural relationship that encompasses a number of shared and non–shared experiences. Similarly, Shinozaki (2010) describes how in her study, research participants “constantly drew and re-drew boundaries between themselves and other actors, including me, by flexibly defining not only difference but also sameness along the intersecting multiple social divisions in our interaction” (p. 7). With a young, Filipino Australian hip hop dance group, I shared experiences of Filipino food and family culture, being a public school student in Western Sydney, living and being educated in an area stereotyped to outsiders as dangerous and associated with gang activity, and actively pursuing a change in the reputation of our well-loved place of
residency. However we did not share age, gender, marital status, level of education or primary mode of artistic expression. Conversely, some of the community cultural development workers and facilitators did not live in Blacktown and Western Sydney, but with them I was an insider in regard to some of my music education experiences (as a learner and a teacher), my musical skills and abilities, and our shared interests and worldviews.

It is important to note that my inhabittance of various insider–outsider positions was not arbitrarily based on the actuality of circumstances, experiences and perspectives I shared with participants. Nor was my position as an insider or outsider on any one of the multiple parallel spectrums ever absolute or final. Instead, there was a sense in which the participants and I engaged in ongoing exercises to determine which of my identities would be recognised or denied. Guevarra (2006) suggests that, although often unexpected, this is not an uncommon research experience.

Researchers realize, to their surprise, that they are always under scrutiny and endless speculation by the people they are studying. As researchers make sense of their identities in the field, they find out that they inherently occupy tenuous positions because of the power participants possess in defining their access and participation in their communities. (p. 527)

As in Shinozaki’s study (2010), participants in all of my case studies drew boundaries between themselves and others, and between themselves and myself, continuously negotiating the identities of the researcher and the researched. One particular conversational exchange occurred dynamically and independently with several participants in the Filipino Australian case study, demonstrating the routine nature of boundary-drawing in ethnography. On finding out that I have Filipino heritage, a number of interviewees expressed surprise, exclaiming, “You do not look Filipino”. Particularly in dialogue with older participants, or adult guardians accompanying their children to interviews, I would promptly be asked whether I speak Tagalog. Boundaries were redrawn when I admitted that I only speak English. This remark was often met with a statement commenting on my Australian accent, a suggestion that “you have to learn” and a polite request to know the circumstances in which I was raised to only speak English. Despite my lingual outsiderness, my heritage was recognised in other exchanges in which I was assumed to understand and have experienced suggested Filipino typicalities. In more than one conversation I was addressed with offhand utterances such as, “You know how jealous Filipinos are”.
As I became increasingly aware of participant perspectives, I embodied what Turgo (2012) describes as a “complicit . . . conscious collaborator of my informants’ construction of my numerous identities in the field” (p. 677). At times I would call attention to my status as a Filipino, a Blacktown resident, a musician or a music teacher in what might be described as “an opportunistic claim of authenticity” (Kim, 2012, p. 143). I did this not only because it might commend me as trustworthy or empathetic in the eyes of my informants, but also for my own sense of self and “for me to feel ‘genuinely’ that I was really one of them” (Turgo, 2012, p. 669). At other times, somewhat counter-intuitively, outsiderness afforded me access to otherwise secret knowledge. Like Shinozaki (2010), I discovered that not having full membership in a group meant that I was seen as having no undisclosed loyalties or agendas; I could earn confidentiality on the strength of not being connected to anybody with whom I might gossip. Conversely, I would sometimes emphasise my position as an outsider or researcher to encourage explicit explanation about data that, when looking through the lens of my insiderness, the participants and I assumed were tacitly understood.

Despite my attempts to occupy the space between insider–outsider positioning in such a way as to gain an authentic viewpoint of the phenomena studied, the inescapable presence of my subjectivity ultimately determined what I experienced and interpreted (Shaw, 2010). In order to account for this subjectivity without reservation I needed to exercise reflexivity with especial rigour.

Reflexivity

Reflexivity, which Shaw (2010) defines as “an explicit evaluation of the self” (p. 234), is so significant in qualitative research methodology that it has been identified as the defining feature of current practice (Finlay, 2002). This self-evaluation is necessary because of the researcher’s role as the primary data collection, data analysis and data interpretation instrument (Onwuegbuzie, Leech, & Collins, 2008). While issues of reflexivity are interconnected with researcher positionality and the performance of insider–outsiderness discussed in the previous section, it is equally imperative to consider the effect of situatedness on data analysis and the discussion of results (Shaw, 2010).
In the current study, one of the ways in which I engaged with reflexivity was through employing a degree of mutual collaboration (see Finlay, 2002). This approach recognises participants as co-researchers by engaging them in reflexive discussion during data analysis. For the South Sudanese Australian case study, mutual collaboration was achieved through participants being sent an evaluation of their case study as a whole, wherein broad themes and categories were summarised and supported by data. Participants were encouraged to provide feedback on the developing grounded theory. Participants were invited to provide reflexive commentary and, if deemed appropriate, dispute the analysis provided.

The incorporation of mutual collaboration in this study’s research design offers a degree of reflexivity by redressing some of the researcher’s bias. However, it does little to address one of the main concerns of reflexivity, that is, to dissect and divulge the inexorable ways in which subjectivity, both the researcher’s and the participants’, affects the research process. After all, “the participants are trying to make sense of their world; the researcher is trying to make sense of the participants trying to make sense of their world” (Smith & Osborn, 2008, p. 53). Therefore the data collected from participants have not been treated as transparent accounts of an objective reality. Instead their claims, as well as my own, have been critically examined.

Through what lens does this critical examination take place? In line with Mauthner and Doucet (2003) and Pascale (2011), I will illuminate this lens through an explicit consideration of the epistemology and ontology behind my chosen research methods. The current study’s utilisation of ethnographic grounded theory is a type of interpretive research based on social constructionism. This philosophical foundation propounds that the world is socially produced through meaningful interpretations (Pascale, 2011). Therefore categories such as race, national identity, heritage identity and heritage culture, all of which are pertinent to this study, are socially constructed. While ethnography emphasises that phenomena be depicted through the perspective of those who experience it, participants’ self-identifications are examined in the light of the processes of subjectification described below.

Processes of subjectification give researchers access to ways of thinking and writing about categories such as race, gender, sexuality, and ability without reifying them and without divesting them of the historical relations of power through which they are produced. Analyses and narratives about who people are, and the lives they have lived, will always be incomplete if we cannot see the
processes of social formation through which they became inaugurated as subjects. (Pascale, 2011, p. 154–155)

Throughout the findings the core social categories of the study are scrutinised for the sociohistorical rootedness of their signification. Regarding participants’ self-categorisations, the development of their identification with particular labels is investigated as processes of subjectification. Of course, any “processes of social formation through which they became inaugurated as subjects” that involve music are especially examined and discussed in detail, as this constitutes the study’s areas of inquiry.

Reflexivity also demands an account of those who are absent from the research setting as power relations, among other cultural imperatives, govern localised contexts (Pascale, 2011). In order to provide a full and detailed portrayal of musical acculturation in Blacktown, in my research design I attempted to narrow the field by focusing on three particular ethnocultural communities. However, because of the nature of sampling and the lack of accessibility to more marginalised members in all of the case studies, my representation of the musical lives of these communities remains far from complete and there are many voices missing from the account.

Data Collection Methods

Participant Observation

Participant observation constituted one of the primary methods through which data were collected in this study. This method was considered inherently suitable for researching the areas of inquiry not only because it aligns with the exploratory orientation of qualitative inquiry, but also because it is particularly pertinent to collecting data in naturalistic settings and gaining insight into and experiencing insider perspectives, thus making it paramount in ethnographic studies (DeWalt & DeWalt, 2011; Hume & Mulcock, 2005). As has already been established, the current study aims to interpret phenomena according to local meanings, an aim that corresponds directly with the rationale for participant observation just described. In practice, however, the observational and outsider dimensions of the researcher role problematises this aim. Loon (2001) elucidates the difficulties with representation, asserting that ethnography is necessarily a “writing of difference” because, “the
ethnographer can never become his or her research subject . . . the unfolding event is never the same as its written inscription” (p. 280).

This tension between reality and representation corresponds with the polarity between the two functions of the participant observer: participation and observation. The participant observer is required to withstand complete integration and allegiance to the social domains being researched by preserving an academic distance. However, the researcher must also possess and demonstrate an authentic desire to participate and be fully included (Hume & Mulcock, 2005). Given my status as an insider–outsider in the communities being studied, participant observation, and its balance between integration and belonging, could be considered a methodological manifestation of my positionality as a researcher.

**Limits to participation.**

While my data collection practices in all of the field contexts could be characterised as participant observation, the nature and extent of my participation varied in each. DeWalt and DeWalt (2011) suggest that, “the establishment of our own limits to participation depends greatly on our own background and the circumstances of the people we study. Our personal characteristics as individuals—our ethnic identity, class, sex, religion, and family status—will determine how we interact with and report on the people we are studying” (p. 47). The characteristics I shared with research participants did, to an extent, determine the nature of our interpersonal interactions. However, I found that my limits to participation in research settings were much more affected by my possession of, and confidence using, relevant musical skills. In several fieldsite contexts, demographic differences between participants and myself were noted by all and verbally addressed. Nevertheless, for a group of senior women drummers, my interest in their community music activities proved a far more important factor than my age. Similarly, despite an explicit conversation about my lack of Christian belief, I was invited to perform at an evangelical outreach program in a Sudanese church, in a capacity which represented the church’s music team, because of my piano-playing abilities. Thus establishing my own limits to participation was much more heavily influenced by my musical knowledge, abilities and contributions, and my openness and evident interest, than my demographic characteristics.
The same notion was apparent in contexts in which I shared personal characteristics with in-group members. For example, a local hip hop crew that took part in my study was composed of a number of young adult and teenage Filipino dancers. Despite being close in age, sharing the same ethnocultural heritage and similar family and high school experiences, my lack of hip hop dancing skills and inhibitions regarding attempting the choreography significantly limited my participation in the crew’s activities. Not engaging with the musicking elements of the group’s pursuits limited my social as well as practical participation. Although circumstantial similarities suggested that interpersonal interactions between myself and the hip hop dancers should have been undemanding, feelings of belonging were harder to develop because we did not share dancing experiences and my initial presence at the crew’s practice sessions was therefore more ambiguous.

**Limits to observation.**

As demonstrated, the boundaries to my participation in various research settings were influenced much more by my musical self than my demographic profile. My level of engagement in the occurring musical activities, in turn, affected my social connections with participants. Certainly, the nature of how my observations were realised was largely determined by my relationships with participants. Researcher–participant relationships are dependent on numerous factors, including the ethnographic researcher, the research participants, the research topic, the study’s time frame and the way field sites are organised (Hume & Mulcock, 2005). Data collection for all three case studies was carried out over a period of 18 months. The process of becoming aware of community music activities and programs, contacting potential participants and gaining observational access transpired in different ways. As a resident of Blacktown I was often alerted to relevant community events through my local newspaper, online newsletters and other means of community advertisement such as brochures or flyers. Alternatively, at times I was notified about potential observation opportunities through participants with whom I shared a pre-existing relationship. Comparing my varying experiences of gaining access to community events provides a faithful illustration of how the factors outlined by Hume and Mulcock affected my relationship with participants and, successively, how they determined the parameters of my observations.
Becoming aware of observational opportunities through public, community advertisements meant that within these settings my relationship with participants was defined by the research project. Several times I happened to encounter advertisements very shortly before the event being promoted, resulting in a limited time frame in which to request observational access from gatekeepers and other participants. These events were commonly singular functions involving several musicians who presented their own individual sets. If they were held at all, rehearsals would often be scheduled on the day, prior to the event, with the list of performers being finalised at the last minute. I often considered the organisers for the events, whose contact details were published within the advertisements, the key gatekeepers. They were usually contacted on the phone, during which the research project was discussed and permission to carry out observation was requested. During this conversation, the process of obtaining consent from individual performers—and in the case of minors, parental or guardian consent—was clarified. Often this initial telephone conversation was followed up with a confirmation email in which the participant information statement, and consent forms, were attached. I would then attend the event, seeking out the gatekeepers as early as possible (usually prior to performances starting) to introduce myself in person. Any questions or concerns of gatekeepers or other participants could be raised either in response emails or upon meeting me at the event.

Considering the process summarised above, it is clear how research time frames and the structure of field sites can dictate the researcher–participant relationship. In a number of these cases the development of rapport was considerably constrained by the circumstances, and the underlying tone of the resulting relationships was one of an exclusively professional and at times apprehensive association. The concept that the goal of rapport is trust which, when gained, makes sources of information accessible (Marcus, 2001), correlates with my initial impression of these observations. I often felt that the lack of deeply established rapport was methodologically inadequate. My subconscious affiliation between rapport and methodological success reveals the presence of a disingenuousness that Funder (2005) identifies in the ethnographic strategy of intimacy:

Informed participant consent was obtained in line with the University of Sydney’s Human Research Ethics Committee (HREC) requirements. See Appendix T for the Participant Information Statements, Dialogue Statement and Consent Forms that were used in this study. The letter certifying HREC approval for this study is also included in Appendix T.
Within ethnography, this strategy of intimacy (although never referred to as such) has long formed a core means of accessing information, crystallized in the anthropological principle that fieldwork should be initiated with an extended period of time allocated solely to becoming accepted and known within the community under study. . . . What actually takes place, however, is essentially an extraction of intimate details about the person or persons under study, designed first and foremost to generate “good” information for my research purposes. (p. 5)

The events that I became aware of through community advertisements were by nature intermittent and, prior to the release of promotional material, known only by word of mouth to organisers, performers and other involved community members. These contexts did not allow for the development of rapport, which emerges gradually and organically as a result of living and interacting with participants (DeWalt & DeWalt, 2011). My strictly research-based relationship with the gatekeepers and participants in these sites meant that we never reached a point where I became apprised of information shared exclusively with insiders. That said, the official capacity under which I associated with these participants clearly delineated the parameters of our interactions, without the insincere implication of commitment to one another’s purposes. In this way the gatekeepers and participants did not have to overcome any of the social obligations often cultivated in personal relationships, and were free to regulate the extent of my observational access. This almost certainly restricted the depth of insider information to which I was made privy. However, in not pursuing or prioritising being accepted for the purposes of research (as discussed in DeWalt & DeWalt, 2011) it could be argued that within these contexts I was able to avoid some of the more disingenuous aspects of building rapport.

In contrast to the events I observed after viewing local advertisements, I gained observational access to a number of field sites through my researcher positionality. As a resident of Blacktown I had several pre-existing relationships, which, while varying in both nature and degree of intimacy, provided useful research networks. Though not initiated for this purpose, my pre-existing relationships sometimes seemed to influence the level of consent some participants offered me. This was most evident in the South Sudanese Australian case study, which focussed on a community to which I was partially drawn because of positive personal experiences with its members in a community education program. About 18 months before applying for a PhD course I volunteered to teach English as a second language (ESL) to newly arrived, local migrants. I was eventually assigned my own class, a preliminary introduction to
reading and writing for beginning English speakers. On any given week, my class was attended by three to five students from different South Sudanese tribes. I developed a student–teacher rapport with the learners, with whom I enjoyed a friendly, open relationship. Once I began data collection my students became willing participants. They proactively invited me to observe musical community events, performing the role of dedicated informants and chaperones and introducing me to their community. Despite the genuine commitment I had made to these students in the weekly ESL classes and the social bond we shared, I was also aware that the power relations inherent in the teacher–student relationship could have been instrumental in their participation. This may have had some effect on the extent to which they granted me observational access, which was at times overindulgent and not always, regardless of their assurances, in keeping with the community’s standards. For each event observed, related community leaders were contacted to advise and grant culturally appropriate standards of consent. While they were able to do this for concerts and other occasions they considered public performances, there were other events I attended that were to be respected as private. These included a wedding that my students were convinced I would be able to include in my research. Upon further investigation it became clear that while I was more than welcome to attend the event socially and take video recordings for personal use, I could not analyse and publish my observations as data. Thus the research I undertook with my ESL students exemplifies the degree to which researcher–participant relationships determined the parameters of my observations.

From Rapport to Reciprocity

Marcus (2001) draws attention to the contrast between rapport development and collaboration as approaches to research. He contends that the former is characterised by insincerity and disproportionate power relations, whereas the latter involves a more equitable relationship between researchers and participants:

Rapport signaled instrumentally building a relationship with a participant or informant with the predesigned purposes of the anthropologist’s inquiry in mind and without the possibility that those very purposes could be changed by the evolution of the fieldwork relationship itself, governed by building rapport. In contrast, collaboration entails joint production, but with overlapping mutual as well as different purposes, negotiation, contestation and uncertain outcomes (p. 521).

In the planning stages of this study, I imagined my future relationship with participants as being that of collaboration described above. I tried to make this evident
in the Participant Information Statement (see Appendix T), which was written for potential participants for the purpose of outlining the study and what participation would likely involve. In answer to the template question, “Will this study benefit me?” the Participant Information Statement reads:

> It is anticipated that this study will contribute to: the further development and improvement of musical experiences available to Blacktown residents; and a better understanding of how a sense of unity can be achieved through music in a highly multicultural area. (Participant Information Statement, final version published on June 15, 2011)

The excerpt above demonstrates the preconceptions I had upon entering the field; that participants involved in community music in Blacktown would necessarily share my goal of contributing to the “improvement of musical experiences available to Blacktown residents” and therefore, by virtue of their participating, our relationship would be collaborative. Of course, co-production—a key feature of the collaboration described by Marcus (2001)—was altogether absent from the framework of my study. Instead, it was entirely directed by me and the purposes of my inquiry were never significantly shifted by the rapport I developed with participants.

The practical ways in which I did contribute to the communities and programs I observed would be more accurately described as reciprocity. Unlike collaboration, which is grounded in co-operating to achieve the same or related, flexible goals, the notion of exchange is central to reciprocity and can take the form of community service, community action or the provision of a report (Dickson-Swift, James, Kippen, & Liamputtong, 2007). Providing participants with photographs of observational occurrences is a prevalent exchange practice (DeWalt & DeWalt, 2011), and certainly one of primary ways I performed reciprocity was the return of video recordings to the participants they captured. This reciprocity was especially requested by those who managed, or were involved with, the following type of observational contexts: ongoing music programs, presentational performances such as concerts or festival shows, and special occasions sponsored by institutionalised community groups. With a few of the altruistic community music programs, I offered to edit the video recordings taken over several sessions to produce a promotion video which could be used either as a general showcase or to advertise a particular upcoming performance. In some cases, each person involved with the program, group members and program facilitators alike, was given a copy of the edited video via DVD.
Reciprocating in this way eased my approach to data collection. Whenever I was aware that the video I was recording would result in a product for the participants’ use as much as my own, the exercise seemed much less invasive to me. This produced a self-confidence that I did not possess when collecting data purely for research purposes. I found that the camera was a way of mastering my researcher ‘shyness’ (see Scott, Hinton-Smith, Härmä and Broome, 2012); it represented the purpose of my presence and gave me something active to do during observations. At the same time, the act of video recording embodied the objectification of participants inherent in research. Aiming the camera at participants emphasised my feelings of voyeurism, and the resulting video footage—often static, long shots of the musical activities—reflected my concerns about potential participant uneasiness with the recording process and the invasiveness of the camera (see Penn-Edwards, 2012). Whenever the footage was used to produce a video for the participants’ purposes, this concern was significantly less substantial. I would insert myself in the midst of the musical activity, directing a variety of angles and shots to create interest in the final production. The two videography styles I employed, the differences of which are visibly evident in the contrasting video recordings, attest that “[s]election is always necessary, and by selecting, you impose your interpretation. Making data is thus highly purposive” (Richards, 2005, p. 41). In some cases the data I made were intended to broadly capture musical phenomena as inconspicuously as possible, while in others the data were made to intimately and artistically encapsulate individual, small group and whole group engagement with the musical phenomenon.

Although the nature of my observations was largely determined by my relationship with the participants, my varying approaches to videography demonstrate how, inversely, the way observations are conducted governs participant–researcher interactions. While I designed the use of video recordings to study social interaction in natural settings, aiming to capture interactions as they occurred without researcher intervention (see Knoblauch, 2012), the act of recording naturally changed the studied phenomena. Even where I took wide range, long shots, recording as unobtrusively as I could, some participants’ behaviour differed slightly from their off-screen conduct. Facilitators in particular seemed to display heightened self-awareness in terms of their methods of instruction. On the other hand, in videos which were taken to produce promotional material, the tangible proximity of the camera—especially during
intimate close-ups—guaranteed participant self-consciousness. A number of the musicians responded to intimate shots by spontaneously performing to the camera, or to me as the camera operator, epitomising how the presence of a camera interferes with natural settings. However, in the contexts where footage was taken for reciprocation, participants’ performative reaction to a camera was natural in terms of cooperating with and contributing to the production. In socialising with the video observer and enacting musically for the camera, participants were organically acknowledging the documentation of their actions and the presence of the researcher. It could be argued that in recognising the researcher as a protagonist in the field and a maker of data, this unaffected response is much more ‘natural’ than trying to behave as though the researcher is not in attendance.

**Constructing the Field with Fieldnotes**

Similar to video recording, a researcher’s approach to the writing of fieldnotes determines how data are shaped and influence the researcher–participant relationship. While the definition, form and realisation of fieldnotes varies with each individual ethnographer (Emerson, Fretz, & Shaw, 2011), there are two primary strategies I employed to report on my observational experiences. The first strategy, jottings, involved writing key words and phrases during observation so that details could be accurately preserved. This strategy was only used intermittently because of the awareness the process raises in both the participants and the researcher. Descriptive fieldnotes constituted the second strategy that I employed. Prose detailing the observational session was written some time after leaving the field; sometimes these descriptive fieldnotes were based upon jottings but more often they were written from memory.

**Semi-Structured Interviews**

In a qualitative pursuit to study phenomena in their natural settings and according to their local meanings, I employed interviewing as an integral method of data collection. In particular, I conducted semi-structured interviews because they are structured enough to address the study’s areas of inquiry while also providing scope for participants to contribute new meanings to the research topics (Galletta, 2013). The format of my semi-structured interview protocols contained several open-ended questions, encouraging participants to describe phenomena in their own terms.
However, there were also many very specific questions and the occasional use of labels pertinent to the study, such as musical identity and multiculturalism, narrowing the focus on the topic of interest. This variety of questions reflects the propensity for semi-structured interviews to include both open-ended and theoretical questions in order to be guided by both the participants’ experiences and the academic concepts and disciplines being drawn upon. It is important to note that protocols were never used prescriptively. Instead, my dependence on the structured guideline varied according to the flow of the conversation, familiarity with the interviewee and knowledge of the music ensemble and musical activities being discussed. Questions were rarely asked in the exact order in which they appeared in protocols, and specific subjects of inquiry were often answered in related discussion without having to be explicitly asked. Further, there was a general decrease in reliance on the protocols as data collection continued. The divergent discussions that were prompted by very similar protocols were evident in the audio recordings of the interviews, which were primarily recorded through the iPhone’s Voice Memos application.

Although interviews were used to gain an emic (insider) perspective, it was considered important to view data collected through this method critically. Interviewees were not considered to have an authentic inner self that could be extracted through careful and strategic questioning, but rather, their explanations of phenomena were perceived as accounts rather than true reports (Roulston, 2010). Importantly, this perspective of the data generated therein, highlights the innately hierarchical nature of the semi-structured interviews I conducted. Unlike other dialogue which could be described as a “joint endeavor where egalitarian partners, through conversation, search for true understanding and knowledge” (Kvale, 2006, p. 483), my discussions with participants were definitive interviews in that they involved a researcher acquiring information from an informant to fulfil a pre-established purpose. While semi-structured interviews, to an extent, allow interviewees to determine the terms and direction of the discussion, research interviews are not candid conversations between egalitarian partners, but a very hierarchical and operative type of dialogue in which the interviewer establishes the framework and content in relation to the research interests (see Galletta, 2013; Kvale, 2006). Given the current, topical and politically sensitive nature of some of my study’s themes—for example, multiculturalism and Australian identity—it is also likely that some interviewees
employed the strategy Diefenbach (2009) refers to as the *socially accepted answering attitude*, with which an interviewee is inclined to answer as he or she perceives is expected and which adheres to accepted social norms and values.

While interviewing local people constitutes one of the most significant methods through which their perspective of studied phenomena can be ascertained, it is evident that both researchers and participants employ interviewing strategies that problematise the representativeness of interview data. Diefenbach (2009) holds that the constitution of the interview as a data collection method is restrictive as it only makes certain information available, and should therefore be supplemented by further checking and additional data. In this study, further checking and additional data has primarily been sought through the application of traditional forms of triangulation; “the use of multiple forms of qualitative research methods” (Denzin, 2012, p. 82). In terms of the types of data collected, participant observations and semi-structured interviews have been supplemented by relevant media materials.

**Related Media and Documentation**

Newspaper and magazine articles reporting on observed events, other significant community events and the activities of participant individuals or music groups were collected as data. The range of publications from which articles were drawn included both print and online issues of mainstream city and state newspapers (for example *Sydney Morning Herald* and *The Daily Telegraph*), local newspapers (for example *Blacktown Advocate*, *Blacktown Sun* and *Mt Druitt and St Mary’s Standard*) and community newspapers and magazines targeted at specific ethnocultural groups (for example *African Oz*, *Ang Kalatas* and *Bayanihan*).

In addition to the listed publications’ websites, I collected and analysed the content of other websites related to observations and participants. This included artist websites for participants who were aspiring musicians or dancers, sites which may have had dedicated domain names or otherwise have been hosted within social utilities such as Facebook. Data were also collected from the websites of relevant organisations, including migrant resource centres, local art centres and ethnocultural community organisations.

Event advertisements, ranging from posters to textual press releases, were either downloaded from online sources or collected in hard copy. These were available for
local Blacktown events, some specific ethnocultural community events, and events sponsored by arts organisations.

Other media that constituted data pertinent to this study included documents that provided factual details about participants or community groups. This included, for example, a musician’s CV outlining his music education and performance history, a document archiving a community choir’s mission statement and gig record and a songbook embodying a music ensemble’s entire repertoire.

In addition to informational websites, some participating musicians, community groups and organisations had their own YouTube channel. The videos available on these channels included clips of television appearances, handheld camera-recorded videos of stage performances and artist music videos with varying levels of production value. Other YouTube videos of related television media broadcasts and public performance events were located through the searching of key terms. It is important to note that data drawn from publicly accessible media materials have been referenced as publications and in most instances no attempt has been made to preserve the anonymity of individuals captured in such material.

**Data Analysis Methods**

In qualitative research, analysis is inseparable to other phases of research (Boeije, 2010), and preliminary data analysis methods have already been briefly discussed. The inherent analysis in selecting what to write in fieldnotes, what to video record during observations and what line of analysis to pursue when interviewing participants, has been addressed. Distinct from the innate analysis afforded by the researcher’s role during data collection, in this section I will outline the formal methods of data analysis that were utilised in this study.

**Coding**

Coding is the start of the formal analysis process through which data are generated into presentable findings (Boeije, 2010). In terms of the practice of grounded theory, coding can be conceptualised as

the pivotal link between collecting data and developing an emergent theory to explain these data. Through coding, you define what is happening in the data and begin to grapple with what it means. . . . By careful attending to coding, you begin weaving two major threads in the fabric of grounded theory: generalizable
theoretical statements that transcend specific times and places and contextual analyses of actions and events. (Charmaz, 2014, p. 113)

Keeping in mind that coding and data gathering are not exclusive from one another (Oktay, 2012), here I will discuss the chosen coding procedures as progressive phases of theory development. While the separation and description of each phase conveys the impression that they occur separately and sequentially, many coding methods are not distinct and some even share functions (Saldaña, 2009). Nevertheless, the phases described provide an accurate and informative outline of my predominant approach to data analysis.

**Attribute, structural and descriptive coding.**

Videos of observations were indexed, and audio recordings fully transcribed, for the purposes of coding. In view of data management, basic descriptive information—such as the fieldwork setting and participant profiles—were identified for each data set, constituting attribute coding (Saldaña, 2009). By transforming audio and visual data into text, and ascribing headings and summative sub-headings to each section, structural and descriptive coding was carried out. Throughout this preparatory coding phase, both the topic and the content were ascertained (Saldaña, 2009).

**Open, axial and selective coding.**

Grounded theory coding was conducted according to Strauss and Corbin’s (1998) coding phases: open, axial and selective. Open coding involves the designation of “active, immediate, and short” (Charmaz, 2008, p. 216) codes based on a close reading of the data. Keeping in mind that the most significant function of codes involves determining action, elucidating implicit assumptions and discerning processes, the open, simultaneous phase of coding involved considerable process coding.

The next phase of coding, axial coding, involved investigating the various facets of, and connections between, the categories and concepts generated during open coding. Oktay (2012) suggests that the central components of axial coding are demonstrated in the following three functions:

1. identifying the variety of conditions, actions/interactions, and consequences associated with a category;
2. relating a category to its subcategories; and
3. looking for clues in the data about how major categories might relate to each other.

(p. 74)

In exploring the interconnections between initial codes, concepts, categories and subcategories, axial coding provides a deeper conceptual interpretation of the data towards developing theory to broader levels of abstraction (Charmaz, 2008; Oktay, 2012). This emphasis on theoretical development is critical in the next and last phase of grounded theory coding, often referred to as selective coding. During this phase, the researcher consolidates and fine-tunes the theory, leading to the unearthing of core categories. In terms of theory development, these core categories become the centrepiece around and through which the lesser, relevant codes are explicated. Thus in this study the codes from each phase were examined, refined and consolidated, inductively compelling me through each phase. And while it was the development of the open and axial codes that determined the outcome of the selective coding process—that is, the core categories that were identified—the open and axial codes were then re-interpreted in light of the pre-eminent core categories.

As this research involved a multiple case study, these coding processes were undertaken for each individual case study. I engaged in open, axial and selective coding for the South Sudanese Australian, Filipino Australian and White Australian case studies, and the resultant findings can be found in Chapters 4, 6 and 7 respectively. The core categories from each case study then underwent another phase of data analysis involving selective coding processes. The core categories that were distinguished through this macro-level analysis constitute a theoretical response to the study’s general areas of inquiry. In comparing and integrating the data from each case study, findings emerged that addressed the role of music in individual and collective identity and the processes involved in musical acculturation. These theoretical findings can be found in Chapter 8.

**Dedoose**

Logistically, the entire grounded theory coding process was enacted through the qualitative research data analysis software, Dedoose. Textual data were uploaded onto the web-based tool, and the in-built coding system was used to excerpt segments and allocate codes. The hierarchical code tree enabled the intuitive gradation of codes as
concepts, sub-categories, categories and core categories. These designations could be changed at any time, supporting the grounded theory process through which tentative theoretical categories informed later stages of data collection (Charmaz, 2011).

Once I was familiar with the software I was able to confidently identify which features would serve the interests of my study, an evaluation which changed depending on the phase of data analysis being carried out. Being careful not to “quantify qualitative data” (James, 2013, p. 568), I found that the software enhanced the emergent and inductive nature of grounded theory coding. In particular, the code tree structure, filtering tool and code co-occurrence tables were valuable features. Indeed, rather than imposing the rigidity and exactitude inherent in quantitative analysis, Dedoose encouraged the “improvisation, creativity and flexibility” (Boeije, 2010, p. 13), theoretical playfulness (Charmaz, 2014) and analytical imagination (James, 2013) involved in qualitative analysis.

**Beyond Themes, Into Theory**

One of the key attributes of ethnographic research is that its findings offer thick descriptions of the data. Conducting ethnographic grounded theory necessitates a balance between rich illustrations of the data and content with theoretical properties and power. Charmaz (2014) asks, “If grounded theorists possess methods to construct theory, why do so many studies remain descriptive? Coding for themes rather than analyzing actions contributes to remaining descriptive” (p. 246). This concern about descriptions of themes constituting grounded theory is echoed by Bazeley (2009), who finds this characteristic to be prevalent in qualitative analysis more broadly.

Description is part of the analytic journey, and ‘thick description’ is a valuable component of, for example, phenomenological or ethnographic reporting, but description alone is not sufficient. The data must be challenged, extended, supported, and linked in order to reveal their full value. (p. 8)

The theorisation process involves “seeing possibilities, establishing connections, and asking questions” (Charmaz, 2014, p. 244). My approach to coding was conceived in view of performing these functions and consequently rendering theory. The following chapters contain the results of my data analysis in findings that provide thick descriptions of each case study, address related pre-existing concepts, and theoretically encapsulate the relationship between local areas and contextualising social structures.
Chapter 3
Contextualising South Sudanese Australian Acculturation

Introduction

The South Sudanese community in Blacktown constitutes one of three case studies that were investigated for this project. As the youngest sovereign state in the world, South Sudan’s recent history and current events are embroiled in political turmoil that continues to transform its worldwide diaspora. Given that the musical acculturation of any ethnocultural group is highly contingent upon such contextual factors, it is necessary to ground this case study’s findings in the sociohistorical circumstances behind the cross-cultural contact being explored. Towards this end, this chapter opens with a brief history of South Sudan and South Sudanese migration to Australia. The region of Blacktown is then presented as a significant locale for South Sudanese Australians before the case study’s participants are introduced. It is intended that this increasingly precise contextualisation of the case study will be beneficial in framing and illuminating the findings in the following chapter.

A Brief Modern History of South Sudan

The Republic of South Sudan is an ethnically and linguistically diverse country situated in northeastern Africa, sharing its borders with Sudan, Ethiopia, Kenya, Uganda, the Democratic Republic of Congo and the Central African Republic (see Figure 3.1). The country’s modern history, dominated by the narrative of its separation from the continuing state of Sudan to the north, has been examined by experts from various disciplines. This brief overview draws from a number of sources ranging from academic literature, political commentary and government reports (Agbor & Taiwo, 2012; Dagne, 2011; Deng, 2012; European Union Election Observation Mission, 2011; Fitz-Gerald, 2013; Johnson, 2011; Jok, 2011, 2012; Khashan & Nehme, 1996; Kimenyi, 2012a, 2012b; Lyman, Temin, & Stigant, 2014; Natsios, 2012; Scherr, 2012; Sharkey, 2012; Sommers & Schwartz, 2011; The Carter Centre, 2011; Thomas, 2012; UN OCHA, 2014, 2015).

Prior to sovereignty in 2011, The Republic of South Sudan constituted the southern region of the country commonly referred to as ‘Sudan’. Since separation, the northern region has maintained use of this name, and the newly independent southern region has adopted the appellation ‘South Sudan’. 
Figure 3.1. Map of South Sudan (U.S. Department of State, 2011)
The Sudanese Civil War and its Antecedents

In what is often considered the outset of Sudan’s modern history, between 1821 and 1881 previously separate Sudanic states were invaded and put under Turco-Egyptian rule. In response to this foreign presence, Mahdi\(^{21}\) Muhammad Ahmad bin Abdallah led an army of Islamic believers against the Turkish, Egyptian and British occupants, defining the Mahdiya period of Sudan between 1882 and 1898. The Mahdist state in 1898 was replaced by the Anglo-Egyptian Condominium, in which the British governed Sudan on behalf of the King of Egypt. The North–South conflict that motivated southern Sudan’s desire for sovereignty finds its roots in another independence movement, namely, historic Sudan’s\(^{22}\) formal creation as a republic after independence from British-Egyptian colonial rule was gained in 1956. Figure 3.2 shows a map of the historic Sudan after independence from the Anglo-Egyptian Condominium.

Being one of the largest countries in the world, the former Republic of Sudan’s geography is considered one of the reasons for its perpetual instability. With the Sahara Desert in the north, the Nile River in the south, the vast plains in the centre and the mountainous ranges bordering the east and south, external access to the country was difficult. Internally, “the country’s geography has made it difficult for any government to tie it together through transportation or administrative infrastructure” (Natsios, 2012, p. 9).

The Anglo-Egyptian Condominium, which began in 1899, cemented distinctions between Northern and Southern regions of Sudan by executing different administrative policies in each. For example, in 1930 the British Civil Secretary’s speech on ‘Southern Policy’ sanctioned the Native Administration procedures that were already taking place in the South. This approach to colonial operations employed pre-existing indigenous administrative practices by recognising customary law and community leadership. By encouraging the continuance of discrete and small-scale governance among individual tribes, Native Administration evaded potential unification in the South and the uprising of nationalistic movements. Meanwhile the

\(^{21}\) Literally, “the guided one”.

\(^{22}\) The Republic of Sudan as it existed prior to the 2011 separation, encompassing both the continuing state of Sudan as well as the successor state South Sudan.
North of Sudan was perceived as an overwhelmingly Arabic and Islamic region, and was governed differently from the South according to this characterisation.

The Native Administration’s emphases on maintaining tribal practices limited educational opportunities in South Sudan, where formal schooling was primarily afforded to those who were chosen for clerical positions within government. Most other schooling, where available, was provided by religious institutions. The exclusivity of government education is an example of structural inequalities that seem to have developed along tribal lines. Because of the more nomadic lifestyle and informal hierarchy of Nilotic herder tribes, they were difficult to recruit into office. By contrast, the farmers from the Equatoria province were deemed more suitable recruits. By predominantly providing education and administrative employment to those from a particular region, the Condominium unintentionally produced a political class that was not representative of the larger Nilotic-dominant population.

In 1954, the leaders in Southern Sudan coordinated a conference to determine the region’s prospects in regard to independence from British-Egyptian colonial rule. The officials voted for Sudan’s independence from Egypt. In another testament to the apparent North–South division, they also elected autonomy for the South and raised the subject of self-determination and North–South separation. Instead, the conference was followed by the Sudanisation process, through which Northerners determined and filled positions of authority in the military, police force, and educational and economic institutions in the South. From the beginning, people in the South resisted Sudanisation, as what was being presented as unification was experienced by many Southerners (with no political access) as cultural colonialism and Arabisation. This process heightened popular opinion on Sudanese independence, and when it was achieved in 1956, the “departure of the British was greeted with jubilation in the North and foreboding in the South, where the British were popular” (Natsios, 2012, p. 41). Despite the lack of a comprehensive Sudanese constitution, some have argued that the British were eager to grant formal independence to relinquish responsibility for current and potential conflicts arising because of the North–South tension (see Johnson, 2011).

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23 See Appendix A for a brief introduction to tribal groupings, and Appendix B for a map of the geographic distribution of supratribal, ethnic groups.
Figure 3.2. Map of Sudan (Al Misāḥah, 1976)

Although Sudan became the first sub-Saharan African country to gain independence from Britain and Egypt, its sovereignty in 1956 marked the beginning of Africa’s longest civil war. The first phase of Sudan’s civil war ended in 1972 with the Addis Ababa Agreement, which addressed some of the issues between the North and South but, partly because of insufficient implementation, failed to overcome
contentions regarding border demarcation and Southern autonomous government. Further, at the time the Agreement was signed the wealth of the South’s oil resources had yet to be discovered and accounted for. The beginning of the second phase of Sudan’s four-decade civil war is often attributed to the repeal of the Addis Ababa Agreement and the introduction of the September Laws in 1983 by then-President Nimeri. The September Laws represented an escalation of Islamisation as it enforced Sharia law on all regions and citizens of Sudan in support of a homogenous, “distorted self-perception” (Deng, 2012, p. 15). This lent itself to a reductionist perspective of the civil war, which is often seen as a Muslim versus Christian conflict embodying the country’s “national identity crisis” (Deng, 2012, p. 15). Religious differences have undeniably been a factor in Sudan’s North-South conflict from the beginning. However, portraying a North-South/Muslim-Christian dichotomy, or indeed explaining the conflict in reference to any singular cultures, ethnicities or races, is necessarily false because of the country’s exceptional diversity. Further, such polarities fail to take into account the vehement tensions within Sudan’s Islamic denominations and the fact that Southern Christianity was not independent and pre-existing but in many cases an oppositional response to Arabism.

1983 also saw the formation of the Sudanese People’s Liberation Movement (SPLM), and its military branch, the Sudanese People’s Liberation Army (SPLA). The announcement about its establishment was made by leader John Garang, a military commander trained at Fort Benning with a doctorate in agricultural economics from Iowa State University. Among other issues, the lack of a conspicuous geographical North-South border complicated a bid for separation and the SPLM/SPLA focused on revolution rather than sovereignty. The movement’s aims and criticisms were outlined in the Southern Manifesto, which commented on the weaknesses of the Addis Ababa Agreement and drew attention to underdevelopment in the South. Because of the language of the Manifesto, the SPLM/SPLA was dismissed as a communist organisation and failed to secure otherwise potential allies such as Ethiopia and the US.

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24 Part of the reason border demarcation was, and continues to be, so difficult to decipher is because there are no obvious geographical borders between the North and South of Sudan.

25 The two branches of the organisation were so intertwined that they are often referred to as a singular entity, the SPLM/SPLA (see Dagne, 2011; Khashan & Nehme, 1996; Johnson, 2011; Madibbo, 2012).
Although the SPLM/SPLA publicised its intention to unite all tribes and pre-existing guerrilla contingents, implementation of military operations provoked rebellion against the SPLM by many tribal militia. Despite the SPLA’s official position on improving relations with minority rural populations, civilians who remained in vacated villages were often attacked by its soldiers. The army also stripped the villages of their local resources, adding to SPLA supplies and ensuring that their opposition would not have access to them, warranting the depiction of the Sudan civil war as having been “fought on the ground as a resource war” (Johnson, 2011, p. 151). The SPLA’s mistreatment of rural Southern Sudanese civilians was one of the reasons Garang was criticised for not holding his field commanders accountable. Other violations allegedly perpetrated by the army included the conscription of child soldiers. These human rights issues, in addition to a preference for Southern separation, supposedly formed the basis for the 1991 factionalisation of the SPLM/SPLA led by Nasir. Once the popularity of sovereignty was proven by the Nasir faction, Garang was forced to publicly consider separation.

Although it is often understood as a dichotomous North–South dispute, the Sudanese civil war was made more complex by conflicts between Southern peoples of different creeds, regions, tribes, political sentiments and political access. Indeed, by 1991 the civil war could be characterised as “a network of internal wars” (Johnson, 2011, p. 127). On top of natural disasters such as the great famine of 1988–1989, the war had devastating effects on the civilian population, with one of its distinctive traits being immense population displacement. Despite the catastrophic effects of the war on Southern civilians, external mediation was dependent upon the Sudanese government’s cooperation. Humanitarian relief efforts were thus complicated by their potential effect upon the ongoing North–South peace process, demonstrating the political nature of international intervention. In 1994, the Intergovernmental Authority on Development (IGAD), an East African organisation consisting of Djibouti, Somalia, Ethiopia, Eritrea, Kenya, Sudan, and Uganda, produced a ‘Statement of Principles’ that advocated democracy, a secular state and autonomy in the south of Sudan. Presided over by Garang, the Statement was disregarded in Khartoum. Indeed,

26 These official rationales for the Nasir faction of the SPLM/SPLA are questionable as the group was found to have received weapons from Khartoum, revealing an alliance that seems to contradict its alleged bid for Southern independence.

27 This famine led to the deaths of approximately 250,000 civilians, partly because of Sudan’s Sadiq government refusing to cooperate with international aid efforts.
the only interceder that both sides would accept was Ethiopia, the government of which could not openly support separation of the South as it was dealing with its own separatist movements.

Although military conflicts still continue and the agreement was not implemented properly, Sudan’s civil war finally ended with the Comprehensive Peace Agreement (CPA) in 2005. The legal document delineates agreed-upon protocols regarding longstanding issues between the North and South of Sudan, including security (prescribing peaceful operations between the two regions), wealth sharing (apportioning natural resources), power sharing (outlining government administration practices), and the demarcation of particular states (arranging procedures for the resolution of the borders of the Nuba Mountains, the Blue Nile and Abyei). Most importantly, the CPA included a protocol for addressing the governance of Southern Sudan, with sovereignty dependent upon the outcome of a Southern referendum.

The Sovereign State of South Sudan

In fulfilment of an accord of the CPA, a referendum was held between January 9 and 15 of 2011 for citizens from South Sudan to determine whether their region should become an independent nation. Voters included those currently living in south Sudan, as well as those who had migrated from the South to the North of Sudan or other countries altogether. The day of the referendum has been characterised as celebratory in all of the voting locations except for the North of Sudan, although many of those living in the North migrated South for the vote (European Union Election Observation Mission, 2011). Notably, of the eight out-of-country nations conducting the referendum, Australia’s voting population was the largest outside of Africa (Phillips, 2013). Despite the lack of public and organisational knowledge about voting procedures, the referendum was conducted peacefully and results have been considered, by impartial parties, to accurately reflect the majority’s desire for independence (European Union Election Observation Mission, 2011; The Carter Centre, 2011). With this positive evaluation of the truthfulness of the results, it demonstrates an overwhelming aspiration for Southern self-determination that 98.83% of valid ballots voted for South Sudan’s secession.

28 9202 South Sudanese Australians voted in the referendum.
The Republic of South Sudan officially became a sovereign state on July 9, 2011, celebrating the occasion with the adoption of new currency, a new flag and its own constitution. South Sudan’s independence was commemorated in its diasporic communities around the world, while the celebration in Juba (the new nation’s capital) was attended by 30 heads of state, significant political figures from the continuing northern state The Republic of Sudan, and the UN Secretary General Ban Ki-moon. Unfortunately, while the celebration marked the end of a war for independence, peace in South Sudan remains elusive because of issues that still require resolution. As will be discussed later in the chapter, some of the borders of the new Republic of South Sudan, as seen in Figure 3.1, continue to be contested.

**South Sudan After Independence**

The campaign for self-determination was so long and arduous that achieving independence could easily have been mistaken as the solution to all of South Sudan’s problems. As Natsios (2012) explains,

> One of the South’s greatest challenges remains the rising expectations of younger people who believe Eden lies before them and that the only thing keeping them from it had been the North. It will soon become evident that this is only half the problem; stabilization and development are long and complex processes. (p. 219)

Indeed, South Sudan’s stabilisation and development continue to be hindered by issues inherent in the structuring of new governance as well as ongoing internal and external conflicts. Unfortunately, Southern sovereignty was secured before a favourable agreement had been reached with Khartoum about the North–South border and the sharing of oil resources. Perhaps more than any other region, Abyei represents failed North–South negotiations regarding border demarcation. Despite reaching numerous official agreements (which were not implemented), violence and instability continues to plague the Abyei region and the local populace experiences the displacement of being continuously claimed by two countries.

Although it is important to acknowledge that oil does not constitute the entirety of South Sudan’s natural resources, the success of both South Sudan’s and Sudan’s economies are dependent upon oil revenues. While the oil resources are primarily found within the borders of South Sudan, the refineries, pipelines and trade ports belong to Sudan, necessitating the integration of both countries’ materials for the
prosperity of each. Demonstrably, after the agreements on sharing oil revenue ended with secession, failed negotiations in late 2011 led to production ceasing in early 2012. As a result, both countries experienced significant financial breakdown.

In the situations where oil revenue and independence have led to positive outcomes for South Sudan, these have mostly been felt in urban areas. This urban–rural divide, and the resulting centralisation of stability, accounts for one of the polarities that threatens internal peace. Not only is infrastructure for basic services yet to be made available to all South Sudanese citizens, the lack of public education in the South has meant that political office is at times held by those with little formal knowledge or experience. The capacity for governance is also limited by illiteracy, which is common among high-ranking SPLM officials. Further, those whose education has qualified them to hold office are an exclusive group, as the Anglo-Egyptian Condominium and periods of Arabism set a precedent for formal education to be offered along tribal, ethnic or religious lines. This lack of political representation is an acute problem given South Sudan’s exceptional diversity, a problem which is exacerbated by the tendency for office to be held by members of the SPLM/SPLA. It has been argued that South Sudanese politics has been hindered by the sense of entitlement exercised by SPLM/SPLA over civilians, because of their army’s significant role in the war effort (Jok, 2012; Thomas, 2012). This military access to privileges provides further fodder for those whose opposition to the SPLM was restrained prior to independence, and who no longer need to censor themselves now that sovereignty has been gained.

Despite the North–South discourse that dominates tales of the Sudanese civil war, “it was southerners killing southerners that took the largest number of lives” (Natsios, 2012, p. 79). This internal dissension continues to leave a legacy in South Sudan, now an independent country that struggles to form a unified national consciousness. Although ‘tribalism’ has long been cited as a primary reason why South Sudan cannot exist as a successful sovereign state (see for example Khashan & Nehme, 1996), it is clear that divisions that appear to form along ethnic or tribal lines are strongly determined by degrees of political access and representation. As independence signified the removal of a “unity of purpose” (Jok, 2012, p. 59), the absence of other commonalities within South Sudan’s diverse populace was highlighted. Deng (2012) suggests that a cohesive South Sudanese national identity must promote inclusivity
and recognise marginalised groups. But there is something more material at stake than a sense of togetherness, as peace and stability in South Sudan requires nation-building established upon more than an opposition to the North:

In the years after 1991, the SPLA experienced a near-fatal factionalisation. Such conflicts made many citizens and foreign observers fear that independence and the removal of the common enemy might plunge the young state into civil war. In fact, there are already many indications that this is going to happen. (Jok, 2012, p. 59)

Unfortunately, current affairs in South Sudan testify to the accuracy of Jok’s predictions. In December 2013, President Salva Kiir and former Vice President Riek Machar engaged in a political dispute that spiralled into widespread violence with “ethnic overtones” (Lyman, Temin, & Stigant, 2014). Since the outset of the violence, and until the time of writing, serious breaches of humanitarian law have occurred on an immense scale, with civilians seemingly being targeted along ethnic lines (UNMISS, 2014). The crisis has led to the internal displacement of approximately 1.66 million South Sudanese citizens, with up to 642,199 seeking refuge in neighbouring countries after December 2013 (UN OCHA, 2015). Although a ceasefire aimed to secure the cessation of hostilities on January 23, 2014, fighting continued, demonstrating the challenges involved in South Sudan’s nation-building efforts.

South Sudanese Migration to Australia

Demographics

Sudanese migration to Australia has changed significantly over the past 20 years. Organised chronologically, Table 3.1 illustrates some of the significant features of this migration, revealing overall trends in the demography of the arriving populations. The data summarised in the table has been drawn from several sources29 (Australian Bureau of Statistics, 2013b; Department of Immigration and Citizenship, 2011b, 2012; Glenn, 2011, 2012; Hugo, 2009; Lucas, Jamali, & Edgar, 2011, 2013; Refugee Council of Australia, 2013; Robinson, 2011). Although each column of the table displays trends over time by outlining migration and migrant characteristics chronologically, comparing census statistics from different years is inherently problematic. Part of the difficulty with comparing the 2011 census statistics with

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29 This data has been drawn from a number of sources related to the Australian Bureau of Statistics’ censuses, which are conducted every five years (most recently in 2011). This includes official ABS materials as well as reports and articles that have analysed the census statistics.
earlier data is, of course, the emergence of South Sudan as a recognised country of birth. As a result of the Republic of South Sudan gaining sovereignty from the Republic of Sudan in July of 2011, South Sudan was first recognised in the census count in 2011. Therefore, not only does data about South Sudan need to be combined with that of Sudan for comparison to earlier years, but the immediacy with which the census adopted the new country as a category—with independence gained in July and the census delivered in August—means that the resultant data may not have fully reflected the change (Department of Immigration and Citizenship, 2011a; Glenn, 2011). Another factor that makes it difficult to determine the characteristics of the South Sudanese migrant community is the limitation on variables by which the census statistics can be analysed (see Robinson, 2011). For example, it is impossible to distinguish those who were born in South Sudan who do not identify with South Sudanese ancestry. Further, there is little data pertaining to those who identify with South Sudanese ancestry who were born either in countries of asylum or resettlement. These considerations, as well as other general shortcomings in identifying Sudanese and South Sudanese Australian demographics through the framework of the Australian Bureau of Statistics census (Robinson, 2011)30, must be remembered when reviewing the population statistics. Nevertheless, the current composition of the South Sudanese-born Australian population, as summarised in Table 3.1, is based on the most specific and accessible information currently available31.

With these limitations in mind, Table 3.1 represents an overview of migration trends in line with Robinson’s (2011) description of “the waves of Sudan-born immigration to Australia hav[ing] been distinctive in their composition” (p. 38). In addition to espousing Robinson’s characterisation of more recent waves of Sudan-born immigration as consisting almost entirely of persons of sub-Saharan, African descent, Table 3.1 indicates that after 2001, new arrivals have characteristically been humanitarian entrants. While Sudan-born migrants were recognised as the largest

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30 Robinson (2011) outlines how the implementation of the Australian Bureau of Statistics’ 2006 census led to incomplete data regarding Australian residents with a Sudanese heritage, contending that the results were likely to represent less than 62% of the demographic group at the time of publication. Of those depicted, the nuances of their Sudanese identities were obscured by the categories outlined in the census. While the 2011 census distinguished between Sudan and the newly established South Sudan, a number of issues identified by Robinson were still present.

31 The information is primarily based on community information summaries compiled by the Department of Immigration and Citizenship, as based on the Australian Bureau of Statistics’ 2011 census.
emerging Australian population in the 2006 census, the population’s growth has slowed significantly in the past five years.

Reception in Australia

Like the demographic data for the South Sudanese population in Australia, literature discussing the reception of this group—as distinct from Australian residents who identify as Sudanese—is obscured by the very recent separation of the countries. Nevertheless, most of the research reviewed here, even when using the appellation ‘Sudanese’, involves participants from South Sudan who have migrated as part of the more recent waves of Christian, humanitarian entrants of sub-Saharan African descent. To an extent the academic interest in this and other recent waves of African humanitarian entrants reflects the heightened awareness of black African migration in the broader Australian public imagination. This increased consciousness produces some of the most significant resettlement issues for South Sudanese Australian residents examined in the literature. These issues include the stereotyping of African Australian identities, wherein the diversity that exists among the African-born Australian population is not acknowledged. Another issue raised in the literature is the inhabitance of a new space as a visible minority, which addresses the effect of prominent physical attributes during resettlement. Finally, the dismissal of agency for, imposition of victimhood upon and discrimination of South Sudanese refugees has been investigated.

Although refugee-humanitarian groups have been particularly represented in the most recent fastest growing African-born Australian populations32, historically migration from Africa has involved white, skilled migrants primarily from South Africa (Hugo, 2009; Phillips, 2011). South Africa remains Australia’s largest source country for African migrants, appearing 8th in the list of top 10 countries of birth for Australia’s overall overseas-born population (Australian Bureau of Statistics, 2013a).

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32 Based on the 2001 and 2006 ABS censuses, Hugo (2009) lists the ten fastest growing birthplace groups within the Australian African-born population as follows: Burundi, Liberia, Guinea, Sierra Leone, Rwanda, Sudan, Congo, Cote d’Ivoire, Central African Republic and Gambia.
Table 3.1.
Trends in Sudanese Migration to Australia

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Descriptors of Australian Residents Born in Sudan</th>
<th>Descriptors of Sudanese Migration to Australia</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Ethnicity and Religion Identifiers</td>
<td>Migrant Status on Arrival</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Until 1996</td>
<td>Sudanese-born Australian residents identify primarily as being of Egyptian or Greek ethnicity and as Coptic orthodox Christians</td>
<td>New arrivals primarily arrive as ‘skilled migrants’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1997</td>
<td></td>
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<td>2006</td>
<td>New arrivals almost all arrive via the Humanitarian Program, predominantly under the Special Humanitarian Program (SHP)(^33)</td>
<td>Sudan ranked the top country of origin for humanitarian entrants to Australia by the special humanitarian visa stream</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

\(^33\) The SHP stream offers permanent Australian settlement for refugees who satisfactorily demonstrate—to a ‘compelling’ extent—that they have suffered human rights abuses in their home countries and are therefore living outside of their home country, as well as connections in Australia who are willing to sponsor them (Department of Immigration and Citizenship, 2012).

\(^34\) That is, the total Sudan-born population as recorded by the Australian Bureau of Statistics’ 2011 census (Australian Bureau of Statistics, 2013b).
Table 3.1.
*Trends in Sudanese Migration to Australia (continued)*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Descriptors of Australian Residents Born in Sudan</th>
<th>Migrant Status on Arrival</th>
<th>Descriptors of Sudanese Migration to Australia</th>
<th>Growth and decline of Sudanese migrants as an emerging population in Australia</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>2007</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Sudan ranked the country of origin with the second highest number of humanitarian entrants to Australia via the special humanitarian visa stream</td>
<td>25.1% of the total Sudan-born Australian population arrived during this period</td>
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<td>2008</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Sudan ranked the country of origin with the third highest number of humanitarian entrants to Australia via the special humanitarian visa stream</td>
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<tr>
<td>2009</td>
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<td>Sudan ranked the country of origin with the fourth highest number of humanitarian entrants to Australia via the special humanitarian visa stream</td>
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<tr>
<td>2010</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Sudan ranked the country of origin with the fourth highest number of humanitarian entrants to Australia via the special humanitarian visa stream</td>
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</tbody>
</table>
| 2011 | Based on the 2011 census data, South Sudanese-born, in order of frequency, identify with the following:  
- Ancestries: South Sudanese, Sudanese and African  
- Languages: Dinka, Arabic and Nuer  
- Religions: Catholic, Anglican and Presbyterian | | | Based on data from the census conducted this year, Sudan-born residents are notably absent from a list of the current fastest growing populations |
Further, black African migration is not as new as the recently developed consciousness of the African Australian demographic, having occurred somewhat uneventfully since Australia’s colonisation\textsuperscript{35} (Zwangobani, 2011). The dominance of recent waves of African, humanitarian entrants in the public perception of African Australian-ness has affected the relationships between recent and longer-standing groups of African migrants, and black African migrants and the wider Australian society. Zwangobani (2008, 2011) explores how some long-established, black African migrants in Canberra consciously distance themselves from the image of the African Australian associated with recent migrants from South Sudan. Before the construction of this stereotype, many of the longer-standing immigrants had achieved a level of assimilation through their family’s class status as professionals. The recent disintegration of these firmly established, public identities due to the homogenisation of African Australians has led to many youths from earlier groups of black African migrants participating in and reproducing marginalising practices. These youths hope to negate subjection to exclusionary identity politics by becoming perpetrators of it. Other examinations of African Australian typecasting suggest that it has not only been generated as a result of demographic changes, but also as an outgrowth of the historical, colonially-charged homogenisation of Africa itself. Colonial actions have been justified by the strategic designation of Africans as united peoples with a single culture and livelihood that can be characterised as traditional, exotic and vulnerable (Phillips, 2011, 2013). This fictional and collective metaphor for African identity has been extended and enforced upon African-born Australian residents, as the label African Australian has come to be synonymous with black and refugee identities. Indeed, the adoption of the label ‘African Australian’ within academia, as well as by community organisations, the media, and bodies such as the Australian Human Rights Commission, has been criticised as “blanket and convenient . . . without critical attention to its relevance and impact” (Phillips, 2013, p. 68).

Similar to the Canadian context described by Ibrahim (1999, 2003, 2004), in the Australian public imaginary, blackness has overridden other aspects of identity more personally significant to a number of black African Australian migrants (Phillips, 2011; Mapedzahama & Kwansah-Aidoo, 2013). Further, as a racial category,

\textsuperscript{35}This ‘uneventful’ black African migration was interrupted by the White Australia policy in the early 20th Century.
blackness is perceived as inferior and has therefore been central to various types of negative social interactions between African Australians and non-African Australians (Mapedzahama & Kwansah-Aidoo, 2013). In addition to accounts of personal, individual acts of discrimination, the systematic discrimination and alienation of the black Sudanese community in the media has been explored (Baak, 2011; Due, 2008; Marlowe, 2010, 2011, 2012; Nolan, Farquharson, Politoff, & Marjoribanks, 2011; Nunn, 2010; Windle, 2008). In particular, coverage of the Liep Gony, Daniel Thongjang Awak, Alex Ngong Akok Akol and Asamah Majur Manyang murder cases (which occurred in Melbourne in 2007, Adelaide in 2008, Adelaide in 2009 and Perth in 2010 respectively) have used neo-racist discourses to shape popular perception of South Sudanese migrants as Others. While no emphasis was made on the racial profile of the white attackers in the Gony case, Sudanese migrants were portrayed as a troubled, problem group whose failure to integrate arouses such criminality. In response to the Gony case, then Immigration Minister Kevin Andrews promoted a perspective of Sudanese migrants as inherently culturally incompatible with Australian values. His recommendation for a decreased intake of migrants from “countries such as Sudan” (Farouque, Petrie, & Miletic, 2007, p. 2) supports the suggestion that ‘Sudanese’ came to personify all black refugees (Windle, 2008). The media responded to a gang rape case in the Blacktown suburb of Doonside with reiteration of African involvement (Olding, 2014). Former assistant police commissioner Ken McKay suggested that Africans should not be resettled in the same communities as such close proximity leads to racial gangs. He said, “Here we go again . . . Refugees and immigrants are just dumped in enclaves without thinking and it is left up to the NSW police, social services and welfare groups to try to fix the problem” (Morri, 2014). Negative coverage of Sudanese Australians such as this represents Sudanese Australians as Others who threaten the normalized ‘white’ Australian group that is the assumed core majority. Unfortunately, even positive human interest stories portray Sudanese as persons to be tolerated by those who naturally occupy Australian national space (Nolan et al., 2011).

The clichéd media descriptions of Sudanese subjects, which equate physical attributes such as tall, thin and black with a defiant demeanour and young, ethnic gang

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36 Balibar (2007) outlines how neo-racism, otherwise referred to as cultural racism, involves discrimination based not on biological heredity but on unconquerable cultural polarities.
collectivity (Windle, 2008), exhibit the role of heightened visibility in exclusionary practices. Although visible differences such as skin colour, tribal scarification and religious dress have been found to be the basis upon which welfare dependence is assumed of particular migrant groups (Hebbani & McNamara, 2010), some South Sudanese men and women report that they experience their visible difference most consistently in the workplace (Boese, 2013). The perceptible difference of blackness is also considered the grounds upon which black Africans experience the paradox of simultaneous invisibility and ultravisibility, in which they can be completely ignored by shopkeepers but also remain seated alone, physically prominent, on public transport (Mapedzahama & Kwansah-Aidoo, 2013). For Sudan-born Australian residents, observable markers of Otherness such as skin colour commonly prompt the question “Where are you from?”, asserting that the whiteness constructed within Australian identity constitutes the eligibility of assumed ingroup membership (Hatoss, 2012). Perceptions determined by visible difference even continue to undermine Australian belonging for black Africans when resettlement has occurred and traits associated with the dominant Anglo-Celtic Australian have been adopted. In addition to being asked where she is from, the Sudanese Australian academic Nyuon has been interrogated about the fluency of her English (Harris & Nyuon, 2010). Thus the articulate and expressive use of English, as the supposed national Australian language, is only presumed to be in the possession of those whose physical appearance sustains homogenous notions of Australian identity.

In addition to the negative constructions of both African identities and blackness as a racial category, the Australian reception of recent South Sudanese migrants has been dominated by the discourse surrounding refugee populations. The media’s characterisation of South Sudanese communities as perpetually ‘troubled’ primarily draws on narratives of past traumas such as war and torture (Aher, 2010; Nunn, 2010; Windle, 2008). This emphasis on refugee victimhood correlates with the inclination for Australian mental health practices to medicalise the trauma of South Sudanese clients (Harris & Nyuon, 2010; Marlowe, 2010; Schweitzer, Greenslade, & Kagee, 2007; Tempany, 2009; Westoby, 2008, 2009). This default psychopathological position automatically relates resettlement problems to traumas suffered. While symptomology and a biomedical focus provides a useful approach for some situations, the overwhelming emphasis on this avenue for South Sudanese healing and
resettlement has some drawbacks. Focusing on trauma in refugee tales obscures the resilience and agency involved in fleeing persecution and seeking refuge (Engall, 2011; Marlowe, 2010; Schweitzer et al., 2007). Regarding refugees as passive victims of trauma fails to recognise that they are strong survivors with the capacity to use available resources to solve their problems. Undermining the agentive role South Sudanese migrants have played in their own circumstances perpetuates the myth that they are unable to help themselves and must therefore exploit Australia’s social welfare system. Instead research has found that Sudan-born Australian residents aspire to contribute to society and would much prefer opportunities for employment than handouts (La Trobe Refugee Research Centre, 2009; Losoncz, 2011; STATT, 2012; Westoby, 2009). These findings align with the notion, increasingly dominant in the past decade of refugee studies’ scholarship, that refugee settlers should be positioned as agentive individuals (Neumann, Gifford, Lems, & Scherr, 2014). In contrast to resentment over scarce resources, another common response to the discourse of refugee victimhood is pity. Although the latter is more sympathetic, pity remains a negative construction that does not afford dignity and respect to subjects who, if viewed through their status as survivors, would otherwise receive it (Harris & Nyuon, 2010). In addition to provoking resentment and pity, the perceived equation between refugees and victims continues to impose a categorical identity upon subjects long after it is relevant. Instead of combining the category ‘Sudanese’ or ‘South Sudanese’ with ‘refugees’, as is commonly done, use of the descriptors post-refugee (Ndhlovu, 2011) or former refugee (Wille, 2011) embody the notion of refugeity (Harris & Nyuon, 2010, 2013). Refugeity reconceptualises refugee as an adjective rather than a noun, drawing attention to the transitory nature of characteristics that often become permanently assigned to humanitarian entrants. In the following excerpt, South Sudanese Australian academic and former refugee Nyuon describes the enduring experience of being identified as a refugee.

The thing about refugeity is that the way you’re constructed mentally, the way you’re constructed socially, the way you’re constructed financially . . . depends so much on how you’re perceived as a refugee. If you are a refugee, most likely you are low socio-economic status, most likely suffering from a traumatic event, you know, post-traumatic stress disorder, so your understanding of your psychological wellbeing has already been contextualised in a way. And socially you are expected not to interact as well with people, to be more disadvantaged in certain areas, so it is a very negative construction. And even though it is sometimes very well intended, so that we can be identified and assisted where
it’s needed, it means that the people who don’t want to be in that category are forced to inherit that identity, even when they want to break away from it. (Harris & Nyuon, 2013, p. 95)

When the mental health and community development sectors, the media and the public frame South Sudanese resettlement and wellbeing challenges solely through the lens of refugee and trauma issues, they foreground vulnerability and fail to recognise and resource the migrants’ resilience. Other approaches to facilitating resettlement and wellbeing, such as strengths-based methods or those that focus on community, culture or sociality, are arguably more culturally and circumstantially appropriate (Engall, 2011; Jones, Baker, & Day, 2004; Marlowe, 2010; Tempany, 2009; Schweitzer et al., 2007; Westoby, 2009; Windle, 2008). Some of these alternative strategies are considered in the following section, which considers the primary resettlement challenges and cultural shifts as experienced and reported by South Sudanese migrants.

**Acculturation Challenges**

**Cultural reorientations.**

In discussing cultural shifts undertaken by South Sudanese migrants when resettling in Australia, it is imperative to appreciate that there is no single South Sudanese culture. As intimated earlier in this chapter, the nation of South Sudan is extensively heterogeneous and consists of hundreds of tribes and subtribes, a multitude of languages and dialects and several ethnic groups (Johnson, 2011; Milner & Khawaja, 2010; Natsios, 2012). Many cultural traditions are distinctive to particular subtribes and only familiar to those therein. With this in mind, the idea of cultural shift is not used here to refer to adjustments from one South Sudanese culture to one Australian culture. Instead, what follows is an examination of specific challenges mentioned recurrently in literature about South Sudanese migrants adapting to presumed Australian cultural norms. Notably, the research reviewed here involves participants from a variety of South Sudanese subtribes, indicating that there are many nuances to the cultures practised by these participants. However, their similar resettlement concerns suggest an extent of cultural unity insofar as they could be described as “a population of persons who have certain artifacts and ‘mentifacts’ (ideas, beliefs, conventions) more in common among themselves than with outsiders” (Berry, Poortinga, Breugelmans, Chasiotis, & Sam, 2011, p. 21). It is in this way that
the term cultural shift is employed. In particular, cultural shifts in the following areas seem to resonate with a number of South Sudanese migrants resettling in Australia: gender roles, intergenerational dynamics, family disputes and notions of freedom.

One of the most significant cultural shifts undertaken by South Sudanese communities resettling in Australia has been adapting to new gender roles (Hatoss & Huijser, 2010; Milos, 2011, 2013; Westoby, 2009). Participants from varying subtribal backgrounds have discussed the domestic responsibilities that women are traditionally expected to fulfill. This typically involves bearing children and being in charge of household chores and the daily operation of the home. Women’s roles are perceived as supportive to those of men, who are customarily supposed to provide for the family’s financial needs. For many, migrating to Australia problematises these culturally and socially constructed roles not only because of the country’s broadly liberal and feminist ideologies, but also because the practical challenges of resettlement prompt South Sudanese women to avail themselves of new opportunities. For example, for some women English language acquisition necessitates participation in formal education systems that were never accessible to them before migrating. Further, limited access to employment for South Sudanese men, and the modesty of the income provided by social welfare, has inspired some women to take up paid occupations. While these developments have been welcomed by a number of South Sudanese men and women living in Australia (see Hatoss & Huijser, 2010), for others shifting gender roles are the primary cause of family distress and disintegration (Milos, 2011; Westoby, 2009). In particular, traditionalist South Sudanese men and women regard the advancement of women’s rights as incentives for marriage breakdown and divorce. Regardless of attitudes towards feminist ideals, changing gender roles can be considered disruptive insofar as they add another ideological and behavioural alteration to the lifestyle of those already experiencing significant dislocation.

The readjustment of intergenerational dynamics constitutes another challenging cultural shift for South Sudanese Australians. Similar to the sudden changes in traditional gender roles, the financial support and newly attained rights available to youths are seen to undermine the authority of parents and community elders (Hebbani, Obijiofor, & Bristed, 2013; Losoncz, 2011; Milos, 2011; Westoby, 2009). Customarily, youths are compelled to submit to the direction and discipline of their parents because of their dependence on them for accommodation, security and other
necessary resources. The welfare systems available in Australia facilitate youths’ economic independence by providing these assets to those considered eligible. By meeting children’s material needs, the government is seen to undermine parental responsibility and encourage youths’ pursuits of ill-founded notions of freedom, as described below.

Even the simple freedom, what does it mean to them? They have a different interpretation—they have their own. Their definition is one that means, “I have the freedom to drop out of school when it is too difficult and I am frustrated. But when you look at it logically this is not freedom. Is this the kind of freedom we want our young people to act on? (Interview excerpt from Westoby, 2009, p. 54)

The evolution in gender roles and intergenerational dynamics has been especially difficult for South Sudanese Australians because it challenges deeply rooted cultural and social constructions of men, women, children, parents and community elders. Because family disputes are considered within the jurisdiction of community elders and extended families, they are traditionally dealt with through customary law (Milos, 2011, 2013). Therefore when family disintegration occurs as a result of women’s and youths’ newfound independence, and manifests through the formal legal system’s subversion of customary law traditions, frustrations are further enhanced. The unfamiliar imposition of the legal system upon matters within the home is particularly highlighted when examining issues of domestic violence. In South Sudan, a husband and father would not be acting outside of cultural norms in administering corporal punishment to his wife or children. While the lack of rights and protection for women means that domestic violence is a common experience within marriages, some traditionalists, including women, see the execution of physical punishment as an expression of a patriarch’s loving custodianship over his family (Westoby, 2009). Whether or not they involve violence, domestic disputes in South Sudan are considered by South Sudanese migrants to have been effectively resolved in community settings. The involvement of family law enforcement and child protective services in Australian contexts is thus seen as confusing (Milos, 2011; Wille, 2013) and disrespectful (Losoncz, 2011; Milos, 2013) for South Sudanese families who are not experienced with the legal system, in that it encourages children and women to disregard traditional authority (Hebbani et al., 2013). Even for the women who acknowledge the good intentions of police and child protective services and the
legitimacy of Australia’s family laws, intervention by law enforcement bodies in South Sudanese domestic violence cases is seen as ineffective (Losoncz, 2011).

Gender roles, intergenerational dynamics, domestic violence and notions of freedom are recurring themes in literature about resettlement challenges for South Sudanese migrants in Australia. The interconnectedness between these areas reveals that acculturation difficulties arise primarily because of cultural shifts in familial, communal and societal dynamics and structures. Individualist, feminist and child protection ideologies underlie the Australian approaches to family structure and domestic dispute resolution that differ so significantly from South Sudanese traditional customs. Clearly, power relations and convictions about authority are at the centre of all of the cultural shifts described. In practice, facilitating South Sudanese adaptations to Australia’s formal family law system requires some understanding of the deeply rooted socially and culturally constructed norms. Milos (2011, 2013) advocates a combination of the two legal systems (i.e. South Sudanese customary law and the Australian legal system), while Westoby (2009) describes a simultaneous process through which the differing South Sudanese definition of violence should be considered while cultural changes are demanded of the migrants. However, such reorientation of cultural practice takes time, and criticisms of cultural norms and values can often be experienced as personal attacks on the culture bearers (Losoncz, 2013). The tension between avoiding cultural racism (see Balibar, 2007) and grounding multiculturalism in individuals’ rights and needs (see Phillips, 2007) can perhaps be regulated through the utilisation of bicultural settlement workers. Given that many trusted and successful bicultural settlement workers have shared experiences, cultural understandings and traditional customs with their clients, they are ideally positioned to offer support to migrants while delivering the services recommended by Australian multicultural organisations (Miralles-Lombardo, Miralles, & Golding, 2008).

**Experiential reorientations.**

In addition to the cultural reorientations experienced by South Sudanese Australians, acculturation has also involved developing comprehension of, and establishing conventional routines within, the domains of education and employment. Formal educational opportunities are rare in many places throughout South Sudan, as
well as in the refugee camps in Kenya and Egypt in which some South Sudanese youths were born (Jones, Baker, & Day, 2004; Westoby, 2009). For a significant number of South Sudanese migrants in Australia, the attainment of formal educational qualifications for their children is a primary motivator for resettling (Hatoss & Huijser, 2010). However, for many school-aged migrants, rapid adaptation to the rules and regulations of institutionalised education can be difficult, largely because of their inexperience with formal schooling and classroom practices. Thus the gulf between their parents’ and their own educational aspirations, and their everyday, lived experiences of and challenges with schooling, can become discouraging. Some argue that the overwhelmingly Western pedagogy framing Australia’s formal schooling system is inherently exclusionary and discriminatory (La Trobe Refugee Research Centre, 2009; Marlowe, 2010, 2011; Naidoo, 2009). In an examination of Sudanese refugees’ acculturation in the Australian education system, Naidoo (2009) espouses Bourdieu’s (1977) analysis of schooling as a vehicle for cultural reproduction. Bourdieu (1977) suggests that under-represented groups in any educational process, including refugees, are effectively disempowered because they are not considered eligible recipients of the social power being distributed. Even when educators attempt to counteract South Sudanese students’ inexperience with the formal schooling system and what are considered to be the effects of trauma, the strategies employed often fail to recognise the systemic nature of the problem (Marlowe, 2010). Individual students’ deficiencies are emphasised and little attention is paid to how the institutions’ pedagogies might be made more conducive to the learning of under-represented student populations. Through facilitating networking and educational opportunities, multicultural community organisations have been found to effectively bridge some of the gaps in South Sudanese educational experiences (Miralles-Lombardo et al., 2008).

Even for South Sudanese migrants who have attained educational qualifications, entering the employment sector presents its own difficulties. In particular, accessing employment is difficult during resettlement because of the lack of recognition of overseas qualifications (Correa-Velez & Onsando, 2013; Lucas, Jamali, & Edgar, 2011), with unemployment and downward mobility common barriers to positive refugee resettlement (Losoncz, 2011, 2013). Discriminatory depictions of South Sudanese migrants in the media and political commentary, discussed briefly in the previous section, are also considered to have played a part in employers’ exclusionary.
hiring practices (Boese, 2013; Murray, 2009; Westoby, 2009), with some accounts reporting that prospective employers enquire more about refugee status and potential traumatisation than relevant skills (Marlowe, 2013). For some South Sudanese men, these obstacles to employment represent another domain in which enforced identity shifts are experienced as a loss of deserved social respect (Losoncz, 2011, 2013). Similarly, struggles to find work can become barriers to integration, despite a South Sudanese migrant’s sincere desire to balance cultural maintenance with intercultural contact (Marlowe, 2013).

Similarly to the attainment of education and employment, English language acquisition is considered a source of acculturative stress for a number of South Sudanese Australian residents. Combined with unemployment, lack of English skills has been shown to have a marked negative effect on South Sudanese migrants’ access to appropriate accommodation (Lejukole, 2013), whereas English proficiency is associated with an easier transition period upon arrival (Hebbani et al., 2013). As Australia is a society built upon a White Australian imaginary, the English language is assigned national significance and thus serves as foundational social capital (Naidoo, 2009). In its overwhelming dependence on English spoken and written proficiency, the Australian citizenship test, like formal schooling, epitomises another institution through which cultural reproduction is promoted. For some, this equation between Australian citizenship, English proficiency and thus Anglo-Celtic whiteness is essentially a form of cultural racism (Ndhlovu, 2011). The literacy-for-citizenship procedure is problematic not only in terms of the suggested cultural superiority of English-ness, but also because of the implications for those lacking normative literacy skills. For a number of South Sudanese migrants who have not experienced schooling, the opportunity to develop literacy skills, even in their mother tongues, has never been available (Milos, 2013; Ndhlovu, 2011).

Despite difficulties with the literary framework of the citizenship test, South Sudanese migrants emphasise the importance of citizenship for attaining political and civil rights (Westoby, 2009). For those who have attained it, the benefits of citizenship that initially come to mind include the rights and protection afforded by an Australian passport when travelling, and easier access to the employment sector (Ndhlovu, 2011). The most recent Australian census indicates that the current uptake of citizenship among Sudan-born Australian residents is approximately 73.8% (Australian Bureau of
Statistics, 2013b) as compared to the estimated 85% citizenship rate of the general Australian population (Department of Immigration and Border Protection, 2013). In previous research, South Sudanese uptake of citizenship was found to be far lower than the rate of many other African refugee source countries, but higher than that of Liberian migrants and comparable to that of Sierra Leonean migrants (Robinson, 2011). The factors contributing to these differences were not understood, but such cross-group comparisons should be examined cautiously as citizenship procedures are complex, and eligibility is dependent upon the length of residency. What is clear, however, is that the practical privileges afforded by an Australian passport, for example, have been contrasted with the ineffectiveness of citizenship in terms of successful integration and feelings of belonging within Australia itself. South Sudanese migrants discussed by Ndhlovu (2011) indicate that citizenship does little to assuage continuing experiences of racism or improve the acculturation difficulties of those with little English who are still primarily perceived as refugees.

**Barriers to integration.**

The evaluation that Australian citizenship provides useful practical privileges, but does little to foster feelings of belonging, reflects broader sentiments about life in Australia. South Sudanese migrants acknowledge positive aspects of life in Australia in relation to previous living situations in wartime Sudan or refugee camps, resulting in an emphasis on security, financial and settlement assistance, and optimism for the future (Shakespeare-Finch & Wickham, 2009; Wille, 2013). Although these benefits stimulate deep and sincere gratitude among arrivals from South Sudan, the extent to which they foster a positive acculturation experience is limited. When asked if they felt they belonged in Australia, and whether they considered Australia home, participants in Wille’s (2013) study initially answered affirmatively with reference to security and the opportunities for upward mobility in their settlement country. When further examined, however, it was found that feelings of belonging were much more significantly influenced by opportunities to participate in and contribute to their new society. Such opportunities tend to be much more accessible to men than to women, as traditional housewife roles isolate women from contexts where they might develop language skills and come to feel acknowledged and accepted.
The significance of active involvement in, and acceptance by, Australian society is espoused by Marlowe (2011, 2013), who suggests that the South Sudanese community displays a strong desire for integration\textsuperscript{37}. The concept of integration is considered through the lens of Berry’s acculturation theory\textsuperscript{38}, as participants in Marlowe’s study prioritise both cultural maintenance and intercultural contact. Similarly, within-group bonding and across-group bridging are considered equally beneficial to both South Sudanese individuals, families, and communities, and to wider Australian society (Marlowe, 2013; Miralles-Lombardo et al., 2008). Despite a marked inclination to develop connections in their new society, many South Sudanese continue to find the realisation of this aim very difficult to achieve (Marlowe, 2011, 2013), due in great part to the cultural, educational, employment, linguistic, and discriminatory obstacles already discussed. The disjunct between aspirations for integration and acceptance, and the reality of cultural and experiential disorientation, is particularly pronounced because of prior expectations about life in Australia:

Within refugee camps and urban displacement centres such as Cairo, Australia and other resettlement countries can be presented as a utopian construct of golden opportunities where everyone can find jobs and enjoy resources almost beyond imagination. . . . Such presentations fail to acknowledge the lack of employment opportunities, experiences of discrimination and educational obstacles that Southern Sudanese refugees experience in Australia. (Marlowe, 2013, p. 112)

Every acculturation challenge that has been examined in this section offers its own set of difficulties. Experienced simultaneously, they constitute barriers to resettlement that contribute significantly to intentions to return to South Sudan among South Sudanese Australian migrants.

**Returning to South Sudan**

In chronicling South Sudanese migration to Australia it is necessary to acknowledge migration patterns in terms of returning to South Sudan. An article in *The Daily Telegraph* reported that the 72% of refugees wanting to return to South Sudan is an indication that “the asylum system can work” (Klein, 2012, n.p.), a trend

\textsuperscript{37}These findings are contradicted by Murray (2009), who maintains that some Sudanese participants endorsed separation rather than integration. Those who preferred separation, in which cultural maintenance is prioritised and intercultural contact is not deemed important, had been in Australia for less time, had not yet learnt English or Australian customs, and spent most of their time grieving at home.
that was reported in the following year by another newspaper (Gridneff, 2013). Klein (2012) distributed the findings of research involving an online poll completed by 300 South Sudanese migrants and face-to-face interviews with a sample of 78 (STATT, 2012). While most migrants indicated plans to return to South Sudan, and the number of migrants returning had increased with South Sudan’s independence and increased stabilisation and security in 2009, statistical rates of return remained lower than those for European and North American migrants. The research report indicates that the high rate of intention to return is primarily founded on a continued, strong sense of South Sudanese identity and an obligation to contribute to the development of the newly sovereign state. Even prior to South Sudan gaining independence, the potential to return and contribute to the country’s development was deeply embedded in the story of South Sudanese migration to Australia:

Such a migratory framework is also linked to an emerging politic of hope—one built on Diaspora politics and concerns to do with the re-construction of a New Sudan envisaged within the peace process, and the possibility of exiles returning. Multiple processes of emplacement within the Sudanese community are performed, with some focusing on the concerns of children’s education . . . often accompanied by women’s need to stay with the children, while many of the men are ‘focused’ on returning to Southern Sudan or a New Sudan of the future. (Westoby, 2009, p. 110)

Although the STATT research analyst described the sense of hope in the South Sudanese Australian community as reflecting “a different dynamic to a lot of refugee communities across Australia” (Klein, 2012, n.p.), the migratory framework described by Westoby (2009) has been found across various African transnational communities (Arthur, 2010). As well as sending remittances to individual family members still residing in their countries of origin, African migrants in the United States identify an obligation to contribute to the economic and social development of their home countries. While community development of the homeland is clearly the primary motivator for returning to South Sudan, difficulties with resettling in Australia have also been cited as reasons to repatriate (Gridneff, 2013; Klein, 2012; STATT, 2012). Given the strong sense of South Sudanese identity and the community’s continued ties with their country of origin, it is necessary to explore the appellation South Sudanese Australian as it is used in this thesis.
South Sudanese Australians

The term *South Sudanese Australian* has been employed to describe the participants in this study who identify as or originate from, or are descended from people who identify as or originate from, regions within what is now the sovereign state of South Sudan. These participants are all Australian residents, but not all of them have attained Australian citizenship. Although they arrived in Australia at various different ages, all of the participants are migrants. Although some participants are more traditionalist than others, and while their interaction with the wider Australian society differs greatly, all of the participants experience a dual sense of belonging within both South Sudan or Sudan\(^39\) and Australia. Regardless of their citizenship status or the nature and extent of their interactions outside of the South Sudanese and Sudanese local communities, it is to be understood that the category *South Sudanese Australian* conveys an acknowledgement of their claims to Australian belonging, insofar as each individual personally identifies as Australian.

**South Sudanese Australian Community in Blacktown**

As outlined in Chapter 2, this study is situated within the local government area of Blacktown. Blacktown has been identified as a significant site of resettlement for the South Sudanese Australian community (Glenn, 2011; Migration Heritage Centre, 2011). Despite a significant national decrease in both South Sudanese and Sudanese migrant intake after 2007, based on the 2011 census Sudan\(^40\) is still ranked as the tenth highest country of birth within Blacktown’s significant overseas-born population (Department of Immigration and Citizenship, 2011a, 2011b). Table 3.2 compares Blacktown with Greater Western Sydney, Greater Sydney, NSW and Australia in terms of its overseas-born, non-English speaking background, and Sudan-born populations (data drawn from Australian Bureau of Statistics’ 2011 census as cited in Blacktown City Council, 2011a, 2011b). It outlines how, contrary to negative media stereotyping and political discrimination, the Sudanese migrant population represents

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\(^{39}\) The participants adhere to range of political beliefs in regard to the separation of South Sudan from the Republic of Sudan. These beliefs determine how they label themselves. Importantly, some would not distinguish themselves as South Sudanese. This will be discussed in more detail in Chapter 4.

\(^{40}\) Given that South Sudan gained sovereignty very shortly before the most recent Australian census was conducted, it is difficult to compare census data exclusively about South Sudan. Because “The South Sudan-born were previously included in the Census count of the Sudan-born, and this is highly likely with a large number in the 2011 Census” (Department of Immigration and Citizenship, 2011a, p.1), Sudan as a country of birth forms the basis of the demographic exploration into South Sudanese Australians in Blacktown.
a very small percentage of Australia’s overall overseas-born population. At the same time, it is evident that Blacktown City has a much higher concentration of Sudan-born residents than the broader regional, state and national average. Certainly, the data suggests that Blacktown is the hub of Sudanese residency within the “multicultural epicentre” (Glenn, 2012, n.p.) of Greater Western Sydney.

Table 3.2.
Proportion of Population who were Born Overseas, have a Non-English Speaking Background, were Born in Sudan, and have Sudanese Ancestry

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Number in Blacktown</th>
<th>Blacktown City</th>
<th>Greater Western Sydney</th>
<th>Greater Sydney</th>
<th>NSW</th>
<th>Australia</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Overseas-born population</td>
<td>113,075</td>
<td>37.6%</td>
<td>35.3%</td>
<td>34.2%</td>
<td>25.7%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Non-English speaking background</td>
<td>94,916</td>
<td>31.5%</td>
<td>29.8%</td>
<td>26.3%</td>
<td>18.6%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sudan-born population</td>
<td>2,166</td>
<td>0.7%</td>
<td>0.2%</td>
<td>0.1%</td>
<td>0.1%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Population identifying Sudanese as their ancestry</td>
<td>2,244</td>
<td>0.7%</td>
<td>0.2%</td>
<td>0.1%</td>
<td>0.1%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

This is supported by Table 3.3, taken directly from Lucas, Jamali and Edgar (2013, p. 51), clearly illustrating that Blacktown is the local government area with the highest concentration of Sudan-born settlement within Australia.

While Sudan ranks as the 10th highest country of birth for overseas-born Blacktown residents, it ranks 26th in a list of the most common ancestries with which Blacktown residents affiliate (Blacktown City Council, 2011a, 2011b). This discloses the emergent nature of the Sudan-born community. Some groups identifying with other ancestries are more populous in Blacktown but, having arrived a few generations ago, do not qualify as overseas-born.
Table 3.3.

*Geographic Distribution of Sudan-Born People, 2011, Top 20 LGAs*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>State</th>
<th>Local Government Area</th>
<th>N=</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>NSW</td>
<td>Blacktown</td>
<td>2162</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Queensland</td>
<td>Brisbane</td>
<td>1504</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Victoria</td>
<td>Brimbank</td>
<td>1392</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Western Australia</td>
<td>Stirling</td>
<td>1079</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Victoria</td>
<td>Greater Dandenong</td>
<td>1000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Western Australia</td>
<td>Wanneroo</td>
<td>820</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Victoria</td>
<td>Casey</td>
<td>742</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NSW</td>
<td>Liverpool</td>
<td>549</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Queensland</td>
<td>Ipswich</td>
<td>476</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Victoria</td>
<td>Wyndham</td>
<td>451</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Australian Capital Territory</td>
<td>ACT</td>
<td>443</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Victoria</td>
<td>Melton</td>
<td>434</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Queensland</td>
<td>Toowoomba</td>
<td>424</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Queensland</td>
<td>Logan</td>
<td>423</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Victoria</td>
<td>Yarra</td>
<td>350</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NSW</td>
<td>Penrith</td>
<td>334</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NSW</td>
<td>Holroyd</td>
<td>324</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>South Australia</td>
<td>Salisbury</td>
<td>318</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>South Australia</td>
<td>Port Adelaide</td>
<td>299</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NSW</td>
<td>Fairfield</td>
<td>271</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**South Sudanese Australian Case Study**

Overall sampling strategies employed in this study were discussed in the Methodology chapter (see p. 28). What follows is a presentation of how this study’s South Sudanese Australian case study was composed, and an introduction to the participants and observational sites involved. Within this case study I primarily exercised purposive, convenience and snowball sampling, as described by Yin (2011). My use of convenience sampling related to my initial interactions with Blacktown’s South Sudanese community as a volunteer English teacher for new, local migrants (see pp. 46–47). Purposive sampling was employed in my search for publicly advertised events involving the South Sudanese community or individual South Sudanese participants. These types of events were often facilitated by Australian institutions such as local arts centres and migrant resource centres. I surveyed local newspapers and local advertising spaces for any events that might involve both music...
and South Sudanese participants. Once I had established a few connections through convenience and purposive sampling, snowball sampling was practised, as existing connections became networking resources for meeting other suitable participants and becoming privy to other potential observation sites.

Given the intuitive nature of the sampling methods just described, the current case study does not constitute a demographically representative cross-section of the South Sudanese Australian community in Blacktown. While I aimed to include participants with a variety of ages, both genders and a diverse range of migration and musical experiences, my approach to purposive sampling inherently solicited the more accessible and publicly visible members of the community. This is one of the central limitations of this case study. Although a number of community and public events were attended, these have primarily been analysed through the lens of informants’ interpretations as presented in research interviews. For the most part, purposive and snowball sampling led me to conduct interviews with those who were interested and willing to participate in the research, and who had attained a level of oral English proficiency. Because “in organisations (or other social systems) the selection of interviewees depends to a great extent on the goodwill of powerful and influential people within the organisation. . . . already the selection of interviewees is part of organisational politics” (Diefenbach, 2009). In this study, however, convenience sampling produced participants who offered the most divergent viewpoints, facilitating a more complex, layered understanding of the phenomenon being studied.

Table 3.4 outlines the basic demographic details of the 12 interviewees in the South Sudanese Australian case study. A more detailed version of Table 3.4, outlining each participant’s musical background and their relationship with Blacktown, can be found in Appendix C. Where participants did not provide demographic data, cells have either been left blank or have been filled with details estimated by the researcher. These estimates, which appear in parentheses, have been calculated using the participants’ unrelated comments that pertain to time and age. Notably, participants Robert and Charles are not South Sudanese themselves. Instead, they socialise and work extensively with South Sudanese from various tribes, and provide information about the musical activities of this community from their perspectives. Charles is a migrant from what is now The Republic of the Sudan and Robert is Australian-born, with parents who migrated from Croatia.
Table 3.4.
*South Sudanese Australian Case Study Interviewees*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Gender</th>
<th>Age</th>
<th>Tribal Affiliation</th>
<th>Migration to Australia</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Age</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Abaker</td>
<td>Male</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>Aweil</td>
<td>21</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Akech (Nyang’s daughter)</td>
<td>Female</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>Aweil, Panaruu</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Aluel</td>
<td>Female</td>
<td>(early 40s)</td>
<td>Dinka Bor</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Charles</td>
<td>Male</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>(Not South Sudanese; a migrant from North Sudan)</td>
<td>15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Daniel</td>
<td>Male</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>Madi, Western Equatoria</td>
<td>13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dut</td>
<td>Male</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>Aweil</td>
<td>19</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kuol</td>
<td>Male</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>Dinka Bor</td>
<td>17</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mabior</td>
<td>Male</td>
<td>36</td>
<td>Dinka Bor</td>
<td>24</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nyadeng (Akech’s mother)</td>
<td>Female</td>
<td>(late 30s)</td>
<td>Aweil, Panaruu</td>
<td>(late 20s, early 30s)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rachel</td>
<td>Female</td>
<td>41</td>
<td>Dinka Agar (Not South Sudanese; identifies as an Australian with Croatian heritage)</td>
<td>32</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Robert</td>
<td>Male</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Born in Australia</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sara</td>
<td>Female</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>Madi and Lotugo</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 3.4 details interviewees with whom semi-structured interviews were conducted for the South Sudanese Australian case study. Up to 10 other South Sudanese individuals became informants through more informal methods. In particular, I had conversations with these individuals in the course of observations, during which musical practices or activities were clarified. Some of the participants with whom I interacted very positively throughout observations, and who were happy

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41 Except in instances where participants have granted permission for their identification, pseudonyms are used throughout. Where it aligns with their real names, participants have been assigned fictitious ‘Christian names’ in keeping with a common practice among the Dinka to give babies both Christian and Dinka names.
to inform me about various topics of interest, declined to be interviewed formally. However, they consented to the information they did provide through more informal conversations being used for research purposes.

Summary

In this chapter, the acculturation of members of Blacktown’s South Sudanese Australian community was contextualised in relation to colonialism and civil war in their home country. The historical conflicts between the northern and southern regions of the old, united Sudan were examined as central to how these circumstances were experienced. At the same time, power relations and resource distribution were revealed as underpinning interethnic and interregional tensions within what has since become an independent South Sudan, complicating stability and development since sovereignty was gained in 2011. Patterns in South Sudanese Australian migration were outlined, highlighting key resettlement challenges related to changing gender roles, shifts in intergenerational dynamics, education and employment accessibility and experiences of discrimination. The way these factors interrelate with participants’ musical lives will be explored in the following chapter.
Chapter 4
The Musical Lives of South Sudanese Australians in Blacktown

Introduction

Participants within the South Sudanese case study differed in their attitudes towards cross-cultural contact and the maintenance of heritage cultures. It was found that the musical activities in which participants engaged corresponded with their evolving individual and collective identities. These shifting identities were directed and shaped by several situational factors, including the significant cultural and experiential reorientation inherent in South Sudanese resettlement in Australia as well as the very personal ways that current affairs in South Sudan, always in flux, were experienced by participants. That cross-cultural contact occurred under such circumstances invoked a powerful sense of transition. Similar to the emergence of a national consciousness within South Sudan, the participants’ sense of self was constantly under development. Further, it was found that the nature of this development was one of inception. Certainly in the South Sudanese case study, more than the others being explored, musical activities embodied the materialisation of newly emerging identities rather than the progressive refinement of already established identities. This notion of emergence was present in participants’ identification with several spheres of belonging as they positioned themselves as South Sudanese, African, black and Australian. These varying forms of positioning are explored in the following sections.

Becoming South Sudanese

The data collection for this case study was carried out from 2011 onwards, coinciding with the attainment of independence in South Sudan. Therefore the musical activities observed, and the comments made in interviews, represent notions of what it is to be South Sudanese just prior to, and including, when the designation came to be officially recognised. Particularly interesting in this case study, which accounts for the South Sudanese Australian community in Blacktown, is that most South Sudanese migrants arrived prior to 2006 and well before the country’s independence (see Table 3.1 on pp. 70–71). With this in mind, identification with and expressions of
nationalistic ideology were particularly interesting given the transnational nature of participants’ relationship with the newly sovereign state.

It has already been established that the communities resettling in Australia represent a significant proportion of the South Sudanese diaspora. Of all non-African countries in which voting in the independence referendum was accessible, Australia had the highest participation rate. Accordingly, Blacktown’s South Sudanese community’s investment in nationalist discourse was not surprising given that Blacktown has the highest concentration of South Sudanese migrants of all Australian local government areas (see Table 3.3 on p. 87). In this light, this case study provides insight into the transnational phenomenon of long-distance nationalism, “whereby people live in one country and are politically involved in another” (Eriksen, 2010, p. 188). It is necessary to consider the role of long-distance nationalism in South Sudanese attitudes towards the maintenance and loss of heritage cultures. For the South Sudanese diaspora, engaging in long-distance nationalism is fraught with complexities because the home country’s nation-building project is still insecure and in its infancy. While many of South Sudan’s primary concerns are related to state-building, involving the development of financial security and infrastructure, successful nation-building and developing patriotism and unity within South Sudan are arguably just as crucial to post-independence stability (Jok, 2011, 2012). The immediacy with which the case study participants engaged in long-distance nationalism was evident in the ways in which many of their approaches to nationalism, and resulting challenges, organically mirrored those arising in South Sudan itself. Following Smith’s (1998, 2010) assertion that national autonomy, national unity and national identity are the goals of nationalist ideology, South Sudanese nationalism is problematic because of the absence of collective consciousness. In both South Sudan and its diaspora, this is being addressed through an emphasis on shared history and a celebration of the country’s inherent diversity.

A Narrative of War

Conflict and warfare are powerful unifying forces in that they involve an oppositional Other against which identities are compared and defined (Eriksen, 2010; Hutchinson, 2006). South Sudan exemplifies how solidarity can be achieved through shared resistance, as hostilities with the North have historically united the many and
diverse Southern tribes (Deng, 2012; Frahm, 2012; Jok, 2011, 2012). As Jok (2012) explains,

So far, what has kept the country together has been a unity *ex negativo*, a unity in opposition to the north. Will the people of South Sudan be able to form one unified nation without external aggression as a catalyst? And what would be the basis for such a nation? (p. 62)

President Salva Kiir has expressed apprehension about the pre-existing unity *ex negativo* playing a significant role in South Sudan’s national narrative, indicating a preference to concentrate on the future. However, shared memories of war and the struggle for independence continue to be used to foster a sense of togetherness and overcome political tribalism within South Sudanese communities (see Frahm, 2012). Nationalism operationalises warfare through its provision of a legacy of military heroes, wrongdoing Others and a community of sacrifice (Eriksen, 2010; Hutchinson, 2006; Smith, 2006, 2010). Identification with and loyalty to the nation are inscribed in citizens through ceremonial reminders of these legacies of war, as memories become mythologised through re-enactments and other ritualised performances (Edensor, 2002; Eriksen, 2010; Langman, 2006; Smith, 2010).

Like the citizens living in South Sudan itself, the community in Blacktown continues to cultivate the heroic vision of a nation born of struggle and sacrifice. This was evident at the South Sudanese independence referendum held in Sydney’s Olympic Park in January of 2011. Here, dances were performed across Olympic Park grounds, with many groups performing simultaneously and informally. In one particular performance, performers’ attire highlighted the strong association between the concept of patriotism and memories of war (see Video Sample 4.1). A man wrapped in a floor-length South Sudanese flag, together with a man dressed in full military attire, led a group wearing both Western and traditional clothing in song. A few months later, when South Sudan officially gained sovereignty and independence was celebrated in Western Sydney, a large group of men in full military attire, seated together in the audience, stood up and sang a song while waving the flag of their new home country (see Video Sample 4.2). One of the case study participants identified the song as a revolution song by the Lost Boys of Sudan, a group to which he belonged. Apparently named after the parentless boys from the Peter Pan story, the Lost Boys were said to have travelled hundreds of kilometers to refugee camps after losing touch with their families. At the independence celebration event, the Lost Boys
reminded those in attendance of their role in the narrative of war. The outburst resonated with recontextualised traditional performances by Lost Boys in the United States of America as explored by McMahon (2007). There, as in the Western Sydney independence celebration, performers responded to the diminishing effects of being perceived primarily as displaced refugees by claiming strong and significant identities as warriors42.

The performances just described are examples of how, through music, nationalist myths of war and sacrifice were enacted at events attended almost exclusively by South Sudanese. However, the narrative of war was the chronicle of South Sudan perpetuated not only at within-group events, but also for audiences from the resettlement society. The South Sudanese Women’s Performance Group (SSWPG) made their debut at the Sydney independence celebration in 2011 and went on, in November 2012, to perform at a ticketed showcase of African dance at a theatre in Western Sydney. At the time this study was conducted, most other South Sudanese performing groups existed for the purpose of maintaining tribal-specific traditions. In contrast, this ensemble brought together women from various tribes to provide an avenue for reflecting on wartime experiences. Mabior, who managed the group, described the lyrics of the ensemble’s original songs:

They are about, over 30 of them, and they are not professional. They are mothers, they are all women. And they came together to mark, to reflect, to look back at what the war, the cause of war. Because most of them are widows and everyone in South Sudan have lost someone in the war. So it was like the theme of their singing, was and is a narrative of war. (Interview, December 4, 2012)

Appendix D includes an English translation of three Dinka songs performed by the SSWPG. The lyrics embody a tragic, nationalist, wartime narrative, with the claiming of ownership over land, the naming and praising of military heroes and a tale of communal sacrifice. The gendered nature of the sacrifices described in the song entitled To You All the Widows, in which men die and women lose their husbands, reflects how “gender relations . . . made symbolically relevant in nationalist ideology . . . tend to produce a patriarchal view of the family” (Eriksen, 2010, p. 213). Although enacted by a women’s performing group, the ticketed theatre performance included

42 It is important to acknowledge that warrior identification could be problematic for some Lost Boys who were conscripted as child soldiers. Although there was no evidence of it on this occasion, and it is unknown whether any individuals in attendance served as child soldiers, it has been found that the Lost Boys and other unaccompanied minors were particularly vulnerable to recruitment as child soldiers (see Singer, 2006).
direct representation of the military heroes significant in South Sudan’s nationalist myth (see Video Sample 4.3 for clips excerpted from SSWPG’s performance at this event). SSWPG’s performance began with the women taking their positions on the unlit, blackened stage, discernible only through the silhouette of their shadows. A pre-recorded track played a combination of ambient noise, including gunshots, and a group of men singing a cappella and in unison. The track was then dominated by the sound of a single man, speaking loudly in English and Arabic. Women in the audience and on stage began to ululate as they recognised the speech delivered by the nation’s most celebrated military hero, Dr John Garang. The speech was originally broadcast in 2005, at the signing of the Comprehensive Peace Agreement that marked the end of Sudan’s civil war. The track was played for several minutes, rooting the rest of the performance in historical events central to South Sudan’s narrative of struggle and sacrifice. Shortly afterwards, the lights were turned on and the women began performing, singing lyrics that expanded upon the nationalist ideologies established in the opening audio track.

That all of the performances described⁴³ were performed within inherently political contexts may raise questions about a public, official warfare-based nationalist discourse that does not resonate with private, individual identifications. The suggestion that these performances represented ideologies passed down from authoritative institutions does not account for their participatory and informal nature. Performances did not have to be sanctioned by community leaders, but rather were spontaneously enacted to express the sentiments of the performers themselves. Further, war was thematic not only in music performed at political and ceremonial events, but also in music which was consumed by participants in their private lives.

I asked Nyadeng, a mother of three, about her favourite South Sudanese singer. She identified John Kudusay⁴⁴ as her favourite, providing the following reason for her choice.

Nyadeng: Because he’s singing about our country, the war.
Sam: Ah.
Nyadeng: That’s why I love it, to listen.
Sam: Yeah the meaning, the words.

⁴³ Note that the South Sudanese Women’s Group initially composed and performed for an independence celebration.
⁴⁴ John Kudusay is a former SPLA soldier whose political songs are popular throughout South Sudan. His significance in Blacktown’s South Sudanese Australian community will be discussed in more detail later in the chapter.
Nyadeng: The meaning, the word.
Sam: Beautiful.
Nyadeng: And the war. But he thinking about the war.
Sam: What’s he saying about the war?
Nyadeng: Like before, we are fighting with the Arab. And he singing. And the Arab he treat us like a slave. Yeah, he listen about, he singing about that. Yeah that why I like it.
Sam: You like it because you feel the words.
Nyadeng: Yeah.
Sam: You feel it.
Nyadeng: It go in my heart deep.
(Interview, June 6, 2012)

Nyadeng communicated a strong, personal connection with John Kudusay’s music based on the subject matter of his lyrics. And while Nyadeng did not directly reference South Sudanese nationalism, she explicitly linked themes of war and slavery with notions of Arab oppression, establishing a clear boundary between “Arab[s]” and the enslaved “us”. The same boundaries are drawn in SSWPG’s song entitled I Am Telling You South Sudanese Who Have Voted for Unity (see Appendix D and Video Sample 4.3). The lyrics invoke a collective South Sudanese consciousness, asserting that rejecting nationalist attempts to gain independence is equivalent to accepting slavery and giving up rightful ownership of land.

Nyadeng’s partiality towards John Kudusay’s music was not unusual. The popular artist’s music was so favoured that, in 2010, South Sudanese communities across Australia joined together, invited him to visit and organised a two-month tour for him. Video Sample 4.4, excerpted from a community-produced DVD of the Sydney performance of this tour, shows the diverse constitution of the audience at the concert. Men, women and children from various subtribal backgrounds danced on the stage and dance floor while John Kudusay performed. Media articles covering the tour indicated another reason, in addition to the personal, sentimental identification with his lyrics cited by Nyadeng, that the artist was so in demand. John Kudusay was singing about the effects of the civil war and other South Sudanese issues not from the perspective of an average South Sudanese citizen, but as a soldier who fought in the SPLA from a very young age. His experiences authorised him to promote nationalist messages in his music, as he was widely considered not only a musician but also a liberator. Having played such an active role in the South Sudanese struggle provided Kudusay with a platform not only to sing about nationalist ideals, but also to speak about them. On his Australian tour he spoke candidly about Southern unity and
autonomy, encouraging long-distance nationalism and urging multitudes of intertribal fans to come together to vote for South Sudanese sovereignty. Inspiring the diasporic community in Australia to vote for South Sudanese independence in the upcoming referendum was cited as one of the primary purposes for his music tour.

A musician is merely a humble and peace loving person. I am here to boost the morale of our people here, young and old alike. I want them to reconcile whatever little differences there are among them and unite in joy and happiness. If you have any misunderstanding with your brother or sister, I would love to see you forgiving one another and enjoy my music in peace and harmony.

My joint visit with Brother James Akec Nhial is to help create awareness among our people in Australia, about the forthcoming South Sudan referendum. We would like to encourage our people to know that nothing will help us if Sudan remains one and the country’s history is a living testimony. People should write it in their hearts the determination of struggle for our people’s dignity and freedom. (John Kudusay quoted in Koch, 2010)

That this was his primary purpose was evident in the speech John Kudusay gave during the Sydney performance of his tour, in which he repeatedly reiterated the date of the referendum and advocated for the audience to vote for separation.

The song lyrics, performance descriptions and interview excerpts cited so far reveal the narrative of war at the centre of South Sudanese nationalist discourse. Within that narrative, notions of unity, freedom, peace and harmony are equated with a strong opposition to Arabism and the North. The conviction that civic ideals like peace and freedom can only be realised through conflict against and separation from the Arab Other conveys the contradiction in national narratives, which are often based on both civic universalism and particularism (see Fenton, 2006). The interplay between these seemingly irreconcilable principles can be seen in exploring the role of Arabism in South Sudanese musical participation.

**Concerning Arabism**

The music in which Blacktown’s South Sudanese community participated suggests that, at the time of this study, the Sudanese civil war and opposition to the North was foundational in shaping concepts of national autonomy and unity. The narrative of war recounted in both consumed and created song lyrics constructed the image of a predatory, Northern and Arab Other that dominated and enslaved the South. Since Sudan’s independence from the Anglo-Egyptian Condominium in 1954, Northern attempts to systematically Arabise the South were experienced as cultural colonialism
As a result, emerging independent from its history of Arabisation became a mark of national autonomy for sovereign South Sudan. This involved abandoning Arabic as a national language, which is evident in the transitional constitution that declares English as South Sudan’s official language and supports the acquisition of local languages (Sharkey, 2012). Despite a sanctioned approach to renouncing the Arabic language and the associated Islamisation, Arabism is innate to South Sudanese history. Sharkey (2012) argues that, “Arabisation policies stimulated some dissent and sharpened oppositional identities even while the Arabic language itself spread at the grassroots, often in spite of, not because of, government policies” (p. 428). The grassroots dissemination of Arabic led to the development of a special version of the language known as Juba Arabic, a South Sudanese lingua franca (Jok, 2012). It has been argued that Juba Arabic is not associated with an Islamic, Northern or Arab identity, but that employing other, more typical forms of the Arabic language “favours a North Sudan regional identity” (Musgrave & Hajek, 2013, p. 407).

The most recent Australian census attested to the prevalence of the Arabic language among South Sudanese Australians. Keeping in mind that the language category ‘Arabic’ did not distinguish between Juba Arabic and Arabic, Arabic remains the major language spoken at home by Sudan-born Australians (Lucas, Jamali, & Edgar, 2011, 2013). However, participants differed in their identifications with Arabic languages and Arabic-influenced cultural traditions, as was clear in their musical participation. Unlike the usual North–South/Arab–African divide which is the principal focus of most Sudanese identity discourse, participants’ music practices reflected aspects of more nuanced identity conceptualisations, similar to those explicated by Madibbo\(^{45}\) (2012): competing African and Arab identities; coexisting African and Arabic identities; a hybrid Afro-Arab identity; and a civic Sudanese identity. Participants were rarely positioned exclusively within a single category, making comments and engaging in musical activities that disclosed multiple understandings of self and South Sudanese nationalism.

In parallel with Madibbo’s (2012) competing African and Arabic identities, essentialist discourses on Sudanese Arabism and South Sudanese Africanism convey the two identifiers as “two opposing identities that cannot be reconciled” (p. 307). In

\(^{45}\) Madibbo (2012) investigates Sudanese identity as it was conceptualised by 30 Darfurians before South Sudanese independence. Despite differences in context, the various identity categories resonated with findings from this case study.
regard to associating with particular musical activities, this notion of identity was most clearly held by Nyadeng. When discussing the meaning of a specific dance movement performed at several observed events, Nyadeng agreed that she recognised the one being described, but qualified, “This is Arab dancing. It’s not the Sudanese dancing” (Interview, June 6, 2012). The movement, requiring performers to stretch their arms out straight behind their heads, was performed at (among other places) the Dancing in Harmony concert by the Twic Mayardit group (see Video Sample 4.5) and at John Kudusay’s concert by a group of women performing traditional dance and song. Although the apparently Arabic-influenced dance movement was pervasive enough to be practised by people from several South Sudanese subtribes (although within the context of varying, specific traditions), and was meaningful enough to have been observed at both private and public events, Nyadeng did not consider the movement to be (South) Sudanese. Further, when asked about the meaning of the dances involving this movement, Nyadeng answered, “I don’t know, because I don’t like it” (Interview, June 6, 2012). Although she had seen it performed numerous times, she never joined in or tried to learn more about its meaning, which she did freely with other traditions that were not of her tribe but which she considered sufficiently South Sudanese. Despite her ignorance about the tradition, Nyadeng maintained that she did not like it.

Nyadeng’s clear distinction between Arab and (South) Sudanese dancing suggests that for her the two identities are not compatible. The opinion that South Sudanese cultures that have been significantly influenced by Arabism are not authentically South Sudanese is also pertinent to the current climate in South Sudan itself. There, South Sudanese who fled to Khartoum during the war, and have now returned to South Sudan, are denigrated for their Arabic habits and continued reliance on the Arabic language (Sommers & Schwartz, 2011). The disparaging term Jalaba (meaning ‘Arab’) is used to describe these Khartoum returnees, who are recognisable because, “You can clearly tell a Khartoumer. They dress and act different. They speak Arabic and have [an] Arabic culture” (Sommers & Schwartz, 2011, p. 7).

Although he has not returned to South Sudan, the effects of interview participant Dut’s upbringing in Khartoum and Egypt have not gone unnoticed by his family in Aweil. Having migrated to Khartoum at the age of two, Dut was brought up there until
he moved to Egypt at the age of 13. At 19, he moved to Australia. When discussing his earliest memories of music, Dut answered,

I was surrounded by cultural music of course. . . . Cultural music. Mm, gosh. Anyway study, I start to hear like the Sudanese culture music. It’s kinda reggae but it’s, it’s that Arab kind of music. . . . I don’t know how to explain it, but Sudanese Arab music. It’s like full-on Sudanese. (Interview, June 12, 2012)

In contrast with Nyadeng’s strong distinction between “Arab dancing” and “Sudanese dancing”, Dut equated notions of Sudanese “cultural music” with Arabic popular music, explicitly identifying Arabic tarab,\textsuperscript{46} music as “full-on Sudanese”. By nature of his residence in Khartoum, Dut was heavily exposed to this popular music. It was played in people’s cars and in public spaces such as cafes and shops, and as he grew older he was able to buy tapes of his favourite artists and even watch them in live concerts. Dut explained that in the South, there is an awareness and limited participation in the Arabic Sudanese music with which he became familiar in Khartoum, but that South Sudanese are, “mostly into like African music. Like, real African music” (Interview, June 12, 2012). Although Dut’s comments demonstrated some fluidity in his conceptualisation of Sudanese-ness, he still implied a seemingly self-evident boundary between an Arabic North and African South. Despite being from Aweil, Dut’s life in Khartoum provided effortless accessibility to what he described as Arabic Sudanese cultural music. However, it was not an ideal context for learning the traditional Aweil music practised by his family. He explained that those in Aweil are always exposed to tribal traditions, but in Khartoum he would have had to go out of his way to learn them and opportunities were scarce. As a result, he remained largely unfamiliar with Aweil traditions, resulting in a disconnect with his family that was further reinforced by communication difficulties because of his lack of Dinka fluency.

Dut’s musical interests highlight the significance of location in determining cultural and musical competencies. Unlike Nyadeng, he did not describe Arabism and Africanism as necessarily competing opposites, but rather considered certain cultural expressions to be more meaningful in the geographies within which they were

\textsuperscript{46} Tarab is not strictly a genre, but rather a transcendental, emotional response associated with certain music. Ethnomusicologist Racy (2003) explains, “Tarab can be viewed as a specialized cultural domain. Sometimes referred to as ʿalam al-tarab, ‘the world of tarab,’ this domain encompasses artists, repertoires, and music related ideologies, attitudes, and behaviors, including ways of listening and reacting to music” (p. 15).
developed. Correspondingly, other participants who did not integrate into Khartoum’s culture, but who were also exposed to Sudanese Arabic music throughout their migration, appreciated and consumed such music as representative of a culture with which they did not personally identify. In some ways, Dut’s and their musical identifications reflect Madibbo’s (2012) concept of coexisting Arabic and African identities, which espouses that identities based on Arabism and Africanism are separate but can happily and tolerantly coexist.

At other times there did not seem to be such a marked dichotomy between Arabism and Africanism, as both categories were subconsciously embodied as authentic to participants’ experiences of their homeland. Participants, and the musical activities they engaged with, bore traits of Madibbo’s (2012) hybrid Afro-Arab identities, an identification which is “based on the recognition of historical and social processes of intermarriages and interactions between the two ethnic groups, and on the geographic and social connections developed between the Sudan and both the Arab and African worlds” (p. 311). Like Madibbo’s conceptualisation of hybrid Afro-Arab identities, wherever this identification appeared there was no preoccupation with the differences between the two categories. While they were deemed complementary, hybrid identities varied in the degrees to which Africanism and Arabism were claimed. Sometimes Arabism was only present in that participants listened to, danced to or sang Arabic or Juba Arabic lyrics. While minimal, even this token enactment of Arabism was at odds with the denigratory criticisms of South Sudanese jalaba (Sommers & Schwartz, 2011) that decry any dependency on the Arabic language. From that perspective, such extensive use of the Arabic language itself qualifies categorisation within a hybrid rather than a purely African identification.

At other times, hybrid identities were performed through songs that not only had Arabic or Juba Arabic lyrics, but also aesthetically embodied historical processes of interaction with Arabic music. It was found that Juba Arabic was the lingua franca in a Sudanese protestant church in Blacktown, whose congregation consisted of members from both the North and South of the former Republic of Sudan. Being from Khartoum himself, youth and music leader Daniel did not distinguish between the two regions, explaining that Arabic music is integral to Sudanese church music repertoire throughout the former Republic of Sudan.
So now it becomes really hard with the other elder, with the other band, with the . . . Sunday one o’clock band. Because they’re constantly in Arabic and stuff. So when we try to come and teach them new English songs, it’s kind of bit difficult for them to pick up quickly. . . . Ah but some of the songs that we choose in Arabic, these are the songs that most of churches [in the former Sudan itself] sing. (Daniel, Interview, December 12, 2012)

Earlier in the interview, Daniel clarified that Arabic is the common tongue in South Sudan. In the excerpt above he illustrated how, within the context of this particular Sudanese church, songs in Arabic, more than any other, adhered to elders’ long-established identities as Sudanese and South Sudanese Christians. The elders’ familiarity with church songs in Arabic was evident when I observed and participated in a special outreach event. Advertised as a ‘Praise and Worship’ night, the event involved hours of singing and dancing to church songs. As I was asked to play keyboard for some of what they referred to as ‘the English songs’, I attended a rehearsal before the night of the event itself. There, it was clear that the musicians were accustomed to practising and performing the songs in Arabic, while the few English songs were newer to the repertoire and most still required arrangement. At times I was asked for advice on the English songs’ chord progressions and to clarify the songs’ structure; the band argued over details such as where singers should enter and how loud the drummer should be playing. The comparative freedom with which the church songs in Arabic were approached, was mirrored by the congregation on the night of the actual event. Video Sample 4.6 shows the seemingly effortless performance of a church song in Arabic47, which members of the congregation knew very well and which inspired them to dance. It was assumed that the congregation knew the lyrics, which were absent from the screen behind the stage. In contrast, Video Sample 4.7 shows excerpts from Daniel’s solo acoustic guitar performance of Heart of Worship, a modern church song composed by Matt Redman. A fan of Australian megachurch Hillsong’s music, Daniel used the ‘Praise and Worship night’ as an opportunity to introduce members of his Sudanese church48 to an English song from a popular Hillsong United album. While the song in Arabic in Sample 4.6 was

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47 Unfortunately it was not possible to gather data on all of the songs that were performed, and the name of the song in Sample 4.6 is unknown to me. The nature of this participant observation was such that I could not interrupt my informants, during the rehearsal or the performance, to give me details about each song. As they performed many of these songs from memory, there were no records I could collect in lieu of interview data.

48 The congregation on the ‘Praise and Worship’ night included a number of visitors from outside the South Sudanese and Sudanese community who were not regular members of the church. These individuals were in attendance because it was a special outreach event.
seamless in its presentation and audience participation, *Heart of Worship* involved stops, starts and unstructured repetition, as Daniel tried to actively teach the congregation how to sing it. As is evident in Video Sample 4.7, Daniel himself was unpractised in the song, singing in a different key from his own guitar accompaniment. Throughout the rehearsal and the event itself, it was clear that English constituted a developing part of the church’s linguistic identity while Arabic was its established norm.

Arabism was most evident where participants who identified as South Sudanese connected with music from Sudan’s North, or music from other parts of the Arab world that were popular in the North of Sudan. One particularly striking example of this type of hybrid Afro-Arab identity was evident in a casual musical exchange between Sudanese and South Sudanese musicians in a world music program facilitated by Blacktown’s migrant resource centre. The program involved local musicians from several, diverse countries of origin collaboratively composing original pieces through a process of weekly rehearsals. The program culminated in the formal performance of the compositions in front of a live audience. As most members of the group were unable to attend rehearsals consistently, participation fluctuated throughout the course of the program. One of the most regular participants was Masud, a guitarist from the North of Sudan who composed pop songs in Arabic and English. Although unable to attend rehearsals as regularly as Masud, the experienced South Sudanese musician Rachel was another central member of the group. After the conclusion of one observed rehearsal, when most other participants had gone home, Rachel and Masud began to organically ‘jam’ (see Video Sample 4.8). With Rachel drumming on the djembe, Masud rhythmically clapping and clicking his fingers, and Rachel leading the singing, the two soon began to improvisatorily perform pop songs by musicians from the North of Sudan. After one of the most complete performances was video recorded, Rachel and Masud proceeded to explain the meaning of the song for the researcher by loosely translating its Arabic lyrics. Following their collaborative discussion of each line, Rachel summarised the meaning of the song.

Belal is a man. And the girl is singing to Belal, her boyfriend. It’s refuse for him. A refuse to marry the girl. And the girl say, “Why you refuse to marry me?”

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49 The participants could not readily remember the name of the specific song they performed. As is evident in the video, the musical occurrence was very organic and it would not have been appropriate to disrupt the interaction for further enquiry.
And you are the male lover. The love is true, is there. How can you say you don’t want me?” And then she say . . . “I get in the car.” She gets in the car. “I’ll get in the car in the afternoon. And I went to see the doctor. For the heart.” Because she be love man, so much. And she got to doctor, you know, to get the feeling for the doctor. And doctor say, “I don’t have any medicine to give to you. It’s only love, you love someone.” She then laughs. (World music program, Observation, June 23, 2012)

Rachel and Masud’s equal enjoyment of the song was evident in both their performance and their shared explanation, during which they prompted each other’s memories and respectfully demonstrated their regard for each other as equal authorities on the musical material. Clearly, they considered each other to have equal ownership over the song in Arabic.

Rachel identified strongly as South Sudanese, performing at a number of South Sudanese events throughout the data collection period. Once independence was gained, she was given the job of teaching the new country’s anthem to local South Sudanese children. Despite her dedication to sovereign South Sudan as suggested by this role, the following paragraph will give context for the Arabic song with which Rachel personally related. Importantly, the song not only has Arabic lyrics but also originated from the region often framed as the South’s opposition. Further, she bonded over the song with an Arab-identifying man from that same contentious area, reiterating commonalities between African and Arabic categorisations. Although South Sudanese identity has historically been defined as a resistance to the North and its attempted colonisation, the musical exchange in Video Sample 4.8 illustrates how aspects of Arabism can continue to function as part of a South Sudanese individual’s sense of self. Like Dut, Rachel spent a significant amount of her time in the former Republic of Sudan in the North. Born in the North to South Sudanese parents, her childhood years were divided between the two regions before she eventually settled in Khartoum. As tensions rose during the Sudanese civil war, Rachel fled to Egypt with her children before applying to migrate to Australia. Although she maintained that she is inherently South Sudanese, exclaiming, “It’s in my blood!” (Rachel, Interview, December 13, 2012), her extensive experiences in Khartoum undoubtedly shaped her adoption of an Afro-Arab hybrid identity.

At the same time, because her family experienced significant persecution in Khartoum (leading to her seek asylum in Egypt), it is pertinent to consider the nature of the Arabism Rachel embraced. The song which she and Masud shared was a
humorous pop song with lyrics on a romantic theme. The song was by Hanan Bulu-Bulu, “the pouting provocative Madonna . . . of 1980s Sudanese pop” (Verney, 1998, p. 38). Denounced and beaten by extremist Islamists because of the supposed sexual immorality of her performances, Hanan was ridiculed because of her “‘half-Ethiopian’ background” (p. 38) and her concerts were banned. Despite the lighthearted content of the song’s lyrics, this political aspect of Hanan’s musical career reveals the aspect of North Sudanese culture in which Rachel and Masud found a common bond. Given her family’s South Sudanese background, Rachel was able to identify with the musical rebellion against Islamisation taking place in the North. Masud not only sympathised with this resistance; he actively took part in it. Through music-making he exemplified the many Northern Arabs who defied the imposition of Sharia Law during Nimeiri’s presidency. At a later date, Masud revealed that he left Sudan because, similarly to Hanan Bulu-Bulu, he was being persecuted by extremist Islamists for the supposed immorality of his music. He played professionally in a Sudanese band in Sudan, performing a type of slow music that encouraged males and females to dance in close contact with each other. His story espoused Verney’s (1998) suggestion that, “Few Northern Sudanese whole-heartedly support the government's obsessive division of the sexes, lots are repressed dancers, and many older ones look back nostalgically to the era before 1983 and Sharia law” (p. 33). By considering the contentions between the Sudanese music industry (as represented by popular artists and music consumers) in the 1980s, and President Nimeiri’s enforcement of Sharia Law, it is clear that Arabism can be incorporated into a strong sense of South Sudanese identity without contradicting the narrative of war upon which it is often built.

Where participants were unable to address the complexities in adopting the inherently oppositional South Sudanese identity, they often assumed a civic Sudanese identity. As defined by Madibbo (2012), this identity “denounces ethnic particularism and instead calls for the acceptance of a pan-Sudanese identity that encompasses all the cultures and social groups that have been an integral part of the historical and social fabric of the country” (p. 312). Given the currency of the independence referendum at the time of data collection, leanings towards a civic Sudanese identity were often found in participants who did not strongly support the separation of South Sudan. Dut and Daniel both ruminated on their preferred identification with a more inclusive notion of Sudan, despite a context-dependent willingness to associate
themselves with South Sudan. Daniel spoke about his preference not to perpetuate a North–South division. Having primarily experienced the Northern region of Sudan, and having ‘Sudan’ rather than ‘South Sudan’ written on his birth certificate, Daniel claimed, “still my identity has been, I’m known as Sudanese still, for me. For my own kind of point of view” (Daniel, Interview, December 12, 2012). Dut, below, spoke explicitly about the issue of separation.

As for me, yes, separation is not good because we supposed to accept each other as who we are. You know, even when we are separated, independent and stuff, of course with me I don’t like politics. I’m not a politician, I don’t even like what they’re doing. I live just for the country to go. That’s all. But with separation now it affect me more because I like Sudan to be enjoyable country which has different music, different tribes, different, everything is just different. But we come together in, in one land and live peacefully. That’s all. And that’s what we trying to, like to tell through music even sometimes when we write songs. That’s what we trying to tell people. You know, “That’s not the way it is.” You know, “this is, we’re supposed to be one country.” (Dut, Interview, June 12, 2012)

Both Dut and Daniel’s musical activities reflected their civic Sudanese identities as expressed above. They both composed original songs, and neither of them favoured genres that exemplified an allegiance to either their parents’ South Sudanese tribes or their Northern, Arabic upbringing. Similarly, even with primarily South Sudanese or Sudanese audiences, both wrote lyrics in English, rather than Arabic, Dinka, or other South Sudanese languages. Dut and Daniel emphasised the message in their lyrics, which often revolved around themes such as peace, survival, faith and love. Although the Sudanese civil war may have inspired the composition of their lyrics indirectly, these themes were observed to be universal and civic in nature and presentation. The universal relevance of Dut’s music was particularly underscored in a song that he practised after a rehearsal for the world music program. With another South Sudanese musician on drums, Dut invited me to play with them so that he could concentrate on singing. After a brief explanation of the chord progression and the melodic ostinato, we proceeded to play through the entire song. As evident in an excerpt from this rehearsal session in Video Sample 4.9, the reggae-inspired song, entitled Peace in Liberia, included a call-and-response section in which Dut repeatedly sang the phrase, “We want peace in . . .”, completing the phrase with a different country’s name each time (Appendix E provides a transcription of all of the lyrics of Peace in Liberia). Similarly, the end of the song involved the repetition of the phrase, “Cry, cry . . .”,

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completed with various countries’ names (for example, “Cry, cry Australia”). This emphasis on the international illustrated how Dut positioned himself outside the restrictions of South Sudanese nationalism via a civic cosmopolitanism, in line with Delanty’s (2006) characterisation of cosmopolitanism “as a movement towards openness [that] resists the drive to closure that is a feature of the nation–state” (p. 361).

The nation of South Sudan came into existence in opposition to what was considered a threatening, colonialist Other. Within South Sudan this Other, embodied by the capital of the former Republic of Sudan, Khartoum, has often been characterised in view of its past aggressive Arabism projects. While the Sudanese civil war and the liberation struggle is the centrepiece of South Sudanese nationalism, Arabism, as one of the ideological battlegrounds that propelled the war, is also fundamental to nationalist narratives. Frahm (2012) discussed how language usage has been the focus of many politically charged debates, citing the Ministry of Education’s discontinuation of Arabic as a school subject. Calling attention to the multitude of returnees from the North, Frahm characterised this decision as “problematic” (p. 36). Thus, the employment of the Arabic language and culture highlights the divergence between Khartoum returnees and those who stayed in South Sudan throughout the war (see Sommers & Schwartz, 2011). While there was no evidence of contention between members of Blacktown’s South Sudanese community over these matters, it was clear that attitudes towards Arabism were divergent and affected participants’ sense of selves differently. It was found that the performance and consumption of certain music reflected the extent to which participants were willing to embrace various aspects of Arabism. Importantly, the degree to which individuals adopted Arabism seemed to be directly related to both their migratory patterns and their proclivity for South Sudanese patriotism, with those who settled in Khartoum for at least a few years being more likely to engage with Arabic music and acknowledge the cultural impact of historical exchanges with the North.

Arabism was just one arena in which South Sudanese national identity was publicly debated and privately negotiated, illustrating that where South Sudanese nationalism was found, it would manifest in different and sometimes contradictory ways. Such polarisation could have been expected in a nation that was forged out of a shared resistance, wherein “the lack of North Sudanese oppression—as welcome as it is for
obvious reasons—may strain the sense of togetherness in independent South Sudan” (Frahm, 2012, p. 24). This sense of togetherness is particularly challenging to achieve because of the overwhelming diversity that exists within South Sudan’s borders. In discussing South Sudanese nationalism it is therefore necessary to consider the effect of tribal belonging, which was observed to be of significant importance to the participants in the present study.

**Addressing Tribalism**

Tribalism has been identified as one of the key challenges in the development of South Sudanese national identity (Frahm, 2012). It is particularly powerful given how recently South Sudan became a nation, as well as the lack of direct engagement between the state and its citizens. Further, as mentioned earlier, South Sudan consists of an extremely large number of tribes. Fifteen years before this nation achieved sovereignty, Khashan and Nehme (1996) argued against the potential for successful political autonomy in South Sudan by highlighting the diversity and complexity in its ethnic makeup and communities of tribes. They suggested that the South compared poorly with the primarily Arab and Islamic North in that its people “do not constitute a monolithic nationalistic entity” (p. 116). While there is no consensus about the exact number of tribes in South Sudan (Frahm, 2012), the following passage gives an idea of the heterogeneity that exists therein.

There are 597 tribes and sub-tribes, which speak 133 languages and even more dialects, though many of these ethnic groups consist of no more than a few thousand people each. For example, a number of the largest tribes, such as the Dinka of the South—with twenty-five subtribes, the largest ethnic group in Sudan—speak so many distinctive dialects that many are incomprehensible to each other. Rivalries and tensions among the Dinka subtribes remain a historical reality in southern Sudan . . . and thus it is something of an oxymoron to write about “tribal identity.” (Natsios, 2012, p. 10)

Apparent contradictions in the concept of tribal identity in South Sudan align with groupings such as ‘the Dinka’ being labelled not as tribes, but as supratribal confederations, as there is remarkable diversity within these larger groupings (Anwar, 1986). This heterogeneity is compounded by the intersection between tribal, subtribal, linguistic, religious, ethnic and racial identifications as, for example, race and tribe do not necessarily correlate (Natsios, 2012). It has been argued that supratribal alliances were constructed by colonial powers, and that kinship and locality more effectively
inspire feelings of loyalty and belonging (Eriksen, 2010). However, tribal classification is prescribed legitimacy by governments and intergovernmental organisations in their discussions about and literature on South Sudan (see Appendix A for a brief outline of South Sudanese tribal groupings as categorised by the Embassy of the Republic of South Sudan in Washington D.C., 2011). Irrespective of the origins of South Sudan’s supratribal confederations and the disputes over how sound tribal identification is, tribalism is significant in that it continues to be discussed as politically relevant in conversations about South Sudanese nationalism (Frahm, 2012).

In the present study, it was found that tribalism has acquired salience not only in the South Sudanese political sphere but also in the everyday musical practices of Blacktown’s South Sudanese community. The findings supported the assertion that tribal identity does not operate very forcefully on the level of broad tribal entities, or supratribal confederations. Instead, tribal allegiance existed most intensely in relation to subtribes and ethnic subgroupings, as determined by the participants’ indigenous locality (see Appendix B for a map detailing the distribution of ethnic groupings in South Sudan). As mentioned earlier, with the exception of the intertribal ensemble SSWPG, South Sudanese performing groups tended to represent specific subtribes. At the Dancing in Harmony event, the performed tribal traditions were not shared by an entire supratribal confederation, such as the Dinka or Nuer, but were specific to subtribes including the Twic Mayardit or Dinka Bor communities. Before the performance, a leader of the dancing ensemble would address the audience, sometimes in Arabic or Dinka (to be translated into English by an emcee), to explain the meaning behind the upcoming dance. This explanation was necessary for all members of the audience who were not from the performing group’s tribe, including other South Sudanese.

In accounting for the distinctiveness of tribal traditions, Nyadeng distinguished between the cultural traditions of her subtribe, and that of other Dinka and South Sudanese.

No. We are the same [South] Sudanese, we are the same Dinka. But everybody here have culture, different culture. (Nyadeng, Interview, June 6, 2012)

It was observed that community events were largely organised along these subtribal lines. Nyadeng declared that within Sydney’s South Sudanese community, her family
was the only one from the Ngok Panaruu tribe. Panaruu is a subtribe within the larger Ngok tribe, which is itself a subset of the supratribal Dinka confederation. Living in Sydney meant that Nyadeng and her family had no local access to relevant tribal leaders, tribal associations and tribal community events where she could practise her cultural traditions. In contrast to her indifference towards her children’s attendance at the South Sudanese weddings and general South Sudanese events, like the John Kudusay concert, Nyadeng was insistent about her children attending Ngok events and learning the dances and songs of their tribal heritage. In January 2012, Nyadeng took her entire family to a Ngok community event, which was a financial and practical endeavour in that it was held in Melbourne, where the majority of Australia’s Panaruu community apparently resides. Although she had many South Sudanese friends in Sydney, in 2013 Nyadeng moved to Melbourne in order to be closer to extended family and friends who shared her Ngok Panaruu heritage.

As reflexive data collection and stimulus for further conversation, I searched for traditional Panaruu music videos on YouTube and brought them back to Nyadeng for comment in a second interview (see Video Sample 4.1). I showed three clips to Nyadeng and her Bor friend, Aluel, who agreed to take part in the interview. Having never seen these videos, Nyadeng was very happy not only to share and explain the meaning of the music to her Bor friend and I\(^5\), but also to be participating in the traditional music as a listener. This was especially so because she was listening to its performance in its traditional village setting, albeit across spatiotemporal borderlines. Nyadeng requested a copy of these videos for her private use and, in one particularly surprising and wonderful moment, spotted her father, a village elder, in the crowd of dancers. Certainly, YouTube proved an excellent resource for viewing the traditional dances of various South Sudanese tribes, as users from around the world post videos of performances from the homeland and across the diaspora. In this way, the Internet addresses tribal isolation such as that experienced by Nyadeng, strengthening transnational ties not only to traditional culture, but also to the people and places of home. It can be argued that through the broadcasting of traditional songs, South Sudanese YouTube channels are utilised in much the same way as the cassette tapes studied by Impey (2013), “securing clan networks and anchoring cultural identities

\(^5\) In order of appearance in Video Sample 4.1, Nyadeng described the first excerpted clip as a “happy” song about a wedding, and the second and third clips as joyful traditional celebration dances performed in the context of South Sudanese independence.
across cultures and continents . . . embody[ing] memories of locality and belonging” (p. 11).

Tribal community associations primarily organised events for the purposes of Australian residents from their subtribe. Invitations were often communicated by word of mouth, and interstate attendance, like Nyadeng’s family’s attendance at Melbourne’s Ngok Panaruu cultural event, were not uncommon. Despite the tribal partitioning inherent in this approach to organising the South Sudanese community, life in Australia offers many opportunities for intertribal exchanges. In South Sudan itself, music and dance traditions are exclusive to particular subtribes and made inaccessible to others by the geographical distance between villages. Through the natural intercultural exchanges that occur between subtribes in refugee camps and societies of resettlement, these traditions then become available to all South Sudanese regardless of their ethnicities, tribal affiliations and prior familiarity, or lack thereof, with the practices. But even in the sharing of such traditions there remain aspects of tribalism. Participants made it clear that in a lot of contexts, while others were welcome to participate, music and dance cultures were still perceived as belonging exclusively to the subtribes from which they originated.

You are likely to learn different things. Not only dance but you can learn other things. So when you see this different group of people dancing like Panaruu, you try to copy what they are doing exactly. So if you try to copy, you learn from your work. But still there may be some, you know there may be some that this particular person is not from that particular community because of the way that you do dance . . . You may be, yeah people from within their community can tell that, “This guy is not from, is not doing it correctly, maybe because he’s not from our community.” They tell that. (Kuol, Interview, December 1, 2012)

Above, the phrase ‘our community’ asserts an exclusivity that privileges tribal allegiance over nationalistic patriotism. A clear association is made between the accuracy of a performed dance and the right to claim identification with its owners. In line with the following observation by Smith (1998), the particularity of tribal traditions poses significant challenges to South Sudanese nationalism.

The problems faced by many new states in Africa and Asia also suggest that the absence of pre-existing state-wide traditions, myths, symbols and memories greatly hampers the process of national integration, and that inventing national traditions does not, and cannot, by itself enable elites to forge a national community out of ethnically heterogenous populations. Where such attempts are being made, they generally proceed on the basis of memories, myths, symbols and traditions of the dominant ethnie in the new state . . . that is, on the basis of
the pre-existing culture of the dominant ethnic community which resonates with the majority of the population. (p. 130)

In South Sudan, building national traditions upon those of a dominant ethnic community would be particularly contentious. Given the extreme diversity that exists even within the supratribal confederations, finding a tribal-based tradition that “resonates with the majority of the population” is inconceivable. Further, such an approach would be to repeat the North’s mistakes of the past, which can only be corrected by inclusively embracing and celebrating South Sudan’s cultural diversity as part of the national identity (Deng, 2012; Frahm, 2012; Jok, 2011, 2012). Jok suggests that such an appreciation could be facilitated through the establishment of cultural centres and a National Museum of Heritage, providing platforms for the recognition of all of South Sudan’s cultures and traditions.

The importance of each tribe being equally acknowledged on such platforms, even within the Australian diaspora, was observed in the current case study. As discussed, many South Sudanese community events were organised along subtribal lines. John Kudusay’s concert in Sydney was an exception; as a pop musician, Kudusay is enjoyed by South Sudanese from various tribes. In her interview, Nyadeng asserted that John Kudusay belongs equally to all South Sudanese listeners. This feeling of uniform ownership over the artist may have contributed to the competitiveness that was observed at John Kudusay’s concert. Although he was the headlining musician, John Kudusay did not arrive at the performance venue until a few hours into the event. Before his arrival, the night’s entertainment consisted of live performances from local artists (from various regions of South Sudan) and a deejay. The music was appreciated by both the seated audience and those who took to the dance floor. The first half of the night also involved speeches by community leaders. These were primarily delivered by leaders of the Aweil community from across Australia, as the NSW Aweil Community Association was responsible for hosting the Sydney performance as part of the 2010 Aweil Festival Day. Other invited speakers included non-South Sudanese Australians who worked with South Sudanese youths, and leaders from other tribal communities who addressed their speeches to the Aweil community. After John Kudusay arrived, he was honoured with performances and speeches. The first of these were traditional Aweil dances. As a member of the Aweil community, John Kudusay was familiar with the traditions and able to participate in these dances. The Aweil
dances were followed by speeches, after which the Twic Mayardit community members were invited onto the stage. After about nine minutes of performing, the stage curtains were drawn closed to usher the performers off the stage. Over the speaker system, the audience heard the following exchange:

Emcee: Thank you, thank you so much. The time is now. I appreciate.

Twic Mayardit performance leader: Hello, guys [addressing the audience in Dinka].

Emcee: You have one minute to finish.

Twic Mayardit performance leader: I’m not happy. And I’m not going to dance. And tomorrow Mading Aweil, we going to invite the Mading Aweil to Twic Mayardit and is it, what they done to us, are we going to revenge on them or no? Mading Aweil give us, and they give us a proper. In one minute, is it right? [In the background, several audience members respond, “No!”] They have been there for two hours, three hours, it’s because it belongs to Mading Aweil.

(Aweil Community Association in NSW, 2010)

After this exchange, despite the emcee’s repeated, polite attempts to instigate the conclusion of the Twic Mayardit performance, the group continued performing. Even after they departed the stage, some of the dancers enthusiastically recommenced the performance on the empty dance floor in front of the stage (see Video Sample 4.11). Each obstinate recurrence of their performance was met with encouraging applause by members of the audience. The cheers were loud and appreciative when the remaining performers decided that they were ready to finish their performance and, five minutes after they were initially signalled to finish, returned to their seats.

Despite the apparent contradictions in the notion of South Sudanese tribal identity (Natsios, 2012), the observed exchange highlights how tribalism was nonetheless perceived and experienced by participants in the study. The occurrence also draws attention to the role that traditional music and dance played not only in expressing tribal identity, but also in asserting the presence, significance and voice of any one subtribe. Importantly, the Twic Mayardit performers refused to yield the stage to the Aweil organisers, despite the Aweil Festival Day event being: a) hosted by the Aweil Community Association, b) framed as a tribute to Aweil culture, and c) witnessed and headlined by a popular South Sudanese singer with Aweil roots. Although non-Aweil communities were given space to contribute through their leaders’ speeches and various other performances, the Twic Mayardit performers’ desire for an uninterrupted staging of their musical traditions speaks to the salience of those
traditions. Further, the manner in which the conclusion of the Twic Mayardit performance was contested, wherein the decency and fairness of such a disruption was questioned, embodies broader concerns in the discussion about South Sudanese nationalism. Political commentators have argued against replacing tribal alliances with national sentiment through the downplaying of distinct tribal traditions. Instead, they have advocated for an explicit celebration of the country’s cultural diversity, with minorities’ traditions commemorated equally alongside those of more dominant groups (Deng, 2012; Frahm, 2012; Jok, 2011, 2012). This endorsement resonates with the incident observed at John Kudusay’s concert. In the described context, Twic Mayardit were a minority to the majority Aweil, and the former considered it disrespectful that their traditions were not allocated more stage time.

The Twic Mayardit performers’ response to the premature suspension of their performance suggests that devising national traditions based on “the pre-existing culture of the dominant ethnic community” (Smith, 1998, p. 130) would be highly problematic. While there was evidence of participants engaging with the traditions of others, sometimes actively and at other times as an audience, there were no reports of feelings of ownership over another tribe’s traditions. Thus intertribal cultural exchanges remained primarily within the realms of appreciation. However, such appreciation could lead to tribal traditions taking on broader and at times patriotic meanings through processes of recontextualisation. In NSW, this type of recontextualisation was observed in practice at a number of community events, including the 2011 independence referendum. Here, the meanings of several subtribal traditional dances that were not known to other South Sudanese subtribes were transformed by their use as expressions of freedom and independence for South Sudan generally. This emphasis on national sentiment was reinforced by the wearing and bearing of national flags among a number of performers. A video to be broadcast online demonstrated how a subtribal cultural artefact could be appropriated and transformed into a signifier of nationalistic sentiment. The host’s commentary revealed that he was unfamiliar with the traditional music and dance being recorded, but that he nevertheless considered it reflective of the patriotic joy experienced by all on the day of the referendum (see Video Sample 4.12).

Wow wow wow, as you can see from Sydney, the happiness is coming here. What you hear is the sound of freedom, the sound of happiness. Happiness is sound with drum, and singing and jumping. This is from South Sudan and a one
of the tribe is showing that, how they so happy with the, how they’re so happy, with the dance. Wow, wow, wow! (STVNILEPRODUCTION, 2011c)

Throughout the data collection period, there were several other instances in which tribal traditions were adapted to express nationalistic themes. At the Dancing in Harmony event, the leader of the Bor women dancers introduced the group’s upcoming performance with reference to what she assumed was the collective experience of South Sudanese independence. The emcee translated her introduction as follows.

She express how they perform the group based on the, after the independence and they basically saying they expressing how they feel through the, after the independence. Their happiness, their joy and the experience that we all went through it, before the independence. So they’re really happy today and glad to express and share this experience with you guys today. (Sudd2012, 2011a)

The sentiments behind this opening statement were echoed by Nyadeng, when she explained the meaning of the Ngok Panaruu tradition excerpted towards the end of Video Sample 4.10. Of this tradition, which she called loth51, she said the following.

Wow! . . . It’s loth . . . The dancing, yeah, yeah. . . . Because the last year before she get the peace, we are get the separate from Arab, everybody he dancing because he’s happy. . . . Separate, separate like Arab, he gone, we are come to Southern Sudan. . . . We are South, and Arab is not. And we are separate. Separated. Yeah, yeah, everybody is happy. (Nyadeng, Interview, June 8, 2012)

Although the instances above do not constitute the national operationalisation of traditions as described by Smith (1998) and Neuberger (2006), whereby integration is cultivated through the nationalisation of particular ethnic groups’ traditions, there was an undeniably national function about the performances of tribal traditions in these instances. At Dancing in Harmony and the referendum event, many South Sudanese ethnic groups and tribes (of varying degrees of dominance in South Sudan and the Australian diaspora), enacted their music and dance traditions. Taken as a whole, the performances reflected the polyethnic composition of the verging nation, embodying a supra-ethnic nationalist ideology that “stresses shared civil rights rather than shared cultural roots” (Eriksen, 2010, p. 144). This approach to nationalism encompasses aspects of Smith’s (2010) state-nation, where the aim for polyethnic states is national

51 Nyadeng’s rudimentary literacy levels necessitated that this spelling be phonetically approximated from her pronunciation. According to an online video source, loth refers to a Dinka big bell (Alithdit Alith, 2010).
unification but not national homogenisation. At the Sydney referendum, tribal traditions were recontextualised as national by virtue of their inclusion in a supra-ethnic South Sudanese event that centred on civil rights of freedom and independence.

Although the notion of tribal identity is somewhat inconsistent with the complex and multi-layered organisation of South Sudanese society (Natsios, 2012), it was found to be highly relevant to the lived experiences of many of this study’s participants. It was observed that several subtribes made a conscious effort to maintain their tribal traditions, and in particular, music and dance traditions. Events at which this took place were organised under the auspices of tribal community organisations, the vast network of which constitute the broader South Sudanese Australian community. Although intertribal exchanges were made possible due to the conditions of Australia’s South Sudanese diaspora, specific tribal ownership over such traditions remained, at the time of this study, intact. Further, the findings espouse Frahm’s (2012) suggestion that the development of South Sudanese nationalist sentiment is affected by the way in which citizens individually and collectively identify with their tribes. The incident at John Kudusay’s concert, where members of one tribal-based performance group refused to end their performance when it was requested by the emcee, substantiates the statement that, “fear of tribalism as a divisive factor is hardly surprising” (Frahm, 2012, p. 28). However, there was also evidence of tribal musical traditions being used to express and further South Sudanese nationalism. Through recontextualisation, the enactment of tribal traditions at national events illustrated how otherwise exclusive performances could be representative of shared national sentiments about South Sudanese freedom, independence and joy.

The Ongoing Project of South Sudanese Identity

As South Sudan officially became a nation during this study’s data collection phase, participants were observed and interviewed in the initial stages of their becoming South Sudanese. As demonstrated, popular, traditional, political and sacred music represented and facilitated debates surrounding current South Sudanese nationalist discourse. It is important to note how the various complexities underlying the process of becoming South Sudanese, were balanced differently by individual participants. Although all participants acknowledged their ties to South Sudan, they identified with it to varying degrees depending on their familial and personal experiences with the Sudanese civil war, persecution, and migration. For example,
those who spent several years living in Khartoum tended to be more inclusive of Arabism in their version of South Sudanese culture. This was reflected in their everyday lives and their personal music (and dance) preferences. Despite disparities around such issues, participants often spoke from the assumption that there existed a South Sudanese community of which they were part, upholding the postulation that there are

   concentric circles of belonging and loyalty, and that human beings can simultaneously belong, and feel committed, to a series of more inclusive communities, from the family and clan to the ethnie, the nation and even, perhaps, to a continental cultural community, with myths of ‘brotherhood and unity’ operating at each level. (Smith, 2010, p. 141)

In many ways, the multilayered constructions of South Sudanese identity observed in this case study, and the deliberations inherent in participants’ musical lives, mirrored those transpiring in the worldwide diaspora, as well as in South Sudan itself. However, it is necessary to consider how the studied phenomena were affected by their occurrence in diasporic conditions, that is, the impact of long-distance nationalism on participants becoming South Sudanese. While long-distance nationalism has been explored in relation to the tribal and national, I will now discuss the ways in which living outside of South Sudan produced additional communities in which participants had to establish themselves.

**Beyond South Sudanese Nationalism**

In accordance with Smith’s (2010) portrayal of concurrent affiliation, participants reported how experiences of migration can engender more inclusive “concentric circles of belonging and loyalty” (p. 141). Dut’s story exemplifies the widening of these circles of belonging, as long-term residence in Khartoum broadened his loyalty from South Sudan to an all-encompassing Sudan. Thus his pattern of migration determined his political argument against South Sudanese separation, putting him in the extreme minority of the voting populace. In terms of tribal belonging, Daniel, who lived in Khartoum from 6 months to 12 years of age, described a divide between urban and rural South Sudanese youths regarding heritage traditions. Daniel claimed that while urban youths were happy to identify with the tribes of their parents, their city lifestyles engendered a sense of belonging to the modern and globalised that determined their distaste for traditional musical practices.
Migration to countries outside of the former Republic of Sudan expanded even further participants’ range of communities with which to affiliate, an extension reflected in their musical practices. In particular, this was discussed in relation to their time in refugee camps and their migration to and ongoing resettlement in Australia.

**Becoming African**

All of the South Sudanese participants came to Australia through refugee camps in Uganda, Kenya or Egypt, where they spent several years. Many of them indicated that they felt a connection with their transit countries because of the prolonged period of time spent there.

I feel like my background is Sudanese but I live in Kenya. But I still feel like Kenya is part of me too, because I lived there for [so long]. (Akech, Interview, June 6, 2012)

[W]e are not internal-displaced people so we’re, we, like myself I lived in Uganda, like I mentioned before. So being in that country you would always think that, “Oh yes, because I’m in this country, I have to do my bit even though I’m in the refugee camp.” And while doing that you learn other people too. So you try to incorporate that idea of being international person or being from that fellow country into yourself. Therefore you feel like you are kind of a national person. Not only belonging to Sudanese, but you belong to African because you are from all these countries. Like you might be get from Sudan to Uganda. Therefore, for that time that you lives in Uganda, you will do whatever things that Ugandan do. Therefore you are kind of, so you are kind of African person. (Kuol, Interview, December 1, 2012)

Kuol’s comment explicates how his time in Uganda committed him not only to Uganda itself but also to the more inclusive ‘African’ collective. The continental designation encompassed Kuol’s Sudanese heritage, his residence in and resulting obligation to Uganda, and his bonded relationship with camp neighbours from various countries in Africa.

African identification was expressed and enabled through specific forms of musical participation in the refugee camps. Sara explained how she learnt to dance in the style of various traditions from around Africa during her time in a Ugandan refugee camp. During the last week of every school holidays, students would come together to perform, with some students playing hand drums and others dancing. Through a shared process of choreography, Sara informally learnt a range of dance movements from her multicultural peers. Sara participated in a comparable dance experience in
Australia through *Dancing in Harmony*, a multicultural dance program that achieved a similar outcome. Carried out in Blacktown, *Dancing in Harmony* not only fostered integration between young residents from various African backgrounds, as did the performances at the refugee camp, but also provided a scaffold for intercultural exchange between the dance group, their heritage communities and the wider Australian society. Mabior, the primary organiser of the program, explained its development as follows.

The process for *Dancing in Harmony*, it started as a Southern Sudanese, a South Sudanese thing. Because South Sudanese have about, more than 20 different dance group, which mean they also have different singing group and arts group. So the idea was to create a group that will combine that art . . . composed of people of all the tribal groups and to create something that is uniquely South Sudanese, instead of being tribal and things like that . . . The idea is to recruit more [Africans from other countries]. At the end of it, you will have a group of young people that represents the South Sudanese tribe or the Sierra Leonean tribe, or the Africans in general. Because the young people in there will represent themself but we know that they come from different tribal groups. So later on we will ask them to actually offer something that is uniquely their heritage to the group, and the group will mix it and own it . . . And then we combine it with contemporary Australian sort of music or dance. That’s the idea. . . So we go out there and we have something to offer that is informed by the culture and is also relevant to the host country in the context of multiculturalism. . . So it was Africans but everyone else enjoys, so in doing that, you are creating a bridge to the community you are living in. (Interview, December 4, 2012)

Mabior’s explanation, and the mechanisms behind the *Dancing in Harmony* program, clearly illustrate Smith’s (2010) theorisation of concentric circles of belonging and loyalty. The initial group of participants belonged to several South Sudanese tribes, but in coming together and combining their traditions produced something “uniquely South Sudanese”. It was then decided to open the program up further, inviting young people from other African countries to join. While the label *African Australian* is problematic (see p. 72; Phillips, 2013; Zwangobani, 2008, 2011), for Mabior (who is South Sudanese) and other facilitators and participants in *Dancing in Harmony*, the notion behind it held some relevance. Finally, the dance ensemble came to represent not only African youths but also, as Mabior emphasised, African youths in multicultural Australia. In this way *Dancing in Harmony* explicated the

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52 The *Dancing in Harmony* program referred to here was related to, but not the same thing as, the concert of the same name discussed earlier (see pp. 99, 109 and 115). This African youths’ dance group performed at the *Dancing in Harmony* concert alongside various other ensembles, including (as described earlier) various subtribal dance troupes and the SSWPG choir.
relationship between the identified communities with varying levels of inclusion, providing participants with a vehicle through which their simultaneous membership in each could be explored and presented. The combination of dance styles used to represent the youths’ concentric circles of belonging is evident in their performance in Video Sample 4.13. The eclecticism in the choreography is matched by the diverse musical repertoire included in the performance, which ranges from new age world music (Boadicea by Enya) to hip hop-influenced Afropop from Nigeria (I Like Dat by P-Square) and reggaeton-influenced Afropop from Ghana (Ruff’n’Smoove featuring Sk Blink’s Azingele–Chicus Remix).

In addition to the pursuit of African cultural symbols through the amalgamation of various traditions, the environment in both refugee camps and Australia enabled more organic musical activities that encouraged a sense of being African. Participants reported that listening and dancing to Congolese popular music was a significant part of everyday musical life in refugee camps. Importantly, participants either clarified or implied that the identified Congolese popular music forms, *rumba*, *soukous*, and *lingala*53, are considered generally African.

I listen to African music like, all these African artists like, you know, Awilo Longomba and all of those kinda stuff. (Abaker, Interview, December 9, 2012)

Basically the style of African which is actually Congolese music, that is been influenced throughout all Africa. Influenced and spread out throughout all Africa. And it’s kind of a common bond . . . among Africans. (Daniel, Interview, December 12, 2012)

*Lingala* is African, African style. Yes, Congolese, yeah. (Rachel, Interview, December 13, 2012)

It belongs to me, or I would say that it belongs to me like in a very broad term that Awilo, in African context, he represent African dancing sometime. So if you learn to do that dancing you would think, “Oh well, I’m African, you know.” Because it is the music that has been promote in Congo and other Western countries, people listen to it. So, you feel like well this representing African, so it’s African dancing. So we call it African dancing. (Kuol, Interview, December 1, 2012)

The participants’ descriptions of Congolese popular music reflect its (arguably former) status as Africa’s *musica franca*, which has been outlined by many authors.

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53 *Rumba* refers to a broad style of Congolese dance music that has evolved over four generations (see Salter, 2011; White, 2008). *Rumba lingala* or *lingala* is a synonym for the broad genre. *Soukous* is also commonly used as a synonym, although it is more accurately used to describe music from the late second and third generations.
Although there have been claims that the prominence of Congolese popular music has been in decline since the turn of the century (see Russell, 2011), what is pertinent to the current case study is the participants’ perspectives of and experiences with the music, and how these have affected their sense of selves. In examining identity negotiation through the use of music and dance by Sudanese Acholi people in Kiryandongo refugee camp (Uganda), Kaiser (2006) explored the popularity of Congolese lingala, South African reggae music and American pop music in social discos. Attendance at the discos normalised camp life, as such social activities existed outside of the refugee experience in the world of contemporary pop. In this way, Congolese lingala, “express[ed] the unity of the Sudanese group in ways that emphasise[d] the collective experience of conflict and displacement, and play[ed] down inter-group differences” (p. 201). While some of the current study’s participants were already consumers of Congolese rumba before living in refugee camps (depending on where they lived and their living situation), others explained developing familiarity with the music in situ. For the current study’s participants, attending social dances that involved Congolese popular music not only expressed South Sudanese unity but also embodied solidarity with all Africans. Importantly, this camaraderie with the broader African community was present at the South Sudanese independence referendum. As mentioned earlier, at this event, various subtribal groups performed their traditional songs and dances, confirming their community’s investment in South Sudanese nationalism. At the same time, lingala played a unifying role, as South Sudanese musicians performed popular Congolese songs and voters from various tribes danced together (shown in Video Sample 4.14). As discussed in Kaiser (2006), the shared enjoyment of this form of African popular music minimised the inter-group differences that were highlighted and celebrated in the staging of subtribal traditions.

The eclectic range of repertoire played at refugee camp discos, described by Kaiser (2006) and substantiated by the current study’s participants, was also observed at community dances in Blacktown. However, the camp discos examined by Kaiser were social events specifically for young people, and did not cater to the interests of older adults. The deejays at the observed community dances in Blacktown made a conscious effort to appeal to all generations, focusing heavily on the preferences of adults for
whom such events were the primary source of social dancing. The Equatoria Christmas party, held in a for-hire community center on December 19, 2012, exemplified the dance floor patterns observed at other events, and were verified as standard by informants. While all attendants were certainly welcome on the dance floor at any time, certain genres of music heralded a marked increase in the participation of some generations, while others elicited a significant, age-based exodus from the dance floor. This generational division was made explicit when, a few minutes into proceedings, the emcee turned the dance floor over to the children’s generation.

Alright at this time we’re gonna give time to the kids, so they can have fun as well. Have music and have fun and dance as well, and also invite our children to enjoy. (Equatoria Christmas party, Observation, December 19, 2012)

The deejay then played three songs specifically chosen for primary school-aged children: Azonto by Ghanaian artist Fuse ODG, Gangnam Style by Southern Korean artist Psy, and Arabic song Free Baby by Egyptian Baba Fein. Of the three songs, only Free Baby was written for children. The other two were international pop music hits that sparked dance crazes worldwide. The children were obviously familiar with all of the songs and, for Azonto and Gangnam Style, well acquainted with the set choreographies. That the organisers thought it necessary to demarcate time for the children to have fun, dance and enjoy was particularly interesting given that there always seemed to be a small group of children on the dance floor regardless of the music being played. There was an evident effort to make the social dancing space relevant to the interests of all of the attending generations.

Traditional tribal music and dances seemed to be favoured by adults from the ages of 30–40 upwards, and while a few of the younger, primary-school aged children joined in, there was a distinct absence of teenagers and young adults on the dance floor during these songs. African popular music was the most cross-generationally appealing, although teenagers and young adults were much more drawn to the music of current Ugandan artists Weasel and Radio, Ghanaian artist Fuse ODG and Nigerian
While they showed interest in the current Congolese-born rhythm and blues (R&B) and hip hop artist Remlius, the only Congolese *rumba* songs that evoked excited participation in the younger generations were those by Koffi Olomide, an artist from what White (2008) tentatively refers to as the Fourth Generation of Congolese *rumba* (1990s onwards). White claims that Olomide, “rose to a level of commercial success that has remained constant even beyond the 1990s” (p. 48). Curiously, the Congolese *rumba* artist most frequently mentioned by interviewees and a contemporary of Olomide, Awilo Longomba, was not on the deejay’s playlist for the event.

There was a discrepancy between participants of all ages describing Congolese *rumba*, *soukous* and *lingala* as the “African dancing” that provides a “common bond . . . among Africans”, and the way that those music and dance forms were markers of difference at an intergenerational community dance party. At the Equatoria Christmas party, the dance floor was most frequently occupied by teenagers and young adults when the deejay played either current, internationally recognised African pop music, or current popular music by African American artists. The youths’ enthusiasm for these genres of popular music was not lost upon the young children in attendance, who copied their older siblings’ and friends’ dancing and received encouragement when performing successfully in an appropriate style.

As a result of poor working conditions and lack of financial backing, Congolese popular music of the past 25 years has reputedly been afflicted by “a certain degree of monotony in the musical production” (White, 2008, p. 93) and a consequential downturn in musicians’ productivity and creativity levels. At the same time, the Nigerian and Ghanaian music industries have increasingly been supported by their growing diasporic middle classes, providing the financial security necessary to collaborate with American pop music artists (such as Snoop Dogg, Akon and Rick Ross) that further their international pull (Tucker, 2013). Shonekan (2011, 2012) outlines how Nigerian hip hop exemplifies the currently cyclical progression of black

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54 While all of these artists have been identified as Afropop and/or Afrobeat at various times, their musical styles have been influenced by various genres. UK Ghanaian Fuse ODG of the *Azonto* dance craze describes his Afrobeat style as a fusion of “commercial pop sounds . . . [with] African rhythm and distinctive percussion” (Fuse ODG, n.d.). Ugandan Weasel and Radio blend ragga, reggae, R&B and dancehall (Yemima, 2009). Nigerian Bracket identifies as R&B, highlife, dance and hip-hop (Bracket, n.d.). Nigerian P-Square blends R&B, hip hop and dancehall (P-Square, n.d.). Nigerian Flavour N’Abania associates himself with the term Afro-hip hop (Mr Flavour N’Abania, n.d.).
music, with Nigerian and African American artists influencing and emulating each other in a creative pendulum. This ongoing musical conversation has politicised the new Afro-pop sounds from West Africa in that, “it is able to introduce the subjectivities of a group that had seemingly been one-way consumers of culture imported from the West” (Tucker, 2013, p. 40). In embracing visible African popular culture through Nigerian hip hop, South Sudanese youths gained membership to an arguably more inclusive community than that provided by Congolese rumba in its declining popularity. For the observed participants in the current case study, internationally recognised artists like P-Square are relevant to the Western society in which they live while remaining proudly, and fully, African.

In positioning themselves as Africans, some of the case study participants came to identify not only with globalised popular music from continental Africa but also with the African American popular music scene with which it increasingly exchanges ideas. Given the significance of African American hip hop, rap and R&B music to how blackness is perceived in the Western imaginary, I will now turn to the intersection between African American popular culture and the resettlement of South Sudanese youths in Blacktown, NSW.

**Becoming Black**

Between 2007 and 2010 Blacktown Arts Centre facilitated a collaboration between professional writers and the local Sudanese community, producing a play about Sudanese migration to and resettlement in Blacktown. The outcome of the community cultural development program was *My Name is Sud*, which was first performed in Blacktown in 2009 and then, as a result of its positive reception, invited to the 2010 Dreaming Festival, an Indigenous Australian cultural festival held in Queensland. In addition to the play’s two week running time in 2009, Blacktown Arts Centre produced a DVD of the performance and an accompanying education kit that outlined

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55 Rap and hip hop were always transnational forms that have adopted elements from the worldwide African diaspora, and thus cannot accurately be described as exclusively Afro-American (Gilroy, 1993).

56 The community cultural development program, and the performances of the play, occurred prior to the South Sudanese independence referendum. For this reason, the play was presented as ‘Sudanese’. However, the local community members who were involved in the writing, and the stories woven into the narrative of the play, reflected the experiences of Blacktown’s South Sudanese refugee community.
the play’s relevance to NSW secondary school syllabi for English, Drama and Personal Development, Health and Physical Education.

The South Sudanese writers of the play conceived of the teenage male character Machar as an aspiring rapper. Devised as a character that other youths in the community would recognise and relate to, Machar’s character is portrayed through various rap monologues, all of which, lyrics and music, consist of original material. The teenage female character, Akoi, is Machar’s sister and the narrator of the play. She introduces her brother as someone who “woke up one morning thinking he was an American rapper” (Blacktown Arts Centre, 2011). The family does not understand or support Machar’s musical interests, and see it as a false adoption of an African American identity not his own. Machar, aware of his family’s attitude towards his cultural interests, conveys how he exercises his identity in the short, character-establishing rap below that also frames the play’s title (see Video Sample 4.15 for the performance of this rap).

**Machar**
No one calls me nigga
My name is Machar
I come from Sud ya
My name means black aha
My name is Sud (Soo-d) ya
My name means black aha
My country means black
Sudan ya
It’s a mess my elders fear I will lose my African-ness
I will always be black but in my own way you hear
I don’t have to go back to their past to be black
(Blacktown Arts Centre, 2011)

Although being black is briefly referenced by Akoi early on in the play, inhabiting blackness is explored most thoroughly by Machar. As evident in the lyrics above, Machar considers himself inherently and completely black, and blackness is paralleled with African-ness. The position presented in the rap **Machar**, which legitimises the embodiment of African-ness and blackness through rap and hip hop culture, was shared by interviewees Charles and Kuol.

No, there is a connection. I don’t know how to explain it, because naturally black people are more into hip hop music. (Charles, Interview, December 6, 2012)

When we see black people in America rapping and doing all those kind of music
and luckily we come to the Western country. You know, a lot of people will think that, “Ah yes, I will be like them.” And because they are from Africa, you always feel like, you know, you have like, kind of a cultural relationship with them. (Kuol, Interview, December 1, 2012)

The cultural relationship with African Americans perceived by continental Africans who have migrated to Western countries has been examined by Ibrahim (1999, 2003, 2004) in his study on Francophone African migrants and black popular culture in Canada. Through the methodological lens of ethnography of performance Ibrahim considers how the migrants are positioned in the dominant social imaginary as blacks, and respond by constructing, adopting and essentially ‘becoming’ black for themselves. In particular the linguistic and cultural planes of hip hop (and especially rap) are sites in and from which these processes take place, despite the migrants’ limited interpersonal interaction with African Americans. Instead this one-way cultural exchange happens primarily via the media.

*Being* is an accumulative memory, an understanding, a conception and an experience upon which individuals interact with the world around them, whereas *becoming* is the process of building this memory, experience. As a continental African, for example, I was not considered ‘black’ in Africa. However, as a refugee in North America, my perception of self was altered in direct response to the social processes of racism and the historical representation of blackness whereby the antecedent signifiers (*tall, Sudanese, academic, basketball player, and so on*) that used to patch together my identity became secondary to my blackness, and I retranslated my being: I became black. (Ibrahim, 2003, p. 55)

While it would be naïve to suggest that the experience of blackness is the same for all African migrants in Western countries, especially given the historical significance of the African slave trade in America, the more general consumption of American popular culture in Australia has included that of black popular culture. Further, accounts of being subjected to the white gaze reveal how some African Australians endure similar processes of becoming black as those described above (Mapedzahama & Kwansah-Aidoo, 2013). Although Savage and Hickey-Moody (2010) contend that the “tendency to understand gangsta as a Black cultural formation” (p. 282) is Afrocentric, outsiders can also attribute South Sudanese youths’ interest in hip hop music to the performance and occupation of blackness in a Western country. Robert, a community music facilitator who has worked extensively with the South Sudanese

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57 See the Chapter 3 section about the reception of South Sudanese migrants in Australia (p. 69 onwards) for a review of literature on how blackness is experienced by South Sudanese migrants in Australia.
community and who was heavily involved in the production and performance of My Name is Sud, disclosed this perspective when he reflected on the proclivity for South Sudanese youths to adopt hip hop culture.

And also the young South Sudanese guys are into hip hop and stuff like that. I don’t know [what it’s about], it’s a really strong link to the American stuff. It’s not as if they’re rapping about “My land’s in war,” and this. Now some of them are, but it’s the whole look. You know . . . you’re a young person and you’re black, in a white country, if you like. And the American culture’s punching out the black people and it’s loved and all that sort of stuff. I suppose you’d resonate to it as well. (Robert, Interview, June 16, 2012)

Here, Robert postulates that hip hop resonates with South Sudanese Australian youths because it is a popular, successful and essentially Western cultural form heralded by and celebrating black minorities. The proposition aligns with the experience of the study’s participants for whom strong personal identification with African American popular culture was stimulated by migrating to a Western country. Retranslating the self as black through adopting symbols that are recognised as black both in the West and globally suggests that processes of becoming black through hip hop culture are part of broader undertakings to become Western and global, again demonstrating Smith’s (2010) concentric circles of belonging. This concurrence of becoming black and becoming Western was evident in Dut’s explanation of why he collaboratively formed an R&B and hip hop group in the early days of his Australian resettlement. He said, “Yeah. It went really good and to show the community and to show like the Australian community that we have talents and to share our experience through music” (Interview, June 12, 2012). Here, embodying recognisable black musicianship allowed Dut and his hip hop and R&B group to develop a relationship with the wider Australian society on behalf of the black Sudanese migrant community, demonstrating their talent through musical genres with which Westerners were culturally familiar and that they would be able to evaluate. Helbig (2011) examined a similar operationalisation of blackness in the context of the Ukraine hip hop scene, where local artists assumed an authentic connection between black African migrants and African American hip hop on account of their blackness. The African migrants embraced the cultural capital the Ukrainians bestowed upon them, fulfilling their designated roles as experts in the collaborative music ventures in which they took part.

While hip hop, rap and R&B were adopted as a means through which blackness could be negotiated, operationalised, and at times afforded cultural capital throughout
Australian resettlement, some participants spoke about their first exposure to African American artists occurring whilst in refugee camps. Run (2012) suggests that aspiring to African American rap culture begins in refugee camps, because the genre addresses identity crises and displacement through the provision of role models for global (black) identities. For these participants, the inclusion of hip hop and R&B at South Sudanese Australian community events is not related to experiencing blackness in an Australian context. Instead, engaging with this music is considered a natural continuation of music listening and social dance conventions practised prior to migrating to Australia.

On music in refugee camps:

We used to listen to the Western music like the music of 50 Cent, Ja Rule and yeah. And part of Central West Africa, Central Africa, like Congolese music. Yeah, contemporary music. So like Awilo and yeah. So we actually try to pick up different style of dancing and different music so we did not only stick to our traditional music but we learn the contemporary music as well. (Kuol, Interview, December 1, 2012)

On music in Australia:

And especially when there are community occasion. Because at the end of any, that is like kind of a celebration, you celebrate and you have like a traditional dancing. And after that you conclude with the Western style of dancing. Like 50 Cent and other dances like Awilo from Africa. So they are kind of interrelated so you will always like to do both of them. Yeah, traditional dancing first and we conclude with the Western style dancing.

(Kuol, Interview, December 1, 2012)

Clear parallels can be drawn between musical life in refugee camps and the musical engagement that takes place South Sudanese Australian community events. As described by Kuol, three broad forms of music are present in each case: traditional music and dancing, contemporary Congolese music (with reference to Awilo), and Western music (with reference to mainstream hip hop artists Ja Rule and 50 Cent). In both cases Kuol used the term ‘Western’ as a synonym for hip hop music and dance. In contrast to the association between blackness and hip hop culture discussed earlier, here the emphasis is not on certain genres of music being black, but on their being Western. Kuol’s illustration of South Sudanese community events in Australia corresponds with Lewis’s (2010) exploration of ‘African music nights’ in the UK. Although African music nights feature the same American and British R&B and hip hop music being played in the mainstream local night scene, the repertoire is made
relevant for and by African migrant attendees through various forms of appropriation. By playing Western R&B and hip hop alongside African music genres, African music nights “do not simply reproduce ‘traditional’ or global/UK forms, but incorporate both, replicating neither” (Lewis, 2010, p. 583). This provides a space for negotiating between the local and global, making musical participation particularly meaningful for the attending migrant communities experiencing the local-global interface in resettlement. The tripartite musical lives of South Sudanese migrants described by Kuol facilitate the same negotiation of the local and global. Kuol’s portrayal of otherwise disparate musical genres as “interrelated” demonstrates how engagement with traditional, African and hip hop music in the same context provides a vehicle for South Sudanese Australians to moderate their coexisting tribal, national, African and Western identifications.

Despite evidence of this type of appropriation occurring at the observed community events in the current study, some participants highlighted how rap, hip hop and R&B are often perceived as essentially and exclusively Western. For those who wish to segregate their community from Western hip hop culture, its consumption is considered to be the cause of eroding South Sudanese values in the younger generation.

In simple term the very conservative people in the community, and not only the conservative people in the community, even myself, sometime we associate rap and hip hop with thuggery. . . . [A child ] take this out of hip hop from its face value. And if they take it from its face value, then of course they will, the beliefs of people in the community that it somehow represents thuggery, will show itself, because that’s what most of the songs express. (Mabior, Interview, December 4, 2012)

It’s the hip hop community. Because if a lot of people will say, “No, this hip hop community it’s a bad influence to the kids” . . . And it’s the older people in the community if you keep going like that the kid will be completely gone, he’ll become that kinda bad attitude or that bad life . . . Because what they see in the video or in the TV, they say these people are copying. They seeing the gangs and people wearing shirts and this and all of that. They say, “Oh, that’s destroying the, you know, the traditional community.” (Abaker, Interview, December 9, 2012)

Above, participants primarily attributed concerns about South Sudanese Australian youths’ hip hop consumerism to the conservative and traditional segments of their community. Importantly, the dichotomy between deviance and traditional South Sudanese values constructed here mirrors the reception of hip hop in South Sudan
itself. Sommers and Schwartz (2011) report how, in South Sudan, hip hop rebelliousness is explicitly associated with a foreign Western culture.

Male youth wearing so-called ‘nigga’ clothes are considered similarly deviant. ‘Nigga’ clothes consist of baggy jeans that expose a bit of underwear and T-shirts sporting hip-hop icons. This hip-hop look, so common to male youth in many parts of the world, is anathema to many South Sudanese. . . . Just as with girls and female youth wearing tight, Western-style clothes, boys and male youth wearing hip-hop clothes emanating from the West are thought to exhibit a foreign and openly rebellious stand against local tradition. The allegation that diaspora youth were the only ones who wore don’t-sit skirts and hip-hop T-shirts in South Sudan was not supported by field interviews. Nonetheless, many nondiaspora youth and adults blame them for importing Western culture and youth regalia into South Sudan. . . . The persistence of the name Jalaba stimulates hostility and suspicion about Khartoumers’ allegiance to South Sudan, and the insistence that diaspora youth are importing a hostile Western culture foments the belief that they are foreigners. (Sommers & Schwartz, 2011, p. 8)

The stance on hip hop youth culture explored in the above excerpts illustrates how some members of the South Sudanese community, both in the country of origin and in the diaspora, do not consider it an appropriate device for embodying blackness or negotiating local and global identifications. The very organic and seemingly instinctive way in which some South Sudanese youths adopt the culture is considered here as being at odds with what is traditionally and essentially South Sudanese.

Despite reported objections against hip hop youth culture in Blacktown’s South Sudanese community, members of all generations were observed enjoying instances of the music being performed at community events. A publicly available video of Bahr el-Gahzal Community Culture Night in November of 2010 showed older South Sudanese adults respond with wild enthusiasm when a group of their youths took the stage and performed original raps celebrating New Sudan and promoting Unity among all South Sudanese tribes (see Video Sample 4.16). The performances were followed by a speech by South Sudanese youth leaders encouraging the younger generation to study, “keep off the street” and use their time in Australia for good. A similar response to a youth rap performance was observed at the John Kudusay concert in Sydney, hosted by the Aweil community. A group of male youths performed an original rap about being Lost Boys, which was received enthusiastically by the older generation as a group of middle aged females approached the stage to dance to the boys’ song. Similarly, an observation of the Sudanese Gospel Ministry and Worship
Night in December of 2012 showed the religious congregation of all ages passionately engaging with participant Dut’s performance of his original reggae-influenced rap, *Survivor*. Finally, at a number of community events, and in watching public videos of community events Australia-wide, independent hip hop artist Abaker was observed capturing South Sudanese crowds with his original songs. Despite his former contention that the older generations generally dislike the genre of music that has heavily influenced his compositional style, Abaker discussed his popularity amongst South Sudanese Australian communities:

> Probably I think maybe the message that I’m sending to people. You know because um, I’m not talking about riding on the street and stab people with the knife, or, “I got an AK-47 and shoot people or I got 9mm loaded on a click and I’m now ready to clap-clack,” you know what I mean? I’m just talking about what happen to me. I believe the society is interested in someone personal life story, they’re not interested in a general story because you know, at the end of the day all of us Sudanese, or any kid who are born in Sudan from 1983, they’re all war childs. . . . And my message is just, a message of hope and peace to young people and tell them, you know, don’t take things for granted. . . . You know, it’s a different things and those kind of stuff, you know, make parent and the people feel like, you know what, they actually look at me like I’m a role model to the community or something like that. And a lot of people start following me . . . Yeah, the Sudanese young people. (Abaker, Interview, December 9, 2012)

Abaker’s approach to his original rap music resonates with that of Emmanuel Jal, an internationally acclaimed South Sudanese rapper, who argues against particular violence-inducing forms of hip hop and rap music. Emmanuel claims, “Music is innocent but the lyrics are the problem. With lyrics you can either make people kill each other or make people forgive one another” (Nuxoll, 2009, p. 29). Appendix F includes lyrics of a few of Abaker’s songs, illustrating the type of content that South Sudanese of all generations were observed embracing regardless of their overall reservations about hip hop, R&B and rap music. Clearly, the issues highlighted in Abaker’s songs, South Sudanese unity and independence, forced exile, experiences of war, respect for soldiers, are of significance to the most conservative and traditional members of the South Sudanese Australian community. Through this content Abaker’s music was acceptable to them regardless of the form in which it was presented. Abaker’s song *John Garang*, a tribute to the South Sudanese national hero, is a prime example of such content. Video Sample 4.17 is the video clip for this song, as accessed through Abaker’s YouTube channel.
Participants in the current case study exhibited divergent perspectives on the prevalence of hip hop, R&B and rap cultures among Blacktown’s South Sudanese youth. Despite various objections against the youths adopting these musical cultures, all South Sudanese generations in Blacktown were observed accepting and even enjoying examples of it when the lyrics espoused the sentiments of the broader community. In addition to South Sudanese Australians’ constructive use of hip hop, R&B and rap in providing an alternative to both misconduct and boredom (Wilson, 2012), and the negative appropriation of gangsta culture (Savage & Hickey-Moody, 2010), it was found to successfully bridge the gap between migrant youths and their elders.

**South Sudanese Australians and Emerging Identities**

Many of the experiences of the South Sudanese Australian participants in this case study can be represented as narratives of becoming. Throughout each step of their migration, participants were confronted with new places and people that broadened their circles of belonging, forcing them to reconcile long-held beliefs, perspectives and practices with initially unfamiliar contexts. After years of Sudanese resettlement in Australia, the independence of South Sudan in 2011 provided further cause for participants to interrogate their identities. They now had to individually balance South Sudanese patriotism with pre-existing loyalties, while collectively participating in long-distance nationalism. This was additionally complicated by the continuous undertaking of resettlement and Australian belonging.

Processes of becoming were negotiated and expressed through musical engagement that involved the traditional, the popular and the sacred. Musical activity was found to be an effective lens through which developing South Sudanese nationalism could be explored. Both traditional and newly composed music were used to reinforce and disseminate the nation’s unifying narrative of war and sacrifice, while disputes surrounding the role of Arabism and tribalism in South Sudanese culture were mediated through various musical genres. The considerable cultural heterogeneity within South Sudan’s diaspora was cause for both division and integration, a legacy of the nation’s long and arduous history of colonisation and conflict as outlined in Chapter 3. In many cases where exclusively South Sudanese performances were observed, the politicisation of South Sudanese musical cultures was clear. Further, the immediacy of South Sudanese Australians’ transnationalism was evident in that many
of the debates emerging through musical practice directly corresponded with those occurring in South Sudan itself. The sharp division between those who left South Sudan during the civil war, and those who stayed, could not be directly examined because all of the participants are migrants. There were, however, some similarities between the perspectives of more conservative and traditional South Sudanese Australians, and those who have never left South Sudan. These resemblances were clearly apparent in regard to prevalence of hip hop, R&B and rap music among South Sudanese youths, which was widely regarded as dangerous and degenerate.

Given the convoluted and multilayered nature of the surrounding issues, it is not surprising that the perspectives represented by even the small number of participants were so varied. Attitudes to intercultural musical exchanges and maintenance of heritage musical cultures were diverse, with some participants desiring separation from music outside of their traditions, some whose interests were increasingly leaning towards an assimilation into exclusively Western music, and the majority preferring an integrative engagement with a range of music from the breadth of their experiences. Regardless of any individual participant’s orientation towards intercultural exchange and tradition maintenance, they were generally supportive of other South Sudanese community members’ musical pursuits.
Chapter 5
Contextualising Filipino Australian Acculturation

Introduction

Like South Sudanese Australians, Filipino Australians are a demographically significant population in the region of Blacktown. Their resettlement is also equally related to issues surrounding their pre-migration, migration and transnational experiences. Although the Philippines has been an independent country since 1946, colonialism has left its legacy on Filipino nationalism, identity and culture. As will be discussed, the history of colonial collaboration, revolution and counter-revolution has significantly impacted upon the musical engagement of participants in the current case study. In order to contextualise the findings, this chapter begins with a very brief outline of the modern history of the Philippines. This is followed by a review of Filipino migration to Australia, and an examination of Blacktown as a notable area of resettlement for the community. It is intended that these summaries will provide a foundation for the findings in the following chapter.

A Brief Modern History of the Philippines

A thorough history of the Philippines is far beyond the scope of this introduction. What follows is a brief presentation of the eras in the nation’s modern history that most significantly influenced the findings in the current study. The first half of the outline draws primarily from Rafael (2000) and Trimillos (1992, 2008) in discussing the Spanish, American and Japanese colonisations of the Philippines, and the effects of these occupations on Filipino culture and identity. Other landmark events in the history of the Philippines that had direct impact upon the current study include Ferdinand Marcos’s presidency and the People Power movements, which have been summarised below based predominantly on the accounts of Macapagal and Nario-Galace (2003) and Tan (2008).

Establishing the Boundaries of the Philippines and Filipino Identities

In circa 1543, Spanish explorer Ruy Lopez de Villalobos and his crew unintentionally landed on the eastern coast of the Visayan Islands (see Figure 5.1), and named them las islas Filipinas after the heir to the Hapsburg throne, Felipe II (Rafael, 2000). The
boundaries of the new nation shifted over the following two centuries, with the currently accepted Philippine borders first established in 1734. However, it took even longer for the inhabitants of the Spanish-established Philippines to claim allegiance to the nation as homeland. Part of the reason for this hesitancy was the social distinction between the diverse ethnicities that peopled the archipelago.

Figure 5.1. Map of the Philippines (U.S. Central Intelligence Agency, 1993)
Rafael (2000) categorises the early racialisation of social structure in the Philippines as follows, in order of increasing privilege: indios\textsuperscript{58}, the native inhabitants of the Philippines, who were considered lowly and savage; sangley, or the Chinese, who were “untrusted but economically essential” (p. 6); Hispanicised mestizos, Spanish and Chinese, who unlike indios and sangley had access to formal education; Filipinos, who were born to Spanish parents in the Philippines, thus making them inferior to Spanish-born Spaniards; and Spaniards, who enjoyed the most privileges. This use of the term Filipino continued until the end of the 19th century, when the term assumed a different meaning, and referred instead to any inhabitants of the Philippines who would “claim a fatal attachment to the patria regardless of their juridically defined identity” (Rafael, 2000, p. 7). Alliances across class, ethnicity and language were solidified by social revolutions in which indios, mestizos, and Filipinos demanded equality with Spaniards, although there were disagreements among revolutionaries about the extent of the freedom sought. Jose Rizal, still considered the national hero of the Philippines, was sentenced to death in 1896 because of his involvement with the nationalist movement. In the same year, following several rebellions, the Philippine Revolution of 1896 was successful. Filipinos claimed their independence as a republic on June 12, 1898, ending three centuries of colonialism under Spain.

The Spanish–American war broke out in April 1898, eventually resulting in the Philippines becoming a United States colonial state as part of a treaty enacted only six months after Filipino independence was declared. While Filipino revolutionaries attempted to continue the republican government, they could not gain recognition as a sovereign state. Many elite Filipinos came to terms with their new relationship with America as colonial subjects, despite occasional outbreaks of resistance by Filipino revolutionaries and peasant armies. Continued attempts at revolution were governed by Spanish-speaking elites, which meant the resuscitation of old hierarchies. As will be discussed later in the chapter, remnants of these social strata persist in Filipino communities worldwide.

It was under the influence of America’s notion of nationalism that Filipino nationhood fully solidified (Mojares, 2006; Rafael, 2000). In establishing the

\textsuperscript{58} Indios were so named by the Spaniards, reflecting their categorisation as being racially akin to the indigenous Americans.
organisational governance of the country in the late 18th century, a landowning
*mestizo* class emerged that “monopolize[d] the symbolic resources for imagining
nationhood” (Rafael, 2000, p. 108). Being multilingual, and holding positions of
power in local government, they came to consider themselves ambassadors to
American colonial rulers on behalf of the rest of the Philippines. It was during this
period that occupying a position of liminality became social capital. In contemporary
Filipino society, *mestizos* still embody this transitional role and, in doing so, become
central figures in cultural representations of Filipino identity. As the elite Filipinos,
the *mestizo* class came to rely on their American colonisers to enforce the social strata
that benefited them. Although United States President Roosevelt promised
independence to the Philippines in 1934, which would be granted following a ten-year
transition period, Filipino elites did not all look forward to the country gaining
sovereignty.

The Pacific War erupted in 1941, disrupting the transition towards an independent
Philippines. Japan invaded the Philippines on December 8, the day after bombing
Pearl Harbour. By January 2 the following year, Japanese forces occupied Manila.
The Filipino elite’s privileges were not effectively upheld by the new colonial
occupants, the Japanese, which “made painfully obvious the rift between class and
national interests, exposing the insoluble contradictions between official nationalism
under colonial sponsorship” (Rafael, 2000, p. 109). Because of this, the Filipino elite
viewed the Japanese colonisers much less favourably than they did the Americans,
with whom they allied themselves. Nevertheless, the elite Filipino classes continued
their pattern of collaborating with their occupiers. For many, this was done as a covert
means of resistance through which Filipino wellbeing could be assured until the return
of the United States could be arranged (Rafael, 2000). American General McArthur,
who had escaped in 1942 following Japanese occupation of Manila, returned in
October 1944 to emancipate the Philippines from Japanese colonisation. Two years
later, on July 459 1946, the Philippines officially reclaimed its status as an independent
republic.

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59 To commemorate Philippine independence from Spain in 1898, the date of Philippine Independence
Day was changed to June 12.
Neocolonialism in an Independent Philippines

Although 1946 saw the Philippines gain sovereignty as an independent republic, it was difficult for the new government to manage the country autonomously. In addition to the internal challenges of self-government, Filipino administration was influenced by the international political arena. After the Pacific War (and later, World War Two) ended, the United States enjoyed a privileged position both globally and in particular in the Philippines. This entitlement played a significant role in the establishment of an American neocolony, in which American political and economic interests were prioritised over those of the Philippines (Tan, 2008). Cultural, economic and military agreements between the two nations that were beneficial for the United States often disrupted the development of Filipino sovereignty. As in earlier experiences of colonialism, the conflict between the Philippines as a neocolony and the Philippines as an independent republic often corresponded with tensions between the Filipino elite and the rest of the nation. The tendency for the upper echelons of society to collaborate with colonial powers continued, as the Filipino elite favoured neocolonial approaches to government and adopted American cultural norms.

The patronage of foreign goods took a toll on the economic development of the Philippines, which was dependent upon American assistance. Disillusioned by the lack of national development in the first 23 years of Philippine independence, the Ilocano people had high hopes for a new leader in Ferdinand Marcos, who had come from their region in Northern Luzon. Due largely to their support, Marcos won the 1965 election by a significant margin. In his campaign, he addressed the same concerns that all politicians did: political corruption, economic development and stability. During his term there was some progress towards developing the economy through local industries and exportation, as well as an emphasis on resuscitating traditional cultures. However, like that of his predecessors, Marcos’s administration was unable to completely withdraw from American influences, and the public became disappointed with his presidency. By the end of his first term in 1968, he had garnered remarkable opposition by various cultural and political groups, some of whom referred to his leadership as ‘US–Marcos fascist dictatorship’. Shortly afterwards, many of these groups were planning to overthrow the Marcos government, staging mass protests and student demonstrations, some of which involved violence. At the same time, some of the Muslim forces in the south of the Philippines escalated their
attacks on government troops, rebelling against the disregard for and mistreatment of the country’s Muslim populations. In particular, the separatist group Moro Islamic Liberation Front (MILF) from Southern Mindanao became mobilised. Following particularly brutal conflicts between government forces and Muslim rebels, and in light of increasingly hostile anti-Marcos political sentiments, President Marcos declared martial law in September 1972. Under the rationale of a ‘constitutional authoritarianism’ necessitated by the various crises in the Philippines, the congress was abolished, rebellious oppositionists were arrested by the masses and legislation conferred through presidential decrees. One of these proclamations, released in January 1973, signalled constitutional amendments that provided a basis for martial law and ushered in the dawn of a ‘New Society’. According to Marcos, this new era would see a gradual improvement of economic and social conditions in the Philippines, culminating in the country’s emergence from neocolonial restraints.

Although his opposition agreed with some of this rhetoric, in many ways the Marcos government was still considered a puppet of American interests. Anti-Marcos rebels continued to oppose his authoritarian regime, eventually overcoming their differences to prioritise a government overthrow. One of the political leaders of the opposition, Benigno Aquino Jr., was returning from self-imposed exile in August 1983 when he was assassinated. The murder propelled the rebels into a movement that became known as People Power, a term that had been used since the 1970s to indicate the political participation and mobilisation of the populace. Through People Power Marcos was forced to call an election in early 1986. Although his party supposedly won the election and he was constitutionally recognised by the Parliament, the protests climaxed in a revolution that saw Marcos flee the country in February 1986. Corazon Aquino, the late Benigno Aquino Jr.’s wife who ran against Marcos during the election, established a new government. Like that of many of her successors, Philippine President Aquino’s term eventually drew criticism for corruption and the people became disenchanted with her administration. At the time of writing, economic development has still not been realised in the Philippines, and a

60 The uprising of People Power continues to shape political discourse in the Philippines, where it has come to be associated with non-violent political action (Macagapal & Nario-Galace, 2003). 15 years after the Marcos government was overthrown, an event that has become known as People Power II resulted in President Estrada’s resignation.
sense of national community—acknowledging the many minority groups in the country—has yet to be achieved among its various ethnolinguistic groups.

The Marcos dictatorship has had particularly long-reaching effects on the global Filipino community. The phenomenon of People Power is inextricably linked with notions of an independent Philippines, effecting some of the most iconic musical representations of nationalism. The Marcos regime was also a time of significant migration from the Philippines. Between 1975 and 1985, there was an out-migration ‘growth spurt’ from the Philippines that has yet to be repeated (Orbeta & Abrigo, 2009). Marcos encouraged out-migration by sponsoring labour programs for overseas Filipino workers (OFW), anticipating the financial assistance that workers’ remittances would provide for the economy of the Philippines. Other Filipinos with the education or means migrated permanently to more affluent countries to escape the political unrest and the tyranny of martial law.

Filipino Migration to Australia

Since before the 19th century, Filipinos have participated in labour migration to Australia. The first wave of migration involved Filipino men taking up employment opportunities as pearl divers in Western Australia and Queensland (Espinosa, 2012b). This was in line with broader Filipino migration patterns, which saw men leaving the Philippines to become construction workers in the Middle East and seafarers around the world (Tejero & Fowler, 2012). The increased demand for employees in female-dominated industries in the 1980s characterised a marked shift in Filipino migration, as women relocated to take up economic opportunities in domestic work, entertainment and nursing (Espinosa, 2012b; Tejero & Fowler, 2012). In Australia, this second wave of Filipino migration coincided with the end of the White Australia Policy61 (Bonifacio, 2003). It was during this period that the primarily female economic migration from the Philippines was accompanied by another form of feminised migration. The notably feminine economic Filipino migration in the 1980s corresponded with increased rates of marriage between Filipino women and

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61 The Immigration Restriction Act of 1901 (the core legislation underlying the widely known White Australia Policy) regulated immigration to Australia on the basis of race. It sought to unite Australians as a superior and monocultural British race (see Chiro, 2011).
Australian men, establishing the ‘mail order bride’ phenomenon for which the Filipino Australian community came to be known (Bonifacio, 2003; Espinosa, 2012b, 2013a, 2013b; Maneze, Salamonson, Attwood, & Davidson, 2013). As women continue to migrate for work and marriage, the Filipino emigrant diaspora continues to be characterised by its feminised nature. However, the third and most recent wave of Filipino Australian migration has involved the arrival of skilled, English-speaking professionals in industries such as information technology and accounting (Espinosa, 2012b; Maneze et al., 2013).

As opposed to the traditionally male-dominated migration of other countries, the Philippines is the source country for the largest female-dominated migration to Australia (Bonifacio, 2003, p. 126). Although Maneze et al. (2013) categorise three sub-groups within the Filipino Australian community—family migrants, skilled professionals and Filipino spouses of Australian men—the feminine nature of the community has meant that the Filipino migrant experience is often viewed through a gendered lens. Studies examining Filipino Australian migration are dominated by feminist research considering the ‘mail order bride’ phenomenon, limiting the focus of the existing body of literature (Espinosa, 2012b; Maneze et al., 2013). While not representative of the wider range of migration and resettlement experiences, these studies have been valuable in highlighting the racist and sexist discourses underlying the stereotypical perception of the Filipino woman in Australia as “a standardized symbol of the transgressive female, crossing racial, national, geographical, and class boundaries through marriage” (Espinosa, 2013a, p. 90). Since the 1980s, media coverage of domestic violence in marriages between Australian men and Filipino women has led to the ascription of such violence as symptomatic of the woman’s assumed use of the man as a passport to Australia (Espinosa, 2012b, 2013a; Saroca, 2005, 2006). The women are understood solely through their designation as ‘brides’, homogenously sexualising the Australian citizenship of Filipino women and shifting the blame of such domestic violence onto the victims. The shame of being associated with such sexualised violence and opportunism has led to a negative perception of

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62 The period of ‘mail order bride’ migration reached its zenith in 1986 (Maneze et al., 2013). Although a negative stereotype, adopting the term ‘mail order bride’ is not intended to reinforce its derogatory usage. Instead, following much of the literature on the feminised nature of Filipino Australian migration (Bonifacio, 2003; Espinosa, 2012b, 2013a, 2013b; Maneze et al., 2013; Saroca, 2005, 2006, 2012), the intention is to deconstruct and expose the trope as it has been understood in the Australian media and imagination.
marriages between Australian men and Filipino women within the Filipino Australian community itself (Espinosa, 2012a; Maneze et al., 2013; Saroca, 2006). As a result, some Filipino women determine their own sense of self-value in relation to their distance from the abused ‘mail order bride’ identity (Espinosa, 2012a).

While not directly related to musical acculturation, the ‘mail order bride’ stereotype has raised questions about the extent to which Filipino culture and identity is more ‘prostitutable’ than others, a matter which is pertinent to the current study’s areas of inquiry. As Espinosa (2012b) contends,

> The reduction of racial, class and other forms of othering . . . as possibly ‘cultural’ dangerously tucks sexual subordination under the rubric of ‘history’ as well, so that Filipino women are like *that* because of their irreversible past: being a ‘mistress’ to three different masters (Spain, United States and Japan) as the clichéd imagery captures well. (p. 350)

Espinosa (2012b) suggests that many of the activities in which the Filipino Australian community publicly engages, represent attempts to establish a cultural identity that is at odds with the marginalised ‘mail order bride’. Many of the musical pursuits examined in this chapter are counted among such cultural activities. Espinosa (2012b) explicitly equates participation in dance competitions, Filipino festivals and multicultural celebrations with efforts to validate the Filipino Australian community as legitimate and contributing beneficiaries within Australia’s multicultural landscape. Importantly, this discourse was largely absent from discussions with informants who regularly participate in such activities.

Recently, literature about Filipino Australians has included studies on the Filipino migrant community more generally, addressing the topics of remittances, child rearing, language, community media and health and well-being (Cayetano-Penman, 2000; Das, 1997; Dela Cerna, 2007; Espinosa, 2012b, 2013a; Marcus, Short, & Nardi, 2014; Plows, 2000; Short, Hawthorne, Sampford, Marcus, & Ransome, 2012; Tejero & Fowler, 2012). The stereotype of the ‘mail order bride’ exists alongside another characterisation of Filipino migrants, that is, Filipino labour migrants who have a reputation as hard workers (see Short et al., 2012). This is reinforced by strong remittance trends among the Filipino emigrant diaspora; remittances contribute 10 percent to the economy of the Philippines (Marcus et al., 2014). The significance of the Philippine economy in determining push and pull factors for Filipino migration has led to increased academic focus on the Filipino Australian labour market. In
particular, Filipino Australian nurses have garnered some attention, as the Philippines is one of the world’s leading nurse exporters (Marcus et al., 2014; Short et al., 2012; Tejero & Fowler, 2012). The international demand for quality nurses has led to an imbalance in the geographic distribution of highly skilled nurses. Certainly, the majority of the most well-trained Filipino nurses do not work in the Philippines itself, negatively affecting the home country’s health system (see Short et al., 2012).

Like the ‘mail order bride’ phenomenon, the prevalence of Filipino nurses and other labour migrants is not explicitly related to the topic of musical acculturation. However, as the significant role of remittances in the economy of the Philippines illustrates, motivations for migration are determinate factors in the extent to which migrants maintain links with their countries of birth. Exportation of nurses from the Philippines has had complex economic and social outcomes for Filipinos both abroad and in the country itself, exemplifying the extent to which migration shapes class relations within the Filipino diaspora. As already discussed, class and culture have historically intersected with race in Filipino society, and in this way Filipino labour migration is relevant to the types of musical activities with which Filipino Australians engage.

In the Filipino Australian community, notions of cultural identity are mediated by the broader diaspora’s remittance culture. The prevailing discourses surrounding Filipinos living abroad are interwoven with interpretations of labour migration and the term balikbayan. Balik meaning ‘return’ and bayan meaning ‘home country’ in Tagalog, balikbayan refers to Filipinos who live or work overseas and return regularly to visit the Philippines (see Coloma, 2008; Guevarra, 2006; Turgo, 2012). Given the government’s ongoing support of labour exportation, a common trope of the Filipinos living and working overseas represents the foreign labourer as bagong bayani, a national hero who suffers hardship for the economic welfare of her or his home country (Espinosa, 2012b; Regis, 2013). This hardship takes the form of isolation and inadequate living standards. Indeed, survival in foreign countries is often financially straining and many Filipino migrants leave their families, including children, in the Philippines, to provide for their needs from overseas.

Another common reading of the Filipino migrant, and in particular the balikbayan, considers the immigrant a traitor who has left the home country in adversity (Espinosa, 2012b). Particularly when Filipinos migrate to first world countries such as
Australia, migrating can be seen as a selfish pursuit of fortune. In abandoning the struggles experienced by many in the home country, Filipino migrants—especially those who are relatively affluent—are seen to have renounced their Filipino citizenship. Within this discourse, diasporic philanthropic efforts and the sending of remittances are seen as efforts to alleviate the guilt of disowning the true Filipino experience and identity. The conceptual division between these two prevailing discourses is summarised in the excerpt below, in which Rafael (2000) outlines the distinction between tourist balikbayans and other Filipino labour migrants.

Nationalist writers often distinguish those who return from working temporary jobs in the Middle East and Asia from those who visit from the United States. Whereas overseas contract workers (ocws) are seen to return from conditions of near abjection, balikbayans are frequently viewed to be steeped in their own sense of superiority, serving only to fill others with a sense of envy. (p. 207)

Both of these readings have effects on Filipino Australian musical involvement. As will be discussed later, the extent to which individuals embrace or concede engagement with Filipino music can be influenced by the tension in identifying as a Filipino labour migrant or balikbayan.

In addition to the perception of balikbayan in the Philippines, musical acculturation is influenced by the transformation of class relations experienced within the Filipino Australian community (see Espinosa, 2012b). In the Philippines, the existing social hierarchies are the aftermath of a feudal and colonial history. The racial divisions between indio and mestizo, discussed in the brief history of the Philippines (see p. 136), continue to determine social and economic capital. Employment opportunities in Australia result in the blurring and rupturing of these firm hierarchical structures, as upward mobility and the negation of overseas qualifications means that Filipinos of all racial backgrounds can experience the same quality of life in Australia. In place of affluence, Filipino Australian deliberations about class become concerned with issues of taste, culture and refinement, which results in a division between the newly moneyed working class Filipinos who are associated with Blacktown, and the class conscious, previously middle class Filipinos who seek to distance themselves from the former. Importantly, the whiteness that afforded mestizos social capital in the feudal and postcolonial Philippines is diminished in the context of the white Australian middle class, as explained by Espinosa (2012b) below.
The mestizo class, apart from its racial capital, does not possess as much symbolic power in diaspora; the colonialist terror mestizos used to invoke has lost its traction in Australia where they themselves are not really white. (p. 229)

The excerpt above argues that mestizo Filipino Australians are excluded from white Australian capital because their whiteness is not the same as that which represents Australian identity in the popular imaginary. This deviation, coupled with their possession of fluent English skills, means that Filipino Australians experience marginalisation very differently from more visible minorities like South Sudanese Australians (see pp. 72–74, 81–82). English facility affords Filipino Australians leverage in that it increases employability and is often seen as a marker of a ‘model minority’ (Espinosa, 2013a). In a study comparing migrant adolescents from the Philippines with their Chinese Australian and Vietnamese Australian counterparts, it was found that Filipino Australians seemed to experience the best overall adjustment to Australian resettlement (Leung, Pe-Pua, & Karnilowicz, 2006). This was attributed to voluntary migration, their strong family support network, and English proficiency. However, the relative ease with which Filipinos can integrate into Australian society as a result of their English proficiency means that their resettlement challenges are often minimised. For example, their English literacy is presumed to indicate health literacy, and compared with other minorities they are not seen as candidates for health promotion programs or interventions. It is as a result of their English competence that Filipino Australians are seen as neither white nor ‘ethnic’, “furthering their invisibility from both sides of the spectrum” (Espinosa, 2013a, p. 91; see also Maneze et al., 2013; Sanchez & Gaw, 2007). The liminal space that Filipino Australians occupy affects popular impressions of Filipino culture in Australia. Because of their capacity to enter the work force, it has been argued that Filipinos are unpopular in Australia’s multicultural and ‘ethnic’ markets (Espinosa, 2013a). That is, because they tend to be employed in formal professional positions as, for example, nurses and accountants, there is less incentive to commodify Filipino culture through restaurants and shops. In this way, Filipino Australians’ English skills connote a diluted ethnic identity and culture, “unappealing to consumers of the ‘real’ other” (Espinosa, 2013a, p. 122) exemplified by, for example, Thai, Chinese or Vietnamese Australians.

The body of literature about Filipino Australians interrogates the stereotypes that surround the community as a result of its distinctive waves of migration. In examining the ‘mail order bride’ phenomenon, Filipino nurses, perceptions of balikbayan and
remittance culture, and the effects of English proficiency on Australian resettlement, it is clear that Filipino Australian identity is fraught with complexities and contradictions.

**Filipino Australians**

The term *Filipino Australian* has been employed to describe the participants in this study who identify as or originate from, or are descended from people who identify as or originate from, the Philippines. These participants are all Australian residents, and while the literature shows that the majority of Filipino Australian residents gain Australian citizenship, I did not ascertain which of the participants had gone through this process. Unlike the participants in the South Sudanese case study, some of the Filipino Australian participants were born in Australia. Regardless of their country of birth, participants reported affiliation with both the Philippines and Australia, though the extent of their attachment to either country, and their proclivity for one country over the other, varied. Regardless of their citizenship status or the nature and extent of their interactions outside of local Filipino communities, it is to be understood that the category *Filipino Australian* conveys an acknowledgement of their claims to Australian belonging, insofar as each individual personally identifies as Australian.

**Filipino Australian Community in Blacktown**

The local government area of Blacktown is a residential hub for the Filipino Australian community. Table 5.1 outlines the geographic distribution of Philippines-born people in Australia by state and territory (drawn from DIAC, 2014). Evidently, the majority of Philippines-born Australian residents live in NSW.

Table 5.2 compares the populations of Blacktown LGA with Greater Western Sydney, Greater Sydney, NSW and Australia in relation to the variables: overseas-born, Non-English speaking background, Philippines-born, Filipino ancestry, and Filipino/Tagalog as the language spoken at home.
Table 5.1.

**Geographic Distribution of Philippines-born People**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>State</th>
<th>Number</th>
<th>Percentage of Philippines-born Population</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>NSW</td>
<td>70,388</td>
<td>41.1%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Victoria</td>
<td>38,002</td>
<td>22.2%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Queensland</td>
<td>29,462</td>
<td>17.2%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Western Australia</td>
<td>17,231</td>
<td>10.1%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>South Australia</td>
<td>8,858</td>
<td>5.2%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Northern Territory</td>
<td>3,587</td>
<td>2.1%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Australian Capital Territory</td>
<td>2,423</td>
<td>1.4%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tasmania</td>
<td>1,268</td>
<td>0.7%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

As in Table 3.2 (p. 86), conclusions drawn from Table 5.2 are limited by the comparison between Blacktown, a local government area, with much larger geographical regions such as the state of NSW and even the country of Australia. However, as with the South Sudanese overview in Table 3.2, Table 5.2 reveals the relatively high density of Blacktown residents who were born in the Philippines when compared with the regional, state and national average.

Table 5.2.

**Proportion of the Population who were Born in the Philippines, have Filipino Ancestry, and Speak Filipino/Tagalog at Home**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Number in Blacktown</th>
<th>Percentage in Blacktown</th>
<th>Greater Western Sydney</th>
<th>Greater Sydney</th>
<th>NSW</th>
<th>Australia</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Overseas-born population</td>
<td>113,075</td>
<td>37.6%</td>
<td>35.3%</td>
<td>34.2%</td>
<td>25.7%</td>
<td>24.6%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Non-English speaking background</td>
<td>94,916</td>
<td>31.5%</td>
<td>29.8%</td>
<td>26.3%</td>
<td>18.6%</td>
<td>15.7%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Philippines-born population</td>
<td>19,360</td>
<td>6.4%</td>
<td>2.2%</td>
<td>1.4%</td>
<td>1.0%</td>
<td>0.8%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Population identifying Filipino as their ancestry</td>
<td>25,899</td>
<td>8.6%</td>
<td>3.0%</td>
<td>1.9%</td>
<td>1.4%</td>
<td>1.0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Population identifying Filipino/Tagalog as the language spoken at home</td>
<td>18,322</td>
<td>6.1%</td>
<td>2.0%</td>
<td>1.2%</td>
<td>0.8%</td>
<td>0.6%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Not only is the largest concentration of Australia’s Philippines-born migrants living in Blacktown, but also, when compared with other migrant populations in the local government area, Filipinos are highly represented. This is exemplified in Table 5.3, which compares the Filipino Australian community to other dominant ethnocultural groups in Blacktown in relation to the categories ancestry, country of birth and language spoken at home. The data for Table 5.3 was drawn from the 2011 ABS census statistics (Blacktown City Council, 2011a, 2011b, 2011c), with the percentages indicating the proportion of Blacktown’s overall population that nominated the dominant categories.

Table 5.3.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Ranking</th>
<th>Dominant Ancestries in Blacktown</th>
<th>Dominant Non-Australian Countries of Birth in Blacktown</th>
<th>Dominant Languages Other than English Spoken at Home in Blacktown</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>Australian 25.5%</td>
<td>Philippines 6.4%</td>
<td>Filipino/Tagalog 6.1%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>English 21.7%</td>
<td>India 5.0%</td>
<td>Hindi 3.6%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>Filipino 8.6%</td>
<td>New Zealand 2.5%</td>
<td>Arabic 3.2%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>Indian 7.3%</td>
<td>United Kingdom 2.5%</td>
<td>Punjabi 2.3%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>Irish 5.7%</td>
<td>Fiji 2.2%</td>
<td>Samoan 1.2%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In Blacktown, Filipino ranks as the third highest ancestry, the Philippines is the highest-ranking overseas country of birth and Filipino/Tagalog the highest-ranking language other than English spoken at home. These rankings demonstrate that while Blacktown is significant to the Filipino Australian community, so too are Filipino Australians significant to the broader Blacktown community. In a study of the musical acculturation of particular ethnocultural groups in the region of Blacktown, the

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63 This category refers to the proportion of Blacktown’s population who were born in a country other than Australia.
64 This category refers to the proportion of Blacktown’s population speaking languages other than English at home.
Filipino Australian community’s dominance positions them as an exceptional case study.

It is important to note that while Blacktown is statistically the undeniable core of the Filipino Australian community, within Australia’s Filipino diaspora it is associated with a certain type of Filipino identity. As mentioned earlier (see p.144), some Filipino Australians consciously segregate themselves from the broader community, propagating old antagonisms. Within this social hierarchy, Blacktown is seen as the home of the working class Filipino. While upward mobility affords some Filipino Australians the means to move to more affluent suburbs, the steady arrival of Filipino migrants mean “there will be new ones to take their place, making Blacktown an arrival ‘city’ for Filipinos” (Espinosa, 2013a, p. 109).

**Filipino Australian Case Study**

As a Filipino Australian and Blacktown resident myself, it is perhaps surprising that I barely used convenience sampling (Yin, 2011) in data collection for this case study. One reason for this is my lack of previous personal connections with Filipino community organisations and public Filipino activities. As described in the methodology chapter (see p. 36), prior to conducting this research my experience of Filipino heritage did not extend beyond the considerably integrated culture expressed within my family. As none of my close family members live in the Blacktown region, and with an initial view to maintain a level of academic distance, I did not interview family members for this research. One exception was Marcus, a cousin who, while not a resident of Blacktown, undertook a high school English teaching practicum experience in Blacktown throughout my data collection phase. Another participant, Aurelio, is a personal friend who attended a significant observed event, a multicultural church function. The remainder of the Filipino Australian case study was constructed through purposive and snowball sampling strategies (Yin, 2011). Living in Blacktown, it was common for me to find advertisements for Filipino community events through the local newspapers or publicly displayed posters. The Filipino restaurant around the corner from my house regularly exhibited promotional posters for upcoming events in the windows. Most of the time, these events featured live musical performances, and thus constituted ideal sites for my study of the musical lives of Filipino Australians in Blacktown. Through the details listed on the
promotional posters I contacted event organisers, discussed my attendance and recording, and organised participant consent. As a resident, I found that opportunities for this purposive sampling were so intrinsic to my everyday experience that on one occasion I went grocery shopping and came home having met a participant, gained written consent, and recorded a completely unplanned interview.

This approach to purposive sampling resulted in a particular predisposition in these participants. For the most part, participants in the sample established through these means were all actively and regularly involved in officially organised Filipino community gatherings. Thus their views on heritage maintenance and intercultural exchange could have been influenced by their shared investment in such events. Further, potential participants were selected from performers and mid-level organisers rather than audience members. In this way the everyday musical lives of those who primarily listen to music, rather than perform it, were not as represented. If “[e]thnographers who distance themselves from organizational authority may learn what the scene looks like from the bottom of the organizational hierarchy” (Charmaz, 2014, p. 23), it could be argued that I have predominantly viewed phenomena from the middle of the hierarchy. Finally, voluntary participation resulted in a sample limited by participants’ interest in, and confidence discussing, the topic of research.

A few of the Filipino Australian participants were located through avenues outside of organised Filipino community events. By virtue of the proliferation and integration of Filipino Australians in Blacktown, I came across potential participants in music groups and performance events aimed at the general public. Interestingly, participants reached through these means tended to restrict their involvement with the official Filipino community, and thus offered divergent perspectives.

Table 5.4 outlines the basic demographic details of the 19 interviewees in the Filipino Australian case study. A more detailed version of Table 5.4, outlining participants’ musical backgrounds and their relationship with Blacktown, can be found in Appendix G. As is evident in Table 5.4, the only participant in this case study who does not identify as Filipino or Filipino Australian is Euan, an Indonesian Australian who manages a Filipino hip hop crew. As Table 5.4 and Appendix G illustrate, although the sample is confined to those with an active, if sometimes indirect, involvement with public music or cultural performances, participants from a range of generations and with varied migration experiences are included.
Table 5.4.

*Filipino Australian Case Study Interviewees*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Gender</th>
<th>Age</th>
<th>Migration Experience and Country of Birth</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Alisha</td>
<td>Female</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>Alisha was born in Australia, and both of her parents are of Filipino heritage.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ariel</td>
<td>Female</td>
<td>63</td>
<td>Born in the Philippines, Ariel moved to Australia with friends at the age of 26.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Arthur</td>
<td>Male</td>
<td>(40s)</td>
<td>Born in the Philippines, Arthur migrated to Australia in 1997 to join his sister. Prior to this, he worked in Saudi Arabia as an interior designer.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Aurelio</td>
<td>Male</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>Aurelio was born in the Philippines. When he was 2 his family moved to Australia.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Carmela</td>
<td>Female</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>Carmela was born in Australia, and both of her parents are of Filipino heritage.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Delila</td>
<td>Female</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>Delila was born in Saudi Arabia. When she was 8 Delila family moved to the Philippines, and when she was 13 they moved to Australia.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Euan</td>
<td>Male</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>Born in Australia, Euan is of Indonesian heritage and manages a primarily Filipino hip hop dance crew.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Alisha</td>
<td>Female</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>Alisha was born in Australia, and both of her parents are of Filipino heritage.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Giselle</td>
<td>Female</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>Born in the Philippines, Giselle moved to Australia when she was 3½.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jedrek</td>
<td>Male</td>
<td>(60s/70s)</td>
<td>Born in the Philippines, Jedrek migrated to Australia in 1987 as a skilled worker.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Joaquin</td>
<td>Male</td>
<td>(50s)</td>
<td>Joaquin was born in the Philippines and moved to Australia with his wife and children in 1990.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Leticia</td>
<td>Female</td>
<td>61</td>
<td>Born in the Philippines, Leticia moved to Australia at 21. She migrated to Australia because of political unrest.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Marcus</td>
<td>Male</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>Marcus is an Australian-born Filipino.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Olson</td>
<td>Male</td>
<td>42</td>
<td>Born in the Philippines, Olson’s parents moved to Australia to provide opportunities for him and his sister. He went back to the Philippines to study at university.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Paschal</td>
<td>Male</td>
<td>(30s)</td>
<td>Born in the Philippines, Paschal migrated to Australia as a child with his mother and Australian stepfather in 1983.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Portia</td>
<td>Female</td>
<td>(late teens)</td>
<td>Born in the Philippines, Portia migrated to Australia with her parents when she was 6 years old.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rafael</td>
<td>Male</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>Born in the Philippines, Rafael migrated to Australia with his family at 5 years old.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Roderick</td>
<td>Male</td>
<td>(40s)</td>
<td>Born in the Philippines, Roderick migrated to Australia in 1996.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Simone</td>
<td>Female</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>Simone’s parents were both born in the Philippines, but she was born in Melbourne, Australia. She moved to Blacktown at 5 years old.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

65 Except in instances where participants have granted permission for their identification, pseudonyms are used throughout.
Summary

This chapter has contextualised Filipino Australian acculturation in relation to the colonial underpinnings of Philippine nationalism and its effect on social hierarchies and identity politics. The distinct waves of Philippine migration to Australia outlined provide a sociohistorical foundation for transnationalism and resettlement in Blacktown’s Filipino Australian community. The demographic significance of this community within the Blacktown region has also been established. The dynamic interplay between these considerations and the musical lives of Filipino Australians in Blacktown is outlined in the following chapter.
Chapter 6
The Musical Lives of Filipino Australians in Blacktown

Introduction

Several participants in the Filipino Australian case study exhibited notable similarities in terms of their attitudes towards cross-cultural contact and maintenance of heritage cultures. Although it manifested in various ways, and differed in degree across generations, there was a level of detachment from traditional and nationalist Filipino music that was discussed explicitly in interviews and observed at musical events. It was evident that the participants’ musical lives reflected a broader cultural identity crisis that finds its roots at the beginning of the modern history of the Philippines, when Spanish colonisers arbitrarily united an archipelago of islands inhabited by numerous, distinctive ethnolinguistic groups. Waves of migration and colonisation shaped Philippine society’s social strata, as well as the country’s arts and culture, while notions of Filipino nationalism were splintered by colonial collaboration, revolution and counter-revolution. In the current case study, the music with which participants engaged was directly related to the convoluted nature of Filipino nationalism. As will be discussed in the following sections, this influence materialised in a variety of ways.

Locating Filipino Musicality in Blacktown

Manifestations of a Colonial Mentality

When interviewing Filipino Australian participants, one of the core issues that arose was the supposed absence of any distinctive and identifiable Filipino musical culture. Participants attributed this apparent deficit to the typical Filipino’s lack of interest in and knowledge about traditional culture, coupled with Filipino artists’ excessive impersonation of American music, as outlined below.

Portia: Because we’re more Americanised. Even the way shows are and stuff. Like they’re very, there’s not much traditional, in a sense. Like we’re very, we try to be modern and try and keep up with everyone else. . . . So I feel like we’re losing our identity, so we’re not like into folk music anymore. . . . I realise that there’s nothing really. That’s why I think they all sound the same. Because there’s no originality anymore. Like there’s nothing that distinguishes Filipino music from other music.
Sam: Other American, English music?
Portia: Yeah it just sounds the same.

(Interview, December 4, 2012)

Because African music is distinct. . . . Unlike the Philippines, where we’re much influenced by the American music scene. So we have to rely on it, and our local music, if there is such a thing, is very shallow. Not deeply rooted, you know what I mean? . . . You can just hear it during fiestas, during main celebrations, but it’s not really deeply rooted in the sense that if you play music, or you hear music in the radio, you would hardly [hear the influences of Filipino folk music, for example] from rondalla [Filipino folk music string ensemble]. Unlike if you listen to African music, even if the African songs [are] commercial, you can hear instruments of . . . African ethnic music. Ethnic instruments. . . . Because of our American influence . . . well basically to speak of, we don’t have any musical culture.

(Roderick, Interview, December 11, 2012)

The description of Filipino music as unoriginal, Americanised, shallow and even non-existent, is provided as evidence for the disconnection between Filipinos and their culture. For Portia, Filipino music being indistinguishable from any other music is correlated with “losing our identity”. For Roderick, the Filipino music scene is insubstantial when compared with that of African countries. Roderick maintains that in Afropop, the integration of recognisably ‘ethnic’ musical elements with commercial pop, exemplifies a “deeply rooted” connection between musicians, listeners and their traditional music culture. This notion resonates with Filipino sentiments from as early as the 1930s, when Filipino commercialism and the supposed superficiality of Filipino native traditions were being lamented (Mojares, 2006). This is because much of the music that might be considered distinctively Filipino was developed throughout the Spanish colonial period (Trimillos, 1992). In light of concerns such as these, and given the economic success of their Asian neighbours, the past three decades has seen the Philippines participate in the region-wide, cultural re-Asianisation (Trimillos, 2008). Among other things this has involved contemporary musicians fusing popular music with ‘ethnic’ traditions, a practice which Roderick is aware of but considers somewhat contrived. Interestingly, although Portia works in a Filipino Australian media shop and Roderick for a Filipino Australian news radio show, neither prefer listening to Filipino music because of its supposedly unimaginative mimicry of contemporary American pop. Ironically, both of them expressed a preference for American popular music itself. Roderick in particular suggested that it was his disdain of cover songs that prevented him from listening to Filipino music. He argued that
Filipino music has become so Westernised—“copying the style. Copying the tempo. Copying the beats,” (Interview, December 11, 2012)—that, because he prefers original songs, his preference for American music is a logical necessity.

Portia and Roderick’s opinions not only reflected discussions with a number of other participants, but also echoed Filipino debates about culture that have occurred throughout history, and contemporary concerns expressed in the broader Filipino diaspora. In the early 20th century, debates about sajonismo (Anglo-Saxonisation) were central to initial discussions about Filipino nationalism and culture (Mojares, 2006). These debates continue even today. In her study of a Filipino newsgroup on the Internet, Ignacio (2005) found that the majority of contributors were apprehensive about the abandonment of Filipino culture and their subsequently ambivalent sense of self. In particular, she observed the repeated establishment of a dichotomy between America and the Philippines, with English language usage and migration to the United States of America considered traits of a ‘colonial mentality’. That Portia and Roderick refused to listen to Filipino music because of its bland imitation of American music demonstrates a rejection of such cultural submission. Paradoxically, they consumed American music almost exclusively, with Roderick even commenting, “Despite me growing up in the Philippines, I don’t really listen to . . . Original Filipino Music66 . . . I should say the American colonial mentality’s within my mind” (Interview, December 11, 2012).

The notion of colonial mentality is predominant in discussions about Filipino culture not only among Filipino communities worldwide, but also in literature about Filipinos in ethnic minority studies and cultural psychology (Cordova, 1973; David & Okazaki, 2006a, 2006b, 2010; Lott, 1976; Revilla, 1997). In these fields, the term colonial mentality refers specifically to “a form of internalised oppression among Filipinos” (David & Okazaki, 2006a, p. 1), a consequence of the collective identity crisis predicated by a history of colonisation. Signaled by the characterisation of Filipino culture as inferior, and American culture as superior, it has been found that colonial mentalities vary in both the degree and the manner of their manifestation. David and Okazaki (2006b) suggest that colonial mentality is most aptly

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66 Original Pilipino Music (often shortened to initials OPM) refers to a style of popular music from the 1980s that emerged from Manila. OPM traditionally comprised of expressive, vocally overwrought ballads with Tagalog or English lyrics, as popularised by artists Celeste Legaspi, Kuh Ledesma and Basil Valdez. The term has since come to refer to popular music of any style written and performed by Filipino artists. The latter definition is how Roderick was employing the term here. 
conceptualised in relation to five correlated factors: internalised cultural and ethnic inferiority, cultural shame and embarrassment, within-group discrimination, (erasure of ‘ethnic’) physical characteristics and colonial debt (p. 248). Based on these components, participants of the current study certainly exhibited attitudes demonstrative of a colonial mentality. Both Portia and Roderick clearly expressed their views about the inferiority of Filipino musical culture, and indicated a preference for what was perceived to be higher quality American music.

Portia’s perception of Filipino music as inferior, conveyed through her description of it as Americanised and unoriginal, related specifically to the type of Filipino music available in Blacktown’s Filipino media shop. Portia’s position as an employee in the business, which is owned by her parents, enabled her to identify the shop’s best selling artists and the demographic details of the corresponding customers.

For example people like David Archuleta. I think he was in American Idol or something. But he gets around the middle aged sort of people or younger people. . . . Like Noel Cabangon. More of the older sort of people, like men, mainly. Older men. [He’s] a bit old. With stuff like Martin Nievera, that’s mixed. A lot of people… But people mainly look for songs that they’ve heard in series. . . . So, say if they like a particular theme song, they’ll look for the artist and buy their album. . . . Or like for example, Angeline Quinto, she won. She won a contest, and so people were interested in her. . . . Yeah pretty much whatever’s on TFC67. (Interview, December 4, 2012)

Video Samples 6.1 to 6.4 are either video clips or live performances by the artists in the order that Portia identified them, and exemplify the similarity between commercial Filipino popular music68 and American popular music noted by both Portia and Roderick. Notably, the participants themselves did not articulate what musical characteristics resulted in the similarities they asserted69. According to Portia, the artists in Video Samples 6.1 to 6.4 represent the musical interests of Filipino Australians from various generations, and yet their musical styles share some common characteristics. In particular, the video samples—which represent some of the most popular releases from each artist’s repertoire—demonstrate a predisposition in Filipino popular music tastes towards American contemporary rhythm and blues

67 The Filipino Channel (TFC) is an international Philippine broadcaster that will be discussed in more detail further in the chapter.
68 Notably, not all of the artists named are residents in the Philippines. David Archuleta, as Portia explained, was a contestant on American Idol. Therefore his video clip is an example of American popular music. The ownership of Filipino musicians around the world will be discussed later in the chapter.
69 As was noted earlier, Roderick made the vague assertion that Filipino music copies the “style”, “tempo” and “beats” of American music.
(R&B). The examples typify the Filipino marketability of R&B ballads such as those that were popularised in 1990s America by Mariah Carey, Whitney Houston, Boyz II Men, Brian McKnight, Destiny’s Child and R. Kelly. This particular sub-genre of R&B avoided the gritty edginess of hip hop, favouring instead emotionally intense power ballads performed by virtuosic singers and backed by orchestral arrangements, standard verse–chorus structures and polished production that had mass commercial appeal. Textually, contemporary R&B took “a mature approach to romantic relationships that marked them as being for a somewhat older audience” (White, 2012, p. 375). Video Samples 6.1, 6.3 and 6.4 are all romantic power ballads that fit neatly within this branch of contemporary R&B, as lyrics about mature love open with emotional restraint and are brought to an uplifting climax through key changes, the showcasing of the solo vocalists’ extraordinary vocal ranges and technical prowess, and the sweeping, orchestral arrangements.70

Although there are some overwhelming similarities, it is important to note a few of the differences among these examples, which controvert the generalisation that Filipino popular musicians “all sound the same” (Portia, Interview, December 4, 2012). In Video Sample 6.3, Martin Nievera’s You Are My Song utilises the solo saxophone in a way that hearkens back to earlier forms of contemporary R&B that were influenced by smooth jazz, as embodied by the music of Marvin Gaye and Luther Vandross. In Video Sample 6.2, Noel Cabangon (who Portia identified as particularly appealing to older men) does not use virtuosic singing techniques or a lush orchestral arrangement, but accompanies himself on his guitar as he sings in an introspective style more similar to Manila Sound71 singers than classic OPM vocalists. At the same time, Kanlungan carries the same textual theme of mature love explored by the other video samples, and Noel Cabangon uses atmospheric vocal techniques and a wide range of vocal expression to highlight the emotional intensity at the core of

70 Importantly, the significance of a lyrical vocal melody facilitates audience participation, as embodied in the artists’ invitations for the audience to sing during their live concerts (Video Samples 6.2 and 6.3) and the lyrics scrolling in Video Sample 6.3. Ong (2009) explores the relationship between social singing and karaoke practices, and essentialised notions of Filipino identity and culture. Related stereotypes about Filipino singing talent will be discussed further in the chapter.

71 ‘Manila Sound’ is a label for Filipino popular music that was popularised in the 1970s, led by the Garcia brothers. It has been described as appealing to young audiences because of its “irreverent and sometimes chiding tone, use of colloquial and Taglish (combination of Tagalog and English) language and seemingly incongruous though nevertheless startling depiction of everyday situations and experiences of ordinary people” (Maceda, 2007, p. 395). Manila Sound songs do not emphasise vocal virtuosity. Instead, they are characterised by an ‘easy listening’ style of pop-rock that features a relatively static dynamic level throughout, and catchy melodic hooks.
contemporary R&B ballads. These and several other differences between Video Samples 6.1 to 6.4 collectively discount the reductionist view that all Filipino popular music is interchangeable. At the same time, it is clear that, outside of the use of Tagalog lyrics, there are no distinctive aesthetic elements that aurally differentiate these songs from their American popular music counterparts. This is in direct contrast to the examples of Afropop and Congolese *soukous* presented in Chapter 4, which are easily distinguishable from the Western, globalised popular music forms that have influenced them. To this extent, Video Samples 6.1 to 6.4 support Portia’s and Roderick’s claims regarding the Americanisation of Filipino popular music. They also demonstrate the substantial appeal of contemporary R&B style within the current, international Filipino music industry, which is a topic to which this chapter will return in a later section.

The musical assimilation embodied by Video Samples 6.1 to 6.4 coexists within the context of the broader Filipino media because Filipino music sales are driven by the content featured on popular television shows on TFC (The Filipino Channel), and a number of popular television actresses and actors are also singers. Indeed, TFC is the pre-eminent overseas Filipino television provider not only because it was the first to infiltrate the market, but also because its contracted artists become stars through their sustained appearance in films, international concerts, and product advertisements (Regis, 2013). Portia reported that the Filipino Australian consumer’s dependency on TFC is so reliable that the majority of the Blacktown Filipino media shop’s music stock is determined by the content on the channel.

For the Filipino Australians who willingly consume popular Filipino music, it is significant that TFC is a core source of new content. That participants characterised contemporary Filipino music as unoriginal and Americanised is perhaps unsurprising when, in many other ways, Filipino media perpetuates colonial cultural hierarchies. Importantly, movie and television stars in the Philippines are primarily light–skinned *mestizo/as* (Misajon & Khoo, 2008; Rafael, 2000). Rafael (2000) contends, “In consuming images of movie stars, audiences submit to that power and so participate, if not actively desire, the reproduction of a *mestizo/a* social order” (p. 189). It is this same social order that is perpetuated by the popular consumption of songs performed by *mestizo/a* Filipino singers, and supposedly rejected by those who, like Portia and Roderick, regret their tedious imitation of American popular music forms. Because of poor commercial conditions in the industry, the apparently formulaic sameness of
Filipino music that Portia criticised is also characteristic of Filipino movies and television shows. In order to make a profit, filmmakers are dependent upon reproducing the same plots and characters, using the same, easily identifiable and marketable mestizo/a actors (Rafael, 2000). This same approach is used in the music industry, where experimentation is limited, original music is stylistically familiar and singers rely upon cover songs in their concerts.

The Filipino music industry’s reliance upon musical styles that are already familiar to, and popular with, their Filipino audiences, is reproduced in the Filipino Australian live music scene. Indeed, the Filipino Australian live music scene is dependent upon the formulaic mestizo/a Filipino singers-actors that dominate TFC, as most local Filipino Australian popular musicians perform for the community as supporting artists for these celebrity’s Australian concerts. In such settings, local Filipino Australian performers almost exclusively sing cover songs of popular music hits, and predominantly those within the contemporary R&B style that was discussed earlier.

Alisha, a 20-year-old Filipino singer-songwriter based in the Blacktown LGA, spoke about her approach to choosing repertoire to perform at Filipino events.

Mainly because the things that I have to sing at those events are different from what I usually listen to or play at [my other] gigs. So just for example like when . . . Filipino celebrities that come over and do those shows, . . . mainly the songs that they will ask you to sing are more pop songs or more like, I guess, more R&B-ishy. Kind of like OPM . . . style songs. Which I don’t have anything against it but I just don’t usually sing those kind of songs. And I’m more than happy to sing them but it’s just so different from what I usually sing or perform at in gigs. And so . . . that’s just, I guess, the main difference from . . . what I do in the Filipino events. Because they’re more . . . I guess you can say, commercialised. And so they really want things that are more familiar with everyone and what the Filipino community would know and like. (Interview, May 16, 2012)

When describing her musical life, Alisha drew a sharp divide between her performances at Filipino events and her pursuit of personal musical interests as a singer-songwriter. She represented the two as “very different worlds”, with Filipino events constituting “a different arena, different forum” from her personal pursuits as an original artist (Interview, May 16, 2012). She explained how her choice of performance repertoire at Filipino events is primarily determined by audience tastes, while her singer-songwriter aspirations entail, “more just what you love . . . what interests you musically” (Interview, May 16, 2012). The distinction Alisha made between her contrasting musical worlds can be considered in comparing Video
Samples 6.5 and 6.6. Video Sample 6.5 was recorded at a Filipino Christmas Bazaar in 2011, in which Alisha performed Jessie J’s *Price Tag* and Yeng Constantino’s contemporary Filipino, Christmas-themed love song *Ikaw At Ako*. Here, Alisha sang with backing tracks and invited the audience to sing along with her. Although textually Christmas-themed, Yeng Constantino’s *Ikaw At Ako* could be categorised as contemporary R&B in relation to its musical characteristics. At the opening of the video sample, Alisha can be heard showcasing her vocal power and technical prowess as the song reaches its impassioned climax, accompanied by the lush, sweeping orchestral arrangement. Although *Price Tag* does not constitute contemporary R&B, Alisha can be seen imitating Jessie J’s powerful and virtuosic soul vocal style, which has already been shown to be valued within the Filipino music industry. These performative elements of her singing, as well as the commercial success of *Price Tag* in popular music charts around the world, substantiates Alisha’s claim that in the context of Filipino events, she sings repertoire that the audience are familiar with and would appreciate.

Conversely, Video Sample 6.6 shows Alisha performing three of her band’s original songs at a small but popular live music venue in Western Sydney. In line with “the whole underground band scene” that values “things that aren’t that familiar” (Interview, May 16, 2012), Alisha’s original music lies outside of the mainstream appeal of contemporary R&B. Where in contemporary R&B the focus is heavily on the performative expertise of the solo vocalist, Video Sample 6.6 shows a much greater role for the instrumentalists (and particularly the keyboard player). While instrumental solos can occur in the intro and bridge sections of contemporary R&B, they tend to only reiterate the main vocal melody. In the first and third songs in Video Sample 6.6, the instrumentalists (and in particular the keyboardist) play a much more significant role, improvising freely in jazz style and at times in tandem with the solo vocalist throughout verses. Although it is clear that Alisha still showcased her vocal ability through melismatic techniques and the use of her wide vocal range in Video Sample 6.6, the focus was not on vocal power and virtuosity as it was in Video Sample 6.5. Although it was not effectively captured by the video recorder’s microphone, in Video Sample 6.6 Alisha emphasised timbral rather than dynamic expression. That is, she utilised a range of vocal timbres to draw attention to the meaning, rather than the emotional intensity, of the lyrics. Further, unlike in her performances in Video Sample 6.5, her band’s original songs did not necessarily
involve a structural climax that would enable vocal acrobatics. At Filipino events, the focus is primarily on entertainment, and the quality delivery of repertoire that has already proven popular with the target audience. The certainty with which Alisha avoids singing her own songs at Filipino events suggests that the attending audiences do not want to be challenged with material to which they are unaccustomed. In this way, such events perpetuate narrow perceptions of both Filipino Australian musicianship and Filipino Australian musical enjoyment, regulating both the supply and the demand.

The marketability of specific types of performances was observed at several Filipino Australian events, as singers from various generations performed covers of American popular music songs and/or Americanised OPM. Despite their personal musical preferences and vocal timbres being very different from Alisha’s and each other’s, participants Carmela and Delila made similar repertoire choices for their performances at the 2011 Filipino Christmas Bazaar (see Video Samples 6.7 and 6.8). In Video Sample 6.7, Carmela accompanies herself on semi-acoustic guitar and uses a sweet, slightly breathy vocal timbre while emphasising vocal acrobatic skill through the extensive use of melismas. These performative elements are stylistically typical of a soft, downtempo and soulful branch of contemporary R&B often referred to as ‘slow jams’, which is particularly encapsulated in her rendition of Ariel Rivera’s Sana Ngayong Pasko (the first song in the video sample). Comparatively, in Video Sample 6.8 Delila’s vocal timbre lends itself to the more powerful, ‘diva’ iteration of the contemporary R&B ballad that is more suitably supported by the use of polished backing tracks that feature synthesised orchestral arrangements and drum tracks. Despite these differences, both video samples espouse Alisha’s notion that local Filipino Australian performers (who are all, primarily, singers) are conservative in choosing Americanised OPM, American pop or contemporary R&B repertoire with which Filipino Australian audiences are already familiar. This is further substantiated by Appendix H, which lists the songs performed by young artists at three separate Filipino community events between 2011 and 2012. Importantly, the songs in Appendix H that would not be categorised as contemporary R&B, were performed in a manner that showcased the singer’s wide vocal range, dynamic power and technical skill.

Interestingly, the tacit guidelines surrounding repertoire choice became most apparent when they were not complied with. At the 2011 Christmas Bazaar, one of the
performing groups consisted of two White Australian men performing their semi-acoustic rock originals (see Video Sample 6.9). Their performance particularly stood out because of its divergence from the norms represented in Video Samples 6.5, 6.7, 6.8 and Appendix H. Indeed, throughout the data collection period, this performance was the only occasion in which the performer’s original songs were performed at a Filipino community event. It was also the only occasion in which rock songs, albeit semi-acoustic (rather than OPM, mainstream American pop or contemporary R&B), were performed. While the semi-acoustic rock originals shared the standard verse-chorus structure of most contemporary R&B songs, they did not include the latter genre’s standard uplifting climax. Video Sample 6.9 also demonstrates how the singer’s approach to vocal performance contrasts with that employed by most Filipino Australian performers, regardless of whether OPM, contemporary R&B or mainstream American pop is performed. Throughout his performance, the singer in Video Sample 6.9 employed a range of vocal timbres and techniques (breathy, nasal, guttural, falsetto) to express the emotions in the lyrics. This contrasted sharply with the conventional performativ elements adopted by Filipino Australian singers, who express emotional intensity through vocal virtuosity. Here, Filipino Australian performance conventions were highlighted by the non-conformity of participants on the margins of the community.\(^{72}\)

In many ways, live music at Filipino Australian events is dominated by contemporary R&B and mainstream American pop music. This has been analysed in relation to the resource-limited Filipino entertainment industry that conservatively reproduces formulaic media in response to the demands of the market. Celebrity events, such as the 2011 Christmas Bazaar (featured in Video Samples 6.5, 6.7, 6.8 and 6.9), highlight the relationship between the commercialised Filipino entertainment of TFC and its stars, and the Filipino Australian diaspora.\(^{73}\) While globalisation plays

\(^{72}\) The context in which the musicians in Video Sample 6.9 primarily performed was the live music pub scene. They requested a set at the 2011 Christmas Bazaar, considering it another venue to showcase their original music for potential fans. They became aware of the event, and gained access to it, because the lead singer’s girlfriend was related to the event organiser.

\(^{73}\) The transnationalism of the Filipino entertainment industry is tied in with broader discourses about Filipino labour migration, explored through the conflicting notions of *bagong bayani* and *balikbayan* in Chapter 5 (see p. 143). The banners hanging behind the performers in Video Samples 6.5, 6.7, 6.8 and 6.9 advertised both Luzon Brokerage Corporation (LBC) express, a Filipino cargo and courier service which is particularly popular among Filipino labour migrants around the world who want to send goods back to their families and communities, and DMCI Homes, which sells upmarket, resort-style real estate in the Philippines. The banners used in the 2011 Christmas Bazaar were aimed at tourist *balikbayan* looking for luxurious Philippine holiday homes.
a significant role in the dissemination and popularity of this repertoire, the history between the Philippines and America is central to perceptions of Filipino musical engagement. Despite facilitating other Filipino Australians’ engagement with Filipino music, Portia, Roderick and Alisha all had a complex relationship with contemporary OPM and American popular music. For Portia and Roderick, Filipino music’s unimaginative mimicry of specific genres of American popular music is indicative of a loss of authentic culture. Their concerns, shared by Filipinos from across the diaspora, propose that, “Because many cultures in the Philippines seem to have embraced American culture, they have somehow lost any claims of authenticity; hence, the Philippines and Filipino institutional erasure has not only devalued Filipino culture, it has made Filipinos feel somewhat invisible” (Ignacio, 2005, p. xviii). Despite their remorse over this collective cultural submissiveness, as individuals they primarily (and perhaps contradictorily) consume American popular music. For Alisha, performing Americanised OPM, contemporary R&B and mainstream American pop is a musical expression and enactment of “going back to [her Filipino] roots” (Interview, May 16, 2012). The intricacies and contradictions in these participants’ engagement with music reflect, to differing degrees, the multilayered phenomenon of Filipino colonial mentality. In particular, connections and disconnections between musical style and notions of identity, authenticity and cultural passivity resonate with historical tensions about colonisation in the Philippines. Rafael (2000) explores America’s colonial relationship with the Philippines (see pp. 138–140 of Chapter 5) as one of benevolent assimilation74, in which:

[C]olonial rule may be a transitional stage of self-rule, [but] the self that rules itself can only emerge by way of an intimate relationship with a colonial master who sets the standards and practices of discipline to mold the conduct of the colonial subject. In other words, the culmination of colonial rule, self-government, can be achieved only when the subject has learned to colonize itself. (p. 22)

Arguably, the cultural invisibility experienced by some participants in this study is a manifestation of such self-colonisation in the Filipino and Filipino Australian music industry. At times it was clear that participants devalued Filipino culture because of this perceived willingness to assimilate. At others, the hybridity within Filipino culture was characterised as something to identify with and explore. While Roderick

74 In December 1898, President William McKinley delivered a proclamation that became known as the Benevolent Assimilation Proclamation, which addressed America’s colonial policies.
argued that Filipinos “don’t have any musical culture” (Interview, December 11, 2012), he also emphasised the recognisable cultural fusion in Filipino music:

No, our identity is basically a mixture of American, Spanish and even Chinese music. I should say so. But that’s our identity. Well, you may call it a mangled identity, yet it’s still an identity. Although it’s not distinct. . . . Well, it’s distinct in the sense that it’s mangled, it’s not pure, no? (Interview, December 11, 2012)

This ‘mangled’ Filipino identity was particularly highlighted in Within and Without, an interactive theatre show held at the Blacktown Arts Centre. Video Sample 6.10 is the news coverage of the show by Australia’s multilingual and multicultural television network, Special Broadcasting Service (SBS). As evident in the video sample, the show involved audiences being interactively immersed in a theatrical and multisensory rendition of Manila, the capital city of the Philippines. For the Filipino Australian “mastermind of the show” Paschal Berry, Within and Without provided a vehicle for celebrating his heritage and “a journey of discovering cultural identity” (WorldNewsAustralia, 2011, n.p.). When asked to summarise Filipino cultural identity as represented in the show, Paschal’s answer resonated with the description of Filipino identity as mangled:

[I]t’s essentially hybridity. . . . I think culturally and collectively Filipinos kind of just blindly move to the next century and the next century and the next century because . . . there is not this kind of unified idea about what being a Filipino is. . . . I think Philippines is kind of really nestled between the . . . postcolonial realities and the postmodern kind of need to sort of borrow from everything . . . [E]ssentially I think that’s what makes Within and Without interesting in the sense that I think that the overarching thing is that I think—that also speaks about other cultures—that we try so hard to pin down a culture but the reality is, you can’t. (Interview, August 11, 2012)

Filipino Australian celebrity events (Video Samples 6.5, 6.7 and 6.8) differ greatly from Within and Without (Video Sample 6.10) in their presentation of Filipino culture. While the former uncritically perpetuates the dominance of mestizo/a identity in contemporary Filipino popular culture, the latter consciously analyses the effects of colonial occupation on the character and spirit of Manila. On choosing music for Within and Without, Paschal said, “The culture is so anchored by music . . . So choosing music was not difficult. Choosing the right music was difficult” (Interview, August 11, 2012). The difficulties of choosing from such a wealth of music were compounded by the limitations of copyright, a restriction that was overcome through sampling. In Within and Without, sampled and featured music included signature band
music, contemporary marching band arrangements of popular music songs, OPM (with an emphasis on the ‘Manila Sound’ era), martial law-themed music and Filipino karaoke favourites, Frank Sinatra’s *My Way* and John Denver’s *Take Me Home, Country Roads*. There were also references to folk traditions through the miniature performance of the iconic Filipino folk dance, *tinikling*, as seen towards the end of Video Sample 6.10. Notably, the traditional *tinikling* folk piece was not played, nor were the traditional bamboo sticks used, during the performance.

While presenting a more panoramic view of Filipino music than Filipino celebrity events, the vast majority of the musical repertoire in *Within and Without* could be considered a reiteration of the colonial mentality within Filipino culture. After all, Filipino marching bands were considered icons of American colonial imperialism and the benevolent assimilation of the Philippines (see Talusan, 2004), Manila Sound has been characterised as unashamedly commercial and imitative (see Maceda, 2007) and the chosen karaoke favourites expose the pre-eminence of American Top 40 on Filipino radio. However, deeper analyses of all of these musical forms have demonstrated that within these genres Filipino musicians did not merely emulate foreign music. For example, it has been argued that the lyrics in Manila Sound gave it a decidedly Filipino character (Maceda, 2007), and that Filipino military bands can simultaneously embody American colonial aspirations while deconstructing “the benevolent and civilizing pretense of American racism” (Talusan, 2004, p. 52). Indeed, the emphasis on 20th century Americanisation in *Within and Without*’s soundtrack is particularly appropriate given the show’s exploration of colonial legacies on Filipino culture and identity. It was during the first half of the 20th century, an electric time in Filipino cultural history, that the most intense period of Americanisation took place alongside an equally acute era of Filipinisation. As Mojares (2006) argues, “It was in the first half of the twentieth century—more than at any other time—that ‘Filipino nationality,’ the shared sense and sentiment of *being Filipino*, was formed. It was in the American ‘gaze’ that much of what subjectively constitutes *nation* for Filipinos was formed” (p. 12). Thus, music that represents the tension between Americanisation and Filipinisation was an ideal vehicle in which Filipino culture, identity and nationalism could be negotiated and celebrated in *Within and Without*. 
Inherent Filipino Musicality

While some participants framed colonisation as leaving a legacy of benevolent assimilation in Filipino culture, and others celebrated and defined Filipino culture by its chaotic hybridity, most conformed to the notion that there is no distinctively Filipino music. Despite the supposed absence of a unique musical genre, many participants commented on the inherent musicality of the culture and peoples of the Philippines. That is, they claimed that while there is no distinctive Filipino music, Filipinos are inherently, distinctly musical. This notion was proposed by musician Olson, who produces a Filipino radio show.

The Philippines was the melting pot of many cultures (Spanish, American, etc) but unfortunately unlike other countries who’s been colonized by others, we don’t have a distinctive style that you can identify us with. For example, Samba (Brazil), Tango (Argentina) or blues (Black Americans). Having said that, Filipino’s love for music is unquestionable. Almost every Filipino household you go to have a karaoke system or a musical instrument. I think most musicians of other race regard Filipinos as either good musicians or good singers basing on the number of people that’s said that to me. (Personal Communication, August 12, 2012)

In contrast to his earlier comment that the country’s reputation for hospitality is a tourism-driven “product line” (Interview, August 11, 2012), Paschal Berry discussed the notion of inherent Filipino musicality as a cultural truism:

I think Filipinos are very comfortable with music. Only because I think . . . it’s another part of our vocabulary . . . . When you go to a place like Manila for example, people don’t think it’s mad when people spontaneously sing in the middle of the street . . . . It’s a noisy culture and part of that noise is music . . . . I think ultimately even when you look at pre-Hispanic sort of culture, Filipinos had already had this very sort of set arts . . . . it wasn’t theatre, it was actually poetry and music . . . . So in terms of how that’s progressed for us . . . . as a nation who’s in love with singers that we are kind of very well-versed in a lot of musical traditions. We’re very comfortable about a lot of musical traditions. You know, like there’s no big accident that Filipinos are in the musical theatre kind of scene. (Interview, August 11, 2012)

Paschal’s assertion that pre-Hispanic Filipino culture was imbued with music is substantiated by early ethnographic accounts of Filipino behavior, in which singing and dance permeated religious, government, civic and recreational life (Irving, 2010). The notion of Filipino musicality was built upon in the 19th century, when some European and American travelers wrote about Filipinos’ natural musical inclinations. In 1893 Joseph Earl Stevens wrote that, “out of all the peoples of the Far East the
Filipinos are the only ones possessing a natural talent for music” (quoted in Moon, 2010). Similarly, in 1903, in response to the Philippines Constabulary Band’s first concert, Dr. William P. Wilson made a speech in which he proposed that Filipinos were “biologically inclined towards music” (Talusan, 2004, p. 513). Interestingly, Wilson presupposed that Filipinos are akin to African Americans in their natural possession of musical talent, an opinion that was repeated by a Filipino music entrepreneur cited in Watkins (2009). Although in the current study Paschal was the only participant who supported the postulation of Filipino musicality with references to history, perhaps the cliché is rooted in Western perceptions of Filipino musicality such as these.

Importantly, these perspectives of Filipino musicality were regulated by what was considered musical talent and ability. In particular, Westerners in the late 19th century and early 20th century commended Filipino musicality because, in comparison to other East Asian countries, Filipinos engaged with forms of music-making that Westerners recognised and could therefore evaluate. The colonisation by Spain and the adoption of Catholicism led to an Hispanicisation of Filipino music (Irving, 2010), while the American occupation led to, among other things, participation in the marching bands that Wilson was praising (Talusan, 2004). Preserving this international reputation meant the continual performance of foreign repertoire, an approach exemplified by the shows produced at the Metropolitan Theater of Manila (Mojares, 2006). Built in 1931, the country’s national theater opened with a show including an American and Spanish play, select songs from Handel’s opera _Samson and Delilah_, and orchestral performances of Beethoven and Strauss repertoire. In the entire first decade of its existence, the Metropolitan Theater of Manila only showcased one play in a local language. The tendency for Filipino arts to cater to international audiences and adopt foreign cultural forms garnered mixed responses. As already discussed, some Westerners praised Filipino performances of recognisable musical forms as indicative of inherent musicality. For others, the seeming effortlessness and willingness with which Filipinos acquired ‘culture’ was symptomatic of a different racial characteristic, and they were considered natural imitators (see Moon, 2010; Rafael, 2000).

Imitation in Filipino culture has already been explored in relation to participants’ perceptions of the Americanisation of contemporary Filipino popular music. In particular, it has been discussed in relation to the preference for American
contemporary R&B repertoire, as well as Original Pilipino Music that incorporates the genre’s conventional elements, at local Filipino Australian events. As was mentioned in the previous section, these genres are favoured within Filipino Australian contexts because of the performative characteristics of their virtuosic vocal style. Castro (2010) examines the career trajectories of singers Charice Pempengco and Ariel Pineda, Filipino internet sensations, interrogating the same discourses about musical talent and imitation that are pertinent to the current study:

From the examples of Pempengco and Pineda, songs that were already “hits” served as vehicles for their global success. It is highly unlikely that either would have become so widely viewed if they had promoted themselves only through Filipino songs, even if the lyrics were in English, for the songs that brought them to attention were already mega-hits by famous North American singers. The styles of songs, such as “And I am Telling You” and Journey’s “Faithfully,” are not incidental to the success of Pempengco and Pineda, for these emotional ballads are designed to be show stoppers: they are designed to showcase the virtuosic singer through the use of a wide pitch range, an intensity of dynamic growth, controlled melismas and the sustaining of power in high registers. These aesthetic markers of talent and skill cross national boundaries along with musical products and become normalized in music culture, such that their successful performance translates to cultural capital both abroad and at home.

(p. 14)

In the context of the current study, it was found that Filipino Australians whose performances possessed these same aesthetic markers of musical talent and skill were highly valued for bringing cultural capital to the Filipino community generally. One of the avenues for earning such cultural capital is success in televised reality talent competitions. Certainly, Filipino appearances in shows such as Australia’s Got Talent, Australian Idol, The Voice and X Factor (as well as the sister versions of the show around the world) are routinely highlighted in the entertainment section of Filipino Australian community newspapers. A strong Filipino presence in the 2014 Australian season of X-Factor was reported upon in Ang Kalatas and Banayihan, both of which assumed a degree of ownership over the competitors on behalf of the Filipino community.

What’s going on in this year’s X-Factor? Well, the reality singing contest has been invaded by Filipino contestants, that’s what. Seven Filipinos have now gone through the boot camp in just the show’s second week on air. To top this feat, all seven contestants got a standing ovation from the four judges. Unbelievable talents from the Filipino community! (Lenard, 2014, n.p.)
2014 XFactor gave the Filipino-Australian community reasons to be proud of. Aside from the successful bid of Marlisa Punzalan for the title, other Filipino-Australian made a strong presence in the contest. (Calvert, 2014, n.p.)

Marlisa Punzalan’s campaign for the 2015 X Factor title, which she subsequently won, included appeals to the Filipino Australian community. In the week leading up to the final round, Marlisa, who lives in the Blacktown suburb of Glendenning, gave a performance at the local Westfield shopping complex in Mount Druitt. The event was covered by AK4to7: Pinoys Down Under, a news and features video broadcast produced by Ang Kalatas, and uploaded onto YouTube (Video Sample 6.11). Again, language laying communal claim to Marlisa was present throughout the broadcast, as is evident in the translated transcript of the Video Sample 6.11 found in Appendix I. Importantly, this discourse was preserved not only by the news reporters, but also by Marlisa’s mother, who was featured in the video.

I’m very happy that Marlisa is in the top three, and I’m sure that she is going to make you all proud. Thank you so much for supporting her. All the organisations of the Filipino community, thank you for getting behind her. We are so happy, and this is our pride. This is not just our success, it’s the whole Filipino community, Filipino Australian community. Thank you so much. (AK4to7, 2014, n.p.)

Video Sample 6.11 also reveals the support Marlisa received from the wider Blacktown community outside of the Filipino Australian diaspora. Marlisa being championed as a Blacktown local talent tied in with the narrative of her success promoted by X Factor. In particular, advertisements for the show depicted Marlisa as an underprivileged migrant from the ‘wrong side of the tracks’ whose talent empowered her to ‘make it to the top’.

Notably, the Filipino Australian community’s support of Marlisa’s success permeated throughout the broader Filipino diaspora, as her subsequent album reached number one in the Philippines itself. Speaking about the “home town concert” she did at Rooty Hill RSL on November 25, shortly after winning X Factor, Marlisa referred generally to “perform[ing] for everyone and thank[ing] them for giving me this opportunity” (Stevens, 2014, n.p.). However, the Filipino Australian demographic of the target audience was particularly evident in that the chosen support act—Filipino

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75 The winner of the 2015 season of X Factor, whose father is a Filipino musician, received similar attention in both international and Australian Philippine media (for example Burgonio, 2015; “Cyrus Villanueva wins”, 2015; “Fil-Aussie Cyrus”, 2015; Filio, 2015; García, 2015). Several articles highlighted that Filipino Australian contenders won the competition two years in a row.
Australian musician and dancer, Brian Lorenzo—had already enjoyed success in the community.

At the end of Video Sample 6.11, Marlisa’s performance of Harold Arlen’s *Somewhere Over the Rainbow* bears the aesthetic markers of musical talent discussed by Castro (2010), with its emphasis on showcasing the 14-year-old singer’s wide vocal range, dynamic expression, controlled melismas and powerful high register. In the current study, the ability to perform show-stopping ballads was a recurring theme in parental recognition and encouragement of participants’ singing. This is evident in Alisha’s (Video Samples 6.5 and 6.6), Carmela’s (Video Sample 6.7) and Delila’s (Video Sample 6.8) accounts of how they started performing.

I’ve been singing since probably I was four. My dad was a singer and he was part of the University of Philippines concert chorus, which is their kind of their choir group thing. So [I] got a lot of training from him. And it was just something I really enjoyed doing from such a young age and so from then on I would also sing at churches and little family gatherings . . . I remember I would just sing things like Celine Dion . . . I guess my parents realised how much I really liked it, and thought it was a bit of talent to train and nurture. (Alisha, Interview, May 16, 2012)

Well I think I’ve been interested in singing since you know, since [I was] born. . . ever since I was just younger it was just, you know Filipino families with their karaoke? It was just joining in with the karaoke and then real performing came up when I was in Year 3. My first one was a school competition. . . . my main one is R&B definitely, like Alicia Keys. But then I also sing Whitney Houston and ballads. (Carmela, Interview, May 27, 2012)

But I didn’t actually, in the first time I sang, I didn’t take it as a serious thing . . . And then we went to this Filo shop, I mean Filo restaurant in Mount Druitt. Yeah, Doonside or Mount Druitt. So I did and then there’s this girl that discovered me and was like, “If you’re interested you can join,” blah blah blah. But I kept saying, “No,” but my mum said yes. So she pushed me through. [I sing] Mostly Beyonce’s, Whitney Houston’s [songs]. (Delila, Interview, 15 May, 2012)

Family and community encouraged Alisha, Carmela and Delila in their aptitude for singing because of their potential to reproduce the hallmarks of musical talent exemplified by divas Celine Dion, Beyonce, Alicia Keys and Whitney Houston. By performing these artists’ songs at Filipino community events, Alisha, Carmela and Delila perpetuate the notion that a certain type of prodigious musicality is an intrinsically Filipino characteristic. Further, as evidenced by the response to successful Filipino participation in 2014 season X Factor, the notion of Filipino musical talent is
one that the Filipino Australian community wishes to impress upon the broader Australian society. In addition to supporting individual talents in televised competitions, the Filipino Australian community aims to make this impression through broadening the audience of local community events. At the time of interviewing Arthur, chairman of the Filipino Lesbian and Gay Community (FLAGCOM), his organisation was making concerted efforts to move from Filipino-exclusive events to the mainstream. He described the objectives of FLAGCOM, which was involved with a number of observed Filipino events in the current study, as follows.

Organising events, we train talents. We discover talents. That’s why we put up talents for Quest, Model Quest, dancers. . . . Now of course we focus on Filipino events. . . . Then we thought of restructuring our organisation into more of going into the mainstream, like showing off to the Australian community the talents and the expertise of the Filipinos in terms of entertainment. (Interview, November 7, 2011)

According to Espinosa (2012b), the Filipino Australian community’s cultural contributions represent attempts to, “successfully embe[d] ‘Filipinoness’ to an acceptable degree in white society” (p. 361). Certainly, there are parallels between Espinosa’s comment and Arthur’s rationale for the community’s focus on developing Filipino youth talent, “for the obvious reason that we gain more acceptability in the wider Australian community, otherwise they will not listen” (Interview, November 7, 2011). In this way, FLAGCOM’s aim to garner respect and cultural capital for Filipinos as valid and valuable members within Australia’s multicultural landscape was pursued through musical performance.

While it was clear that older members of the community sought to capitalise on their youths’ talents, the young performers who mentioned their talent as advocacy did so in relation to endorsing the region of Blacktown, rather than the Filipino Australian community. This happened most directly in focus group interviews with members of two very disparate ensembles: Blacktown’s community marching band, Blacktown City Community Band (BCCB), and a local hip hop dance group. Although not strictly limited to Filipino Australian membership, both of these ensembles consisted almost entirely of young Filipino Australian participants. While these participants explicitly recognised the significantly Filipino demographic of their ensembles, they clearly expressed a responsibility for exhibiting Blacktown, rather than Filipino Australian, talent.
Oh well since we’re a majority Filipino, we learn a lot of songs that mean a lot to the Filipino community. So we appeal to that kind of audience which is majority of Blacktown. . . . It’s good to show that there’s something different in Blacktown rather than the bad news and there is talent in Blacktown and it’s something good to show. (Simone, Interview, December 16, 2012)

Rafael: Like people from here, around the Western [Sydney region], like lots of people dance. Even lots of Filo people dance, as well. Like most of the crews around here are Filipino.

Euan: But we, our crew, is based in Blacktown. So we call ourselves Blacktown Boys only for that reason. To represent Blacktown community, I really want that. . . . Because as I told you earlier in the interview, that Blacktown was a bad, bad area.
Rafael: So we have to put a good name.
Euan: Yeah put a good name to it. So there’s no graffiti like, it’s a positive, positive, everyone thinks for positive in Blacktown.
(Hip Hop Crew Interview, June 25, 2012)

In both of these interview excerpts the participants drew links between the type of music and dance their ensembles perform, and characteristic Filipino engagement with these forms. However, while participants attributed their ensemble’s repertoire to Filipino musical (and dance) interests, representation was discussed exclusively in relation to changing the negative perception of Blacktown.

Throughout observations and interviews it was clear that impressive musical performances by young Filipino Australians were appropriated by the broader Filipino Australian community to perpetuate the notion of an inherent Filipino musicality. However, the aspiration to represent Filipinos as musically talented was not encountered in the young musicians themselves, some of whom made a point of using their music or dance skills to promote a positive image of Blacktown. Regardless of who benefitted from the youths’ displays of musicality or dancing prowess, the assumption underlying discussions about talent was that the youths must engage with musical forms through which expertise could be broadly evaluated. Participants engaged with American music in the form of contemporary hip hop dances, marching band arrangements, and show-stopping contemporary R&B ballads, in order to showcase their aptitude through conspicuous aesthetic markers. The propensity for Filipino Australians to produce music and dance performances that can be easily consumed by Western audiences reflects the long history of cultural assimilation in the Philippines, in which Filipinos have impressively reproduced colonial musical forms in order to preserve their reputation as inherently musical.
Musical Expressions of Filipino Nationalism

Despite their predilection for American and Americanised popular music, throughout the observation period Filipino Australians were compelled to perform traditional and patriotic dances or songs on two types of occasions: events that were designed to celebrate the multiculturalism of Australia’s society, and Philippine Independence Day ceremonies. In this section, both types of celebrations will be examined in order to illuminate how participants experienced Filipino nationalism, and the factors that determined the nature and form of its musical expression. First, intergenerational engagement with folk and nationalist music will be considered, with a focus on personal and sociocultural motivations for detachment or participation. Finally, repertoire will be analysed in relation to musicological and performative elements of specific observed performances, elucidating the way Filipino nationalism was generally framed in the context of Blacktown.

Engaging with Nationalist Music for Presentational Purposes

In considering multicultural celebrations, it was evident that the cultural priorities of the Filipino Australian community differed from some other ethnic minority communities in that the maintenance of traditional cultures was not highly prized. This contrast was most evident in an anecdote relayed by Arthur, about a multicultural event in Blacktown that he organised in tandem with Russian and Serbian community organisers.

Now I’ve collaborated with . . . the Serbians with their costumes and everything. While the Filipinos, the kids that I asked to sang on that event, they did R&B [and] music that you can hear on the radio. . . . But those Russians and [Serbians], you could see 20 kids in the same costume, very traditional costume doing their traditional songs and dances. . . . They were asking about that. “Don’t you have any traditional songs and dances?” And I told them, “If I bring you traditional folk songs and dances, you will see old people doing those things. Not the young people.” . . . but I don’t want to bring old people there. Performing, you know, versus the young kids performing . . . Yes, their traditional dances. It doesn’t really match. . . . Yeah [Filipino youths] are not interested to do the tinikling or the salakot dance. It’s kind of awkward for them to do those dances. (Interview, November 7, 2011)

Although the Filipino Australian community aims to contribute to broader Australian society through demonstrated musicality and entertainment, Arthur’s comparison between Filipino youths and their Russian and Serbian counterparts suggests that Filipinos have relatively little to offer to Australia’s ‘ethnic’ markets.
This is supported by Espinosa’s (2013a) findings that Filipino migrants’ capacity to integrate into Australian society has resulted in less commodification of their culture than has taken place in some other ethnic minority communities. Because of the lack of Filipino restaurants, shops, and traditional, artistic performances in Australia’s multicultural arena, Filipino culture is not particularly familiar to, or sought after, by the cosmopolitan patrons of ‘Other’ cultures. At the same time, the general disconnect between the current study’s Filipino Australian participants and what might constitute their traditional music means that there is no deep desire, on their part, to share or be understood through such customs.

Arthur’s contention that local Filipino Australian youths are not particularly interested in traditional songs and dances was verified by the current study. In interviews and observations it was clear that Filipino folk music and traditional dances played no meaningful part in the young participants’ lives either at home or at communal celebrations such as weddings, christenings, or birthday parties. Despite the absence of music and dance customs in Filipino Australian youths’ everyday lives, however, there was some evidence of their inquisitiveness about traditional dances as a means of multicultural capital. Even so, the level of interest that participants displayed was limited, and to some degree endorsed Arthur’s suggestion that traditional dances are considered awkward for youths to engage in. This was exemplified during discussions about Filipino participation in school Harmony Days. An initiative of the Australian government, Harmony Day has been celebrated across Australian schools, community groups, organisations and governmental agencies since 1999. On March 21 of each year, institutions organise activities in which their members share food, music, art, and stories from their heritage cultures, as a medium for facilitating “cultural respect for everyone who calls Australia home—from the traditional owners of this land to those who have come from many countries around the world” (Australian Government Department of Social Services, 2015, n.p.). It was in relation to this annual event that two participants discussed their minimal association with the tinikling, a dance from the region of Leyte in which dancers aim to avoid catching their feet between bamboo sticks that are rhythmically clapped together, at an increasingly accelerated rate, by other performers. Despite their lack of knowledge of aspects of traditional folk culture, the young participants’ vague familiarity with this dance is unsurprising as it is central to the canon of Filipino folk
dances (Mojares, 2006), and is perhaps the most recognisable and stereotypically Filipino dance (David & Okazaki, 2010; Rockell, 2012), sometimes even being referred to as the national dance (Castro, 2011). For reference, Video Sample 6.12 shows Banayihan, “the most prominent folkloric music and dance group of the Philippines” (Castro, 2011, p. 62), performing the *tinikling*. In the participants’ comments, it was clear that they valued the collective multicultural capital brought about by performing at school Harmony Day events, while also being personally detached from such folk traditions.

At the time of data collection, Filipino Australian Marcus was undertaking a high school English teaching practicum at a private Catholic school in Rooty Hill. During his practicum, the school celebrated Harmony Day, which involved, “everyone kind of coming together, watching these different performances and experiencing these different cultures and how they represented themselves musically or through performance” (Interview, June 8, 2012). In particular, Marcus mentioned dances by Sudanese, Indian, New Zealander, and Filipino students, most of which were performed to music on backing track CDs. Marcus recognised the Filipino group’s dance as the *tinikling*, although he did not feel in any way affiliated with the performance or the culture being represented.

Probably that I didn’t relate to it. Because one of the students had noticed I was Filipino, and they’d asked me, “Oh are you going to do it?” and I’m like, “Oh nah, because I don’t really know how to.” So I suppose yeah, there’s that kind of feeling that you can’t relate to it, or you don’t know what it is, because you haven’t experienced it or you don’t want to. . . . Probably just because I don’t, I’m not really interested in that aspect. . . . I don’t think I related to it on any other level than the other performances. (Interview, June 8, 2012)

Aurelio, a Filipino Australian resident of Blacktown in his early 20s, was a resident of a Blacktown suburb and went to school in the Blacktown region from Years 2 to 10.

Aurelio: Well actually there was a girl that has [performed *tinikling* at Harmony Day] in the past. And we were planning to do it but then it just got, there was hardly any time to practise on that *tinikling* dance . . . So I was really interested in that, because I did watch that as a young child, a couple of times.

Sam: In the Phils?

Aurelio: No, here in Australia. So actually round here.

Sam: You would’ve wanted to learn it?
Aurelio: No I would’ve loved, oh maybe, but like to watch it mainly. But I remember watching it as a child; it was really cool to watch. And I wasn’t shocked but I was just in awe because I didn’t know that that was part of my identity, I guess, or where I came from. And I thought it was cool. So she was going to plan to do it, and stuff, but it just [fell] through because of time and practice. . .

(Interview, December 12, 2012)

In both of these examples, the Filipino Australian participants showed superficial support for Filipino Harmony Day performances but were not very personally invested. Marcus appreciated the socially integrative elements of such performances, claiming that, “it also means that students that see it kind of gain an understanding and a respect for that kind of culture and . . . so the students that wouldn’t be performing, they could relate to what they were seeing,” (Interview, June 8, 2012). However, he also professed to feeling the same remote level of affinity with the Filipino tinikling as he did with the Sudanese, Indian and New Zealander dances. Aurelio showed more curiosity towards the tinikling, although, like Marcus, his interest was limited to observing, rather than participating in, the dance. When asked why Filipino youths like himself seemed to be relatively uninterested in traditional cultures, Aurelio answered, “I don’t think it’s really placed upon the children to encourage that way. . . . So I think a lot of Filipino backgrounds are not linked to that, that strongly” (Interview, December 12, 2012). Aurelio’s assertion that Filipino children are uninterested in their heritage culture because of their parents not being strongly linked to their backgrounds resonates with Roderick’s comment that Filipino folk music is not “deeply rooted” (Interview, December 11, 2012; see p. 154).

While there was some agreement among participants that Filipino Australian parents do not prioritise the transmission of Filipino music, there was also evidence that, where such engagement did take place among youths, it was often for the benefit of the older generations in the community. This outward motivation for youths’ engagement with Filipino music was evident in the BCCB, the local big band in which Filipino Australian youths (among a minority of non-Filipino Australian peers) learn Filipino folk music and nationalist Filipino music in order to perform at community events. As opposed to the common and popular celebrity events discussed earlier, the BCCB performs at more commemorative occasions such as Philippine Independence Day celebrations. The band’s arranger, conductor and organiser, Joaquin, attributed the band members’ connection with Filipino music to its reception in the wider
community.

But they know how to play the song *Bahay Kubo, Leron Leron Sinta*, something like that. And they play the national anthem of the Philippines as well. . . And when we play the Christmas like *Ang Pasko Ay Sumapit*, that’s a popular Christmas folk song, and then some Filipino marches folk song, some of them, because maybe they miss those music, and they haven’t heard it for a long time, some of the grandma or Lola approach us and crying and hug us. And, “thank you for being with us. You make us happy because of the music.” (Interview, December 13, 2012)

Roderick Manila remarked that folk music and dances are only practised by “old people” (Interview, December 11, 2012) in the Filipino community, a comment that, when compared with Joaquin’s description of BCCB performances above, reveals the complex relationship between Filipino folk music and the distinct generations in the Filipino Australian community. Importantly, the BCCB consists primarily of Filipino Australian children and teenagers. Thus, their regular performances of Filipino folk music contradict Roderick’s assertion that only old people perform folk music. However, in Joaquin’s description there is also a very clear sense in which BCCB’s performances of folk music are much more meaningful to grandparent-aged audience members than anybody else, including the performers themselves. Indeed, throughout interviews with Joaquin and band members Simone and Giselle, it was clear that the performers derived pleasure from Filipino folk and nationalist repertoire not because of their own personal attachment to it, but because of its impact upon the audience.

While the BCCB youths’ participation in Philippine Independence Day proceedings disproved Arthur’s suggestion that only “old people” perform Filipino folk music, their involvement was in no way representative of the younger generation’s participation in such musical activities. In contrast with the high youth participation in celebrity events discussed earlier in the chapter, the BCCB was the only young ensemble to perform at the 2012 Blacktown flag raising ceremony. In similar events that were observed throughout the data collection period, folk music and dance were overwhelmingly performed by Filipino Australians well beyond young adulthood. However, it is important to note that the older generations’ experiences of nostalgia and sentimentality about Filipino songs and dances do not

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76 Audio Sample 6.1 features the BCCB performance of *Leron Leron Sinta* at the 2012 Philippine Independence Day celebration in Blacktown. The folk song, and this specific performance, will be analysed in the next section of this chapter.
necessarily equate with an everyday familiarity with such repertoire. On all of the occasions when dance ensembles were observed, it was apparent that one or two of the dancers were leading the choreography, with which the others were unfamiliar and clearly had learnt specifically for such presentations. Ariel, the organiser and conductor of a Filipino Australian senior choir called Agapi, admitted that she does not listen to a lot of Filipino music despite its evocative effects.

But I don’t consciously go looking for the Filipino music. . . . In fact, I think in the last probably 5 years, 6 years that I’ve been involved with the seniors, I’ve learned a few more Tagalog songs which I didn’t know, or maybe wasn’t interested much at all,. . . Well I mean, when you’re away from your own country, you tend to, this is talking for myself, tend to be homesick sometimes. And I guess a Tagalog song would be one area that could help us soothe the feelings, the nostalgic feelings that we have about our country where we came from. And listening to the Tagalog song would actually help us get over the challenges of being homesick. Right? And at the same time, as I said earlier, it’s the fact that I’ve been involved with the seniors, and that we get invited to some Filipino functions, so we really needed to learn Filipino songs to be able to sing in these functions. So I guess it’s not by choice either that I changed the direction of the music that I listen to. (Interview, December 17, 2012)

In the excerpt above, it is clear that Ariel learns Filipino songs specifically for the purpose of performing them at community events. Her suggestion that she changed her music listening interests “not by choice” was at odds with how tenderly she spoke about the experience of singing the songs, as she later described, “there’s that feeling, a special feeling, when you’re actually singing it that you. It’s hard to explain. But you feel so connected with the country where you came from” (Interview, December 17, 2012). The seeming contradiction between Ariel’s personal disengagement with Filipino repertoire, and the depth of feelings that those songs nevertheless evoke in her, resonates with the notion that Philippine nationalism is by nature discrepant, as will be explored in the following section.

The Fundamental Irony of Filipino Nationalism, In Music

Promulgated as a celebration of the 114th Philippine Independence Day, the 2012 flag raising ceremony in Blacktown (held on June 16, 2012) was officially a commemoration of the country’s declaration of sovereignty from Spain in June 1898. In line with this, speakers paid tribute to Jose Rizal, arguably the country’s uncontested national hero, who was a martyr to the cause of independence from Spain. However, contextual, musicological and performative elements of several repertoire
items included in this event corresponded with a much later time in the history of the Philippines, conceptualising Filipino independence anachronistically. In this section, an analysis of significant performances and musical material from the 2012 flag raising ceremony will be provided, which reflect what Rafael (2000) characterises as the “fundamental irony of Filipino nationalism” (p. 13):

The tragic—and therefore ironic—relationship between revolution and counterrevolution forms one of the most enduring motifs in Philippine history. . . the history of Filipino nationalism shows it to be inhabited and strangely enabled by the very forces it has sought to distinguish and expel from itself. Seeking to repossess and expropriate colonialism’s legacies, nationalism also finds itself possessed by its spectral returns. . . . It has engendered militant resistance and remarkable acts of sacrifice and courage, just as it has provided an alibi for self-serving collaboration with new regimes and the systematic repression of those opposed to them. (pp. 12–13)

This fundamental irony resists the reification of a single, unifying national narrative, such as often forms the basis of nation-building projects (see Eriksen, 2010; Smith, 2010). This will be demonstrated in outlining how the content of the lyrics, style and context of musical performances from the flag raising ceremony embodied diverse and at times dissenting explications of Filipino national identity.

The colonisation of folk music.

The opening musical item of the flag raising ceremony was the folk song Leron Leron Sinta, performed by BCCB (see Audio Sample 6.1). Like Bahay Kubo (the other Filipino folk song Joaquin mentioned teaching his band on p. 177), Leron Leron Sinta is considered symbolic of Filipino heritage and is often taught to Filipino children in elementary school. The lyrics of the songs (see Appendix J) construct an image of the Philippines as rural and conservative. Through this imagery, the first performance of the flag raising ceremony evoked a quintessential, romanticised image of Filipino culture around which Filipino Australians from various backgrounds could feel nostalgia. At the same time, the performative and musical elements of the piece strongly embodied the country’s cultural colonisation, superficially conflicting with the notion of Philippine Independence being commemorated. Indeed, the folk song Leron Leron Sinta was constructed as a polka, a European dance form introduced to the Philippines by Spanish colonisers (Hila, 1991). Some renditions of the song emphasise the polka and European origins of this folk music, such as the arrangement recorded by Nora Aunor in 1972, which can be heard in Audio Sample 6.2. In this
audio sample, the singer is accompanied by what is arguably a quintessentially Filipino folk ensemble, the plucked string rondalla. Despite the ensemble having “come to be viewed as a kind of national symbol” (Rockell, 2012, p. 7), its European influences are evident in the use of historically Spanish plucked-chordophone instruments that have been appropriated in the folk music of various other post-colonial, Hispanic countries (see Appendix K for the instruments that constitute a full rondalla ensemble). In the Audio Sample 6.2 arrangement, the dotted rhythm at the beginning of each phrase of the main melody, together with the rest in the last beat of each 2-bar phrase, denotes the polka ‘hop’. The rhythmic effect highlights the quick tempo and duple time metre characteristic of polka. Both instrumentalists and vocalists foreground phrasing in their performances, with the string players’ frequent alternation between sustained tremolo and pizzicato matched by the singer’s juxtaposition between legato and staccato. These expressive techniques evoke a lightness that matches the light-footedness required for the corresponding folk dance. These musical characteristics were absent from the BCCB’s performance in Audio Sample 6.1, which followed march music conventions. Western-styled marching bands and songs were introduced to the Philippines during Spanish colonisation, and the already everyday familiarity with such ensembles and repertoire across the country (including in rural areas) was reinforced during the American era. As is evident in Audio Sample 6.1, the distinctly lilting dotted rhythm at the beginning of Leron Leron Sinta’s melodic phrases are straightened to conform to the regulatory rhythms typical of duple time American march music. The enunciation of the phrasing is also altered, with less rhythmic detachment and frequent sustained notes disabling the lightness of more traditional renditions. This density is reiterated in the added march-style break sections, which are performed marcato. In this way, the music performance itself embodied the complexities underlying the sovereignty and nationalism being commemorated. It was striking that post-colonial, independent Philippines was paid tribute through a folk song constructed under Spanish colonisation, played in a style that is a legacy of American colonisation.

A simultaneous commemoration of Marcos and anti-Marcos sentiments.

At the 2012 flag raising ceremony, Ariel’s choir Agapi performed two songs (see excerpts on Video Sample 6.13). The performance included renditions of “the theme songs, signature songs, of two very well known eras in Philippine history. Magkaisa is
the theme song of People’s Power during the revolution in 1986, and Bagong Lipunan is the theme song of the martial law in the Philippines in 1972” (Ariel, Observation, June 16, 2012). As Ariel outlined in this introduction, the songs are symbolic of two struggles for Filipino nationalism that were historically at odds with each other77. Bagong Lipunan78 was commissioned by Imelda Marcos to project the ideals of the Marcos regime’s New Society (see p. 139). Composed by Felipe de Leon, with lyrics by Levi Celerio, it became the anthem for the martial law era (Castro, 2011; Navarro, 2008). The stirring march was written to arouse patriotism in the Filipino people, eliciting a sense of hope towards the changes promised by the New Society. Given the political context, the song’s lyrics suggested that the time had come for Filipino people to awaken from a long age of darkness brought about by socioeconomic and political problems. It was a call to rally behind the growth and prosperity that Marcos’ leadership claimed to represent. Magkaisa (Unite) stands for sentiments in direct opposition to Bagong Lipunan, symbolising the People Power revolution that eventually overthrew the Marcos regime. In contrast to the Marcos propaganda manifested in Bagong Lipunan, Magkaisa (written by Tito Sotto and Homer Flores) inspired the Filipino people to unite against the Marcos dictatorship and reclaim what was taken from them (Navarro, 2008).

In this performance, Agapi espoused contradictory perspectives of Filipino nationalism. The choir did not use the opportunity to champion particular political views regarding Filipino independence, indicating an objectivity summed up in Ariel’s comments to the audience after the performance, “Now the songs that we sang does not represent the sentiments of our group, okay. Just to clarify. It’s history anyway” (Observation, June 16, 2012). This speculative consideration of Filipino history, in which conflicting political convictions were presented alongside each other, reflects the broader incongruity and multiplicity in Filipino nationalism. The objective presentation of nationalist songs was highlighted by the choir’s use of military salutes in their performance of Bagong Lipunan (see Video Sample 6.13), despite the aversion to the martial law period that the gestures so strongly evoke. The performers were willing to represent the martial law period as a legitimate and significant era of the country’s history worth commemorating, regardless of their personal feelings and

77 The lyrics for both songs are shown in the original language, and as translated to English, in Appendix L.
78 Bagong Lipunan (Hymn of the New Society) is also known as Bagong Pagsilang (March of the New Society). The title Bagong Lipunan is used here because it was used by the participants.
the perception of the martial law period in Filipino national consciousness, embodying the wholly functional and iconic nature of their performance. Importantly, the Filipino flag was carried and waved by the chorister in the middle of the stage in both songs, reiterating the presentation of these contradictory songs as equally worthy of acknowledgement within historical accounts of Filipino nationalism. This non-partisan, historical approach differed greatly from the single nationalist narrative exhibited at all South Sudanese events, as explored in Chapter 4.

The Filipino Australian senior choir’s nonpartisan presentation of contradictory nationalist messages was manifest in the musical characteristics of the repertoire itself. That the Marcos state-sanctioned nationalist message was represented in a march was unsurprising given that, together with hymns, the form constitutes the majority of all national anthems (National anthems, n.d.). Bagong Lipunan features several musical characteristics which reiterate the notion that the Marcos’ New Society was affiliated with true Filipino patriotism. In addition to the very obvious association implied by the melodic quotation of the national anthem at the end of Bagong Lipunan (see Castro, 2011, p. 131), these include the original song’s conformation to march music conventions (Clark, 2009; Schwandt & Lamb, n.d.): strong repetitive rhythm and uncomplicated style in duple time and ‘quick march’ tempo; a simple structure, including introductory fanfare, break strains played marcato; and an emphatic final da capo strain played allargando. The choir’s appropriation of these elements is evident in the performance excerpt in Video Sample 6.13. Here, the guitarist uses palm muting strumming techniques to dampen the resonance of his guitar, approximating the clipped, driving beat definitive of marches. The choir’s singing complements the accompanist’s percussive focus, as the lyrics are performed in unison, with a straightforward tone throughout, and dynamic levels varying across (rather than within) individual sections of the song.

In contrast to the top-down, patriotic nationalism embodied in the march, the musical characteristics of Magkaisa symbolise a much more personal perspective of

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79 Some of the musical differences between the two pieces were diminished by the limitations of the accompanying instrumentation, and are otherwise difficult to hear because of the quality of the recording. Ariel commented on the widespread noisiness of Filipino functions in relation to audience chatter throughout speeches and performances. Her observations were supported by the events observed throughout the data collection period, with the only examples of focused audience engagement occurring during performances in which audiences were compelled by sentiment to join in with performers. These examples will be explored in a later section of the chapter.

80 Socially this idea was fostered through the mandatory performance of Bagong Lipunan every day at schools, directly following a rendition of the national anthem.
love of country. Here, the authoritativeness of the march-style anthem is replaced by the emotive appeals of OPM. The general appeal of this style of popular music was discussed at length earlier in the chapter (see p. 156 onwards), and Virna Lisa’s 1986 original recording of *Magkaisa* exhibited many of its contemporary American R&B influences, including the song’s lush, synthesised orchestral arrangement and the dynamic, textural and harmonic escalation into an emotional peak, which is further heightened by the showcasing of the singer’s powerful vocals and impressive range. In the senior choir’s performance of *Magkaisa*, the singers draw attention to the emotionalism of the lyrics through much more nuanced phrasing and gradual dynamic variations (within each phrase and section) than was used in the unvarying vigour of the rhythmic-focused *Bagong Lipunan*. At the beginning of the excerpt in Video Sample 6.13, Ariel sings solo, using vibrato and subtle shading in her vocal tone to accentuate the lyricism of the melody. The accompanying guitarist lets notes resonate as he arpeggiates chords, drawing attention to the horizontally structured elements of the melody-focused song, as opposed to his focus on strumming regulated, drum-like beats in *Bagong Lipunan*. While these musical characteristics are not internationally associated with patriotism in the way that marches are, *Magkaisa*’s designation as the anthem of People Power’s grassroots nationalist sentiments is unsurprising in the context of the Philippines. It resonates with the political significance of the *kundiman* genre, as elucidated by Nicolasora (2014) in relation to the song *Jocelynang Baliwag*:

“It is of curious note how a song of gentle lyricism and of moderately slow tempo became associated with uprisings . . . It was contended that Filipino composers find haunting, melancholic music suitable for their revolutionary spirits” (p. 37). This contention will be explored in further detail in the final section of the chapter.

**Love songs as anthems for uprisings.**

Other politically inspired musical repertoire that was staged in the 2012 flag raising ceremony included renditions of *Bayan Ko* (My Country), *Pilipinas Kong Mahal* (My Beloved Philippines), *Pag-Ibig Sa Timubuang Lupa* (Love for the Motherland) and *Ailing Pag-ibig Pa?* (Is there any greater love?). Although these songs differed in the degrees to which they were related to Philippine independence from Spain, themes of struggle and freedom recur throughout the songs, promoting a general narrative of the Filipino experience and identity expressed through the sentiment of love. Further, with the exception of *Pilipinas Kong Mahal*, these politically themed songs all constitute
examples of the love song-related, Philippine genre kundiman. Often traced to the precolonial dance-war song kumintang, stylistically the archetypal kundiman features triple metre time signature, two tonalities (minor–major, often modulating to the parallel major key signature), rubato treatment of resolution points, the recurrence of previous kundiman melodies and themes, symbolic imagery throughout the lyrics, and a yearning quality in the melody (Nicolasora, 2014). All of these elements support the function of the kundiman, which has been described as, “a song of passionate and profound love that translates effectively into patriotic and nationalist music, an analogy made doubly potent when one compares unrequited love with the yearning for independence against tremendous odds” (Castro, 2011, p. 181).

Such passionate and profound nationalist love is evident in Pag-Ibig Sa Tinubuang Lupa (Love for the Motherland) and Aling Pag-ibig Pa? (Is there any greater love?), the two songs performed at the 2012 flag raising ceremony that were most directly related to the independence of the Philippines from Spain. Both of the songs were based around the “immortal” (Rosario-Braid & Tuazon, 1999, p. 295) nationalist poem Pag-Ibig Sa Tinubuang Lupa, published in 1896 and attributed to revolutionary leader Andres Bonfacio, considered a national hero for his contribution to Filipino independence from Spain. The poem around which the two songs were based asserts that love for one’s native country is the deepest, purest and noblest kind of love a person can experience. Although it was originally published before Philippine Independence in 1898, the poem was popularised during the 1960s and 1970s when it was performed in kundiman style by Inang Laya81 during anti-Marcos protests (Rodell, 2002). This sung adaptation of the poem remains extremely popular, so it was unsurprising that the kundiman version was sung by a senior choir at the 2012 Philippine Independence Day celebration in Blacktown alongside Aling Pag-ibig Pa? (Is there any greater love?)82 (the lyrics of both songs can be seen in Appendix L). The continued musical recontextualisation and appropriation of Bonfacio’s poem indicates that the message in the song is significant not only because of its historical meaning, but also because of its immediate relevance to contemporary Filipino identity. Maceda (2008) argues that Bonifacio’s writings have had a “lasting impact on the Filipino

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81 Inang Laya’s song version of Pag-Ibig Sa Tinubuang Lupa sets stanzas 1, 5, 10, 13, 25 and 28 of the original poem to music. The first stanza is repeated at the end of the song. Bonifacio’s original poem has 28 stanzas.

82 Released in 1986 on the album Handog ng Pilipino sa Mundo (The Filipino’s Gift to the World), was sung by Pat Castillo, with the lyrics written by Pete Lacaba and music composed by Achacoso.
popular consciousness” (p. 47), as evident in its influences on mass social movements and the current discourses surrounding issues of social justice in the Philippines. These performances were particularly relevant to the 2012 Philippine Independence Day celebration in Blacktown because of the event’s focus on efforts towards continued nation-building. Many of the speeches opening the event drew audience attention to the need for the diasporic community to undertake nation-building through contributing to the economy of the Philippines. In such a context, songs about patriotic love as the ultimate love were particularly pertinent.

The love for one’s country was given further attention through *Pilipinas Kong Mahal* (My Beloved Philippines), a patriotic song that was performed twice during the event. Composed in 1931 by Francisco Santiago, who has been referred to as the father of nationalism in Filipino music (see Castro, 2011; Manuel, 1997), the lyrics of *Pilipinas Kong Mahal* position the Philippines as the “one and only” object of the singer’s love, which inspires a dutiful desire to protect the country (see Appendix L). Written during the US colonial period, *Pilipinas Kong Mahal* is one of the most recognised patriotic songs from the Philippines, and is often taught to children during elementary school. The widespread familiarity with the song was evident during its first rendition in the 2012 Philippines Independence celebration, in which it was spontaneously sung by the audience during the performance of a different, though related, song, *Bayan Ko*83. The latter song, originally directed at the US colonial government, symbolises the Philippine people’s desire for freedom by likening the country to a caged bird (see Appendix L). Although the Philippines had officially gained independence by the Marcos era, the poignantly revolutionary stirrings of the song led to its eventual adoption as an anthem of the 1986 People Power movement (Castro, 2011; Maceda, 2007; Sidel, 2012). The song had gained mass popularity in the 1980s through folk rock musician Freddie Aguilar’s *kundiman* recording, which he performed during the 1986 EDSA84, espousing its use as an anti-Marcos anthem. It was this version that the Filipino Australian *rondalla* group played at the 2012 Philippine Independence celebration (Audio Sample 6.3). Of particular importance is that in Freddie Aguilar’s recording, the instrumental bridge of *Bayan Ko* quotes the

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83 *Bayan Ko* was composed in 1928 by Constanzio de Guzman, with lyrics by José Corazon de Jesus.
84 In 1986, a busy highway in Manila called Epifanio de los Santos Avenue (EDSA) became the site of the first People Power revolutions. It has since become the location for the staging of later iterations of People Power. Music was central to the first People Power/EDSA, in which protestors sang en masse and street concerts were staged by musicians who supported the cause (see Castro, 2011).
melody of Pilipinas Kong Mahal. Thus the rondalla leader, who had led the
Blacktown audience of Audio Sample 6.3 in singing Bayan Ko, had inadvertently
invoked an informal performance of Pilipinas Kong Mahal. He did not join in with
their singing of the latter, and the rondalla played the song as arranged. As planned,
the leader continued with the words of Bayan Ko after the instrumental, which the
audience steadily followed. At the closing of the song, the instruments again quoted
Pilipinas Kong Mahal, prompting the audience to revert effortlessly to singing its
lyrics.

Although they had already unceremoniously performed Pilipinas Kong Mahal
earlier on in the proceedings, the audience was still enthusiastic about its official
staging by a senior choir, accompanied by an acoustic guitar. Similarly to the opening
phrases of the rondalla ensemble’s Bayan Ko performance, the beginning of the
choir’s Pilipinas Kong Mahal was met by applause. The choir’s presentation of
Pilipinas Kong Mahal also included some verses of the English version (lyrics in
Appendix L), which is as widespread as the Filipino version (Castro, 2011) and
maintains the textual emphasis on love of country, wedding the singer to the
Philippines (Audio Sample 6.4).

In Blacktown’s 2012 Philippine Independence flag raising ceremony, it was clear
that there was no particular emphasis on music that directly correlated with the event
in the country’s history being commemorated; that is, the country’s declaration of
independence from Spain in 1898. However, while no single nationalist narrative was
being presented, many of the nationalist songs that were staged encompassed themes
of freedom and struggle. When performed alongside government-sanctioned songs
such as the national anthem of the Philippines, Lupan Hinirang (Chosen Land), and
the martial law anthem, Bagong Lipunan (Hymn of the New Society), revolutionary
songs presented during the 2012 Philippine Independence Day celebration reflected
the perpetual tension between revolution and counter-revolution that defines the
“fundamental irony of Filipino nationalism” (Rafael, 2000, p. 13).

Filipino Australians and a Cultural Identity Crisis

Many of the experiences of the Filipino Australian participants in this case study
were symptomatic of concerns about cultural identity in the broader Filipino diaspora.
Regardless of the age of the participants or the year of their migration, there was some
uncertainty as to what constituted Filipino music. Many participants compared
Filipino traditions to that of other ethnic minority groups, essentialising ‘African’ music as comparatively pure and deeply rooted. In response to the perceived superficiality of Filipino music cultures, the majority of participants with varying backgrounds and ages declared disinterest in all types of Filipino music. Instead, they consumed and performed American popular music. This was particularly ironic because one of the core criticisms of contemporary Filipino popular music amongst the same participants was its commercialisation and supposed mimicry of such American styles. It was found that both rejecting Filipino music and embracing American music were characteristic of the colonial mentality that continues to create cultural controversy within Filipino communities worldwide. It is important to note that while the vast majority of participants denigrated Filipino music on account of its perceived inauthenticity, a few participants considered the musical markers of colonial influence as genuine embodiments of the hybridity in Filipino identities.

Demonstrating one of David and Okazaki’s (2006b) characteristics of a colonial mentality, the supposed imitative quality of Filipino music was considered a source of cultural shame and embarrassment. At the same time, somewhat counter-intuitively, this ability to emulate other styles was the origin of the myth of inherent Filipino musicality. As was discussed earlier, while some participants proposed that there was no such thing as distinctive Filipino music, many of them also maintained the assumption that Filipinos are distinctively, musically gifted. The notion of Filipino musical talent has its roots in ethnographic accounts during Filipino colonisation, and then, as now, Filipino talent has been measured in relation to Western showmanship and virtuosity. While there is very little emphasis put on the maintenance of cultural traditions, children who display the traits of such musical ‘talent’ (particularly singers) are encouraged and supported by family members to reach their musical potential. When such figures find success in mainstream Australian media, they are embraced by the broader community as advocates for Filipino Australians within the country’s multicultural landscape.

The data revealed that the everyday musical lives of Blacktown’s Filipino Australians primarily involved commercially appealing American popular music, or American-style Filipino popular music. However, it was found that official ceremonies prompted the rare performances of Filipino traditional and nationalist music. Folk dances such as the *tinikling* represented avenues for conforming to tokenistic observances of Australian multiculturalism. Similarly, Philippine
Independence Day celebrations called for the staging of music representing nationalist sentiments. Importantly, the music that most united audiences was comprised of revolutionary protest songs that were written during the American colonial period, supporting the concept that Filipino nationhood developed most significantly under United States rule (Mojares, 2006; Rafael, 2000).

The cultural identity crisis, manifested in all of these instances of musical engagement, demonstrates the ongoing project of Filipino nation-building. The absence of a distinctive Filipino musical tradition, and a singular nation-building narrative, is in no way unique to the Philippines. Despite the convictions of several participants, the distinctive musical traditions of other ethnic minorities have been diluted by traces of colonialism. However, it was found that the collective self-consciousness with which Filipino Australians assimilated into colonial cultural forms had a marked effect on the music with which they engaged. The contradictions in their music consumption patterns resonated with the ironies underlying Filipino nationalism generally. In these ways, the musical acculturation of Filipino Australians in Blacktown has been unambiguously shaped by the acculturation of Philippine inhabitants since the country was first demarcated by Spanish colonisers.
Chapter 7
Being White in Blacktown:
The Musical Acculturation of the Majority

Introduction

This chapter investigates the musical acculturation of Blacktown’s White Australian community, for reasons that are outlined in the following section. From the time of the colonisation of Australia by the British in the late 18th century, Australia’s population has been significantly increased through waves of migration. Because of the discriminatory policies surrounding migration until the early 1970s (see p. 192), the dominant society is largely reflective of initial British and European migration. Therefore, unlike the other ethnocultural communities that are examined in this thesis, the participants in this case study are migrants, or descendants of migrants, from several countries of origin. Because of the complexity underlying the very disparate nature of Australia’s majority society, this chapter begins with a discussion of how this case study was bounded, conceptualised and classified in relation to the problematic identity category discursively referred to as ‘white’85. White subjectivity within the context of Australia will be addressed, towards developing an understanding of White Australians as the perceived dominant, receiving community in the country. This discussion will provide a framework for the findings that follow, wherein the role of music in Blacktown’s White Australian community will be considered.

Designating Names to an Ambiguous Identity Category

In investigating musical acculturation in Blacktown, it is useful to examine the musical practices of the ethnocultural community that is perceived to constitute Australia’s host society. As was discussed in Chapter 1, Berry’s (2001) acculturation psychology framework86 makes a distinction between migrant communities and host societies, outlining parallel acculturation strategies that are “rooted in the distinction

85 The term ‘whiteness’ appears in both capitalised and lowercase forms throughout the literature. For the purposes of consistency, the lowercase ‘whiteness’ is employed in this thesis, except in the cases where: a) the appellations White Australia and White Australian are used as proper nouns, or b) another source which capitalises the term is being directly quoted.
86 See pp. 5–7 for more details on Berry’s (2001) acculturation psychology framework.
between orientations towards one’s own group and those towards other groups . . . a relative preference for cultural continuity or contact” (Berry, 2006a, p. 34). In the current case study, participants who were recognised as members of Australia’s dominant, host society were interviewed and observed with a view to exploring the directionality and dimensionality\(^{87}\) of the changes that occur through cross-cultural music exchange in Blacktown.

Compared with the previously discussed South Sudanese Australian and Filipino Australian case studies, it was particularly difficult to negotiate the boundaries that determined membership of the ethnocultural community that will be explored here. While the boundaries within and around the South Sudanese Australian and Filipino Australian communities were by no means uncomplicated, it was relatively straightforward to identify participants who were either children of migrants, or migrants themselves, from either South Sudan\(^{88}\) or the Philippines. In contrast, it became clear that those who belonged to Australia’s dominant host society did not migrate from, or descend from migrants from, a single sovereign nation. In a shift similar to that experienced by Hage (2000), outlined below, what was initially conceptualised within my research as the Anglo-Celtic Australian case study became the White Australian case study.

The notion of ‘White’ clearly raises many problems. I have come to use it because I ultimately found it more satisfactory than the oft-used concept of ‘Anglo’ I was initially deploying. Being interested in White subjectivity, it is clear that ‘Anglo’ and ‘Anglo-Celtic’ are far from being a dominant mode of self-categorisation by White people whether at a conscious or unconscious level. I will argue that ‘White’ is a far more dominant mode of self-perception, although largely an unconscious one. (p. 19)

As described above, several participants in this case study did not relate to the terms Anglo Australian or Anglo-Celtic Australian. Upon further interrogation, the ‘Australian’ appellation with which many of the participants self-categorised was revealed as having whiteness at its core. Also as similarly described by Hage (2000), it was found that ‘Anglo-Celtic’ was a misnomer because it did not account for those with more diverse heritages who related to, defined themselves through, and were recognised as, members of Australia’s dominant White Australian community.

\(^{87}\) See pp. 6–7 for a discussion of directionality and dimensionality as fundamental acculturation issues.

\(^{88}\) As is evident in Table 3.1 (pp. 70–71), the majority of Blacktown’s South Sudanese community migrated from The Republic of Sudan (prior to South Sudan gaining sovereignty).
Initially, the shift in the current case study’s identity category was driven by the self-perception of the participants. In line with grounded theory, the reconceptualisation that occurred organically throughout data collection was then situated within an existing body of literature. Indeed, it was found that examining White Australian musical acculturation necessitated a consideration of the social and cultural construction of whiteness as a site of power. In this way, this chapter draws on the work of many scholars of whiteness studies, who do not aim to provide an instrumental definition of whiteness so much as analyse how whiteness is framed and experienced (see Boucher, 2007; Carey, Boucher & Ellinghaus, 2007; Curthoys, 2009; Durie, 2010; Hage, 2000; Moreton-Robinson, 2014; Salter, 2013). In particular, investigating White Australian musical acculturation in Blacktown addresses questions of exclusion and the ‘blurred identities’ of whiteness (see Boucher, 2007; Carey et al., 2007), in addition to the ongoing engagement with and revision of the historically malleable construction of whiteness within an Australian context (see Curthoys, 2009; Salter, 2013). Bounding this case study within the broad context of Blacktown enabled a consideration of how whiteness operates in a specific time and place (for a focused study on whiteness in Western Sydney, see Durie, 2010).

A Brief History of White Australia

Within Australia, the notion of whiteness is especially salient because of two ideological practices foundational to its identity: *Terra Nullius* and the White Australia Policy (Boucher, 2007; Carey et al., 2007; Carey & McLisky, 2009; Durie, 2010; Forrest & Dunn, 2006; Garbutt, 2011; Hage, 2000; Haggis, 2004; Hodge & Carroll, 2006; Jones, 2003; Lake & Reynolds, 2008; Moreton-Robinson, 2014; Nicoll, 2014; Salter, 2013; Schech & Haggis, 2004). Any examination of White Australia must be traced back to the modern nation’s origins, and in particular its establishment on the myth of *terra nullius*. In 1788, British colonisation of what came to be known as Australia was predicated on the premise that the object of possession was ‘land belonging to no one’. Because of the emic (insider) perspective emphasised throughout data collection and analysis, the findings presented further in the chapter do not refer frequently or explicitly to Indigenous sovereignty. However, the historical illegitimacy of Australia as a white possession is the core component underpinning the discussion of whiteness that will follow. Framing the entire social and cultural construction of White Australia is the actuality and ongoing denial of 60,000 years of
Indigenous occupation, which was permanently disrupted by British invasion (Durie, 2010). The systemic processes through which Indigenous populations were denied legal ownership of their land, and disallowed equal and legitimate participation in Australian citizenship, indelibly shaped the course of Australian Indigenous relations (Baak, 2011; Moreton-Robinson, 2004, 2014).

In the context of the current study, the legacies of terra nullius go beyond the Indigenous population, who continue to experience disadvantage and disenfranchisement (Durie, 2010; Moreton-Robinson, 2014). Since British colonisation, white settlers have asserted Australian autochthony through a series of racialised legal practices. The notion that Australia was a natural and legitimate white possession was impeded not only by the irrefutability of Indigenous sovereignty, but also by the country’s geographical distance from Britain and its position on the wrong side of the world’s East–West division (see Cerwonka, 2004; Moran, 2005). Despite these variances with the conception of Australia as a Western nation (and perhaps, arguably, because of them), attempts to purify Anglo-Celtic Australian belonging were codified in discriminatory migration and citizenship laws from the latter half of the 19th century (Moreton-Robinson, 2014). From 1901 until the 1940s, the imagined White Australian identity was reproduced through the legalised exclusion of non-white migrants via the Immigration Restriction Act 1901, the basis of what has since become known as the White Australia Policy. Notably, the policy had support from all contemporary political parties. As an extension of the British imperial project, the definition of ‘white’ was initially restricted to those of Anglo-Celtic heritage, though white migrants with Anglo-Celtic backgrounds were welcome from America, Canada and New Zealand as well as the British Isles itself (Moreton-Robinson, 2014). By 1949, the mode of identification was expanded to include Eastern and Central Europeans, who could supplement British migration towards the further development of Australian society. Despite their non-English speaking backgrounds, these Europeans were seen as legitimate prospective citizens because they were seen to be physically and culturally similar enough to assimilate seamlessly into Australia’s Anglo-Celtic normativity (Jones, 2003). This shift underlines the malleability of whiteness as a racial category. It was not until 1966 that the official exclusion of non-European migrants was repealed, and 1973 when the Whitlam Labor government relinquished all racial criteria that determined permanent settlement.
Of course, the official abandonment of the White Australia Policy did not diminish the prevailing discourse of White Australia at the centre of Australian identity. As will be discussed later in the chapter, even the shift from assimilation to multicultural policies has had little effect on the assertion of White Australian autochthony. Jayasuriya (2003) posited that, “Many of these elements [such as terra nullius and The White Australia Policy], though obsolete, still linger in the political psyche of the nation and make the prevailing political culture irrelevant to current social and political realities such as globalisation and the increased diversity and pluralism of Australian society” (p. 197). At the time of writing, the ongoing debates about Australia’s asylum seeker policies seem to suggest that vestiges of these elements still remain. The illegitimacy of White Australian autochthony—what Hage (2000) called the ‘white nation fantasy’—has led to what has been interpreted as the continuous Othering not only of the original owners of the land, but also of all migrants who have arrived subsequent to the original settlers and cannot adopt white subjectivity in its fullness (see Garbutt, 2011). In order to relieve the anxiety borne of Indigenous sovereignty, Nicolacopoulos and Vassilacopoulos (2004) argue that non-white migrants are positioned as ‘perpetual foreigners within’, while asylum seekers are denoted as ‘unwelcome’. Finally, the restructuring of the international landscape has led to further destabilisation of White Australia, as the East–West dichotomy is replaced by economic global demarcations (Cerwonka, 2004). Australia’s deterritorialised position in the midst of this international shift reinforces the state of flux within its own borders, leading to the contention that the country remains an “unfinished Western colonial project as well as a land in a permanent state of decolonisation” (Hage, 2003, p. 94). These authors all contribute to the notion that, for some White Australians, this transience exacerbates anxiety over their authoritative position in the nation, driving the desire for national cultural homogeneity.

Considering the legacies of terra nullius vis-à-vis the social and cultural construction of whiteness is particularly poignant in the case study context of Blacktown, as the local government area constitutes the site of “one of the earliest efforts at reconciliation in Australian history” (Hodge & Carroll, 2006). Originally inhabited by different groups of the Darug people, the region was designated ‘Black Town’ and set up in accordance with Governor Macquarie’s initiative to teach Indigenous Australians European farming methods and provide schooling for
Indigenous Australian children\textsuperscript{89}. Unfortunately by 1825, after Macquarie’s departure, the institution was dismantled and replaced with a new suburb and school that excluded Indigenous Australians. The findings presented later in the chapter are contemporary permutations of the tensions between the appellation ‘Blacktown’, and its history as a site embodying failed efforts at reconciliation and cultural exchange.

**White Australian Case Study**

The problematic nature of naming this case study paralleled the indefinite sampling process through which potential participants were approached. Given that whiteness is socially constructed rather than biologically marked (Salter, 2013), and Anglo Australian, Anglo-Celtic Australian and White Australian are all terms with which many potential participants did not initially identify, it was difficult to ascertain who would be suitable for inclusion. In the early stages of purposive sampling I was complicit in the active enactment of whiteness as power, distinguishing potential participants through “the absence of specific qualities, or qualities not possessed by the racialised non-White other” (Salter, 2013, pp. 37–38). Some participants identified others as suitable candidates for participation on my behalf, performing the same social construction. Ultimately, it became clear that all of those who agreed to be interviewed for this case study were appropriately sampled; they embodied the whiteness that dominates the Australian national imaginary. The varying degrees to which this whiteness was consciously acknowledged as a mode of self-perception will be explored at length throughout the chapter. However each interviewee’s initial self-identification, as expressed in his or her interview, is introduced in Table 7.1 alongside basic demographic details. A more detailed version of the table, also outlining each participant’s musical background and their relationship with Blacktown, can be found in Appendix M.

As with the other case studies, interviews were conducted alongside other forms of data collection. Participants were observed in a number of musical settings, as both performers and audience members. Participant observation was organised during rehearsals of ongoing community music programs, and I took part by singing, *djembé* drumming and playing keyboard in various types of ensembles. Formal and informal observations were conducted at local events on days accorded especial nationalistic

\textsuperscript{89} Governor Macquarie’s initiative, called The Native Institution, was initially set up in Parramatta before the operation was moved to Black Town.
significance, such as Australia Day and Anzac Day. Publicly available video recordings of other similar events held in Blacktown, which were not personally attended, have also been used as data for these case study findings.

Table 7.1.

White Australian Case Study Interviewees

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Gender</th>
<th>Age</th>
<th>Heritage (Self-Described)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Amanda</td>
<td>Female</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>“Australian born but half my heritage is Ukraine.”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Arlene</td>
<td>Female</td>
<td>(60s)</td>
<td>Describes her mother as having an “English Irish background” and her father as “Dutch.”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Barbara</td>
<td>Female</td>
<td>(60s)</td>
<td>“Australian with English background and Irish background.”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Elly (Kirsten’s mother)</td>
<td>Female</td>
<td>(40s)</td>
<td>Australian-born with an “Anglo kind of . . . ‘Aussie’ mentality.”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Faith (Olivia’s sister)</td>
<td>Female</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>“Australian” and “White Australian”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fergie</td>
<td>Female</td>
<td>66</td>
<td>“Australian” of British origin.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jack</td>
<td>Male</td>
<td>76</td>
<td>“Celtic Australian”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Janice</td>
<td>Female</td>
<td>(60s)</td>
<td>“Australian” and “Anglo Australian”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Julie</td>
<td>Female</td>
<td>(60s)</td>
<td>“Australian with Irish grandparents”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kevin (Maree’s husband)</td>
<td>Male</td>
<td>71</td>
<td>“English Australian”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Katherine</td>
<td>Female</td>
<td>(30s)</td>
<td>“Australian”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kimberley</td>
<td>Female</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>“Australian” and “White Australian”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kirsten (Elly’s daughter)</td>
<td>Female</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>“Australian with a German heritage”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lisa</td>
<td>Female</td>
<td>(50s)</td>
<td>“Fifth generation Australian”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Maree (Kevin’s wife)</td>
<td>Female</td>
<td>70</td>
<td>“Australian”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Melanie</td>
<td>Female</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>“Fourth generation Australian” with “a very Anglo background”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Olivia (Faith’s sister)</td>
<td>Female</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>“Australian” and “White Australian”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pearl</td>
<td>Female</td>
<td>72</td>
<td>Sixth generation Australian, or, “A real Australian.”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Peter</td>
<td>Male</td>
<td>(60s)</td>
<td>“Half Irish”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sean</td>
<td>Male</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>“Australian” and “White Australian”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Steven</td>
<td>Male</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>“Australian with a British background”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sharon</td>
<td>Female</td>
<td>65</td>
<td>“Australian” and “White Australian”</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

90 Pseudonyms are used to maintain participant anonymity.

91 Where participants did not explicitly provide their age, estimates were calculated based on other comments pertaining to the passage of time, and have been provided in parentheses.
The complexities of finding suitable interviewees for this case study were also experienced throughout the process of sampling for observations. Compared with the other case studies, it was difficult to locate musical ensembles dedicated to the maintenance of heritage culture in the White Australian case study. Indeed, as will be discussed in detail later in the chapter, the very notion of a bounded, identifiable ‘White Australian culture’ was highly contested by several participants. In view of examining the everyday musical practices of White Australians, it was necessary to investigate contexts outside of the archetypal representations of White Australia found at local events celebrating, for example, Australia Day. The demographic dominance of the White Australian community in the midst of multicultural Blacktown, however, meant that most community music programs or collective musical practices open to the general public involved a significant number of White Australians. In this way music programs or performances targeted at, for example, seniors or youths, provided a practicable access point for observing White Australians engaging with music. In addition to the interviewees detailed in Table 7.1 and Appendix M, several other White Australians agreed to be video recorded during formal observations.

Table 5.1 and Appendix M demonstrate that this case study involved participants representing a wide range of ages, heritage backgrounds and family migration patterns. While the majority of the participants could be described as Anglo-Celtic, having primarily English, Irish and/or Scottish backgrounds, a few had at least one ancestor from elsewhere in Europe (from countries including Germany, Ukraine and the Netherlands). Given this diversity, even a brief history of the participants’ (or their families’) countries of origin is beyond the scope of this chapter. Outside of the brief introduction to White Australia earlier in this chapter (pp. 191–194), an account of the collective migration trends from these countries is also unfeasible. That is, unlike the chapters on the South Sudanese Australian and Filipino Australian case studies, the various waves of migration from England, Ireland, Scotland, Wales (and other white European countries) throughout Australia’s colonial and postcolonial history cannot be provided. Further, because of its heterogeneity, the demographic nature of the White Australian community in Blacktown cannot be directly and accurately compared with broader trends state- and country-wide. However, in view of illustrating to some degree the proportions of Blacktown’s population that could be identified as Anglo-Celtic Australian and/or White Australian, Table 7.2 compares the
populations of Blacktown LGA with Greater Western Sydney, Greater Sydney, NSW and Australia in regard to the variables: Australian ancestry, English ancestry, Irish ancestry, Scottish ancestry and Welsh ancestry. The data from Table 7.2 has been drawn from the most recent Australian census (Blacktown City Council, 2011a), in which ancestry is defined as, “the cultural association and ethnic background of an individual going back three generations” (n.p.).

Table 7.2.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Nominated Ancestry</th>
<th>Number in Blacktown</th>
<th>Blacktown Ranking by Size</th>
<th>Percentage in Blacktown</th>
<th>Greater Western Sydney</th>
<th>Greater Sydney</th>
<th>NSW</th>
<th>Australia</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Australian</td>
<td>76,737</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>25.5%</td>
<td>24.8%</td>
<td>25.7%</td>
<td>32.1%</td>
<td>33.0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>English</td>
<td>65,301</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>21.7%</td>
<td>22.0%</td>
<td>25.8%</td>
<td>31.1%</td>
<td>33.7%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Irish</td>
<td>17,017</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>5.7%</td>
<td>6.2%</td>
<td>8.3%</td>
<td>9.6%</td>
<td>9.7%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Scottish</td>
<td>13,428</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>4.5%</td>
<td>4.8%</td>
<td>6.3%</td>
<td>7.6%</td>
<td>8.3%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Welsh</td>
<td>825</td>
<td>50</td>
<td>0.3%</td>
<td>0.3%</td>
<td>0.5%</td>
<td>0.5%</td>
<td>0.6%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

There are many limitations to Table 7.2 as a statistical representation of the White Australian population in Blacktown, Greater Western Sydney, Western Sydney, NSW and Australia, and it should not be taken as such. The option of nominating up to two ancestries, as delineated by the census (see Australian Bureau of Statistics, 2013a), results in the potential for an individual person’s responses to be counted in two separate categories. At the same time, the limitation of nominating only up to two ancestries signifies that the statistics are unable to represent the complexity of some White Australians’ ethnocultural backgrounds as described, for example, by the current study’s participants in Appendix M. In view of distinguishing between the notions of White Australian and Anglo-Celtic Australian, with the former being the identity category of interest in this chapter, the Anglo-Celtic ancestries that constitute the data set for Table 5.1 exclude a vast number of individuals who identify with, and are inscribed as being part of, the White Australian majority. Conversely, the definition of ancestry does not preclude nomination from those whose family has associated culturally with Australia, England, Ireland, Scotland or Wales for the past three generations, but who do not
embody white subjectivity\textsuperscript{92}. Nevertheless, Table 7.2 provides a general impression of the proportion of Blacktown’s population who either have a decidedly Anglo-Celtic heritage, or who identify as ‘Australian’ because their family has considered themselves culturally and ethnically Australian for at least three generations. Nevertheless, the very ambivalence with which statistics such as these must be viewed highlights the indistinct, socially constructed nature of White Australian subjectivity, and its contradictory relationship with Anglo-Celtic modes of self-perception. Hodge and Carroll (2006) commented upon the demographic indiscernibility of Australia’s Anglo-Celtic population:

Demographers, in practice, tend not to use the term ‘Anglo Celtic’ in statistical analyses, referring more precisely to languages, or places, of origin . . . But even some political scientists presume it to be the neutral basis from which to consider ‘ethnicity’ or ‘race’ in Australia, even if they do not state this as such. This leads to Anglo-Celts being invisible, without a structure, the reference point from which other cultures are examined. (pp. 62–63)

It is this paradoxical combination of neutrality, invisibility, lack of structure and centrality with which the remainder of the chapter will be occupied. In particular, participants’ musical practices will be considered in relation to their role in the social and cultural construction of the whiteness described here.

The Musical Lives of White Australians in Blacktown

The participants in the current case study differed in the degrees to which they constructed whiteness as the normative identity category in Australia. The extent to which whiteness was recognised as a privilege was as variable as the participants’ conceptualisations of White Australian culture. These discrepancies will be examined through the musical lives of White Australians in Blacktown, and in particular the role that music consumption and performance played in the negotiation of Australian nationalism.

The Normativity of Intangible White Australian Culture

The neutrality of whiteness upon which Hodge and Carroll (2006) remarked was a common theme in interviews with White Australian participants. The generic ‘Australian’ mode of self-identification nominated by many of the

\textsuperscript{92} Given that the White Australia Policy only began to be dismantled in the 1940s, and ended as recently as 1973, it is perhaps unlikely that this description would match a statistically significant population. This supposition is supported by the ethnic component of the ancestry question.
participants, as evident in Appendix M, was often counterpart to the ordinariness that such participants attributed to mainstream Australian culture. Indeed Australian culture, which participants associated with whiteness to varying degrees, was often explicitly characterised by an absence of distinction. The quotes below illustrate the sense that Australian identity and culture eludes attempts at specific description, and is somehow related to whiteness.

I think as an Australian, a White Australian anyway . . . there doesn’t seem to be a defining factor of a White Australian person, maybe in comparison with another culture . . . I don’t really think there’s anything really tangible to hold onto as a White Australian anyway . . . Like there’s certain cultures, and there’s languages that they speak and there’s identities found in dance and music . . . we came here a couple hundred years . . . you look at the South Sudanese choir and these are songs that I’m sure they’ve been singing for generations and there just seems to be more of a culture there. (Sean, Interview, November 22, 2012)

I grew up in a very, very Anglo white family. Even our food was just plain, we just ate really just plain things. Like bangers and mash\(^3\) was really on the menu every night. When I went to other friends’ houses, they smelt different, you know. There was different colours . . . they had grandparents there and they would talk in a different language . . . Lot of music, a lot of joy and I always missed that because I thought, “Maybe, oh, why can’t I be from that background?” You know, because I thought that was specific to them . . . The question is, “So what background do you have?” “Aussie.” That’s just boring . . . They have a story. (Melanie, Interview, December 10, 2012)

Well I would call my[self] Australian and so I don’t really have any cultural heritage but I guess I have a British background. Both my parents are from Bristol in England . . . So I would say I don’t have a culture necessarily. Just whatever Australian culture is . . . I guess White Australia is not strongly ethnic, so I don’t have a strongly Asian or Arabic sort of influence. So white just kind of means like no culture . . . Like neutral, almost. (Steven, Interview, November 22, 2012)

I often observe other cultures with a bit of a green eye . . . it makes me feel so wishy-washy sometimes . . . [It’s] not solid where I come from. And not ancient. . . . But by not knowing my culture, or my cultures really well, in terms of being able to musically play something or to represent in dance something from my culture, it weakens my genetic string in a way . . . I haven’t got that culture . . . I guess I consider myself Australian, and I consider everyone who is an Australian resident as Australian, no matter what, where they’ve come from. But when I look at their cultural roots and backgrounds, I guess that’s what I’m talking about. They’re the things that identify them artistically and culturally as themselves . . . And I guess for me there’s still that question of, “What is Australian?” (Katherine, Interview, August 17, 2012)

\(^3\) This colloquial phrase refers to sausages and mashed potatoes, which is stereotyped as a classic British meal in the popular imagination.
In these quotes, the absence of White Australian culture can only be defined in opposition to the apparently rich cultural heritage of racialised Others. The profoundly relational discourse through which white subjectivity is experienced and understood has been analysed by a number of authors in whiteness studies (see for example Carey et al., 2007; Durie, 2010; Levine-Rasky, 2013; Salter, 2013). In its absence of racial or cultural marking, whiteness has been described as a *practice* through which the normative standard is silently imposed, rather than an *empirical reality* (Levine-Rasky, 2013). Importantly, most of the participants quoted above consciously referred to ‘White’ Australians to signify their recognition of Australians of various backgrounds. Conversely, Katherine explicitly emphasised the legitimate national belonging of Australians of all heritage backgrounds, and did not use the term White Australian. However, her quote above illustrates the distinction she drew between the indefinable, normative Australian culture she grapples with at the end of the interview excerpt, and the other cultures she envies. In this way, all of the quotes clearly establish a duality between the culturally immaterial, dominant white majority and an unspecified amalgamation of Others for whom cultural experience and ethnic identity are presumed to conform.

Although several participants who self-categorised as White Australian shared a sense of amorphous cultural identity, it is important to note that this indeterminate cultural identification affected individuals in various ways. For some, like Katherine, it was felt as a loss that reverberated throughout other aspects of their being. As a dancer and choreographer with tertiary qualifications she had extensive experience with many forms of dance, particularly mentioning ballroom dancing. Despite this substantial background in the performing arts, as well as her professional knowledge as a performing arts development officer in Blacktown Arts Council, Katherine felt culturally deficient and referred to herself as having, “weaken[ed] . . . genetic strings” (Interview, August 17, 2012). Katherine’s sense of ahistorical positioning, of having no cultural foundation within which to secure her sense of self, was echoed by sisters Olivia and Faith who vehemently agreed to the statement, “I don’t really have a strong sense of history and who I am” (Interview, December 17, 2012). In this way, these findings align with the suggestion that,

Defining oneself by what one does *not* have is . . . a definition by a lack, which implies a sense of something missing . . . The price of [dominance], it seems, is the exclusion of the so-called powerful from all culture and identity—even their
own. (Hodge & Carroll, 2006, pp. 66–67)

At the same time, the participants in this study had varied responses to the sense of cultural absence, indicating that the “price of dominance” experienced by Katherine, Olivia and Faith is not all-encompassing. Like Katherine, Sean and Steven outlined the nondescript nature of White Australian cultural identity, employing words and phrases such as “intangible”, “neutral” and “no culture” to highlight this featurelessness. However, in contrast to Katherine, Olivia and Faith’s responses, claims of belonging to this indeterminate heritage had no discernable effect on their selfhood. Sean specifically compared White Australian cultural practices with Filipino and Sudanese music and dance traditions, explaining, “I don’t think it’s as well rooted” (Interview, November 22, 2012). Nevertheless, he did not express any sentiments of deprivation or inadequacy in response to this lack of rootedness. Instead he and Steven, as well as a number of other participants, spoke about musical pursuits as individual endeavours that provided them with a sense of personal identity. A number of times, collective musical identification was described through the discourse of ‘a musical family’, either in terms of belonging to a musical family, or otherwise displaying musical abilities atypical of the non-musical family to which they belonged. Similarly, musicianship was objectified as the result of pursuing music as a discrete discipline, with reference to sequential music learning experiences (e.g. private instrumental lessons, music classes in school or YouTube tutorials). For some participants, the robustness of their individual music activities was conceptualised as a satisfactory, if not preferable, substitute for deeply rooted traditions into which they could instinctively become enculturated.

For some participants, the significance that they attributed to music was conceived of as a personal, idiosyncratic characteristic wholly unrelated to their culturally ambiguous self-identification as White Australians. In contrast, these same participants suggested that for people with Other backgrounds, music and dance traditions were automatically analogous to their cultural make-up. In making this distinction, participants essentialised the role of music in the lives of Others while addressing their own experiences through the opposite lens of particularism. This potential for self-definition is central to the construction of white normativity, wherein the production of personhood is the result of exercising agency not as someone raced, but rather “just human” (Salter, 2013, p. 31).
Managing Cultural Diversity as Core and Periphery Differentiation

As has been shown, the absence of tangible culture bestowed upon White Australians the agency to individually determine their own cultural personhood. In contrast, the cultural narratives of Others were understood collectively, through essentialist and at times racialised terms. It has been demonstrated that White Australian culture was positioned as the neutral, invisible centre against which difference could be identified. This was achieved through explicit comparisons between the notion of an absent or at best ambiguous White Australian culture, and the presumed richness and deep-rootedness of Other cultures. This rhetoric was perpetuated not only when participants were asked to reflect on their own cultural self-identification, but also when they discussed the authenticity and quality of non-white cultural representations they had experienced as audience members.

In view of investigating opinions about music from cultures outside of the White Australian norm, many participants in their teens and 20s evaluated the staging of such music at school events. School concerts held on Harmony Day, with the intent of celebrating cultural diversity and inclusiveness, were common performance contexts under consideration. Their comments below reveal the extent to which music from non-white cultures is evaluated against exotic, imagined symbols of Otherness prevalent in the dominant imaginary.

I want to hear the songs . . . what I feel is who they are. Because these songs have been honed over centuries. And they’ve got beautiful melodies and the timbre of the voices are very different . . . And I really like the differences in that. . . . And it’s not really because of Multicultural Days . . . because you don’t see that in school or anything . . . when they do that sort of stuff in schools it’s usually, they try and make it modernised. So they do the pop thing. And it’s a little bit trite sometimes, you know? . . . I don’t like it when they try to make it Westernised. And make it easier for the Western people to sort of consume that culture. (Kirsten, Interview, December 4, 2012)

I guess I’d feel that we get the taste of the Western in everything else. I actually think it’s beautiful to get that more traditional version compared to the one that’s been influenced by the pop, because pop infiltrates—this is just my opinion—but pop infiltrates everything. Like popular culture, so pop music infiltrates pretty much every aspect of our lives. So it’s nice to have something untouched and untainted and go back to that tradition, to those roots, to the purity of what it was. And how they’ve done it for centuries or, I don’t know, decades. (Melanie, Interview, December 10, 2012)

Kirsten and Melanie expressed distaste for the propensity of non-white students to perform Western-influenced popular music from their countries of origin, rather than
“pure”, “traditional” music from “centuries” (or “decades”) ago. Kirsten was particularly emphatic in her criticism of such performances, ethnocentrically suggesting that the purpose for which they integrate modern, Western aesthetics is easy Western consumption. The notion of musical traditions as “untainted” and “untouched” does not allow for traditions—including the sort of folk traditions to which Melanie and Kirsten seem to be referring—to live and adapt with their proponents. Indeed, Kirsten seemed to suggest that only traditional, centuries-old folk music is truly representative of “who they are”, dismissing the possibility that young, non-white Australian students would be more accurately represented by globalised, non-Western popular music. Indeed, the conceptual distinction between representative, authentic and traditional music, of which participants were seemingly unaware, has been on the ethnomusicological and music education agenda for decades (Campbell, 1996). While traditional music is often equated with historical folk music, music outside of these boundaries can be considered authentic in that:

Authentic music is that which people possess as their own—music that is “genuine” to them as listeners and performers. . . . Music can be introduced to a culture, and then can be performed “authentically,” or changed by way of “accents” and interpretations that an ethnic-cultural group may give it. (Campbell, 1996, p. 68)

Interwoven with the authentic and traditional divide is that of representativeness, and in particular the tensions between music that is significant to particular ethnocultural groups because it is favoured, and that which functions in an official, nationalist capacity (see Campbell, 1996, 2004; Nettl, 2005). These authors identify the central role of popular music as favoured music, which can be considered authentic in its contemporary expression of the local–global nexus in which all ethnocultural communities are now located. Despite this reality, some White Australian participants did not value local popular music as genuinely representative of non-white performers’ heritage cultures. In this way those who were inscribed as non-white were expected to embody colonial notions of the Other as relics of the past.

Stratton (2007) considers the tendency for Australians to conceptually enclose all non-Western music within the confines of a very limited notion of world music. This is demonstrated by comparing the careers of British and Australian popular music artists who integrate musical traditions from their family’s country of origin with that of their Western upbringing. With specific reference to artists with South Asian
migrant backgrounds, he concludes that those in the UK find success in the local
music industry with their music considered “another facet of English music” (p. 11),
while the same kind of fusion has no place in the Australian popular music context. In
an argument resonating with the comments made by Kirsten and Melanie, Stratton
contends that in Australia such music is classified “not only as ethnic, but as failed
ethnic” (p. 10), because it compromises the music of the origin country by
synthesising it with Anglo-American popular music. Importantly, Stratton assigns
fault for this segregationist discourse to the very acculturation strategies underlying
the Harmony Day events; that is, the policies of multiculturalism. Celebrations such as
those described by Kirsten and Melanie are continuities of the White Australia Policy,
by way of core and periphery differentiation. Anglo-Celtic culture occupies the
core while cultures from non-English speaking countries are placed in a
periphery where they are acknowledged and valued—though in relation to the
dominant values and practices of the core—but are excluded from affecting the
core culture and institutions of Australia. (Stratton, 2007, p. 8)

Stratton’s argument encapsulates a common left-wing criticism of multiculturalism,
as explored by Bulbeck (2004) and Moran (2005), and examined at length by Hage
(2000), that highlights its operation as the dominant white core of Australian society
presiding over its diverse minorities. In this view, discourses underlying tolerance of,
appreciation for, and enrichment by difference are predicated on white core culture as
the source of privilege that enables the performance of such tolerance, appreciation
and enrichment. In this context, minority cultures embody a possessed and managed
object to be tolerated, appreciated and to produce enriching experiences. Kirsten and
Melanie’s evaluative comments indicate the multiculturalists’ disposition to direct
minorities and regulate the means by which their own enrichment can take place. In
their view, staged performances seem to exist primarily for the edification of audience
members as cultural tourists, rather than the gratification of the non-white performers
sharing significant aspects of their culture with which they strongly identify.

Processes of exclusion through which core and periphery differentiation took place
were not limited to debates about the nature of the musical material performed by non-
white Australians. They were also exercised in the governance over the performance
contexts of such material. This was evident in the observation of, and interview
comments concerning, an event held in an Anglican church in Blacktown that
identifies and markets itself on its multiculturalism. The event was held in August
2012 to celebrate the cultural diversity of the church’s congregation, and it was advertised as International Food Night. In addition to the usual music utilised within this church, which involved a standard pop rock band set up (as will be described later), the service included special performances by a South Sudanese choir and a Filipino choir. These choirs were comprised of regular South Sudanese Australian and Filipino Australian members of the church’s congregation, as well as friends of these members who came especially to participate in the performances. The South Sudanese choir, which consisted of approximately 15 adult singers, performed a cappella and in unison. In contrast the Filipino choir, which consisted of 10 senior singers (9 of whom were females), was led by a female soloist and accompanied by a guitarist. Neither the original lyrics nor the English translations were made available to the congregation, although the meanings of the religious songs were briefly explained to the audience. Although no video recordings are available of the South Sudanese choir, an excerpt of the Filipino choir’s performance of Purihin Ang Diyos is available on Video Sample 7.1. A brief outline of the song’s lyrics, as explained prior to the performance by the soloist, can be seen in Appendix N.

As can be seen in Video Sample 7.1, despite the amateur nature of the Filipino choir, manifested principally in inaccurate intonation, the musical material performed was very palatable for white audience members who have primarily experienced Western music that is diatonic and harmonically-driven. The generally Westernised disposition of many forms of Filipino music was outlined in the previous chapter, with reference to the country’s long colonial history and concerns about cultural assimilation. In line with this, Purihin Ang Diyos is based around a diatonic chord progression, clearly outlined by the guitar accompaniment, and the diatonic melody is straightforward for Western audiences to consume.

White Australian responses to the South Sudanese and Filipino choir performances varied, with some participants noting that they really enjoyed the opportunity to support their fellow Christians’ cultural pride and the message the performances embodied about the church’s diversity. Others were more critical of the performances on the basis of lack of professionalism, comparing the choirs’ performances with the much more rehearsed music production of the regular church band.

That night to me was really a disaster . . . You can’t just put someone on stage, you have to train them, you have to make sure they’re prepared. And we hadn’t really auditioned the choirs at all. That was just like, “Oh they’re Sudanese, isn’t
that great?” So yeah, they got romanticised by the idea of ethnic cultures and you know, “Ethnic people love it.” . . . But the Filipino choir, the singers weren’t that great. Yeah, with the African choir it was great for like the first few verses, everyone was like, “Oh that’s so great.” And then it went on for 10 verses . . . there’s a certain level of professionalism that you have to have . . . It was kind of like there was just a token choir. (Steven, Interview, November 22, 2012)

As Steven later identified, “Sometimes people get the idea that our church is truly multicultural but I realise it’s still dominated by an Anglo-centric set up . . . So the idea of having an African culture choir regularly in service, I don’t think it’d work. I think it’s more of a one off” (Interview, November 22, 2012). The “Anglo-centric set up” to which Steven referred included the formal organisation of the church and the highly structured order of service. He also highlighted the expectation for music to be led by an Anglo-American-style pop rock band with one or two vocal leaders supported by back up singers, rather than a choir. Regardless of the extent to which individual participants appreciated the sentiment behind the performances, all White Australian participants who attended the event agreed that such music acts had little to no role in the standard musical life of the church.

I mean, we probably couldn’t have one every week. But I think it definitely should be a more regular event than it is. Because we pride ourselves on being a multicultural church . . . So we should have it more regularly than we do. (Melanie, Interview, December 10, 2012)

It’s only an item really . . . It’s great to hear these flavours, but I don’t think we’d all be uplifted by that, unless they really showed us what it meant in English. Or how to pronounce it. (Amanda, Interview, December 10, 2012)

I remember thinking it was going for a bit long. And we were like, “Oh when are they going to finish?” And people started getting rude about it . . . I still respect the fact that that’s the way they do it, you know, it just wasn’t the way we do it, I guess. (Faith, Interview, December 17, 2012)

The novelty of it was probably appreciated more than the [musicality of it] . . . I can’t see it being brought into every service, no. (Sean, Interview, November 22, 2012)

Although their answers varied in both emphasis and vehemence, all of the participants quoted above problematised the idea of incorporating music from Other cultures, as presented on International Food Night, into the church’s customary practices. For some, the issue was professionalism and the performers’ capacity for presentational performance. For others, complications arose out of language and the limitations on congregational participation. Of course it could be argued that some, if
not all, of the difficulties participants raised were legitimate criticisms. However, it is important to acknowledge the position they occupied to make such assessments, and the incontestable whiteness of the core culture that their comments sought to preserve. For example, although Steven welcomed the idea of integrating “African singers in the normal church band” (Interview, November 22, 2012), his use of the word ‘normal’ only underlined the equation between White Australian church culture and ordinariness. Importantly, both Sean and Steven identified the tokenistic, novelty aspect of featuring musical items by racialised Others, to which Amanda also alluded with her relegation of such performances as “only an item”. In this way, participants highlighted the similarities between this event and the multicultural Australia performance at the Sydney 2000 Olympics, described by Hage (2000) thus: “Multicultural Australia did not come to represent Australia, it came to be presented by White Australia” (p. 149).

### White Australian Representations of an Amalgamated Other

In the interviews, the South Sudanese and Filipino choir performances were contrasted with a ‘world music’ version of *How Great is our God*[^94] arranged by the regular church band and directed by their band leader. This arrangement was performed in July 2012, a few weeks prior to International Food Night, for a special service entitled Celebration Night. Unlike their encounter with *Purihin Ang Diyos*, some of the White Australian participants engaged with *How Great is our God (World Edition)* firsthand, as performers. They described the arrangement, their feelings about the performance and the band’s learning process, as follows.

We did a version of *How Great is Our God* . . . it involved a different melody and kind of like African chants and then we put different languages in. So we sang *How Great is Our God* in different languages . . . Probably like African, Tagalog. I assume she would’ve picked the most common languages in our church. Which would be Sudanese, Tagalog and maybe like some other African language . . . I guess because we always sing in English, we always do music the same style. And I think people really liked it because it was different . . . It kind of sounded like our arranged version was *The Lion King* really, when the final version came out. [Our band leader] arranged the kind of chanting chorus with a choir, which she’s really great at. And then we kind of improvised the music on the day . . . Sean started playing the beat on drums and then it reminded me of *I Wanna Be King*[^95] in *The Lion King*, so I just started playing that. And it was just

[^94]: *How Great is Our God* was written by contemporary Christian music artist Chris Tomlin, with Jesse Reeves and Ed Cash. It was originally released on Tomlin’s 2004 album *Arriving*.

[^95]: The actual name of this song, written by Elton John (music) and Tim Rice (lyrics) for the 1994 film *The Lion King*, is *I Just Can’t Wait to be King*. 
kind of an accident the way it came together. It was really weird. (Steven, Interview, November 22, 2012)

I think we spent only half an hour putting that together . . . I mean there was rhythmic ideas that I had for different parts and different things that we could accent. It was a djembé [I played]. I haven’t had any real [djembé training], like sat down and learnt how to play it properly but . . . I think it’s pretty self-explanatory. [The arrangement] was very Latin American, very syncopated . . . Yeah I love it. Yeah absolutely [it was appropriate], because that Celebration Night in particular I think we were looking at the different cultures. (Sean, Interview, November 22, 2012)

That was How Great is Our God. And we did like Swahili, Maltese, and different ones. I loved it. I thought it was so interesting. It was so cool to learn how to sing in another language, and I love how we did that because the people who are, say, Maltese out in the crowd, or the Congolese and they can speak Swahili, it was good for them, because you could see them singing along with us. I really, really enjoyed that. I felt a connection with them as well, with their cultures. (Olivia, Interview, December 17, 2012)

The participants above spoke about the appropriateness of their arrangement and performance of How Great is our God in the context of Celebration Night. In comparison to their varied opinions about the South Sudanese and Filipino choir performances, this performance was mentioned in an exclusively positive light. Participants made specific reference to the relevance of their arrangement, not only in terms of the multilingual lyrics but also its musical characteristics, in terms of the service’s celebration of the church’s multiculture. It has been demonstrated that the active participation of congregation members from culturally diverse backgrounds, through the singing of Christian songs from their countries of origin, was identified as tokenistic. Interestingly, the incorporation of ‘world music’ elements in the standard church band’s arrangement was seen as an illustration of the church’s inclusivity, a point of cultural connection with the multicultural congregation. Indeed, the combination of Maltese, Swahili and Filipino translations of key lyrics of the song was unequivocally representative of some of the more significant ethnocultural communities in the church congregation (see Appendix O for the lyrics and harmonies sheet, as prepared by the band leader). However, none of the participants could name all of the languages that were included, despite their identification on the lyric sheet. Olivia was the most aware of the languages represented, correctly naming Swahili and Maltese but forgetting Filipino, but Steven’s answer was more typical of the

96 Multiculture refers to the ideas, customs and social behaviour that emerge from and frame any multicultural society (see Hodge & Carroll, 2006).
participants, vaguely suggesting, based on his knowledge of the congregation’s demographics, “Sudanese, Tagalog and . . . some other African language” (Interview, November 22, 2012).

The imprecision with which the church music band identified the song’s non-English languages was matched by their generic descriptions of the world music characteristics used in their arrangement. Steven drew attention to the band leader’s “African chant” as the impetus for a particular drumbeat that, in turn, drove what became a Lion King-like arrangement. Later in the interview, Steven, the lead guitarist, described the electric guitar timbre as, “clean, I just took off all the distortion. Which instantly sounds like Paul Steven’s Faithland or Hang High Over Neck” (Interview, November 22, 2012). In contrast, Sean, the drummer to whom Steven referred, described the rhythmic elements he incorporated as “Latin American” in their syncopation. Importantly, Sean reductively referred to the djembé as a “self-explanatory” instrument, revealing his incomprehension about the rhythmic and tonal complexity of appropriate djembé performance in various African musical cultures (see Nzewi, 2007). Further, Sean’s appropriation of the ‘simplistic’ instrument through what he characterised as syncopated, ‘Latin American’ rhythms demonstrates how he understood and represented non-Western musical traditions in an essentialist and exoticised manner. Although there is no video or audio recording of the arrangement, the live performance was observed and its musical characteristics noted. As a broadly categorised piece of ‘world music’, the arrangement incorporated elements that would likely be perceived as ‘African’ rather than ‘Latin American’.

Although not a chant, the arrangement of the vocal ostinato the band leader composed included the following aspects of sub-Saharan African harmonic conventions: parallel motion in harmonies, with the melodic contour of each voice generally dictated by the lyrics (Carver, 2012). In particular, the arrangement reflected relatively modern styles of choral singing that are particularly associated with South Africa, having been introduced by Christian missionaries (Carver, 2012) and understood as representative of ‘African music’ from the late 19th century onwards, through the global popularity of ensembles like the Zulu Choir (see Erlmann, 1999). This is evident in that the

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97 However, it is important to note that Sean’s perspective resonates with one of the core reasons for the instrument’s globalisation and ongoing appropriation in various musical contexts, namely, its perceived accessibility: “In comparison [to other Guinean percussion instruments], the basics of playing simple accompaniment rhythms on the djembé can be picked up by an amateur or professional musician in a relatively short time” (Flaig, 2010, p. 8).
SATB choral singing in *How Great is Our God* is not indigenous to traditional African folk music; while harmonic idiomatic norms vary across the continent’s numerous cultures, two-part, polyphonic singing is common, and instances of homophony emphasise melodic complementariness rather than chordal harmonisation (Carver, 2012; Nzewi, 2007). This contrasts with the clearly harmonic focus functioning within the four-part choral arrangement of *How Great is Our God*, which can be heard in Audio Samples 7.1 to 7.4, consisting of the tracks from which the four-part choir (soprano, alto 1, alto 2, bass) learnt their parts. In incorporating the stylistic characteristics of modern South African choral anthems, the arranger’s representation of ‘world music’ conformed to notions of ‘African choir music’ that proliferate the global public imagination.

Both Sean and Steven were central to the arrangement of *How Great is Our God*. Their superficial incorporation of ‘world music’ elements into the *djembé* and electric guitar parts accentuated the shallow interaction with difference for which this indefinable genre allows. The process and outcome of the Celebration Night performance resonated with Connell and Gibson’s (2004) argument that, like some dance music, world music allows “white folk to rub shoulders with a carefully constructed exotica . . . for the perpetuation of a myth of multiculture” (Banerjea, 2000, p. 65). Steven’s reference to *The Lion King* soundtrack is particularly pertinent here, as the Hollywood film’s appropriation of the Kenyan phrase, ‘Hakuna Matata’ has led to the song’s interpretation “in American popular culture as [an] expression of ‘Africanness’ and ‘blackness’” (Bruner, 2001, p. 893). For White Australians, a song reminiscent of *The Lion King* provides a comfortable, safe and familiar point of connection with cultural diversity. In aiming to musically symbolise the difference within the church congregation, both white and non-white members of the church instead encountered material much more influenced by “American cultural content that represents an American image of African culture” (Bruner, 2001, p. 893). This is not to take away from the quality of the performance, or the congregation’s enjoyment of the song. It certainly seemed that most members of the congregation,

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98 Western diatonic harmony has since found its way “into African neo-traditional and popular music as well as choral music and has provided harmonic foundation for modern styles in many African countries” (Carver, 2012, p. 71).
99 *The Lion King* soundtrack was written by Tim Rice (lyrics) and Elton John (music).
100 *Hakuna matata* means, “no worries, no problems.” In the 1970s the phrase was imbued with political meaning, communicating the safety of Kenya for those seeking refuge from the conflicts in Uganda and the states surrounding Kenya (Bruner, 2001).
regardless of their ethnocultural affiliation, were more deeply engaged with this performance than those presented by the South Sudanese and Filipino choirs.\footnote{All South Sudanese Australian members of the congregation participated in the South Sudanese choral performance. Conversely, the congregation included many Filipino Australian members who were not part of the senior Filipino choir who performed; some of these were participants in this study, and their comments comparing the Filipino Australian choir’s performance with the arrangement of How Great is Our God support this observation.} In addition to the careful and familiar construction of exotica already described, it is important to note that the congregation’s engagement was likely affected by a number of other factors, including: the performing ensemble’s confidence as musicians, their active participation in the song (it was not an ‘item’ but rather a song in which the entire congregation joined in singing), and their understanding of the non-English lyrics as direct translations of the English lyrics with which they were already familiar.

**White Australian Participation in Music of Other Cultures**

The construction of whiteness has been considered in relation to white management and the representation of Other cultures in the music of a multicultural church. Other field sites provided insight into how white normativity functioned when White Australians were tasked with learning the music of cultures considered Other. Among these was a community choir organised for Blacktown seniors, as well as a senior women’s *djembé* drumming group. Lisa, the conductor of the senior choir, has extensive experience running ensembles around Sydney. Although her heritage is Anglo-Celtic, as a professional musician\footnote{Lisa has sung in several ensembles within which she has produced albums and performed on international tours.} Lisa’s passion is multicultural music. As an extension of this passion she has collaborated with artists from various musical traditions from around the world, has learnt Arabic, Turkish and Greek singing techniques and produces a world music program on a Sydney commercial radio station that is also available worldwide via online streaming. Complementary to her own performance career Lisa has become known as a workshop leader throughout Sydney, teaching singing to various community groups. The choir in Blacktown that will be considered here was one of a few senior choirs that Lisa was directing at the time of data collection. In the context of the choir’s principal focus on health, wellbeing and sociality, Lisa incorporated songs from various cultures into the repertoire. Initially, she sourced these songs herself, and then the choristers were encouraged to contribute songs from their heritage cultures. For example, in Video...
Sample 7.2, the choir rehearses Lisa’s arrangement of *Tu Scendi Dalle Stelle* by Saint Alfonso Liguori (1732), an Italian Christmas-themed pastorale that was brought to the choir by an Italian member. At the time of recording, the choir had already learnt how to pronounce the lyrics and Lisa drew on the expertise of the culture bearer to lead the choir. Although he was not formally conducting the choir, the Italian chorister (positioned on the far left of the row of four standing men) projected his voice throughout the rehearsal room to lead the singing of the melody, thus being afforded a position of both social power and respect. The diatonic melody and functional harmony of the arrangement easily fitted with the aesthetic expectations of the choir, who readily accepted and joined in with singing the song.

Excerpts from Lisa’s other non-English song arrangements can be seen in Appendix P. Even where she had little knowledge about a particular musical style or culture, Lisa described her choral arrangement process as involving “[knowing] how to listen to music and [figuring] out what the elements of it were that would’ve made it what it was” (Interview, November 14, 2011). Although there were certainly examples of Lisa drawing on the musical characteristics of the original songs to determine what elements to foreground, other arrangements leaned more heavily towards complying with what were perhaps the choir member’s Euro-normative aesthetic expectations.

Lisa spoke about being surprised by the seniors’ openness and positive reception to learning the non-English songs, given that the group was comprised primarily of Anglo Australians and that, “people thought that older people just wanted to sing stuff they knew when they were young . . . But that’s actually not true” (Lisa, Interview, November 14, 2011). This apparent openness could be partly attributed to Lisa’s experienced, encouraging musical direction and her habit of arranging songs specifically for the range and capability of her ensembles. However, interviews with White Australian members of the choir revealed that some choristers had misgivings about the incorporation of culturally and linguistically diverse repertoire.

Learning is something everyone should continue to do until they pass on. . . . And learning to sing in another language is exciting. But many, I know that others of the group will say, "Argh we've got to learn another language again." (Kevin, Interview, November 2, 2011)

I didn’t know that we were going to sing like that [music in other languages] when I joined . . . I thought it was just singing . . . And I do pick up from [the senior choir], that a lot of them say, “Oh I don’t like this, I don’t like this. We
should sing something we know.” So I’ve heard a couple of things . . . I don’t mind it. I mean, we can sing in languages that I don’t know. And truly, it’s not so that I don’t know, she’ll tell us what it means . . . I find I can sing those easier, funny enough, you can sing that easier than the English . . . because you’re thinking about how to pronounce that word . . . you’re not thinking of what the word is. (Sharon, Interview, November 22, 2012)

The comments above were echoed by a number of other choir member participants throughout data collection. Notably, none of the interviewees who discussed discontentment with the choir’s repertoire claimed that opinion for themselves. Like Kevin and Sharon, participants attested that while they personally enjoyed the diverse musical material, others were dissatisfied because of the challenge of learning to pronounce non-English words. Importantly, language seemed to be the sole complaint and disparate musical style was not mentioned at all. It is difficult to ascertain the accuracy of these statements because those who apparently held these opinions did not speak to the issue themselves. What is clear is that, contrary to Lisa’s claim, some choir members considered the cultural breadth of the repertoire a contentious issue. Importantly, here, cultural difference was consistently defined according to linguistic criteria, with English considered the mark of Australian normativity. This reference point supports the notion of (White) Australian identification as malleable and socially constructed. For example, in terms of physical appearance, the Italian chorister was considered white enough to have been allowed entry into Australia after World War Two but prior to the elimination of the final vestiges of the White Australia Policy. However, in the context of sharing Italian songs from his country of origin, he was assigned as Other due to his facility with the unfamiliar Italian language.

Important, those who professed to enjoy the multicultural and multilingual repertoire cited various reasons for their position. In addition to the opportunity for learning and increased focus on pronunciation cited by Kevin and Sharon, participants mentioned inclusivity for members of the choir who were not native English speakers, “to make them feel as if they’re really included in the group” (Maree, Interview, November 2, 2011). To an extent the sentiment resonates with the notion of Hage’s (2000) white multiculturalist, in that there are those with the agency to either bestow or withhold inclusion, and those who are not already, as a matter of course, considered to be innately included. At the same time, the notion of inclusion enacted within the choir was found to be more bidirectional than this reductionist includer/included binary, as Maree clarified the necessity for the choir to stay relevant within the
multicultural region: “Blacktown is getting very, very diverse. And you need to be able to converse and include everybody” (Interview, November 2, 2011). Indeed, one of the practical reasons for the choir’s diverse repertoire was so that they could serve as a local choir for various events within the region. One of their annual performances, for example, was singing *Dham Dham Dham*, a *Shiva bhajan* (traditional devotional song dedicated to the deity Shiva), at a local Hindu celebration (see Appendix Q for the sheet music used to learn *Dham Dham Dham*). Interestingly, the choir enjoyed singing the song so much (because of its “upbeat” feel) that they chose to perform it in a totally different context, a Christmas celebration attended primarily by White Australians (see Video Sample 7.3). In this way, the diversity in the region was seen to drive change in the culture of the primarily White Australian senior choir.

Kevin: More and more movement of peoples . . . will change the whole flavour of the place . . . It will just automatically happen . . . I don't feel that we're being flooded by all these people descending on our culture . . . There will be over generations a natural merging of different cultures and different peoples and different coloured skins and all of that and I'm not threatened by that at all.

Maree: And that's, I think, with our choir, that's why Lisa is teaching us lots of songs from overseas and et cetera. And to me that's good if we can share life with everybody, then we're only going to help ourselves and not just learn from it but expand ourselves, and our lives, as well.

(Interview, November 2, 2011)

Here, Kevin and Maree highlighted the connection between the choir’s engagement in culturally diverse and multilingual music making, and what Hage (2000) calls the multicultural Real, wherein, “The tendency for migrants to integrate into society is as inevitable as the change they bring into that very culture” (p. 238). Arnold (1999), Bakan (2007), Shukla-Bhatt (2014) and Visawanathan and Allen (2014) outline a number of characteristics of the *bhajan* genre that arguably support its cross-cultural appropriation in the manner described by Kevin and Maree. Importantly, the genre is ubiquitous across South Asia and the Indian diaspora, leading to its commercial use in popular music and film. People of all castes and genders sing *bhajan*, and they are regularly heard in a wide number of entertainment and religious contexts, including in the worship practices of non-Hindu religions such as Christianity and Sikhism that

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103 Appendix Q shows that *Dham Dham Dham* was not collected via a culture bearer, nor was it arranged by Lisa. That a commercial educational resource (Australian Broadcasting Corporation, 2000) such as this would be learnt by a primarily White Australian senior choir, and then performed annually at a Hindu celebration (to the delight of the attending Hindu community), draws attention to the complexity underlying notions of authenticity and appropriation.
have adopted the form. This inclusivity is emphasised by the significant audience participation that occurs in bhajan performances. In addition to these contextual elements of the genre, which suggest that bhajan songs are generally open to adaptation, their musical characteristics lend themselves more readily to Western interpretation than some other Indian music genres. Unlike the related classical vocal traditions of Hindustani and Karnāṭak music that involve improvisatory elaboration on complex raga melodic systems, many bhajan have a relatively fixed melody (Arnold, 1999). Further, although the label ‘echo song’ in the Appendix Q sheet music for Dham Dham Dham does not seem to be widespread (see Arnold, 1999; Bakan, 2007; Shukla-Bhatt, 2014; Viswanathan & Allen, 2014), the genre is responsorial, with amateurs and professionals performing a call-and-response as approximated in the sheet music provided. Another key recognisable feature is the increase of tempo evident in Video Sample 7.3, which corresponds with the role of tempo in traditional bhajan singing, wherein at the beginning “a few repetitions of the refrain in slow tempo allow a devotional mood to develop. Toward the end of the performance . . . the [refrain] is repeated several times in fast tempo, reinforcing the message of the song with intensity” (Shukla-Bhatt, 2014, p. 137). At the same time, the arrangement of Dham Dham Dham in Appendix Q and Video Sample 7.3 reveals its assimilation in this form into a Euro-normative aesthetic. Most importantly, like Hindustani and Karnāṭak vocal music bhajan involves microtones in the “subtle nuances of Indian vocal ornamentation” (Viswanathan & Allen, 2014, p. 4), which are eliminated from the version performed by the senior choir and attuned to the Western diatonic system. Even the limited extent of improvisation in bhajan (when compared with other Indian vocal traditions) is removed from the adaptation found in Appendix Q and Video Sample 7.3, which reifies a particular version of the song. Here, the increase in tempo is set within a fixed structure rather than being driven by the devotional sentiment of the performer and audience. In these ways, this arrangement represents the aesthetic assimilation of definitive bhajan idioms into Western musical norms. It is argued that, in the case of the senior choir and Dham Dham Dham, Hage’s (2000) multicultural Real occurred much more substantially on a social, rather than a musical, level.

The social integration embodied in the senior choir’s annual participation in local Hindu celebrations, as well as their independent engagement with Dham Dham Dham,

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104 Even in film and popular music versions of bhajan, devotional sentiment still plays an important part in performer and audience engagement.
was mirrored in the musical lives of other White Australians in Blacktown. One notable occasion involved a senior women’s drumming group, wherein a group of primarily White Australian women aged 60 and over, attended weekly workshops. Their ensemble consisted of *djembé*, *kpanlogo* and *dunun* drums and their facilitator Arlene, also a senior White Australian woman, had been leading their workshops (as well as other drumming ensembles) for 7 years at the time of data collection. Having trained with master drummers in Ghana for 2 months, as well as Western *djembé* teachers in Sydney, Arlene has learnt repertoire from Ghana, Guinea and Mali. Throughout observations Arlene was observed briefly explaining the origins of some of the repertoire. She described one of the rhythms that the ensemble rehearsed regularly as forming part of a Guinean funeral ritual. Sadly, during the data collection period, one drummer’s daughter passed away. Despite none of the people involved being of Guinean heritage, I was asked to record the ensemble playing the rhythm so that the video could be played at the funeral. This adaptation of a very specific, ritualistic Guinean rhythm demonstrated the manner in which, for some White Australian participants, music from cultures constructed as Other was appropriated and recontextualised for personal purposes. While the senior choir’s performances of *Dham Dham Dham* only held religious significance within annual local Hindu celebrations (and never for the senior choristers themselves), here, the original function of the rhythm was regarded as equally meaningful for the performers and the eventual audience. Although the nuances of the rhythm’s traditionally intended context, usage and performance were only understood in superficial terms, the sincerity and intimacy with which the recorded performance was charged resonated quite profoundly with Hage’s (2000) notion of the multicultural Real.

However, this occasion was not representative of the way Guinean drumming repertoire was generally perceived by the senior women drummers. When asked about the extent to which they thought about the meaning and context of the rhythms, as described by Arlene, most of the ensemble’s interviewees said that they concentrate much more on the technique and structure of the pieces. For most of the members, meaning seemed to be derived from the aesthetic, social, communal, therapeutic and health outcomes of group drumming, with limited interest in the cross-cultural aspects of their weekly workshops. For the senior choir, the distinction between their facility with English and non-English lyrics compelled them to consider their feelings on learning music from cultures constructed as Other. This contrasted greatly with the
level of reflection evident among participants in the drumming group, who were much less opinionated on the topic. When asked to reflect on what it was like to learn music from another culture, some interviewees answered as follows.

No I haven’t given it much thought, to be honest. I haven’t thought about it. (Julie, Interview, March 23, 2012)

It doesn’t worry me. I’m just interested in the sound of those drums because they’re sexy . . . Yeah, I like the beat of those drums much better than the South American ones that I first heard of . . . they’re very wishy-washy. But I really like the sound of these drums, they’re sexier! And they’ve got a deeper beat and a more throbbing beat. And they just sound better to me. (Pearl, Interview, March 28, 2012)

In contrast to the absence of focused thought and sweeping generalisations evident in the answers above, most of the interviewees were able to speak with much more detail and nuance about how group drumming addressed issues related to gender equality, isolation and mental and physical health among senior women. Indeed, these were the issues that the workshops were initially designed to address, which in turn determined the limited focus on cross-cultural transmission on the side of both the learners and the facilitator. As Arlene explained,

I love the Ghanian stuff. It’s difficult to teach . . . It requires a slightly different technique . . . And their music is a little bit subtler and it’s very hard for people to grasp the nuances of it. It’s much easier to teach the Guinea [and Mali] material . . . I up-front acknowledge that it’s not Traditional with a big ‘T’. It’s actually not. And I make up my own intros, I make up my own breaks and things. Because some of the ones that come from the African teachers are actually quite complicated, rhythmically complicated, and there’s no way that people that I work with would be able to get them. So I create things that I know they’re going to get. So it’s really not traditional in the traditional sense. All that’s traditional is the drums that we’re using . . . Choosing traditional instruments and basing it on a rhythm, small ‘t’ traditional rhythm, which may not be played exactly the way they play it there. (Interview, November 16, 2011)

Here, Arlene’s reflections on ‘tradition’ highlight the tension between static and fluid notions of the term, explored extensively in multicultural music education literature (see for example Campbell et al., 2005; Schippers, 2010). Schippers conceives of approaches to tradition as existing on a continuum, in which “no tradition would qualify as all static or all flexible” (p. 46). However it is important to note that, in the cases of the senior women’s drumming group and Blacktown’s senior choir, the malleability of traditions primarily manifested unidirectionally, towards facilitating greater acceptability by White Australian participants. For example, in the description
above Arlene draws attention to conscious repertoire, interpretation and arrangement decisions she made, so as not to overwhelm her learners with excessively complex rhythms. Video Sample 7.4 shows the ensemble performing the opening of one of their regular rhythms during rehearsal. Similarly to some of the arrangements for the senior choir, the performance highlights how Arlene’s resolution not to significantly challenge the drummers resulted in conformity to very Euro-normative musical idioms. Indeed, the globalisation of Guinean- and Malinke- based djembé workshops has led to a dilution of characteristic elements of practice, including that of micro-timing and improvisation (see Flaig, 2010). As opposed to the regulated pulsations emphasised in performances like the one in Video Sample 7.4, micro-rhythmic inflections are meticulously executed by master drummers who subtly play with the elasticity of time. Further, the practice of learning rhythms as foundational material on which improvised solos can be built was completely absent from the senior women’s drumming group. Video Sample 7.4 shows the formalised rehearsal of rhythms as fixed, definitive compositions, which were replicated as accurately as possible for public performances.

Through examining the musical practices of the senior choir and senior women’s drumming group, it has been demonstrated that learning music from cultures constructed as Other provided White Australian participants with an object of difference against which they either reinforced or challenged the normativity of whiteness as Australia’s core culture.

**White Australian Identification with Heritage Cultures**

It has been demonstrated that, through consuming and participating in music of cultures with which they did not identify (regardless of the genre), White Australians enacted core and periphery differentiation. It was through these processes of exclusion that the boundaries of White Australian culture were negotiated, despite their amorphous constitution. At the same time, some of the participants in this case study associated themselves with musical cultures that they considered distinct from their White Australian self-identification, but connected to their heritage backgrounds. In this way, these participants were able to claim belonging to the White Australian majority while simultaneously fulfilling the desire to be part of a narrative of cultural continuity. Importantly, the extent to which these non-white Australian heritage cultures played a part in participants’ everyday lives varied significantly. Some of the
younger participants, in particular, acknowledged that these interests were an aspirational response to the absence of a tangible White Australian culture with which to identify. Among them were Olivia and Faith, who were mentioned earlier as claiming not to have a strong sense of history or, as a result, sense of self. Directly after agreeing that they identified with the term White Australian, Olivia expanded on a point about their heritage that she raised very briefly earlier in the interview: “We have some Aboriginal in us, but I don’t know where it is. And you’re either Aboriginal or not Aboriginal, that’s the basics?” (Interview, December 17, 2012). It is suggested that this vague declaration of unspecified Indigenous Australian ancestry manifested itself in the sisters’ musical interests, as they responded in the following way when asked about the extent to which they connected with various forms of Australian music.

Olivia: No I don’t connect with it.
Faith: I can connect with if it’s . . . I went to a Missy Higgins concert and there was this Aboriginal guy who did this amazing singing. He was so amazing with his music and stuff . . . I connect with Aboriginal kind of music, like I find that awesome.
Olivia: Yeah.
Faith: But not so much White Australian kind of “Waltzing Matilda” [sung in a particularly broad Australian accent], you know.
Olivia: Yeah.
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Faith: I guess they [Aboriginal Australians] just have so many stories . . . Most of them sing it in their language. I find it really interesting. Because you can make your own story out of it.
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Sam: And do you feel connected to it personally, like it’s your culture too?
Faith: I don’t know. I want it to be.
Olivia: Yeah, I kind of want it to be.
(Interview, December 17, 2012)

The hesitancy with which the sisters claimed an aspirational connection with Aboriginal music\(^\text{105}\) mirrored Olivia’s ambivalent assertion of Aboriginal heritage. In the context of the entire interview, it was clear that their desire to legitimately claim ownership of Aboriginal songs was related to the lack of direction and sense of loss they associated with White Australian culture. At the same time, they did not

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\(^{105}\) It must be noted that there is no singular “Aboriginal music”; Aboriginal Australia consists of hundreds of distinct languages and cultures (Australian Government, 2015). This broad term is employed to reflect the conception of Aboriginal music embodied in Faith’s comments.
demonstrate any particular familiarity with Aboriginal Australian music, and Faith was unable to identify the name, language or clan of the singer to whom she referred. Given the details she provided, Faith was most likely referring to Geoffrey Gurrumul Yunupingu, a former member of Yothu Yindi who has since joined Saltwater Band and has also established himself as a solo artist. It is notable that the sole context in which Faith discussed engaging with Aboriginal music was Gurrumul’s performance as a support act for White Australian popular musician Missy Higgins’ tour (Video Sample 7.5 shows Gurrumul and Missy Higgins’ duet performance of his song Warwu during her 2012 Canberra show). Further, her suggestion that listeners can “make your own story out of” Aboriginal songs, because they are in languages other than English, suggests an erasure of their original meaning for her own self-identification purposes. Indeed Gurrumul is a member of the Gumatj clan on Ganalwin’ku (Elcho Island), and his songs are very much about his own “identity, spirit and connection with the land, its elements and the ancestral beings he is related to” (Skinnyfish Music, 2015, n.p.).

Other young participants exhibited similar processes of dual belonging, laying claim to musical traditions or styles from heritage cultures that had no other relevance for their lives. Like the connection Olivia and Faith felt with Aboriginal music, Amanda described an affinity for Eastern European Jewish music based on a tenuous claim on Jewish descent.

My father being of Ukrainian heritage, from Eastern Europe. I guess it’s Eastern Europe Jewish music is probably what I’m, yeah. He was raised in a time of White Australia Policy so he’s got assimilated. So I don’t have very strong cultural ties to that because he wanted to, he strove to be Australian, he wanted to fit in, he wanted to be accepted into the white society. But the music that I hear, like Hava Najiraz, Najira—is that how you say it? [Sings opening melody of Hava Nagila] . . . Those sort of Jewish songs, I’m just like. I don’t know . . . And there’s the, “What ifs,” that we might have been Jewish. Because our last name means, “Jewish boilermakers.” (Interview, December 10, 2012)

Here, Faith’s superficial knowledge of the Aboriginal music she aspired to have ownership over was matched by Amanda’s cursory familiarity with Jewish music. This was demonstrated by her inability to accurately name a single song from the tradition that she claimed most resonated with her sense of self. This was especially notable given how widely known Hava Nagila is in the general public imaginary. Audio Sample 7.5 has been excerpted from the section of Amanda’s interview quoted above; she can be heard singing the melody of the Israeli folk song for verification purposes. While Olivia did not provide details about how she came to find out about
their Indigenous ancestry, Amanda acknowledged the speculative nature of her Jewish association, specifically using the phrase “What if s.” Further, Amanda was aware of the need for this speculation, attributing her lack of cultural ties to her father’s migration during the White Australia Policy. Despite having no memories of listening to Jewish music during her childhood, and the fact that her father (nor any other member of her family) claimed Jewish heritage, Amanda unequivocally stated that Jewish music was personally evocative for her sense of self.

Elly’s connection with music from her heritage culture was based on neither aspiration nor conjecture. As will be described below, Elly’s engagement with German Christmas music was somewhat limited, but formed part of broader family customs that provided a sense of deep-rootedness and community.

My parents are German . . . but my mum was only two when she got here. So she grew up here . . . and she identifies as more Aussie . . . In terms of the way I grew up, I think I identify with the Anglo kind of “Aussie” mentality . . . I think of myself as primarily Australian, because I’m what? Third, second generation sort of thing. I do really like my heritage. You know I like at Christmas, singing German Christmas songs and making gingerbread houses and the German traditional decorations and things for Christmas. And I mean that’s really as far as it goes. I mean I can’t speak German or anything but I like the old sort of traditional sense of community and stuff that you get from some of those traditions. So I do think of myself as Australian but with a German heritage. (Interview, November 9, 2011)

Elly and her mother Kirsten were eager participants in another Blacktown choir directed by Lisa. As with the senior choir, members of Elly and Kirsten’s choir were asked to bring in music from their heritage cultures. When Elly shared a German Christmas carol with the rest of the choir and participated in their learning it, it led to a profound realisation about her self-identification. She claimed that this type of musical engagement, “made me realise that it’s more part of me than what I had thought originally” (Interview, November 9, 2011). Importantly, Elly drew a distinction between her primary self-identification as an “Anglo kind of ‘Aussie’” and the German heritage with which she most strongly engaged through these German Christmas traditions. At the same time, elsewhere in her interview Elly denoted her normative Australian identity through her categorisation as one of the “white kids” at school, which she attributed to the “colour of [her] skin” as the descendent of white Germans (Interview, November 9, 2011). These simultaneous identity claims further reinforce the malleable, socially constructed and at times contradictory explications of
whiteness (see p. 213).

In the White Australian case study, there was a distinct generational divide governing how deeply embedded participants were in the cultures of their heritage countries. For young participants, cultural identification was sought and at times fulfilled by limited and superficial engagement with music that they considered outside the bounds of their normative White Australian identities. In contrast, some of the more senior participants in the case study obtained such cultural identification through regular engagement with Australian music traditions rooted in the history of Anglo-Celtic settlement. Contrary to the notion of White Australian culture as neutral or invisible, for those who engaged with such music on a regular basis, it was important to illuminate sharp divisions between the various Anglo-Celtic traditions and cultures upon which White Australian folk music draws. Here, it is important to reiterate that prior to the Second World War, White Australia was far from homogenous and whiteness was utilised to unify an Australia otherwise divided by class, religion and heritage country (see Cerwonka, 2004; Curthoys, 2009; Hodge & Carroll, 2006; Moran, 2005).

Where some young participants looked to Other cultures to generate feelings of cultural belonging, older participants maintained the divisions within White Australia. This attitude was most evident among participants who were actively involved in the performance of British or Celtic music. Notable among them was Jack, a first generation Australian of Irish and Scottish heritage and a member of Lisa’s senior choir as well as a number of other music ensembles. In particular, Jack had expansive knowledge about, and expertise in performing, Australian bush and Celtic folk music. He was active throughout Australia’s 1950s traditional bush music\textsuperscript{106} revival scene\textsuperscript{107} through his involvement in the Bush Music Club, The Folklore Society and the nationally popular band, The Bushwackers. Although he reached a very senior position in the Bush Music Club, Jack has since retired from his involvement in these groups. Jack’s nuanced and alterable self-conception was indicative of the competition

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\textsuperscript{106} Australian bush music is central to what is considered iconoclastic White Australian folklore, and involves songs that address people’s experiences living in the Australian bush. The musical content and musical style of this genre will be discussed later in the chapter.

\textsuperscript{107} Although bush music continues to be performed today, the repertoire was particularly popular in the couple of decades following the 1950s traditional bush revival. The traditionalism in the 1950s bush music revival scene shifted, aligning with broader international trends, to incorporate 1960s folk-rock and eventually a 1970s theatricality that remains characteristic of contemporary Australian bush performances (Smith, 2005).
between various forms of identification described by Curthoys (2009).

I’d call meself a Celtic Australian . . . it isn’t Anglo Australian, because the Scots and the Irish hate the English . . . They do not identify with the English . . . It pleases me to play at being Scottish when I like to, and play at being Irish when I like to . . . Oh yeah, White Australian, of course, yes. I’m definitely white. (Jack, Interview, November 9, 2011)

In her sheet music for the senior choir, Lisa differentiated between folk songs that were British, Irish or Scottish in origin (at the time of data collection no Welsh folk songs were included in the choir’s repertoire). Interestingly, despite his strongly Celtic (and arguably anti-Anglo) identification, Jack identified Blow the Wind Southerly, an English folk song from Northumberland, as his favourite in the choir’s repertoire. He said that it was his favourite, “not because it’s a folk song, but because it’s a beautiful folk song” (Interview, November 9, 2011). Audio Sample 7.6 is a recording of Jack singing one verse of the song, and was excerpted from his interview.

The interconnectedness between Jack’s musical pursuits and his multiple self-identifications was further evident in the discussion about his instrumental experience. During the bush music revival Jack sourced, and taught himself to play by ear, a concertina and a B-flat tin whistle. Video Sample 7.6 was excerpted from Jack’s interview and shows him playing the Irish folk song The Derry Hornpipe on his whistle, in line with his strongly Irish self-perception. Similarly, Jack chose an Irish song to perform when demonstrating concertina playing, the primary instrument he used within The Bushwackers. Although The Bushwackers was a decidedly Australian bush music ensemble, Jack made a clear distinction between his concertina and the other instruments featured in the band, saying,

I was the only one who played one of these . . . people were encouraged to learn bush instruments, you know, fiddle, mouth organ, all that sort of thing. And John [Meredith] played the button accordion, which is definitely the Australian folk instrument, it’s the most famous thing in Australia, bush instrument. (Interview, November 9, 2011)

Again, in seeming contrast to the strong distinction Jack made between British and Celtic people and cultures, he chose the English system concertina as his instrument, spending a considerable amount of resources to obtain one. As shown in Video

108 John Meredith was one of the Australian folklore collectors labeled a ‘legender’, in line with Russell Ward’s work on The Australian Legend (which will be discussed on p. 226 onwards). In addition to collecting much of the repertoire that was performed and playing the button accordion, John Meredith was considered the leader or ‘face’ of The Bushwackers in that he fulfilled the role of lead singer.
Sample 7.7, Jack played with great facility when demonstrating the use of the concertina in the interview. Although he was not able to name the song he performed, he played it fluently from memory and afterwards provided what details he could remember: “It wasn’t a bush song. It was a semi-classical piece written for the Irish harp by one Turlough O’Carolan, who I have no proof that he is an ancestor. He was a 17th century blind harpist” (Interview, November 9, 2011). Although in many ways O’Carolan is considered the personification of the ancient Irish bard, the combination of influences in his compositions is particularly reflective of Jack’s traditional music practices as a boundary-crossing, self-identified Celtic Australian. As well as integrating Italian Baroque and traditional Irish musical styles, O’Carolan’s compositions “praise patrons of both Old Catholic and Anglo-Irish lineage, crossing religious and ethnic boundaries” (Yoakam, 2009, p. 24).

Although there was a hint of aspiration in Jack’s hopeful jest that he is descended from Turlough O’Carolan, unlike Faith and Amanda, Jack’s inability to name the song he performed was not from a lack of familiarity with the music. It became clear throughout data collection that Jack was very immersed in the culture over which he claimed ownership; although he had forgotten the titles of a few of the songs he performed, he had clearly memorised a vast number of tunes. This was evident again when Jack demonstrated how to play the lagerphone109, as recorded in Video Sample 7.8. Although he was very familiar with the melody and how to rhythmically accompany himself, Jack was unable to name the song he performed.

Jack was one of a few senior participants who made clear distinctions between British and Celtic music, culture and identity, and for whom music from these disparate heritage cultures offered a sense of deep-rooted cultural belonging. At the same time, despite protestations about the cultural differences between British and Celtic people, all of the participants who engaged with British and Irish folk music, as well as Australian bush music, were clearly drawn to all of the traditions and regularly engaged in each of them. It is argued that the incorporation of various British and Celtic traditions within Australian bush music fostered this crossover. Fahey and Seal (2005) outline the varying influences on Australian bush ballads, ranging from Irish

109 An often home-made instrument assembled through the loose fastening of beer bottle tops to a pole, which jingles on impact when percussively banged on the ground. Jack made the lagerphone in the video himself, and identifies as a lagerphone player and maker. Notably, he made a lagerphone for Pete Seeger during the latter’s Australian tour in the 1960s.
highwayman ballads, American tunes, Scottish dance tunes and British minstrel and music hall songs. In practice, Jack’s participation in an Australian bush music club was the impetus for him to learn the English concertina, on which he learnt to play several tunes arranged for Irish instruments. Kevin, who performed alongside Jack not only in the senior choir but also in an Australian folk ensemble, had no Irish ancestors. However, as a consequence of his participation in Australian bush music Kevin learnt to play the Irish bodhrán (see Video Sample 7.9 of Kevin demonstrating the bodhrán).

This amalgamation problematises the notion of British and Celtic traditions as distinctly separate from each other in the context of broader White Australian culture. Perhaps this entanglement is foundational to some of the younger participants’ desire to seek identity in an altogether different, and more clearly discrete, culture. Despite the generational differences explored, the processes by which the participants identified with music of their (real or imagined) heritage cultures illuminated, to varying degrees, the following phenomenon:

In the Australian context, becoming white is about giving up a particular ethnic or racial or cultural identity . . . even just one or two generations ago [they] may have been Irish or Scottish or English or Welsh or some combination of these or other European groupings. The power of whiteness operates to ensure that over time these distinctions are lost for those who can become white. (Durie, 2010, p. 154)

The Australian Bush, and Other National Icons

Examining the senior participants’ engagement with Anglo, Celtic and Australian folk music has demonstrated the interrelationship between these musical cultures in the context of White Australia. It is clear that the intangible nature of White Australian culture discussed earlier, while a common theme that emerged from the data, was not a notion to which all participants subscribed. At the same time, the boundaries within and around this culture were revealed to be indubitably malleable for all participants. Many of the younger participants were aware of iconic nationalistic representations of Australia in music, but unlike Jack and Kevin, younger participants discussed these as purely symbolic and empty of any personal meaning. For some, the nationalist myths surrounding, for example, the icon of the Australian bushman, were fabricated contrivances with no foundation in Australian society. In this way participants managed the contradiction between a perceived absence of culture and the acknowledgement of recognised cultural artefacts. Faith’s mockery of Waltzing Matilda (see p. 220) demonstrates how the authenticity of such symbols was
evaluated according to the extent to which the individual personally related to the icon. This criterion was evident in a number of other interviews, quoted below.

I think we have attempted to, as a White Australian culture, I think people have tried to put their identity, culturally anyway, in the story of the Anzacs . . . but even still that’s, I don’t really particularly connect with that identity of, “We do it tough, we’re Aussies” . . . Rather than something that’s just been developed over time, it’s almost, “Let’s just go with this,” sort of. (Sean, Interview, November 22, 2012)

They mention like a bunch of ridiculous stereotypes like koalas and bushmen and I don’t think there’s an Anglo Australian culture, but I’m sure someone could identify with more subtle forms of it. (Steven, Interview, November 23, 2012)

I don’t know, because for some reason it just seems stupid to do their equivalent . . . Our [traditional performance] equivalent would be like Nutbush or something like that. And it just seems stupid to do that. (Olivia, Interview, December 17, 2012)

All of the participants quoted above had some personal misgivings about the icons usually associated with Australia, using their own lack of attachment to the nationalist myths as illustrations of their inauthenticity. In particular, various manifestations of the Australian bush were mentioned, alongside a reference to Anzacs and the rugged resilience attributed to Australian character. Although Sean insightfully drew attention to the constructed nature of Australia’s predominant nationalist discourses, none of the participants above acknowledged that the same processes of nationalism have been applied across the globe. Indeed, sovereign nations around the world are occupied by ‘invented traditions’, a collection of culturally engineered symbols, rituals, myths and histories developed to mobilise and politicise the populace (see Smith, 2010).

The significance of the bushman within Australian nationalism has been the subject of scholarly historiography and nationalism debates since Russell Ward’s (1958) The Australian Legend. Ward contended that the national self-image in which mateship, egalitarianism, practical and improvisatory skills and anti-British localism were deemed to be characteristically Australian, was initially derived from convicts, emancipists, Irish migrants and native-born whites. These characteristics, he argued, found their ultimate expression in pastoral bush workers, when the Australian outback was especially romanticised because of Australia’s increasing urbanisation. It has

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110 Here, the word ‘their’ is used in comparing the notion of White Australian traditional culture with “other people’s cultures” (Olivia, Interview, December 17, 2012), as represented at school multicultural celebrations.
been argued that *The Australian Legend* espoused the existence of an inherent Australian egalitarianism that ignored the exclusionary practices through which white, working class men were positioned as the embodiment of Australian character (see Bongiorno, 2008). As was demonstrated earlier, the younger participants in the case study disputed the relevance of the bush ethos for them personally and, by extension, for Australia. While several older participants including Peter, Fergie, Sharon, Kirsten and Lisa equated the phrase ‘Australian music’ with bush ballads, their reflections on the genre did not address the extent to which the bush ethos continues to be consequential in the national psyche. Lisa unsentimentally described Australian music culture at the beginning of white settlement as Irish folk music with modified lyrics, but hastened to add that it has since changed depending on new waves of migration.

Although Kirsten did not meditate on the authenticity of the national mystique espoused by Ward, she did indicate that for her, bush ballads were entrenched as national symbols through school instruction. She recounted an anecdote in which, during a professional trip in Japan, she and a colleague were unexpectedly required to sing something representative of Australia after a business dinner. As she narrated, “we weren’t used to performing, we didn’t know what to do. So we did *On The Road to Gundagai*[^11] which is a famous Australian song . . . when push came to shove I picked a really Aussie song” (Interview, December 4, 2012). It could be argued that schooling experiences such as Kirsten’s modify the neo-perennial nationalism of bush ballads as envisioned by Ward into invented traditions promulgated through institutional and official means[^12].

Of all of the participants, Kevin’s description of Australian culture most clearly aligned with the myth of *The Australian Legend*. When asked about the extent to which Australians were attached to bush ballads, Kevin’s answer aligned neatly with Ward’s arguments:

> Not so much just the music . . . I suppose you would say Anglo Australian mindset, as a general cultural thing, has to do with the space that this country has . . . Most of the country is empty, we're just clustered around the outside of

[^11]: *On The Road to Gundagai* is a jaunty bush band favourite that appeared in Banjo Paterson’s (1905) *Old Bush Songs*.

[^12]: The institutionalisation of this brand of Australian nationalism across the country is evident in the ABC Sing! Books repertoire. The ABC Sing! Books, published every year, are educational song books aimed at Australian primary school teachers. Searching the keyword ‘Australian’ on the website’s index of songs published between 1975 and 2006 (Australian Broadcasting Corporation, 2015) returns 26 results, the majority of which are either arrangements of bush ballads or make direct reference to iconic images associated with the myth of the Australian Legend.
Now that's something that gets embedded here as part of what you are. The other thing that's part of what we are is the Irish that came here... a lot of our folk music comes from Irish folk tunes. Many of what we call Australian bush songs come from Irish folk songs and just the words are different... the Irish came here and that's where I think there is a sort of a culture of, a healthy disrespect for authority... and every time you hear an Irish lilt to any of these Australian songs, then that sort of reinforces itself in your head that we come from the rebels that came over here, most of them sent here just simply to get them out of the way from the conflict between England and Ireland... And of course they brought that attitude with them. Yeah, I think those sorts of things are deeply part of what we are. (Interview, November 2, 2011)

Kevin clearly embraced the frontier mentality intrinsic in the bush ethos, and like Ward attributed the notion of Australian anti-elitism to Irish convict heritage. In this way, Kevin considered the bush ballad’s direct appropriation of Irish folk tunes not as mimicry, but rather, an authentic reflection of a deeply embedded Australian ontology. Interestingly the strongly self-identifying Celtic Australian Jack was the first to problematise the straightforward parallels that others drew between Australian and Irish folk music traditions. He argued, “We used to assume that all our folk songs, all our folklore was Irish. And then again when we get into it a bit more, sort of like, ‘No it’s not.’ We’ve got a lot of German in there as well. We’ve had a lot of German settlers” (Interview, November 9, 2011). Although he was aware of the diversity of influences on Australian folk songs seemingly disregarded by Kevin and Lisa, because of his penchant for Irish folk tunes Jack played Irish folk or primarily Irish-influenced Australian songs in his interview. When discussing his favourite performance with the senior choir, Jack offered to reproduce the solo concertina performance he did during the first annual concert. Jack can be heard performing the first four lines (half verse) of Henry Lawson’s Song of the Old Bullock-Driver in Audio Sample 7.7. Although set to a traditional Irish folk tune, the expressive techniques Jack utilised in Audio Sample 7.7 highlighted performative elements associated much more distinctly with traditional Australian bush music.

When the concept of Australian music was raised in interviews, participants most commonly responded with references to bush ballads. However, several of these participants mentioned bush ballads in a manner that negated their relevance to their personal Australian self-identification. Still others broadened their critique, suggesting that these and other Australian stereotypes were contrived attempts to invent national culture and character. The disconnection between these participants and bush ballads was mirrored in observations, as there was a relative scarcity of such music being
performed or listened to in Blacktown throughout the data collection period. In his interview Jack spoke about being in a minority because of his unfashionable interest in bush poetry; circumstances which he saw as being driven by the commerciality of the music industry and the fact that, “you’ve got to face it, Australian bush songs are quite often not so devastating as you’d like them to be” (Interview, November 9, 2011). Indeed, this lack of colour and commercial viability was one of the key factors behind the shift from the old-time 1950s folk acts to the much more theatrical bush bands in the 1970s (Smith, 2005). Kevin discussed the decline of bush ‘Australianism’, as he called it, in more generational terms. He stated, “I think as generations now merge with other cultures that are coming here it [Australianism] will change . . . a lot of our film and literature still is about the bush of Australia. The openness, the spaces and all that. So that will still be sort of in the mix . . . But the general mindset will change, I think” (Interview, November 2, 2011).

Although there were not many instances throughout data collection when participants were observed directly engaging with traditional bush ballads, the performance of more modern Australiana-themed songs arose more often. In particular, Lisa’s senior choir sang several songs with references to Australia in the lyrics, as evident in Appendix R and exemplified in Video Sample 7.10. What is striking is that, in addition to sharing the Verse–Chorus structure of most pop songs, many of these songs enact elements of The Australian Legend through their textual descriptions of the Australian environment. The frontier mentality central to the bush ethos is scattered throughout the songs, with specific references to Waltzing Matilda, Ned Kelly, and the phrases, “bushy”, “battler”, “swaggy” and “settler”. Numerous references are made to the Australian environment, and in particular the climate, which are then tied to the notion of a consequentially hardy Australian character. At other times, references to specific Australian flora and fauna imply a deeply rooted connection to the land, proclaiming the legitimacy of white settler autochthony. In some of the songs in Appendix R, allusions to The Australian Legend are embedded amongst references to other Australian icons. For example, alongside images of the bush, Aussie Jingle Bells\textsuperscript{113} evokes quintessential images of Australian beaches and barbecues. At times, attempts to include references to Indigenous Australians reinforce essentialist, outdated perspectives, as in Carra Barra Wirra Canna’s use of

\textsuperscript{113} Adaptation of the James Lord Pierpont’s 1857 Jingle Bells carol originally released by Colin Buchanan in 2005.
the problematic term ‘piccanninies’\textsuperscript{114}. In contrast, \textit{I Am Australian} (written by Bruce Woodley and Dobe Newton in 1987) is particularly notable in its more inclusive reference to Indigenous Australians, although the song does not go so far as acknowledging Indigenous sovereignty.

In this section, Australian bush ballads and Australiana-themed songs were examined in relation to representations of White Australian culture and identity. It has been found that participant perspectives of and interactions with symbols of Australian folklore demonstrate the malleability and remarkable complexity of White Australian self-identification.

\textbf{Being White in Blacktown}

Of the three case studies examined in this thesis, the current one was the most problematic to demarcate. It was found that the methodological and conceptual difficulties experienced in the bounding of this case study were similar to those encountered by the participants whenever they engaged in processes of ethnic or cultural self-identification. It is significant that a considerable length of this chapter reports the participants’ reflections on the musical traditions of Others with whom they did not identify, in order to explicate their varying conceptions of normative White Australian culture and identity. In this way, the findings mirror the fluidity of whiteness as the intangible centre around which racialised difference is recognised, a method of self-categorisation contradictorily defined by absence. It was found that white subjectivity was rendered invisible through the assumed possession of individual personhood, while Others were essentialised as the inherent bearers of ancient cultures. Core and periphery differentiation were also practised in that Others were expected to practise these cultures according to measurements of authenticity constructed for the enrichment of the possessors’ normative culture. At the same time, in seeming incongruity, in some contexts, representations of cultural diversity were most welcome when they aligned with non-threatening iterations of difference made familiar through globalised media such as Disney film. For some participants, the intangibility of White Australian culture embodied a struggle for definitive belonging and selfhood in Blacktown’s multicultural climate. In addition to this comprehensive overview of the construction of white subjectivity, this chapter addressed participants’

\textsuperscript{114} An offensive term used to refer to “a small black or Aboriginal child” (Australian Oxford Dictionary, 2004, n.p.).

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attitudes towards stereotypical icons of White Australian culture. The bush ballads celebrated in Ward’s (1958) *The Australian Legend* were both recognised and rejected as significant Australian folklore. The presentation of these various entanglements illustrates how increased cultural diversity affects those who identify with the normative majority culture, how in the context of Blacktown, musical acculturation is, to some extent, bidirectional, and how, in the face of difference, white subjectivity is self-perpetuating.
Chapter 8
Musical Acculturation in Blacktown

The musical acculturation of South Sudanese Australians, Filipino Australians and White Australians in Blacktown has been examined in detail in Chapters 4, 6 and 7 respectively. Within each of these chapters, the boundaries around and within the designated ethnocultural groups were interrogated, and music was revealed as a significant site within which individuals and communities negotiated and expressed various forms of self-identification. While in previous chapters findings related to each case study were discussed in isolation from one another, here participants’ individual and collective responses to culture contact will be compared across the three case studies.

As was evident in Chapters 4, 6 and 7, musical acculturation processes and outcomes were so diverse and complex that no single acculturation strategy could be attributed to any one of the investigated ethnocultural groups in their entirety. Therefore, rather than attempting to classify each community’s musical activities as being reflective of, for example, integration or assimilation strategies, this chapter endeavours to highlight the key factors that shaped how musical acculturation was experienced in Blacktown. Throughout the discussion, reference to the two primary issues underlying the acculturation process as conceived by Berry and colleagues, will provide a guide for reviewing the usefulness of traditional acculturation psychology models in musical acculturation. As was discussed in Chapter 1, these issues are the extent to which maintaining heritage culture and identity is prioritised, and the extent to which the groups seek relationship with one another (Berry 2001, 2006a).

Foundations for Musical Acculturation in Blacktown

In comparing the three ethnocultural groups’ orientations towards seeking cross-cultural musical contact with other groups, and the constitution and maintenance of their own heritage music cultures and identities, the following factors were revealed as fundamental to musical acculturation in Blacktown: the way nationalism is conceived in the country with which they identify; the sociohistorical determinants underlying the country’s national consciousness; the reasons for cross-cultural contact or participants’ migration and the relationship between these reasons and diasporic
experiences of transnationalism; and the extent to which they are expected to represent their ethnocultural identities musically.

The Significance of Nationalist Ideologies

This section will explore how the distinctive nationalist ideologies in South Sudan, the Philippines and Australia were manifest in the musical activities observed and reported upon in each of the case studies. Through the means of a South Sudanese referendum in which a majority vote in favour of independence resulted in secession, South Sudan officially gained sovereignty in July 2011 (during the data collection period). Within the South Sudanese Australian community, nationalism was primarily conceived of as the vehicle through which culturally, geographically and linguistically diverse subtribes could unify in the pursuit of freedom from The Republic of Sudan. Both before and after independence, South Sudan experienced violent military conflicts with the North. Because the desire for independence drove the nationalist agenda, this narrative of war and struggle directly shaped South Sudanese national consciousness. The politicisation of this narrative was evident in that various forms of music were composed and performed for the express purpose of mobilising the transnational Australian community to, for example, vote for South Sudanese independence, drawing on these nationalist tales to do so. At the same time as this conscious nation-building approach was being used on a broad scale, ethno-symbolic nationalism was taking place on a grassroots level, wherein the cultural continuity of heritage traditions privileged individuals’ feelings of primary attachment to their subtribe. Importantly, these traditions were appropriated for nationalist purposes, aligning individuals’ convictions of their subtribal common ancestry and natural kinship with more inclusive national sentiment. Thus the ideologies of South Sudanese nationalism affected participants’ musical acculturation orientations through the nuanced interplay between ‘nationalism from above’, as promulgated by a country’s cultural and political elites, and ‘nationalism from below’, as driven by the everyday practices of more ordinary members of the community (see Smith, 2010).

In practice, varying perspectives among South Sudanese participants highlighted the relationship between strong orientations towards maintaining heritage music cultures, and a clearly bounded and restrictive understanding of what such culture encompasses. Many Blacktown residents who identified with the newly sovereign

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South Sudan situated distinct subtribal traditions at the hub of heritage culture conceptions. The more clearly a certain type of dance and music form could be attributed to a particular ethnic and language group, from a specific village in South Sudan, the more it was discursively addressed as ‘traditional’ in discussions about heritage maintenance. In this way heritage cultures were tied with traditions, which were instinctively considered to be both rural and folkloric in character. Even for the younger participants who were born outside of, and have never visited, their parents’ villages, notions of tradition were defined by music and dance practices that were exclusive to specific subtribes. The tendency for community events to be organised along subtribal lines, providing a space for the maintenance of these particular music and dance practices, reinforced this conception of heritage culture and identity.

In contrast, there was much less agreement surrounding conceptions of broader South Sudanese culture. These variances reflected issues at the centre of the newly sovereign South Sudan’s nation-building project, namely, the role of Arabism and the identification of what defined South Sudanese unity. For most, the unified South Sudan could be represented culturally through the commemoration of nationalist war narratives, paying tribute to the struggle that the diverse subtribes had in common. Various musical practices, including recontextualised subtribal traditions, the younger generation’s rap and hip hop songs, and newly written songs such as those of the South Sudanese Women’s Performance Group, were accepted by most participants as cultural symbols of South Sudan in their account of conflicts fought for independence. The object of this oppositional narrative, the stereotyped Sudanese, Arabic Other, was rejected to differing degrees in terms of embracing the cultural vestiges of Arabic colonisation within South Sudanese musical practices. Participants demonstrated widely varying loyalties to either abandoning cultural practices with clearly Arabic influences, or embracing them as authentically South Sudanese. These approaches seemed to be determined by the individuals’ migration patterns, with those who spent time in Khartoum the most likely to integrate Arabic or Arabic-influenced musical practices into their everyday lives.

Despite these cultural and political differences within the South Sudanese Australian case study, the overwhelming vote in favour of South Sudanese independence reflected a formidable level of political solidarity within the transnational community, a consensus that spoke to the cultivation and recodification
of collective historical memories, myths and cultural symbols as discussed above. In comparison, Filipino sovereignty was achieved in 1946, after a combined colonial period (under Spain, Japan and America respectively) lasting over twice as long as that endured by South Sudan (including the latter’s time under Anglo-Egyptian rule as part of the former Republic of Sudan). Despite, or perhaps because of, this comparatively lengthy period of time under colonial rule, it could be argued that throughout its history the diverse groups within the Philippines never committed to the unanimity displayed in the South Sudan Independence Referendum. While narratives of South Sudan demarcate competing interests along subtribal lines, within the Philippines, divisions have historically been analysed in terms of the intersectionality between ancestry, language, relationships to colonisers and class. Although it is recognised that precolonial Philippine cultures were diverse and distinct from each other, in practice all indigenous inhabitants of the modern day Philippines were categorised as *indios* at Spanish colonisation. Historically, this classification served to distinguish these peoples’ political agency from Chinese *sangley*, Hispanicised *mestizos*, and Philippines-born Spaniards, or Filipinos. In a trend that continued throughout the different waves of colonisation (although to differing degrees), these groups remained divided from each other in that *mestizos* were perceived to undermine fellow Filipinos in order to continue receiving class privileges under colonial rule. This complex relationship with their colonisers followed the Philippines even into sovereignty, with successive leaders accused of prioritising US interests. Based on South Sudan’s secession referendum, the national narrative of war against The Republic of Sudan resonated with the sentiments of the great majority of the country’s people. On the other hand, while the late 19th century Filipino nationalist revolution under Jose Rizal saw alliances across class lines, the political solidarity was short-lived in that old hierarchies were revived under American colonisation.

Smith (2010) suggests that culturally engineered symbols of nationalism emerged worldwide in the decades before 1914. This was also when the notion of Filipino nationhood was fully realised under the template of American nationalism (Mojares, 2006; Rafael, 2000). Centuries of genetic and cultural miscellany, and the (at least, perceived) widespread cultural effects of colonial imperialism, meant that there was no foundation for the construction of a collective culture based on imagined, ancestral homeland traditions. Certainly, what precolonial folkloric traditions existed could not
be authentically linked to the Spanish-descended *mestizos* at the centre of the early
20th century Filipino nationalist project. Instead, invented traditions typical of global
nationalist trends were much more suitable to mobilise democracy. In Blacktown’s
Filipino Australian community, it was clear that Filipino nationalism was more civic
than ethno-symbolic in nature, as patriotic songs retelling nationalist myths about Jose
Rizal and anti-Marcos People Power aroused a much more sentimental, engaged and
at times participatory response than the folkloric presentations.

At the same time, for some of the Filipino Australian participants, discussions
about heritage culture and traditions revealed anxieties over the perceived absence, or
otherwise impurity, of Filipino musical traditions. These discussions echoed the
broader body of literature on Filipino culture and identity, which suggests that across
the Filipino diaspora, the supposed ambivalence of Filipino identity and culture are
debated as being traits of a ‘colonial mentality’ (David & Okazaki, 2006a, 2006b,
2010; Ignacio, 2005). Although this colonial mentality currently manifests itself most
obviously in the mimicry of American popular culture, the contention is that this
cultural submissiveness is deeply rooted in the Filipino psyche, with even the most
recognisable Filipino traditions like the *tinikling* and the *rondalla ensemble* being
historically based in, and aesthetically influenced by, Spanish colonial rule (Trimillos,
1992). It is important to note that not all participants expressed a sense of shame about
the supposed impurity of Filipino culture, as some identified its particular blend of
colonial influences as distinctively Filipino. Nevertheless, all participants’
descriptions of heritage Filipino culture and traditions were much less bounded than
those shared by the South Sudanese participants, which seemed to correlate with
lesser concerns over the maintenance of music and dance traditions within the former
ethnocultural group. Certainly, both folkloric traditions and the more modern, civic
nationalist music (such as the modern *kundiman* songs performed at the Independence
Day celebrations) were observed as having an almost exclusively symbolic, functional
role in the Filipino Australian community. In contrast, analogous forms of music in
the South Sudanese community were spoken about as having much more personal
resonance, and were being practised much more regularly. Indeed, they were observed
during almost every South Sudanese community gathering, many of which served no
particularly nationalist function.
It is important to note that nationalism as encountered by the third case study group, the White Australian community, is not directly comparable with that of the other two ethnocultural groups. This is because Filipino Australians and South Sudanese Australians, despite their ethnic, linguistic and cultural heterogeneity throughout history, can be conceptualised as bounded migrating groups from a single country. In the acculturation framework of this thesis, the White Australian case study is distinctive in that it is not regarded as an exclusive, defined migrating group. Rather, it has been included to address the contention in acculturation psychology that, in the context of cultural contact, both dominant and non-dominant groups undergo change and therefore both of their perspectives and experiences must be understood. Thus, in this thesis the problematically bordered White Australian ethnocultural group is analysed as the community embodying the dominant cultural identity category in the society of settlement being studied. Considering this differentiation, it is important to acknowledge that the ideologies underlying South Sudanese and Filipino nationalisms outlined earlier in this section can only be directly paralleled with a general Australian nationalism. However, as was detailed in Chapter 7, Australian nationalism has historically been centered around myths of a normative White Australian culture and identity. In this way, there is a rationale for considering how the ideologies underpinning Australian nationalism affect the musical acculturation orientations of White Australians in Blacktown. This is especially true given that the social construction of whiteness is such that those who are inscribed or self-identify as White Australian may have been migrants from (or descendents of migrants from) any number of countries.

The inherent indistinctness of White Australian boundaries had a marked effect on how participants appraised notions of their own heritage cultures and identities, and the extent to which they should be maintained. For the study’s White Australian participants, White Australian heritage culture was discussed through two seemingly contradictory discourses. Similarly to the Filipino Australians, participants claimed that they did not possess any differentiating culture and identity signifiers. However, while Filipino Australians maintained that this absence was the result of colonial mentality and cultural submissiveness, several White Australian participants made reference to the incapacity for Australian music and dance traditions to provide a sense of rootedness. This disembeddedness was primarily portrayed in relation to the
relative youth of White Australian settlement. Another factor that was mentioned was the participants’ lack of familiarity with traditions related to their ancestors’ countries, although Anglo, Celtic and other white European traditions were commonly conceptualised as distinct from White Australian heritage. Indeed, although it was not mentioned explicitly in connection with the notion of White Australian heritage culture and identity, I argue that the distance and diversity of the ancestries represented among those who identify as White Australian was a determinant in participants’ cultural disembeddedness. While it is clear that none of the community groups examined constituted monolithic cultures, the White Australian case study was unique in that its participants were either progeny of settlers or migrants from several European countries (with a few participants being migrants themselves). That heterogeneity exists on such a broad scale here indicates that cultural borderwork would be especially ambiguous for this ethnocultural group, even as participants were incontrovertible in their recognition of, and assertion of belonging to, a discrete White Australian identity category. In line with the body of literature on whiteness, it was found that this very malleability and invisibility enabled the operationalisation of whiteness as the embodiment of Australia’s core culture (see Carey, Boucher & Ellinghaus, 2007; Durie, 2010; Jones, 2003; Levine-Rasky, 2013; Salter, 2013).

While on the one hand White Australian culture was regarded as intangible, on the other it was discussed by several participants in relation to the figure of the idealised bushman. In terms of musical cultures, this figure was aligned with bush ballads. With the exception of two folk musicians, and the few other participants who embraced the patriotic symbolism of bush ballads, participants mentioned this stereotype to illustrate its insubstantiality. Some of the younger members of the community, in particular, considered bush ballads and the bushman to be artificial cultural responses to Australia’s lack of traditions. In this way, national myths and forms of music stereotypically associated with White Australia were rejected as either culturally disingenuous or not personally relevant, at the same time as White Australian culture was characterised as indefinable.

For many participants across all three case studies, difficulties locating heritage culture and identity determined the ways in which musical acculturation was experienced. It was found that the borders around ethnocultural identity categories were problematised by diasporic experiences of nationalism, as well as the
postcolonial underpinnings of the various nations with which they identified. Musical acculturation orientations and practices were also significantly guided by the reasons for initial cross-cultural contact and migration, as will be discussed in the following section.

**Motivations Behind Migration and Cross-Cultural Contact**

Reasons for cross-cultural contact and, in the case of the South Sudanese Australian and Filipino Australian communities, the motivations for migration, differed significantly between the ethnocultural groups examined. It was found that each community’s mobility and voluntariness for contact affected both their desire to maintain heritage culture and identity and their willingness to relate with and embrace other cultures. However, attitudes towards both of these issues differed among participants within each case study, with broad trends emerging along generational lines. Because of this it was clear that mobility and voluntariness for contact intersected with other factors in determining musical acculturation orientations and practices.

As was outlined in Chapter 3, the most recent wave of Sudanese migration to Australia, constituting Blacktown’s most populous emerging community at the time of data collection, has primarily consisted of humanitarian arrivals of sub-Saharan descent. In other words, the vast majority of South Sudanese Australians migrated because of conflicts in their home country. Unsurprisingly, the involuntariness of forced migration has been found to intensify resettlement challenges. The practical difficulties of having to flee one’s home country and culture to seek asylum are compounded by coping with pre-migration traumas and culture shock. At the same time, being understood exclusively through the lens of refugee identity is neither helpful nor dignifying, and some very successfully resettled South Sudanese Australians continue to be perceived through this transitory categorisation (Harris & Nyuon, 2010, 2013). This primary assignment of South Sudanese Australians as refugees, rather than former or post-refugees (Ndhlovu, 2011; Wille, 2011), coexists with the negative, stereotyped construction of African and black identities perpetuated in Australian media. In addition to the particular challenges of adopting the resettlement society’s cultural norms when migration was involuntary, this reception
of South Sudanese Australians within broader Australian society provided barriers to integration.

It was found that the involuntary nature of South Sudanese migration to Australia shaped musical acculturation in a number of ways. For the older participants, especially those who themselves grew up in (what became) South Sudan, being forced to leave familiar environmental and cultural surroundings corresponded with a strong desire to practise and pass on their heritage traditions in new contexts. This desire did not seem to be widespread among the younger generations (ranging from childhood to young adulthood) that were observed and interviewed. For these generations, the involuntary migration impacted upon their perceptions of heritage culture and identity in that it resulted in a lessened attachment to the location of their families’ heritage. This is because many of them were either very young when they left South Sudan or were born outside of South Sudan in countries of first asylum such as Kenya or Uganda. This shaped these younger people’s conception of themselves and their heritage, as many of them self-identified with their transit countries, engaging their feelings of ‘African’ kinship through modern Afropop. At the same time, their parents and grandparents participated in this broader African affinity through performing or listening to Congolese rumba, soukous and lingala.

Importantly, the conflicts at the heart of the South Sudanese nationalist narrative were very current. They were directly related to the personal narratives of every participant in the case study, in that they were the very impetus for all of the South Sudanese Australian participants’ migration to Australia. Because of this, the majority of participants across all age groups were invested in musical representations of nationalist themes, although there were generational differences in the forms of musical expression used for this purpose. The few exceptions to this musical engagement were the young participants who spent several years in Khartoum who could not reconcile their positive orientations towards The Republic of Sudan with the popular, oppositional image of the country in South Sudanese national consciousness. As a result, they tended to adopt a civic, cosmopolitan self-image that valued seeking relationships with other cultures, more than preserving ethnocultural boundaries through heritage traditions and nationalist music. It is also important to note that, especially in the younger generation of participants, the musical forms through which cross-cultural exchanges occurred seemed to align with their experiences of becoming
black in a predominantly white country. The negative stereotypes attached to their primarily humanitarian migration aligned with the receiving society’s inscription of them as black Others. For some participants, the dynamic reciprocity between being understood as black, and understanding their own blackness in the context of White Australia, manifested through self-identification with popular music forms that are associated with blackness globally, namely, hip hop, rap and reggae. These musical genres provided an avenue for exploring not only South Sudanese nationalism, but also the more general themes of displacement and survival through which they could address their image as ‘troubled’ refugee youths.

Generally, the reasons for migration among Filipino Australian participants were more diverse than those experienced by the South Sudanese Australians. In the context of the distinctive waves of Filipino Australian migration discussed in Chapter 5, the participants sampled in the case study represented all three sub-groups identified by Maneze, Salamonson, Attwood and Davidson (2013): family migrants, skilled professionals and Filipino spouses of Australian men. For the South Sudanese Australians, some cross-cultural musical activities, particularly those produced by government institutions or local arts organisations, were at least partially established to overcome the barriers to integration afforded by their visibility and former refugee status. In contrast, the diversity of the Filipino Australian migration did not demand any such response, as there was no singular narrative of the community in the Australian imaginary that participants felt compelled to address. The absence of any widespread need to share their community’s stories and (musical) culture was reinforced by two factors: the relatively easy integration of Filipinos into Australian society because of their English language facility; and their own disorientations regarding distinctive Filipino musical culture, as discussed in the previous section.

At the same time, aspirations to contribute to mainstream Australia’s general cultural landscape were common across all generations in the Filipino Australian community. This was primarily explored through the discursive assignment of musical talent as a characteristically Filipino trait. Many such discussions centered on the notion that Filipino Australian community events explicitly aimed to promote Filipino musical talent within wider Australian society. Other less commonly expressed perspectives highlighted particular Filipino individuals’ music and dance talents as representative of the cultural capacity within the customarily underestimated
Blacktown region. Contrary to many migrant communities’ advocacy for their musical talent, these Filipino Australians’ perspectives were rooted in a notion of inherent Filipino musicality espoused at the turn of the 20th century by Western commenters (see Moon, 2010; Talusan, 2004; Watkins, 2009). In line with the colonial mentality discussed in the previous section, these Western perceptions of Filipino musicality were determined by the commenters’ preferences for normative Euro-American musical styles; Filipinos were recognised as ‘natural imitators’ in their successful performances of, for example, big band music. At the time of data collection, the legacy of this apparently Filipino enculturation and proficiency within normative Euro-American musical culture were embodied through participants’ popular music performances. Filipino Australian talent was recognised through what could be characterised as virtuosic or showy performative styles of singing or dancing. In particular, singers who could imitate the conspicuous vocal skills of ‘diva’ singers such as Mariah Carey and Whitney Houston, as demonstrated through wide vocal ranges, impressive melismatic runs and powerful vocal projection, were considered talented and encouraged to perform. That this type of musical activity constituted such an important site for cross-cultural music exchange between the Filipino Australian community and mainstream Australian society was telling. Although reasons for migration varied among participants, all of them were voluntary migrants who came to Australia by choice. The desire to be in Australia to secure a particular lifestyle for oneself and/or one’s family, coupled with the passivity of Filipino heritage cultural traditions discussed earlier, neatly aligned with the musical integration encompassed within the promotion of Filipino musical talents.

Although the White Australian community is comprised of migrants, or descendants of migrants, of relatively recent resettlement\textsuperscript{115}, in the context of the current project they were conceptualised as the receiving society. This framework encapsulated the perception of White Australia as the normative, dominant Australian community into which all migrants are expected to integrate, despite the ongoing presence of genuinely Indigenous Australians. Regardless of the individual participants’ history in Australia within this paradigm they were part of the dominant community upon whom cross-cultural contact is imposed involuntarily. That is,

\textsuperscript{115} That is, the earliest settlement of Australia is marked by the colonisation date of 1788, only 223 years prior to the earliest date of data collection. In the history of global migration, white settlement of Australia is relatively recent.
regardless of any individual White Australian’s attitude towards immigration policies, within the white nation fantasy (Hage, 2000) they are considered Australia’s stationary, legitimate occupiers receiving outsiders into their space with varying levels of willingness. The construction of the White Australian community as autochthonous via their supposed immobility and involuntary status within the acculturation framework, was manifested in their multicultural music practices. Experiencing cross-cultural contact as the reputedly dormant host culture provided some White Australian participants with a sense of authority through which they discursively managed difference. Although the rhetoric of Australian multiculturalism advocates for the celebration of Australia’s many cultures, it was found that the sentiment often materialised through the public, commemorative performance of distinctiveness by those whose physical appearance was outside of the white norm. Musical traditions and genres were constructed as Other, primarily through their association with visibly racialised communities, and were plainly expected to conform to White Australian expectations. These expectations addressed the idea of pure representativeness of difference, as well as relegating such difference to the periphery, as such cultures were never allowed to influence core, mainstream culture.

In practice, this core and periphery differentiation occurred through the demarcation between authentic, distilled, ancient folk traditions and the derivative, non-Western popular music forms. This false dichotomy was often highlighted in positioning difference as the source of enrichment for dominant society, therefore drawing on ideologies of exotic Orientalism (Said, 1978/2003). In line with this, further differentiation was exercised in that Other musical performances were only expected to take place in certain celebratory contexts (such as Harmony Day), with no potential for everyday consumption of such practices in the mainstream sphere. In contrast, white musical representations of Otherness were more accepted as cultural mainstays, which was exemplified by the endorsement of the church’s ‘world music’ arrangement reminiscent of The Lion King soundtrack. In contexts where interaction with music from Other cultures occurred on a habitual basis, as in the senior choir and senior drumming group community music programs, such music provided an object of difference against which White Australian normativity was either reinforced or challenged. However, in the instances where core White Australian practices were expanded by the incorporation of Other music, such music tended to exhibit primarily
Euro-normative sonic qualities; this was evident the senior choir’s enthusiasm for Westernised arrangements.

It was clear that in all three case studies, each group’s mobility, and the extent to which they perceived their participation in cross-cultural contact to have been voluntary, affected their experiences of musical acculturation. Although there was some association between voluntary contact and musical integration, as was evident in the Filipino Australian case study, within each case study levels of willingness for cultural exchange varied. This discrepancy was particularly notable given that participants in the same case study tended to approach cross-cultural contact from the same positions of mobility and voluntariness. For example, in the South Sudanese Australian case study all participants were humanitarian migrants, and had left their home or transit country as a direct result of forced migration. Nevertheless, these participants exhibited varying orientations towards adopting the musical cultures of other ethnocultural groups.

In the South Sudanese Australian case study, these divergences were found to broadly occur along generational lines, with the younger generations less concerned with the maintenance of what they saw as their heritage traditions (as defined in the previous section). Marginal interests in tradition tended to align with more openness towards engaging with other musical cultures, especially global popular music forms. Despite their recognition of the circumstances leading to involuntary contact, and sharing these views with older generations in the same ethnocultural group, one of the determinant factors behind their musical acculturation orientations was their particular migration pattern. With all of the younger generation having grown up in transit countries where their families first sought asylum, among other young people from various African countries, their South Sudanese self-identification was never restrictive or insular.

In contrast, the White Australian case study demonstrated how willingness to engage with Other musical cultures does not necessarily correlate with stage of life or the extent to which one engages with one’s own traditional music. Here, participants primarily framed openness to Other musical cultures as being indicative of a passion for learning and enrichment. The way that this inclination manifested itself revealed the imbalanced power dynamic that exists between dominant and non-dominant groups in musical acculturation processes. That is, where the emphasis is on the
betterment of the dominant group (either as music learners or listeners), the inherent malleability of traditional and contemporary musical forms is directed towards greater acceptability by the mainstream. In particular, it was found that in contexts where White Australians learnt music from Other cultures, repertoire was diluted to conform to more attainable, Euro-normative aesthetic expectations. At the same time, somewhat contradictorily, music that was performed for White Australian audiences by non-white performers was considered banal when too much ‘Westernisation’ was evident. In both cases, the agreeable amount of modification was evaluated in accordance with the extent to which the resulting musical form was edifying for the dominant group.

**Experiencing Culture in Blacktown**

Contrary to the region’s reputation as a cultural wasteland (see pp. 31–34 in Chapter 2), this study demonstrated the significant cultural richness that exists within Western Sydney in general, and Blacktown in particular. In each ethnocultural group, participants of all ages and musical backgrounds engaged with a broad range of music in complex and individualised ways. Further, in all of the case studies, cross-cultural contact within and between broad ethnocultural community groups was found to be commonplace. However, the findings question whether Aquino (2012) and Peel’s (2003) identification of Western Sydney’s regular, undramatic manifestations of everyday multiculturalism extends to the domain of music. Although there were exceptions, most of the observed and reported intercultural music exchanges involved either formalised representations of cultural diversity or the performance and consumption of Western popular music. Rather than the democratic claim-making that constitutes everyday multiculturalism, intercultural music engagement in Blacktown was found to be limited to the superficial acknowledgement of cultural diversity that critics of multiculturalism highlight. While Blacktown’s demographic composition could be described as hyper diverse (Doucerain, Dere, & Ryder, 2013) or super diverse (van de Vijver, Blommaert, Gkoumasi, & Stogianni, 2015), to an extent this approach to intercultural music exchange reinforces the mainstream/ethnic dichotomy that intercultural personhood (Kim, 2015) supposedly transcends. Kim contends that, cross-borrowing of identities is often an act of appreciation that leaves neither the lender nor the borrower deprived, and . . . experiences of going through
adaptive challenges bring about a special privilege and freedom—to think, feel, and act beyond the confines of any single culture. (p. 10)

However, the agentive individualism underlying the processes of intercultural identity development described above idealistically disregards the hierarchical power relations that were evidently at work for participants in this study. Of course, music can and has been used to surpass “the confines of any single culture”, as has been described in relation to children’s transcultural musical identities (Kertz-Welzel, 2015) and the interculturality of playground singing games and lullabies in particular contexts (Marsh & Dieckmann, in press). Certainly, participants in the current study demonstrated strong elements of boundary-crossing in their engagement with, for example, Afropop and reggae (for the South Sudanese Australian participants in Chapter 4), contemporary R&B (for the Filipino Australian participants in Chapter 6) and Shiva bhajan (for the White Australians in Chapter 7). However, they discursively associated these genres with specific, demarcated cultural identities that were discrete from musical practices they aligned with other cultural identities. In this way, experiences of musical acculturation in Blacktown embodied what Doucerain et al. (2013) refer to as naturalistic frame switching, in which “multicultural individuals fluidly shift cultural identification—and possibly cultural frames—by drawing on cultural affordances to meet the demands of specific local contexts” (p. 697). Given the various complexities that have been identified as governing the mechanics of musical acculturation in Blacktown, the following section discusses implications for future practice in multicultural music settings.

Implications for Multicultural Music Settings

The findings in all three case studies problematised the notion of clear boundaries around ethnocultural identities and heritage cultures. Even for those within the communities studied, their country of origin’s history of colonialism, ideological approach to nationalism and patterns of Australian migration, resulted in several disparate expressions of cultural selfhood. The existence of such multiplicity even within what are conceptualised as clearly enclosed identity categories, such as migrants from the Philippines or migrants from South Sudan, have implications for music practice in multicultural education and community settings. Rather than considering these contexts separately, music education and community music settings will be jointly discussed, with a focus on key principles relevant to both. This will be
followed by a broad overview of this study’s relevance to contemporary arts policy and cultural policy. While these implications will be discussed in relation to the Australian milieu, it is intended that the principles underlying the following suggestions may be beneficial for other geographical contexts and multicultural music settings more generally.

**Music Education and Community Music in Multicultural Settings**

**Managing the power of music.**

Authors from various disciplines have drawn attention to music’s capacity to transcend language and facilitate self-expression and communication across boundaries (Campbell, 2004; Green, 2009; Heley, 2010; Hesser & Heinemann, 2010; Jones, 2010; Karlsen, 2013; Linklater & Forbes, 2012; Marsh, 2007, 2008, 2011, 2012, 2013, 2015; Marsh & Dieckmann, in press; Osborne, 2009; Pettan, 2010; Robinson, 2005; Sebastian, 2008; Skyllstad, 1997; Sutton, 2002; Zelizer, 2004). In this study there was clear evidence of positive intergroup relations through musical engagement, broadly supporting the notion of the power of music to foster peace and empathy across difference. At the same time, the findings from all three case studies demonstrated that some music, especially that which might be understood as either traditional or national, functioned to differentiate between those who belonged to the performers’ group and those who were inscribed as outsiders. Even where such musical engagement was enacted primarily to share one’s own culture, or embrace other cultures, the act of highlighting difference reinforced division rather than unity. This was true regardless of the whether the musical content was folkloric or popular, participatory or presentational, or traditional or contemporary, in nature. In this way the current study supports Bergh’s (2010) arguments against the view that music has intrinsic conflict-transforming properties in multicultural contexts. Therefore conciliatory multicultural music projects must avoid the reductionist supposition that any and all cross-cultural musical activity is valuable for developing cohesion. Careful planning is necessary to ensure that chosen activities and repertoire do not highlight, rather than reduce, the differences between participants. The current study also reinforces Bergh’s warning against “the acute decontextualisation of the music itself” (Bergh, 2010, p. 36) in multicultural music projects, as appropriating traditional music forms that serve to unify in their original performance contexts may not have the same
effect elsewhere. This implication resonates with Mans’s (2009) distinction between the cultural worlds from which multicultural music education repertoire might be drawn, and formal education contexts such as schools. While educational institutions and curricula are driven by national and political policies, traditional and culturally-specific musical practice, “implies shared historical and social resources, frameworks and perspectives . . . So the dangers of tokenism and superficial contact that eliminate deep and meaningful values from the musical experience remain imminent in multicultural music education” (p. 89). In this way this study also follows from Dunbar-Hall’s (2009) notion of *ethnopedagogy*, which advocates for a stronger alignment between music education and contextualised transmission, while fully acknowledging that any adaptation of music outside of its intended purpose involves a process of recontextualisation (Schippers, 2010). Therefore music teachers and community music facilitators should be aware of the extent to which musical content and activities can have exclusionary outcomes and carefully weigh up these effects with the profitable outcomes likely to occur from multicultural music practices. Further, processes of recontextualisation must be approached mindfully, aiming to find a balance between the essentialisation of musical practices and forms, and negligent and disrespectful decontextualisation.

It is important that teachers and facilitators recognise and utilise their students’ and participants’ preexisting musical skills and knowledge (Allsup, 2003; Burnard & Kuo, 2015; Davis, 2015; Green, 2002, 2006, 2008a, 2008b; Harwood & Marsh, 2012; Kertz-Welzel, 2013; Lum & Marsh, 2012; Marsh, 2008, 2012; O’Neill, 2015; Wiggins, 2011, 2015). However, as was evident in Chapter 3, even in circumstances where young migrants have only just arrived from overseas it cannot be assumed that they have any specific expertise or knowledge about musical traditions or styles from their family’s country of origin. For refugees and former refugees in particular, transitory migration patterns mean that even new arrivals may never have spent time in the nation with which they ethnically and culturally affiliate themselves. Because of this, incorporating music from a particular country in classrooms or workshops may be problematic for students and participants who already struggle with relating to older generations and more traditional musical genres. In attempting to celebrate their culture in the classroom or on the commemorative stage teachers may discursively Other students on account of visible difference (see also Karlsen, 2013; Saether,
2008). Thus it is suggested that, even where a significant proportion of students in a classroom or workshop participants has migrated from the same country, teachers should be aware of how comfortable students and participants would be with the incorporation of music from their family’s country of origin in the mainstream classroom.

In contexts where students are unfamiliar with their heritage cultures but are interested in learning more about them, schools and community music workshops could provide opportunities and resources for this to take place. Multicultural music education has long advocated for teacher and community artist/artist-in-residence collaborations, with ‘culture bearers’ supplementing other ethnomusicological resources in negotiating ideas around authenticity (Campbell, 2002; Feay-Shaw, 2003; Klinger, 1996; Lum & Marsh, 2012; Parr, 2006; Volk, 1998). In circumstances where this is difficult to achieve in formal classroom settings, extracurricular music classes could provide contexts for such engagement (Nethsinghe, 2012). However, while this study supports collaboration with community experts within such projects, the complexity that was found in participants’ musical lives problematises some of the essentialist perspectives of Other cultures that could emerge from the culture bearer system. In her work on decolonising multicultural music education practices, Hess (2015b) argues against the limited use of culture bearers as authenticators of ‘exotic’ musical endeavours. Further, she questions the connotations underlying the term itself, which reductively implies that individuals—identifiable by their Otherness—can substantively personify their fixed, knowable, heritage culture-as-object. In considering the divergent levels of knowledge and skills that existed even amongst the participants who performed nationalistic and culturally representative music or dance, this study certainly contradicts the idealised figure of the culture bearer that Hess interrogates. Further, even where holistic community involvement is employed in multicultural music projects, there remains the danger of championing a particular nationalist narrative to the exclusion of minority individuals within broader ethnocultural groups. Thus teachers and facilitators must beware not only of the extent to which students or participants are interested in learning, maintaining or appropriating their heritage music, but also be cognizant of any political partiality that such music embodies. In community music, calls for cultural democracy highlight how music workshops can provide, “a system of support and respect for the many
cultures and communities . . . while attempting to give voice to those who have historically been excluded from the public domain” (Higgins, 2012, p. 168). In light of the political complexities highlighted throughout this thesis, the ‘public domain’ to which Higgins refers should not be limited to Australia, but also that of students’ and participants’ countries of origin. This is not to say that all music with political dispositions must be avoided, but rather, that students and participants should not feel as though a majority culture from their family’s country of origin is being imposed upon them through inclusion of such music. Thus teachers and facilitators should familiarise themselves with the sociopolitical and contextual details of all music they aim to teach, addressing all of the characteristics outlined in Campbell’s (2004) cultural prism model (see Appendix S). In this vein, multicultural music in school classes and community music workshops must be organised in response to a carefully outlined situational analysis of the learning context which accounts for: the students’ or participants’ actual experiences with their heritage cultures’ music; their aspirations regarding learning more about and/or sharing their heritage cultures; and the diversity amongst students and participants from the same country of origin. In other words, teachers and facilitators must be familiar with the students’ and participants’ pre-existing musical acculturation orientations in order to facilitate musical activities that build bridges rather than walls.

**Legitimising the authenticity of global popular music.**

All three case studies exhibited how, for those who did not relate to traditional music associated with their heritage cultures, and younger people in particular, popular music provided a space for participants to explore the boundaries of their ethnocultural identities. Within the South Sudanese Australian case study, the consumption of Afropop enabled young people who were born outside of South Sudan to connect with a generic ‘African’ mode of self-identification, recognising their strong affiliations with their transit countries. The performative elements favoured within contemporary Filipino popular music have already been discussed in this chapter, in relation to the nationalist discourse of Filipino musical talent. Despite its everyday importance in the lives of migrant communities, within the normative White Australian sphere non-English popular music was not considered ‘pure’ enough to provide meaningful, enriching expressions of difference. The disconnectedness between migrant communities’ genuine engagement with global popular music, and
White Australians’ categorisation of such music as having only inauthentic and superficial relevance within Other cultures, has clear implications for multicultural music settings.

While traditional folk or classical music from around the world should by no means be ignored as valuable music education content, it is suggested that music teachers should mindfully include contemporary music, including popular music, from the same countries in their music programs. In particular, popular music that incorporates elements of folk or classical music traditions provides ideal starting points for considering the notion of living traditions and the tractable nature of authentic cultural practices. The inclusion of such music in the classroom also works against tokenistic, stereotypical views of Other cultures as consisting of pure, exotic museum pieces. The significance of such repertoire in the lives of many students was exemplified in Marsh’s (2012) study of a Sydney high school catering for newly arrived migrants. Within this school, students were tasked with teaching each other songs from their origin countries. Notably, all students chose to teach their class popular music, suggesting that such repertoire can provide students with meaningful music and language through which a sense of mastery can be achieved in otherwise disempowering environments. For this reason, wherever specific ethnocultural groups are invited to represent themselves either in community or school settings for celebratory purposes, participation should not be dependent upon the performance of a certain type of music. Performers should be free to exercise their agency in terms of how they represent themselves culturally, including through the performance of non-English popular music, regardless of whether their choices meet Orientalist audience expectations. At the same time, the extension of such invitations should not implicitly reinforce White Australian normativity, as will be discussed in the following section.

Interrogating the divide between mainstream Australia and its multiculture.

For participants in the White Australian case study, White Australian culture was conceptualised as the intangible absence of Otherness. Regardless of the intentions behind its various manifestations, in this study the discourse of multiculturalism was found to perpetuate this differentiation between core and periphery cultures in Australia. One of the key implications emerging from this study is that teachers and facilitators should interrogate the divide between mainstream Australia and what are
currently conceived of as its multicultural beneficiaries. On the level of school- and community-wide settings, music performances on commemorative occasions such as Australia Day and Harmony Day should be considered in relation to what messages are being communicated through the repertoire and performers considered relevant to the event. Music performed on Australia Day should extend beyond the repertoire encapsulated by Appendix R, which preserves White Australian normativity through white nationalist narratives. Instead, songs such as these should be complemented by culturally diverse performances, with marginalised ethnocultural groups expressing what being Australian means to them. Concomitantly, commemorative celebrations of Australia’s multiculturalism should include cultural performances by those who self-identify, or would be inscribed as, White Australian. As already elucidated, this ethnocultural group includes individuals from several heritage countries, and their role within Australia’s multicultural tapestry should be acknowledged, explored and articulated as customarily as those who are visibly outside the White Australian core culture.

The division between mainstream Australia and its multiculture should also be interrogated in more regular musical practices. This study recommends equal musical exchange between cultures, wherein the power of the dominant community does not outweigh the potential for minority ethnocultural groups to influence mainstream society. In this way, this implication follows Berry and Sam’s (2013) recommendations for policies and practices to move beyond the acceptance and celebration of cultural diversity, to the promotion of the other, equally important dimension of true multiculturalism: the equitable participation of all groups in larger society. In school and community contexts where White Australian students learn music from cultures other than their own, the arrangements used should not be superficial in their incorporation of distinctive musical characteristics. For example, non-Western songs should not be arranged to conform aesthetically to Euro-normative musical standards simply to increase their appeal to White Australian learners. In the context of general classroom music, the inclusion of culturally diverse music repertoire should avoid the essentialist Western/‘exotic’ segregation commonly found in multicultural music education models in Canada (Hess, 2015a). In both the
musician-as-tourist\textsuperscript{116} and musician-as-explorer\textsuperscript{117} curricular models outlined by Hess, attempts to acknowledge and include marginalised musics reinforce the hierarchical differentiation between core and periphery cultures. In Chapter 7, engagement with culturally diverse music bore some aspects of these models, resulting in the normalisation of intangible White Australian culture as the unquestioned mainstream. Therefore this study espouses the principles underlying Hess’s alternative, horizontally-organised curricular model, in which connections are made and power relations uncovered through a contextualised, cross-comparative study of all music relationally. Here, Western music would be considered alongside other musics to reveal how various musical traditions have informed each other throughout history. Campbell (2004) provides a useful resource for approaching curriculum organisation in this manner.

The principles of equal inclusion and the interrogation of hierarchical power relations outlined above can be applied to any setting in which music is used to engage with marginalised communities and non-dominant cultures. The following section will outline how these principles have been and should be applied in contemporary arts and cultural policies.

\textbf{Arts Policy and Cultural Policy in Multicultural Australia}

Over the past few decades, trends in Australian arts policies and cultural policies have revealed a shift away from the interpretations of multicultural ideology embodied in ethnic showcasing, instead reflecting cosmopolitan discourses and highlighting intercultural collaboration (Badham, 2010; Caust, 2015; Glow & Johanson, 2006; Khan, Wyatt, Yue, & Papastergiadis, 2013; Mar & Ang, 2015; The Australia Council, 2010). In light of the accessibility and representation issues raised in the current study, especially those pertaining to core and periphery differentiation outlined in the previous section of this chapter, the increasing levels of cultural democratisation underlying such policy shifts are supported. Overall, the gradual repositioning of policy documents and reports, from essentialist ‘ethnic arts’, to

\textsuperscript{116} In this curricular model, ‘exotic’, marginalised musics are taught in a tokenistic manner and completely isolated from the normative, Western-dominated music program. It usually manifests as a single activity or set of workshops that are presented as an additional “fun” activity.

\textsuperscript{117} In this curricular model, the student is introduced to a diverse range of Other musics over a more sustained period of time. This could manifest as, for example, an entire course on ‘multicultural music’ or ‘music of the world’, in which there is generally no attempt to draw connections between the various genres studied.
separatist ‘multicultural arts’, to the more recent emphasis on capacity building and community collaboration, represent a positive step towards the integration of culturally and linguistically diverse arts within the mainstream Australian arts sector. Indeed, within policy there has been a heightened focus on the intersectionality of experiences and expressions of cultural diversity, which resonates with the heterogeneity within each of the case studies described in Chapters 4, 6 and 7 (Australia Council for the Arts, n.d., 2015b; Mar & Ang, 2015; The Australia Council, 2010; Williams & Jones, 2011). It is suggested that this broadening of the concepts of culture and cultural diversity, expanding beyond ethno-specific narratives of geography and migration, will foster more nuanced understandings of the multidirectionality of acculturative processes, and in so doing dismantle the processes by which White Australian normativity operates. As Mar and Ang (2015) explain,

Cultural difference is not something ‘out there’, outside of us, but part of who we are, irrespective of our cultural or ancestral background. Artistic work can express this intrinsic diversity by mobilising the unpredictable interfaces of intercultural exchange, which can be found everywhere. (p. 8)

By cultivating an arts culture in which people engage with cultural difference through understandings of their own cultural difference, the trivialisation of both minority and majority cultures can be avoided, and the multiculturalism of Australian society in its entirety can be negotiated, represented and celebrated.

It is important to note that the policy shift away from separatist multicultural language is not exhaustive, as issues of accessibility and equity drive the continued maintenance of ethno-specific, diversity-related welfarist agendas alongside the collaborative interculturalism that dominates contemporary policy paradigms (Khan et al., 2013). Certainly, the historical development within socially engaged arts outlined by Badham (2010)—moving from arts for community, to arts with community, and finally, arts by community—has not prevented the centrality of tangible social benefits in policy objectives, and consequently, funding rationales (see Caust, 2015). Principles of accessibility, equity and social cohesion continue to underpin Australian arts and cultural policies in all levels of government, including: internationally, with the UNESCO Convention on the Protection and Promotion of the Diversity of Cultural Expressions to which Australia became a signatory in 2009 (see Mar & Ang, 2015; UNESCO, 2015); nationally, with the Australia Council’s current Strategic Plan (Australia Council for the Arts, 2014); and locally, as exemplified by the current
cultural policy of the local council relevant to this study (Blacktown City Council, 2012a, 2013). Significant and legitimate concerns have been raised regarding the relationship between this instrumentalisation of culture, justifications of government spending, and the subsequently diminished role of inherent cultural value in the arts sector (see Caust, 2015; Glow & Johanson, 2006). However, the positive social and cultural outcomes of intercultural programs observed in this study demonstrate that such instrumentalisation does not necessarily exclude the acknowledgement of the inherent value of cultural practices.

Programs and events that were observed in Blacktown, including the world music festival program, *Dancing in Harmony* and *My Name is Sud*, reflect some of the best aspects of widely acclaimed Australian arts programs. These include, for example, Multicultural Arts Victoria’s (MAV) *Emerge* program for culturally and linguistically diverse refugee artists in Victoria, which balances objectives to raise arts participation among refugee communities with major performance and exhibit outcomes through the Emerge festivals (Australia Council for the Arts, 2015a); and BEMAC’s Echoes CD, which exemplifies the cultural, artistic and economic value of curating music from a range of culturally and linguistically diverse artists. Therefore it is suggested that it is useful to appraise the social instrumentalisation of arts practice, as long as the inherent cultural value of such practice continues to be esteemed and promoted. In this way, this study’s implications echo the notion that where instrumentalisation of the arts has been normalised, artistic integrity lies in the extent to which the use of artistic and cultural expressions “for ‘non-art’ purposes . . . is broadly in accord with the will of relevant cultural constituencies” (Mar & Ang, 2015, p. 16). For example, community consultations that shaped Blacktown’s cultural policy indicate that in the context of the current study, social instrumentalisation of cultural practices aligns with the will of constituents. In particular, it was evident from these community consultations that,

Overwhelmingly there was a strong desire for Council’s future vision to focus on being inclusive, engaging and strengthening people’s sense of community and belonging. This was followed by a strong desire to foster cross-cultural interaction, engagement and participation across the whole community. (Blacktown City Council, 2012a, p. 22).
Overall, this study supports a balanced approach to evaluating cultural and arts practices, as demonstrated in the Australia Council’s Artistic Vibrancy\textsuperscript{118} framework, in which, “Community relevance should be balanced with the other elements of artistic vibrancy as a part of normal artistic practice” (Williams & Jones, 2011, p. 3).

A final issue surrounding arts and cultural policies for which this study has implications, is the discursive shift to the paradigm of cultural industries. The economic language interspersed throughout funding documents, for example, values culturally diverse arts practices according to the opportunity for cultural tourism they potentially provide (Australia Council for the Arts, 2014, 2015b). Noting that professional artists from non-English speaking backgrounds earn median incomes 40% lower than their counterparts (Australia Council for the Arts, 2015b), this study reiterates this advocacy for greater accessibility to arts professions for individuals from all ethnocultural and linguistic backgrounds. At the same time, too much emphasis on the economic and touristic opportunities afforded by minority cultural practices could lead to an exploitative commodification of such cultures, without concern for the agency, power and remuneration of the artists themselves. It is therefore suggested that considerations of diversity within cultural industry frameworks should not only aim to include a range of artists and arts practices, but must also pertain to the diversification of audiences and, most importantly, representation within decision-making, leadership roles. Further, in order to avoid subtle forms of ethnic showcasing, the long-term accessibility enjoyed by culturally and linguistically diverse artists must be facilitated. This principle is exemplified by MAV’s approach to artists in their \textit{Visible} mentorship program, in which participating artists are not only given an avenue for exhibiting their work and developing their skills, but are also provided guidance in the practical areas of industry knowledge, creative networking, and ongoing audience development (Mar & Ang, 2015).

Recent trends in Australian arts and cultural policies reveal a purposeful consideration of the issues raised in this study, and a favourable shift away from

\textsuperscript{118} The Artistic Vibrancy Framework was developed in order to provide a language through which artists and arts organisations could, “describe their impact to stakeholders, including funders, board members, donors and the general public” (Australia Council for the Arts, n.d., n.p.) and as a tool for self-evaluation in planning and reporting. Within the framework, the five dimensions of an artistically healthy arts organisation are demonstrated through: support for the development of great art, creation of pathways for artists to become great, engagement with audiences, connection with communities, and contribution to a vibrant society and culture.
tokenistic and exoticised treatments of marginalised communities and cultures. Although this study demonstrates that it has not necessarily permeated the broader Australian imaginary, within contemporary policy there is a promising emphasis on realising the dynamic and intersectional diversity that is not peripheral to, but crucial within, Australian society. At the same time, seemingly contradictory approaches to cultural diversity reflect the complexity of planning cultural practices for multicultural communities. These intricacies demand that such cultural experiences and expressions continue to be interrogated.

Conclusion

In this chapter I have drawn together data from throughout the multiple case studies to theorise the musical acculturation processes and outcomes encountered by the three participating ethnocultural groups. It was established that within the single local government area of Blacktown, music was used to create and express community in several, vastly different ways. These differences occurred broadly across the distinct ethnocultural communities, but there were also variations amongst individuals within these communities. These intricacies could not be described as a single acculturation strategy or reduced to a single acculturation model. However, the fourfold paradigm of Berry’s acculturation theory (2001, 2006a) was found to be pertinent in that the two determinant factors therein—the extent to which maintaining heritage culture and identity is prioritised, and the extent to which the groups seek relationship with one another—were definitive in participants’ individual and collective musical responses to culture contact. Importantly, manifold forms of musical acculturation occurred simultaneously, contrasting with the singular narrative of Blacktown and Western Sydney as cultural wastelands. At the same time, there was evidence that the dynamic, cultural richness observed was the result of intersectional self-identification by those “whose lives and imaginations are constituted and constrained by representations of the places they inhabit” (Gannon, 2009, p. 609). This study has demonstrated the multiplicity of these inhabited places, tracing the trajectory of lives often lived in numerous places, both physically and virtually.
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Appendix A
South Sudanese Tribal Groupings

Description of South Sudanese tribal groupings, as seen on the website of the Embassy of the Republic of South Sudan in Washington D.C. (2011). The website includes an interactive map that identifies the state in which the tribes listed below reside.

Indigenous people of South Sudan can be broadly categorized into the Nilotic, Nilo-Hamitic and the South Western Sudanic groups.

Nilotic people include the Dinka, Nuer, Shiluk (Collo), Murle, Kachiopo, Jie, Anyuak, Acholi, Maban, Kuma, Lou (Jur), Bango, Bai, Gollo, Endri, Forgee, Chod (Jur), Khara, Ngorgule, Forugi, Siri, Benga, Agar, Pakam, Gok, Ciec, Aliap, Hopi, Guere, Atuot, Appak, Lango, Pari, Otuho and Ajaa.

Nilo-Hamitic groups include the Bari, Mundari, Kakwa, Pojula, Nyangwara, Kuku, Latuko, Lokoya, Toposa, Buya, Lopit, Tennet and Diginga.

The South-western Sudanic groups includes Kresh, Balanda, Banda, Ndogo, Zande, Madi, Olubo, Murus, Mundu, Baka, Avukaya, and Makaraka.
Appendix B
Geographic Distribution of Supratribal Ethnic Groups in South Sudan

As seen in Izady (2015, n.p.)
### Appendix C
#### South Sudanese Australian Case Study Interviewees

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Gender</th>
<th>Age</th>
<th>Tribal Affiliation</th>
<th>Migration to Australia Age</th>
<th>Relationship/s to Blacktown, and Musical Involvement</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Abaker</td>
<td>Male</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>Aweil</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>Currently lives in neighbouring region. Attended high school in Blacktown and always involved with Blacktown events and programs. In 2006 formed a music group with friends called Together Like Brothers. This group released their first album in 2008. Launched his solo career with an album in 2010.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Akech (Nyadeng’s daughter)</td>
<td>Female</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>Aweil, Panaruu</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>Lives in Blacktown and goes to school in Blacktown. Learnt traditional dance from her mother and a teacher. As a child she was exposed to both Arabic music and Congolese pop music (artists like Awilo Longomba). As her English has improved in Australia she has become increasingly interested in ‘English music’ (American r’n’b).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Aluel</td>
<td>Female (early 40s)</td>
<td>(early 40s)</td>
<td>Dinka Bor</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>Lives in Blacktown. Learnt tribal traditions from elders, and church music within the intended context. Prefers Bor music and South Sudanese church music, as well as South Sudanese artists like John Kudusay (as opposed to young South Sudanese artists who are much more influenced by Western pop music).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Charles</td>
<td>Male</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>(From North Sudan)</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>Lives in Blacktown. Went to school in Blacktown. Involved in Blacktown programs and events. Started playing music in Egypt, 2004, for church settings. Although he had a strong interest in clubbing and related music during his early years in Australia, since 2008 he listens exclusively to Christian music (for moral reasons).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Daniel</td>
<td>Male</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>Madi, Western Equatoria</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>Lives in Blacktown, attended high school in Blacktown, and is involved in and facilitates programs and events in Blacktown. Primarily exposed to music within Christian, church-based settings. Although he did not focus much on music when he was younger, he has since learnt a few instruments and writes his own music for church settings or with Christian themes. Primarily listens to Christian music although he is open to any music that does not contradict Christian morals.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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119 Except in instances where participants have granted permission for their identification, pseudonyms are used throughout. Where it aligns with their real names, participants have been assigned fictitious ‘Christian names’ in keeping with a common practice among the Dinka to give babies both Christian and Dinka names.
### Appendix C (continued)

**South Sudanese Case Study Interviewees**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Gender</th>
<th>Age</th>
<th>Tribal Affiliation</th>
<th>Migration to Australia Age</th>
<th>Relationship/s to Blacktown, and Musical Involvement</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Dut</td>
<td>Male</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>Aweil</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>Lives in Blacktown. Involved in and facilitates Blacktown programs and events. First studied music formally in his first Australian school (an Intensive English Centre). In 2006 formed a hip hop group with friends, called Together Like Brothers. Left the group because of its inconsistency with his newfound Christian faith, and since then has become more interested in reggae music. He continues to write original songs, both on his own and in collaboration with other musicians.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kuol</td>
<td>Male</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>Dinka Bor</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>Lives in Blacktown. Involved in and facilitates Blacktown programs and events. Learnt his own tribe’s musical traditions from his elders, at community events, and also learnt other tribes’ traditions in refugee camps. Within these settings he was also exposed to Western pop music from a young age.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nyadeng (Achek’s mother)</td>
<td>Female</td>
<td>(late 30s)</td>
<td>Aweil, Panaruu</td>
<td>(late 20s, early 30s)</td>
<td>Lives in Blacktown. Learnt tribal traditions from elders, and church music within the intended context. Prefers Panaruu music and South Sudanese church music, as well as South Sudanese artists like John Kudusay (as opposed to young South Sudanese artists that are much more influenced by Western pop music).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rachel</td>
<td>Female</td>
<td>41</td>
<td>Dinka Agar</td>
<td>32</td>
<td>Lives in Blacktown. Involved in and facilitates Blacktown programs and events. Comes from a family of professional musicians (her grandfather and uncle composed a number of well-known South Sudanese Christian songs). She continues this vocation by being very active in South Sudanese church music. Writes original Christian music, in Dinka, Arabic and now, English, released on CD. As a well-known musician in the South Sudanese community in Sydney, she has become involved in a number of music projects facilitated within migrant resource centres.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Robert</td>
<td>Male</td>
<td></td>
<td>(Australian with Croatian heritage)</td>
<td>Born in Australia</td>
<td>Involved in and facilitates Blacktown programs and events. Played rock music in Sydney’s original music scene as a young man, and attended Australian Institute of Music for one year. Since becoming a multicultural arts officer he has been exposed to various cultures’ musics and began collaborating with culturally diverse musicians. He has a particular interest in sacred music.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sara</td>
<td>Female</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>Madi and Lotugo</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>Lives in Blacktown. Went to school in Blacktown. Involved in Blacktown programs and events. Enjoyed exposure to traditional dances from across South Sudan, as well as music from across Africa, in Ugandan refugee camp. Interest in non-African music has shifted from focus on Afro-American r’n’b to a more eclectic range, including orchestral music.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
## Appendix D
### Songs Written and Performed by South Sudanese Women’s Performing Group (SSWPG)

Songs performed by the South Sudanese ensemble at the African showcase event in November, 2012. Song title and English lyrics are written as they appear in the audience program, which also included the lyrics in Dinka.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Song Title</th>
<th>English Lyrics</th>
<th>Dinka Lyrics</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>I am telling you South Sudanese who have voted for unity</td>
<td>I am telling you South Sudanese who have voted for unity. That it is the continuation of slavery that you have chosen. But we refuse to accept slavery. Who is born in his/her own land just to live as a slave in his own land? We refuse slavery.</td>
<td>Aba lëêk wëk wë kac ciu't ëë yun ëë tĩ. Ëë luëêk abëc abëc yën cää këe lëc bää këe ciëŋ. Õk ëë jääi ëë luëêl. Nõõg Ran ëë dhìëth këë yää luuãk ëë tiëtìì dë nhõõm. Nõõg mõñy ëë dhìëth këë yää luuãk ëë tiëtìì dë nhõõm. Ku bie pëë ëë luëêk ëk ëë jääi luëêk.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dany (popular women’s dance in South Sudan, Dinka people)</td>
<td>Enchanting ululation. Our resistance against injustice has become very strong. Bior Ajang, the elder, advise and bless Dr John Garang to endure the ferocity of war till our liberation.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
### Appendix D (continued)

**Songs Written and Performed by SSWPG**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Song Title</th>
<th>English Lyrics</th>
<th>Dinka Lyrics</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>To you all the widows</td>
<td>To all the widows whose husbands perished during the war</td>
<td>Abär aben tiŋ ciě mony dē thou war.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Our husbands were the price that had to be paid for everlasting freedom in our country.</td>
<td>Rōör kuā āā yēē puk ēē tīp.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Girls, we have endured with great determination and have survived like:</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Our liberators led by Dr John Garang</td>
<td>Nyīr wɔ ciēē bēēr gum āā wɔ ciē ciēt Jieny Jon Garang.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>The daring SPLA/M movement that liberated us from oppression.</td>
<td>Nyīr wɔ ciēē bēēr gum āā wɔ ciē ciēt Jieny Kiir Mayar.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Our liberators led by Kiir Mayar</td>
<td>Nyīr wɔ ciēē bēēr gum āā wɔ ciē ciēt Jieny Akony Deng.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>The daring SPLA/M movement that liberated us from oppression.</td>
<td>Nyīr wɔ ciēē bēēr gum āā wɔ ciē ciēt Jieny Kuol bēn y da.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Our liberators led by Akoy Deng</td>
<td>Nyīr wɔ ciēē bēēr gum āā wɔ ciē ciēt Jieny Riak Macar.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>The daring SPLA/M movement that liberated us from oppression.</td>
<td>Jieny ēē ņēēny Jieny ēē biē ēēk bēi nē luēēk yic war.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Appendix E
Lyrics of Dut’s Song *Peace in Liberia*

You rock! We want in peace in Australia
Roots reggae! Peace in the whole world
We want peace in Liberia We want peace in every land
Peace in Lybia Peace in our home
We want peace in Somalia
Peace in Lybia
Cos Babylon shall not rise again
Cos Babylon shall not rise again
Cos Babylon shall not rise again
And Babylon shall not rise again
Cos Babylon shall not rise again
And Babylon shall not rise again
Cos Babylon shall not rise again
And Babylon shall not stand again
Cos Babylon shall not rise again
And Babylon shall not stand again
Cos Babylon shall not rise again
And Babylon shall not stand again
And Babylon shall not stand again
Cos Babylon shall not rise again
And Babylon shall not rise again
We call on Jesus Christ
To save I and I
We call on Jesus Christ
Cos everyday they’re talking about To save us tonight
The African civil war We call on Allah
And everywhere over dry land To save I and I
Muddy rivers all of blood We call on I and I
No matter who win To save I and I
Africa is cry
No matter who lose Cry! Cry Africa!
Africa still crying Cry! Cry Africa!
No matter who’s right Cry! Cry America!
Gotta stop this spite Cry! Cry Australia!
No matter who’s wrong Cry! Cry!
The devil getting stronger Boo!
Cos Babylon shall not rise again Ya man!
And Babylon shall not rise again
And Babylon shall not stand again
And Babylon shall not stand again
Appendix F
Lyrics of Abaker’s Original Songs

**Untitled by Abaker**
I’m telling you, I’m telling you,
I was born in a war torn and seeing people getting murdered,
now I live my life here, right here, I’m shovelling gears,
Push and trim, it wasn’t my dream
But I gotta do it, no need the screams, survivor of the war.
I’m getting big in the hood, the radio hood,
It’s okay.
The story of my life just make me famous,
Same time and I feel shameless.
Sitting every day and talk to people, telling everything that I been through.
At the same time, man, they’re willing to listen.
I saw my friend getting kill in a paddock,
He sprayed with AK automatic.
And I pray to the Lord cos they never made it.
I rap of the peace of revolution,
No more collusion, no more delusion.

**Untitled by Abaker**
Life is full of pressure and pain,
The memories from the past can drive you insane.
I ease the lane,
I took the Panadol but this thing it couldn’t handle,
While it shouldn’t handle.
What we gotta do is pour out the liquor and light the candle,
For young Sudanese get kill.
Cocaine is then floating our way, street is a AK,
Don’t even count the egg shells.
A hundred bullets gone pop, a hundred bodies gone drop.
Slinging shot, got shot, a hundred baddies gon’ flop.
Soldier of the war don’t compare me to the hoard.
I rather die when the sun goes down.

**R.I.P. by Abaker**
Want to thanks all the soldiers that die in war.
They die for us, they fight for us,
Respect to them, R.I.P. to them,
I don't respect no suckers but a soldiers dawg,
I told you dawg.
Ya try’na work, ya taking drugs,
I am hurt man coz ya not convene, coz you never been,
In to danger field.
Getting a meal a day,
Don’t push me, I will lost like soil erosion,
Just like abortion, make it unfortunate.
And no bullshit am sure I will be who I be,
Represent southside as a top MC.
Ya come and see,
I rap for country,
I rap for my people, yeah.
Appendix F (continued)
Lyrics of Abaker’s Original Songs

**Homeless by Abaker**
Reflection of the past life from war torn to successful artist.
I find it very challenging when I see some of my South Sudanese people suffer.
Dying and fighting with one another.
We’re all classified as refugees, which means we left our country because of the war.
Even though Australia is my new home, I am still homeless,
We are all homeless.

**Let’s Come Together by Abaker**
Come on nation
South Sudan let’s come together for the nation
Paint this town very special occasion
South Sudan let’s come together for the nation
Paint this town a very special occasion
Oh oh oho oh oh
Nation celebration
Celebrate for the nation
We want a referendum (Yes! Yes!)
For the nation (Yes! Yes!)
We want a separation (Yes! Yes!)
For the nation (Yes! Yes!)
Let’s go hard let’s work hard,
Let’s go hard let’s work hard.
Southern Sudan, let’s work
Let’s go hard and work hard
Southern Sudan, let’s go.
Even though we’ve been struggling for song long
Now it’s time to have the election.
Everybody, let’s come together
Referendum for the nation
Celebrate for the nation
Everybody, let’s come together
Referendum for the nation
Celebrate for the nation
We are the new generation
You know, Sudan
With only our motivation
You know, Sudan
Let’s go
Come on! Come on! Come on!
Let’s come together.
Referendum!
Represent, represent, represent, represent.

**Key phrases in John Garang by Abaker**
A hero
Man of the people
R.I.P
We miss you
We salute you
Thank you the soldiers
Thank you the leaders
Thank you the peacemakers
Thanks for everything you show us
Liberation
New generation
No more accusation
Appendix G
Filipino Australian Case Study Interviewees

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Gender</th>
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<th>Migration Experience and Country of Birth</th>
<th>Relationship/s to Blacktown, and Musical Involvement</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Alisha</td>
<td>Female</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>Alisha was born in Australia, and both of her parents are of Filipino heritage.</td>
<td>Having lived in Western Sydney all of her life, Alisha’s family moved to a suburb in the Blacktown local government area when she was in Year 8. Alisha’s father recognised her singing ability at age four and began teaching her singing and basic piano. Soon afterwards, she began performing at church and family gatherings. She undertook formal singing training at a private singing studio from Years 6 to 8. She then continued singing at church, family gatherings and the festivals she was exposed to by teachers. From the age of 19 Alisha began to perform at local venues, doing gigs that showcase both originals and covers.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ariel</td>
<td>Female</td>
<td>63</td>
<td>Born in the Philippines, Ariel moved to Australia with friends at the age of 26.</td>
<td>Ariel lives in Blacktown and goes to an Anglican church with a multicultural focus in Blacktown. The choir she leads often performs at Filipino events in Blacktown. Ariel has sung in choirs since she was a child. She has sung in school choirs and church choirs and, at the time of the study, was a longtime chorister in the Penrith City Choir. Because of all of her choir experience, Ariel was ideally positioned to establish and conduct the Filipino Senior Choir.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Arthur</td>
<td>Male</td>
<td>(40s)</td>
<td>Born in the Philippines, Arthur migrated to Australia in 1997 to join his sister. Prior to this, he worked in Saudi Arabia as an interior designer.</td>
<td>Arthur lives in Blacktown. He also organises and performs in a number of community events held within the Blacktown region, and for the Filipino community that primarily lives there. Arthur had 2 years of singing lessons with a professional Filipino singer while he (the teacher) lived in Australia. He sings at a number of community events, tailoring his repertoire to the audience’s interests. Arthur played the guitar in the Philippines but now does not play because he uses backing track accompaniment instead.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Aurelio</td>
<td>Male</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>Aurelio was born in the Philippines. When he was 2 his family moved to Australia.</td>
<td>Aurelio lives in the Blacktown LGA with his family, where he also went to primary and secondary school. At a young age, Aurelio was forced to learn piano by his parents. He has played on and off since then. He still wants to learn formally from a piano teacher but now as an adult cannot find the time.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

 Except in instances where participants have granted permission for their identification, pseudonyms are used throughout.
### Appendix G (continued)

**Filipino Australian Case Study Interviewees**

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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Carmela</td>
<td>Female</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>Carmela was born in Australia, and both of her parents are of Filipino heritage.</td>
<td>Carmela’s family moved to Blacktown when she was 3 years old. Carmela claims that she has been interested in singing since she was born, and that her passion was fostered by her family’s penchant for karaoke. Self-taught in guitar, she has been taking group singing lessons in school for 4 years and writes her own songs. Carmela performs at talent competitions and Filipino Australian community events.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Delila</td>
<td>Female</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>Delila was born in Saudi Arabia. When she was 8 Delila’s family moved to the Philippines, and when she was 13 they moved to Australia.</td>
<td>After migrating to Australia Delila’s family lived in the city of Sydney. It was only at age 15 that her family moved to Blacktown. Delila enjoyed singing as a young child in Saudi Arabia. On moving to the Philippines she learnt to play the lyre(^{121}) as part of the school band. In Australia, she took private singing lessons for a while, but stopped due to her family’s financial constraints. She now obtains some technical direction from her high school music teacher. She continues to perform at competitions and Filipino community events.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Euan</td>
<td>Male</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>Born in Australia, Euan is of Indonesian heritage and manages the primarily Filipino hip hop dance crew, Prolifique.</td>
<td>Euan moved to Blacktown local government area at a young age, and has lived here ever since. Euan used to dance in his high school years, but because of health issues is no longer able to dance. Since he stopped dancing in Year 10 he has focused more on managing, which he wants to pursue as a career. At the time of data collection, Prolifique was the first and only dance crew Euan had managed.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Giselle</td>
<td>Female</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>Born in the Philippines, Giselle moved to Australia with her family when she was 3½.</td>
<td>Giselle has lived in Blacktown since her family migrated to Australia. She rehearses and performs there regularly as part of the region’s youth big band, Blacktown City Band. She attended primary school in the region, and at the time of the study attends secondary school there. Giselle’s mum joined her up to Joaquin’s music school when she found out about it, because Giselle was a good singer. In Year 3, Joaquin wanted her to learn clarinet for the band and she did. Her primary instruments are saxophone and clarinet.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

\(^{121}\) Drum and lyre marching bands are not uncommon in the Philippines.
## Appendix G (continued)

### Filipino Australian Case Study Interviewees

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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Jedrek</td>
<td>Male</td>
<td>(60s/70s)</td>
<td>Born in the Philippines, Jedrek migrated to Australia in 1987 as a skilled worker.</td>
<td>Jedrek has lived in Blacktown LGA since he first migrated to Australia. He sings in Blacktown’s senior choir. Since childhood, Jedrek has always enjoyed performing songs and dances. Having no formal training, he joined Blacktown’s senior choir to learn how to read music.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Joaquin</td>
<td>Male</td>
<td>(50s)</td>
<td>Joaquin was born in the Philippines and moved to Australia with his wife and children in 1990.</td>
<td>Joaquin and his family have lived in Blacktown since they migrated to Australia. He works as a private music teacher in the Blacktown area and, with the support of the mayor, established, arranges music for, and conducts the Blacktown City Community Band. Joaquin learnt clarinet from his father, as musical proficiency was seen as a way for Joaquin and his siblings to secure education scholarships. Joaquin played in a symphony orchestra for twenty years and then, when majoring in flute at the University of the Philippines School of Music, he worked in a nightclub and a five star hotel playing 70s music and jazz on the saxophone.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Leticia</td>
<td>Female</td>
<td>61</td>
<td>Born in the Philippines, Leticia moved to Australia at 21. She migrated to Australia because of political unrest.</td>
<td>Leticia has lived in Western Sydney since migrating to Australia, and in Blacktown LGA since 1973. She is part of a senior women’s group in Blacktown, participating in their djembe drumming and line dancing programs. Leticia has loved music since childhood, and sung in school choirs throughout her primary and secondary education. She joined the senior drumming group for mental and physical exercise, and to help her emotionally following the death of her second husband.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Marcus</td>
<td>Male</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>Marcus is an Australian-born Filipino.</td>
<td>Marcus has lived in Western Sydney all his life, but has never lived in Blacktown. At the time of the study he was undertaking a high school English teaching practicum at a school in Blacktown LGA. During his prac period the school celebrated Harmony Day. Marcus has always been a keen music consumer, and his eclectic music listening preferences have been shaped by his older siblings and then, later in life, his school friends. He began formally learning guitar at age 9, and in music lessons in Year 9 and 10 he played covers with his friends. In Year 12 Marcus decided to stop guitar lessons as it was no longer a priority for him.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
### Appendix G (continued)

#### Filipino Australian Case Study Interviewees

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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Olson</td>
<td>Male</td>
<td>42</td>
<td>Born in the Philippines, his parents moved to Australia to provide opportunities for him and his sister. He went back to the Philippines to study at university.</td>
<td>He does not live in Blacktown, but works with, for and in the Filipino Australian community that is primarily based there. Olson plays in a three-piece band with other Filipino Australian members, and primarily considers himself a songwriter. He often performs or produces music for Filipino charity projects. Olson is one of the producers for the Filipino radio show Radio Sandigan, for which he selects the musical content.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Paschal</td>
<td>Male</td>
<td>(30s)</td>
<td>Born in the Philippines, Paschal migrated to Australia as a child with his mother and Australian stepfather in 1983.</td>
<td>Paschal does not live in Blacktown but has been involved in writing, producing and acting in two theatre projects related to Filipinos: one about Filipino Australian migration, the other about the city of Manila. As Filipino Australians were the primary target audience for both projects they were staged in Blacktown Arts Centre. Paschal does not consider himself a musician but as an actor he has always used his voice, and singing has been a significant part of that.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Portia</td>
<td>Female</td>
<td>(late teens)</td>
<td>Born in the Philippines, Portia migrated to Australia with her parents when she was 6 years old.</td>
<td>Portia lives in Blacktown. Her parents own and manage a Filipino DVD and CD store in Blacktown Westpoint, where she regularly works. Portia does not consider herself musical, having never been motivated enough to learn an instrument. She did not enjoy compulsory music in school. She does enjoy listening to music.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rafael</td>
<td>Male</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>Born in the Philippines, Rafael migrated to Australia with his family at 5 years old.</td>
<td>Rafael’s family moved to Blacktown two months into their Australian residence. He has lived here ever since. Rafael gathered a group of boys from his high school that shared a love of dance and formed Prolifique crew. Together, they developed the skills necessary to perform as a competitive hip hop crew.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Appendix G (continued)
Filipino Australian Case Study Interviewees

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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Roderick</td>
<td>Male</td>
<td>(40s)</td>
<td>Born in the Philippines, Roderick migrated to Australia in 1996.</td>
<td>Roderick does not live in Blacktown but serves and works with the Filipino community there as a journalist. He has worked for a Filipino community newspaper and is currently an executive producer of a Filipino radio program on Australia’s multicultural broadcast network, SBS. Roderick describes himself as a “frustrated musician” (interview, December 11, 2012) who has unsuccessfully attempted to learn a few instruments. In place of performance, he pursues his passion for music as an avid music collector.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Simone</td>
<td>Female</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>Simone’s parents were both born in the Philippines, but she was born in Melbourne, Australia. She moved to Blacktown at 5 years old.</td>
<td>Simone lives in Blacktown and rehearses and performs there regularly as part of the region’s youth big band, Blacktown City Band. She attended primary and secondary school in the region. Simone started teaching herself keyboard at 4 years old, before learning at school. She started learning violin in Year 5, before going to Joaquin’s music school and learning a number of instruments, including guitar, flute, drumkit and saxophone. She enjoys busking and arranging music for specific ensembles. In high school she was part of a pop rock band with her peers.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Appendix H
Repertoire at Filipino Australian Community Events

Repertoire performed by Filipino Australians at the 2011 Christmas Bazaar in Blacktown

Pasko Na Sinta Ko (It’s Christmas, my beloved)
Music and lyrics written by Francis Dandan. Released in 1989.

My Grown Up Christmas List
Music composed by David Foster and lyrics by Linda-Thompson Jenner. Kelly Clarkson’s version was released in 2003.

End of Glory
Written and performed by Lady Gaga. Released in 2011.

Sana Ngayong Pasko (Hopefully this Christmas)

Don’t Worry, Be Happy
Written and performed by Guy Sebastian. Released in 2011.

Maybe This Time
Music by John Kander and lyrics by Fred Ebb. Popularised by the 1966 Broadway musical Cabaret, and the 1972 musical film of the same name.

My Convictions
Original rock song written and performed by white Australian participants.

You’re Beautiful
Original rock song written and performed by white Australian participants.

20 Hours or So
Original rock song written and performed by white Australian participants.

Ikaw at Ako (You and I)
Performed by Yeng Constantino. Released in 2010.

Price Tag
Co-written and performed by Jessie J, featuring B.o.B. Released in 2011.

Everything I Do, I Do It For You

O Holy Night
Composed by Adolph Adam in 1847.

You’re Beautiful
Original rock song written and performed by white Australian participants.

20 Hours or So
Original rock song written and performed by white Australian participants.

Ikaw at Ako (You and I)
Performed by Yeng Constantino. Released in 2010.

Price Tag
Co-written and performed by Jessie J, featuring B.o.B. Released in 2011.

Everything I Do, I Do It For You

O Holy Night
Composed by Adolph Adam in 1847.

Repertoire performed by Filipino Australians and headlining musicians at the 2011 R’n’B Rhythm of Culture night

Never Say Never
Co-written and performed by Justin Bieber. Released in 2010.

The Lazy Song
Co-written and performed by Bruno Mars. Released in 2011.

Oh My God

Price Tag
Co-written and performed by Jessie J, featuring B.o.B. Released in 2011.

Bust Your Windows

Loves Takes Over
Co-written and performed by David Guetta and Kelly Rowland. Released in 2009.

Empire State of Mind (Part II) Broken Down
Co-written and performed by Alicia Keys. Released in 2010.

Billionaire
Co-written and performed by Travie McCoy and Bruno Mars. Released in 2010.
Appendix H (continued)

**Repertoire at Filipino Australian Community Events**

*California King Bed*
Written by Andrew Harr, Jermaine Jackson, Priscilla Renae and Alex Delicata. Performed by Rihanna. Released in 2011.

*T. G. I. F.*
Co-written and performed by Katy Perry. Released in 2011.

*Crazy in Love*

*Baby Boy*

*Single Ladies (Put a Ring On It)*

*Please Don’t Stop the Music*
Written by Mikkel Eriksen, Tor Erik Hermansen Tawanna Dabney and Michael Jackson. Performed by Rihanna. Released in 2007.

*Heartbeat*
Written by Enrique Iglesias, Jamie Scott and Mark Taylor. Performed by Enrique Iglesias. Released in 2010.

*Beautiful People*

*Let Me Love You*
Written by Shaffer Smith and Scott Storch. Performed by Mario. Released in 2004.

*Tonight I’m Lovin’ You*
Written by Enrique Iglesias, Lauren Christy, Jacob Luttrell and Justin Franks. Performed by Enrique Iglesias, featuring Ludacris and DJ Frank E. Released in 2010.

*Bailamos*

*Till the World Ends*

*S’n’M*
Written by Mikkel Eriksen, Tor Erik Hermansen, Sandy Wilhelm and Ester Dean. Performed by Rihanna, remix featuring Britney Spears. Released in 2011.

*Born This Way*
Co-written and performed by Lady Gaga. Released in 2011.

*Listen*

*Halo*

*Loves Takes Over*
Co-written and performed by David Guetta and Kelly Rowland. Released in 2009.

*Diva*
Written by Beyoncé Knowles, Shondrae Crawford and Sean Garrett. Performed by Beyoncé. Released in 2009.

*Only Girl (in the World)*
Written by Crystal Johnson, Mikkel Eriksen, Tor Erik Hermansen and Sandy Wilhelm. Performed by Rihanna. Released in 2010.

*Black Box*

*Choose You*
Written by Cassie Davis and Carl Dimataga. Performed by Stan Walker. Released in 2010.

*All I Need*
Written by Stan Walker and Israel Cruz. Performed by Stan Walker. Released in 2010.

*Unbroken*
Appendix H (continued)

Repertoire at Filipino Australian Community Events

Homesick  

The Way You Are  
Co-written and performed by Bruno Mars. Released in 2010.

Loud  

It Will Rain  
Co-written and performed by Bruno Mars. Released in 2011.

Repertoire ¹²² performed by Filipino Australians on Stage 2 at the 2011 and 2012 Filipino Fiestas

The Way You Are  
Co-written and performed by Bruno Mars. Released in 2010.

Let Me Love You  
Written by Shaffer Smith and Scott Storch. Performed by Mario. Released in 2004.

All I Need  
Written by Stan Walker and Israel Cruz. Performed by Stan Walker. Released in 2010.

Price Tag  
Co-written and performed by Jessie J, featuring B.o.B. Released in 2011.

Baby  
Co-written and performed by Justin Bieber. Released in 2010.

Freestyle beatboxing

Mindanao Ethnic Dance

Where Have You Been  
Written by Calvin Harris, Ester Dean, Geoff Mack, Walter and Gottwald. Performed by Rihanna. Released in 2012.

¹²² This list is not comprehensive as not all of the performances at these events were observed.

Unchained Melody  
Music by Alex North and lyrics by Hy Zaret. Released by The Righteous Brothers in 1965.

Set Fire to the Rain  
Co-written and performed by Adele. Released in 2011.

Mahal Kita (I Love You)  
Released by Maricris Garcia in 2008.

I Will Survive  
Written by Freddie Peren and Dino Fekaris. Performed by Gloria Gaynor. Released in 1978.

Domino  

Listen  

If I Ain’t Got You  
Written and performed by Alicia Keys. Released in 2004
Appendix I
AK4to7 News Report

Transcript of Tagalog Excerpts from Broadcast

Pinoy audience member: Masayang masaya po kami excited na excited para po para sa Pilipino.

AK4to7 news reporter: Para kay Marlisa, pagkakataon din itong pasalamatan ang lahat ng mga sumusuporta sa kanya. Para naman kay Ria, ang tagumpay ng kanyang anak ay tagumpay na rin ng mga Pinoy sa Australia. Ito ang kwentong AK4to7 your click to Pinoys down under.

Translation of Tagalog Excerpts from Broadcast
Marlisa Punzalan; the name of the new Pinoy singing sensation is a resounding success here in Australia. Many have admired the talent of this 15 year-old especially after her entry as a grand finalist in X-Factor Australia channel 7. Recently, fans swarmed her show at Westfield Mt Druitt. With her was her mentor Ronan Keating. This is her first public appearance after she was chosen for the grand final.

Pinoy audience member: We are very very happy and very excited for the Filipino people.

For Marlisa, this is her chance to thank everyone for supporting her. As for Ria, her daughter's success also means success for Filipinos in Australia.

This is your AK4to7 story, your click to Pinoys down under.

Transcribed and translated by Rowena Sebastian
Appendix J

Lyrics of *Leron Leron Sinta*

**Original Lyrics**

Leron, leron, sinta,
Buko ng papaya,
Dala-dala’y buslo
Sisidlan ng sinta.
Pagdating sa dulo’y
Nabali ang sang,
Kapus kapalaran,
Humanap ng iba.

Ako’y ibigin mo’t
Lalaking matapang,
Ang baril ko’y pito,
Ang sundang ko’y siyam;
Ang lalakarin ko’y
Parte ng dinulang,
Isang pinggang pansit
Ang aking kalaban.

**English Translation**

by Lucrecia R. Kasilag, Carolyn J. Nivera, John M. Reed

Dear little Leron
Climbed a tall papaya tree
With a basket gay
To fill with his love for me.
The tip-top branch he touched,
It broke off with a click.
Alas, what evil luck;
Look for another quick.

Love me, oh, love me most
For I am quite a brave boy.
I have seven big guns
And nine sharp-pointed swords:
Whatever is on the table:
A platter of dried fish.
That big dish full of noodles
Just watch me eat them all.

*Original lyrics and translation taken from Banayihan Philippine Dance Company (1962)*
Appendix K

Full *Rondalla* Ensemble

From left: Bass, Guitar, *Laud, Octavina* and *Bandurria*

(Rockell, 2013, p. 100)
Appendix L
Songs Related to Philippine Nationalism

Magkaisa

Original Lyrics
Ngayon, ganap ang hirap sa mundo
Unawa ang kailangan ng tao
Ang pagmamahal sa kapwa ilaan.
Isa lang ang ugat na ating pinagmulan
Tayong lahat ay magkakalahi
Sa unos at agos ay 'wag padadala.
Panahon na ng pagkakaisa
Kahit ito ay hirap at dusa.

Magkaisa (may pag-asang natatanaw)
At magsama (bagong umaga ‘t bagong araw)
Kapit kamay (sa atin siya’y nagmamahal)
Sa bagong pag-asa.

Ngayon may pag-asang natatanaw
May bagong liwanag, bagong umaga
Pamamahal ng Diyos, isipin mo tuwina.

English Translation
We are all related
We will not let you be carried away by storms and currents.
Now is the time to unite
Even though there is pain and suffering.

Let us be one (There is hope on the horizon)
Unite (It’s a new dawn and a new day)
Let’s hold hands (In happiness and love)
For a new beginning.

Now we can see there is hope
In the morning there will be new light
God’s love will always be there.

Transcription and translation by Cesario Balasi, Rosalinda Balasi, Bong Balasi, Ruby Sebastian and Samantha Dieckmann

Bagong Lipunan

Original Lyrics
Ang gabi’y nagmaliw nang ganap
At lumipas na ang magdamag
Madaling araw ay nagdiriwang
May umagang namasdan
Ngumiti na ang pagasa

Sa umagang anong ganda
May bagong silang
May bago nang buhay
Bagong bansa, bagong galaw
sa Bagong Lipunan
Nagbabago ang lahat tungo sa pagunlad
At ating itanghal
Bagong Lipunan

English Translation
The evening has completely ended
And the whole night has elapsed
Dawn is celebrating
There is morning to behold
Hope now smiled
At a glorious morning
There is a new birth
There is a new life
New nations, new movements
In the New Society
All is changing towards prosperity
And let us display
New Society

Original lyrics and translation taken from Castro (2011, p. 130)
Appendix L (continued)

Songs Related to Philippine Nationalism

Pag-ibig Sa Tinubuang Lupa

Inang Laya’s Interpretation of Andres Bonifacio’s Poem

Sa kaba ng abang mawalay sa Bayan!
gunita’ ma’y laging sakbibi ng lumbay
walang ala-ala’t inaasam-asam
kundi ang makita’ng lupang tinubuan.

Kayong nalagasan ng bunga’t bulaklak
kahoy niyaring buhay na nilanta sukat
ng bala-balakit makapal na hirap
muling manariwa’t sa baya’y lumiya’g.

Ipaghandog-handog ang buong pag-ibig
hanggang sa mga dugo’y ubusang itigis
kung sa pagtatanggol, buhay ay (mailit)
it’y kapalaran at tunay na langit.

English Translation

Is there any love greater than my love,
Than the pure and noble
Love for my Homeland?
What kind of love? No other love, none.

There is nothing more important in my heart than offering
My blood, wealth, knowledge and the endurance of tiredness,
Even until my life reaches breaking point,
To the country that adopts me, that embraces me.

In the past times,
We still hope the day will come
When we will be free from oppression
Instead of exalting another country.
The worry of being separated from my country,
The sadness is always on my mind.

There is nothing that I hope for
But to see my homeland.
For those who have fallen, you are like the fruit and the flowers
Of a tree that has withered.
When there are obstacles, it is extremely hard
For my beloved country to flourish.

I will offer you all my true love
Until all my blood is drained
For the defence, I will give my life
This is my destiny from heaven above.

Is there any love greater than my love,
Than the pure and noble
Love for my Homeland?
What kind of love? No other love, none.

Translated by Cesario Balasi,
Rosalinda Balasi, Ruby Sebastian
and Samantha Dieckmann

123 In Bonifacio’s original poem this first line reads, “Ang na nga kapanahon ng aliw”, which means “Even during times of comfort”.

333
Appendix L (continued)

Songs Related to Philippine Nationalism

**Aling Pag-ibig Pa**

**Original Lyrics**

Aling pag-ibig pa
Ang hihigit kaya
Sa pag-ibig ko sa iyo,
Bayan ko?

Sa hirap at ginhawa,
Sa ligaya’t dalita,
Ako’y kasa-kasama mo.

Kung ang gintong palay
Ay kumakaway,
Katabi mo ako sa bukid,
Bayan ko.

Kung tigang ang lupa
At di ka makaluha,
Ako ang magdidilig.

Kung ang bulaklak
Ay humahalimuyak,
Igagawa kita ng kuwintas,
Bayan ko.

Kung namiminsala
Ang bagyo’t baha,
Ako’y may kubong ligtas.

**English Translation**

Is there any love greater than
The love for my country?

In hardship and in comfort,
In joy and in sadness, I am always
with you.

With the golden rice
Swaying in the wind
I am with you in the fields
My country.

If there is drought
And you cannot cry
My tears will water the land.

If the flowers are fragrant
I will make you a lei
My country.

If typhoons and floods
Bring destruction
My nipa hut will bring safety.

Is there any love,
Greater than my love
For you, my country?

No other love, none.
No other love, none.
No other love, none.

*Original lyrics written by Pete Lacaba/Achoso*

*Translated by Cesar Balasi, Rosalinda Balasi, Ruby Sebastian and Samantha Dieckmann*

---

**Pilipinas Kong Mahal**

**Original Lyrics**

Ang bayan ko’y tanging ikaw
Pilipinas Kong Mahal
Ang puso ko at buhay man
Sa iyo’y ibibigay

Tungkulin kong gagampanan
Na lagi kang paglingkuran
Ang laya mo’y babantayan
Pilipinas kong Hirang.

**English Translation**

My one and only country
My dear Philippines
My heart and my life
I will give to you

I will fulfill my duty
I will always serve you
Your freedom I will always protect
My beloved Philippines

---

124 Necklace/wreath of flowers
125 An icon of Philippine culture, the nipa hut is a type of stilt house.
Appendix L (continued)

Songs Related to Philippine Nationalism

**Bayan Ko (My Country)**

**Original Lyrics**

**A.**
- Ang bayan kong Pilipinas
- Lupain ng ginto't bulaklak
- Pagibig ang sa kanyang palad
- Nagalay ng ganda't dilag
- At sa kanyang yumi at ganda
- Dayuan ay nahalina
- Bayan ko, binihag ka
- Nasakdal sa dusa

**B.**
- Ibon mang may laying lumipad
- Kulungin mo at umiiyak
- Bayan pa kayang sakdal dilag
- Ang di magnasang makaalpas
- Pilipinas kong minumutya
- Pugad ng luha ko't dalita
- Aking adhika, makita kang sakdal laya

**English Translation**

**A.**
- My country the Philippines
- Land of gold and flowers
- With love from her palms
- Beauty and splendor are offered
- And to her tenderness and beauty
- Were foreigners attracted
- My country, you were conquered
- Charged to suffering

**B.**
- Even a bird that is free to fly
- Cage it and it will cry
- More so will a magnificent country
- Desire to be unchained
- Philippines, my beloved
- Nest of my tears and torment
- My desire is to see you truly free.

*Original lyrics and translation taken from Castro (2011, pp. 176–177)*
Appendix M

White Australian Case Study Interviewees

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Gender</th>
<th>Age</th>
<th>Heritage</th>
<th>Relationship/s to Blacktown, and Musical Involvement</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Amanda</td>
<td>Female</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>Identifies as “Australian born but half my heritage is Ukraine”. She does not mention the Anglo Celtic heritage on her mother’s side when introducing herself.</td>
<td>Amanda has lived in the Blacktown region her entire life. Amanda learnt piano formally from a young age, and upon leaving high school decided she wanted to be a high school music teacher. At the time of data collection she was studying her Bachelor of Music Education. She ran her church music team for four years.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Arlene</td>
<td>Female</td>
<td>(60s)</td>
<td>Identifies her heritage vis-à-vis her parents, as she describes her mother as having an “English Irish background” and her father as “Dutch” with an “Indonesian soul”. (He grew up in Indonesia).</td>
<td>Although she does not live in Blacktown, Arlene feels particularly connected to the region because her First Fleet ancestors settled in the area. As part of her doctoral thesis she traced her ancestor’s journey from Sydney Cove to Ropes Creek. She was involved with cross-cultural dance workshops in the 1970s and 1980s in Blacktown. She now facilitates two <em>djembe</em> drumming workshops with women in the Blacktown region. Arlene’s background is in dance. Her interest in drumming began in drumming workshops in Sydney, followed by a two-month trip to Ghana in which she attended a drumming school with master drummers. She has since led drumming workshops around Sydney, including Blacktown.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Barbara</td>
<td>Female</td>
<td>(60s)</td>
<td>Identifies as “Australian with English background and Irish background”.</td>
<td>Lives in Blacktown and is a member of a senior women’s group in Blacktown, participating in its drumming workshops weekly. Barbara had limited experience with drumming as part of work team building exercises, prior to participating in the senior women’s drumming group in Blacktown.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Elly (Kirsten’s mother)</td>
<td>Female</td>
<td>(40s)</td>
<td>Australian-born with German parents, Elly identifies with the “Anglo . . . ‘Aussie’ mentality”.</td>
<td>Elly lives in Blacktown and participates in a Blacktown choir. Elly learnt piano as a child and now regrets quitting. Throughout school she unsuccessfully auditioned for school choirs; had the Blacktown choir required auditions, she would not have attended the initial workshop.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

126 Pseudonyms are used to maintain participant anonymity.

127 Where participants did not explicitly provide their age, estimates have been provided in parentheses.
## White Australian Case Study Interviewees

<table>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Faith (Olivia’s sister)</td>
<td>Female</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>Identifies as “Australian” and relates to the term “white Australian”. She noted some German heritage very early in the family tree.</td>
<td>Faith has lived in Blacktown, and gone to school in Blacktown, her entire life. Faith was inspired by her oldest sister (not Olivia) to become a musician. She developed her singing and guitar playing informally at home, before joining in community music programs and eventually attending a Performing Arts School. She had private singing lessons for a few years, and now wants to pursue a career as a singer-songwriter. She is in a Christian band that performs at local music festivals.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fergie</td>
<td>Female</td>
<td>66</td>
<td>Identifies as an “Australian” of British origin. She migrated to Sydney from London when she was 29 years old.</td>
<td>At the time of data collection Fergie had lived in Blacktown for 28 years. She is a member of Blacktown’s senior choir. Fergie has been involved with local musical theatre for several years, on an organisational level as well as a performer. She was also heavily involved in a folk music club and a bush band.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jackie</td>
<td>Male</td>
<td>76</td>
<td>Identifies as “Celtic Australian”. A first generation Australian with Irish and Scottish heritage.</td>
<td>Lives in Blacktown. Part of a senior choir in Blacktown that performs at local events. Jackie has spent most of his life listening to, performing and promoting Australian bush music and Irish music.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Janice</td>
<td>Female</td>
<td>(60s)</td>
<td>Identifies as “Australian” and agrees with being identified as “Anglo Australian”.</td>
<td>Lives in Blacktown and is a member of a senior women’s group in Blacktown, participating in its drumming workshops weekly. Janice had no experience with instruments prior to joining the senior womens’ drumming group.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Julie</td>
<td>Female</td>
<td>(60s)</td>
<td>Identifies as “Australian with Irish grandparents”.</td>
<td>Lives in Blacktown and is a member of a senior women’s group in Blacktown, participating in its drumming workshops weekly. Julie had no experience with instruments prior to joining the senior womens’ drumming group.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Katherine</td>
<td>Female</td>
<td>(30s)</td>
<td>Identifies as “Australian”. Has a combination of Irish, Scottish, English and German heritage.</td>
<td>Katherine studied at Western Sydney University and has had experience working in several Western Sydney performing arts organisations and venues. At the time of data collection she worked as a Performing Arts Development Officer at a council-funded arts organisation in Blacktown. Katherine’s arts background is in dance choreography, costuming and art installations.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
## Appendix M (continued)

### White Australian Case Study Interviewees

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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Kevin (Maree's husband)</td>
<td>Male</td>
<td>71</td>
<td>Identifies as “English Australian”, as his father migrated from England.</td>
<td>Kevin has lived in Blacktown since 1966 and has taken on leadership roles in a number of local community committees. When he retired Kevin started playing percussion (e.g. snare drum, washboard, Irish bodhran, bongo drums) for an informal folk ensemble. He then joined a band that performs Australian bush songs. He sings (and sometimes conducts) as part of a senior choir in Blacktown that performs at local events.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kimberley</td>
<td>Female</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>Kimberley identifies as “Australian” and relates to the term “white Australian”. When asked about her heritage, Kimberley identifies as “Australian, German, Irish”.</td>
<td>Kimberley has lived in the region neighbouring Blacktown on and off for her entire life. She regularly participates in competitions and concerts in Blacktown. Kimberley has sung for as long as she can remember, often performing for her brother from a very young age. She began contemporary singing lessons at age 12 and guitar at age 16. Kimberley performs regularly at concerts and competitions, and hopes to pursue a career as a singer-songwriter.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kirsten (Elly’s daughter)</td>
<td>Female</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>Kirsten considers herself “Australian with a German heritage”.</td>
<td>Kirsten lives in Blacktown with her mother, and participates in a Blacktown choir. Kirsten was in a choir during primary school and participated in a few Opera House performances. At age 14 she attended a workshop for the Blacktown choir with her mother, and has been participating ever since.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lisa</td>
<td>Female</td>
<td>(50s)</td>
<td>Identifies as a “fifth generation Australian”. Her heritage is primarily English and Scottish, although she has one Italian great grandfather.</td>
<td>Was recruited to facilitate music workshops in Blacktown. At the time of data collection she facilitated two choirs in Blacktown, one of which was specifically for seniors. Lisa sang as part of rock groups as a teenager. She developed an interest in world music and formed an a cappella group that catered to this interest. She then joined an Iranian band as lead vocalist, and learnt vocal techniques through workshops. She is now known around Sydney as a vocal workshop facilitator.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Maree (Kevin’s wife)</td>
<td>Female</td>
<td>70</td>
<td>Identifies as “Australian”. Her great great grandparents migrated from England.</td>
<td>Maree has lived in Blacktown since 1966 and taught at Blacktown Boys High School. She has taken on many leadership roles in local community committees. Growing up, Maree sang in a church choir and she considers singing a part of daily life. She tried to learn guitar and Irish pipe but found it too difficult. She sings as part of a senior choir in Blacktown.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
### Appendix M (continued)

**White Australian Case Study Interviewees**

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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Melanie</td>
<td>Female</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>Melanie identifies as “fourth generation Australian” with “a very Anglo background”.</td>
<td>Melanie has lived in the Blacktown region her entire life, except for four years when she studied in rural New South Wales. Her mother is a school teacher in the area. Melanie’s family discouraged her interest in music as a young child. During bouts of depression she considered listening to music, and writing songs, therapeutic. After high school she took singing lessons for a few months.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Olivia</td>
<td>Female</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>Although the terms “Australian” and “white Australian” resonate with her, Olivia hesitates to identify as such because within the context of Western Sydney she thinks it is associated with racism. She emphasised that one of her ancestors was Indigenous.</td>
<td>Olivia has lived in Blacktown, and gone to school in Blacktown, her entire life. Unlike Faith, Olivia did not have the confidence to pursue music although she did have an interest in it. Through encouragement from others, she has become involved in church music and performed at celebrations such as weddings. She is in a Christian band that performs at local music festivals.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pearl</td>
<td>Female</td>
<td>72</td>
<td>Identifies as “a real Australian”, with the qualifier ‘real’ designated because she is a sixth generation Australian.</td>
<td>Pearl moved to Blacktown in 1994 and has since taken on a leadership role in a senior womens’ community group, organising workshops such as the senior womens’ drumming group (in which she also participates). Pearl would have liked to learn the piano but never had the opportunity. She was in a choir in primary school. After seeing Arlene perform at a festival, Pearl booked her to do workshops with the senior womens’ group for which she organises events and classes. She enjoys participating in these classes herself.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Peter</td>
<td>Male</td>
<td>(60s)</td>
<td>Identifies as “half Irish”. Heritage also includes English and German.</td>
<td>At the time of data collection, Peter had lived in Blacktown for two years, having migrated from Sydney’s Inner West. He sings as part of Blacktown’s senior choir. As his mother was a pianist, Peter grew up singing around the piano with his family. He learnt singing formally, and was involved in the Opera school. Since retiring he has composed through MIDI and sung as part of the Sydney Male Choir, as well as Blacktown’s senior choir.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Appendix M (continued)

White Australian Case Study Interviewees

<table>
<thead>
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</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Sean</td>
<td>Male</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>Identifies with the terms “Australian” and “white Australian”.</td>
<td>Sean’s family moved to western Sydney when he was very young, and at the time of data collection he lived in, and attended church in, Blacktown. Sean started drumkit lessons in Year 7, and grew up playing Christian songs with his family and within church. Although he stopped his formal instrumental tuition 3 years later (only picking them up again for his HSC year), he still plays in various contexts. He has also informally learnt some piano and guitar.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sharon</td>
<td>Female</td>
<td>65</td>
<td>Having migrated from London at 23 years of age, Sharon identifies as “Australian” and “white Australian”.</td>
<td>Sharon has lived in Blacktown since she migrated to Australia in 1970. As a young schoolgirl in London, Sharon sang in a choir as part of her curriculum. As a young adult in Australia, Sharon participated in regular, casual sing-alongs with her sister, who accompanied on the piano. Sharon currently sings in two Blacktown choirs.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Steven</td>
<td>Male</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>Identifies as “Australian with a British background”.</td>
<td>Steven has lived in the region bordering Blacktown all his life, but attends church in Blacktown. As a result, many of his friends live in Blacktown and he maintains a regular social life within the area. After unsuccessful attempts to learn guitar in high school, Steven learnt by himself, informally, after leaving. He did this through learning popular songs he enjoyed through tabs found on the Internet, and his mother’s chords book.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Appendix N

Explanation of *Purihin Ang Diyos* Lyrics

The meaning of *Purihin Ang Diyos* as explained by the Filipino senior choir soloist (performance in Video Sample 7.1)

Translated it means, “Let us praise God”. Now this song sings of the awesome God’s creation. It’s from the lovely chirping of the birds to the continuous flow of the waves of the sea and the ripples on a stream, to the feel of the wind gently blowing against us, of the firmaments’ covenants in its vastness. The splendour or radiance of the bright sun. All of these demonstrate the glory of God, and enjoins us to be thankful and to praise and to worship him with all of our hearts, for his hand.
Appendix O

How Great is Our God Lyrics and Harmonies

Church music leader’s world music arrangement of *How Great is our God* (learning tracks in Audio Samples 7.1 to 7.4)

| INTRODUCTION | S: 1\...1\...1\...1\...1\...1\...2\...1\...1|  
|             | A: 5\...5\...6\...6\...6\...7\...5\...5|  
|             | T: 3\...3\...3\...3\...4\...5\...3\...3|  
|             | B: 1\...1\...6\...6\...4\...5\...1\...1|  

**CHORUS**

S: (sing main melody)

A: 5565...6666...1666...667...565  
T: 3343...5443...3343...5443...445...343  
B: 1121...1111...6666...1111...445...551

**BRIDGE**

Name above, name above, name above all names

You are wor, you are wor, worthy of all praise

S: 111\...111\...121\...321 (x2)

My heart will sing

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>How great is our God</th>
<th>How great is our God (x2)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>2343</td>
<td>12521</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1165..165 (x2)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**TAGALOG**

Dakli...la ang Diyos  
Aw tan ang  
Dakli...lang Diyos  
Awi tin natin  
Dakli...la Ka o Diyos

**MALTESE**

Cumm el bare Allah tarn  
Kanti mi  
Cumm el bare Allah tarn  
Kil hat hey yarra  
Cumm el bare Allah tarn

**Name above, name above, name above all names**

You are wor, you are wor, worthy of all praise

T: 333\...333\...343\...543 (x2)

My heart will sing

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>How great is our God</th>
<th>How great is our God (x2)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>4565</td>
<td>35343</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3321..321 (x2)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Repeat Bridge**

You are wor, you are wor, worthy of all praise

B: 111\...111\...121\...321 (x2)

666\...666\...565..165 (x2)

My heart will sing

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>How great is our God</th>
<th>How great is our God (x2)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>6121</td>
<td>57551</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1165..165 (x2)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Appendix P
Excerpts from Lisa’s Non-English Song Arrangements

Nyinan Bimbi

Traditional Kungarji song from Yarraba - near Cairns
Arr. 2010

Hine E Hine

Princess Te Rangi Tai, 1907

Sevivon Sov Sov Sov

Traditional Chanukah Song - Spinning Top

343
Appendix Q

Sheet Music of *Dham Dham Dham*

Arrangement in Australian Broadcasting Corporation (2000), used by Blacktown’s senior choir. Performance of this piece in Video Sample 7.3.
Appendix R
Lyrics of Senior Choir’s Australian-Themed Repertoire

Lyrics of the senior choir’s repertoire with references to Australia, as they appear in the choir’s sheet music/lyric sheets (performance of choir member Chris Guy’s song Aussie Pride in Video Sample 7.10)

**Christmas Day – an Australian carol**
The north wind is tossing the leaves,
The red dust is over the town,
The sparrows are under the eaves
And the grass in the paddock is brown
As we lift up our voices and sing
To the Christ child the heavenly King.

The tree ferns in green gullies sway,
The cool stream flows silently by,
The joy bells are greeting the day,
And the chimes are adrift in the sky,
As we lift our voices and sing
To the Christ child, the heavenly King.

**Carol of the Birds**
(Aboriginal word Orana means “welcome”)
Out in the plains the brolgas are dancing
Lifting their feet like war-horses prancing,
Up to the sun the wood-larks go winging,
Faint in the dawn light echoes their singing,
Orana! Orana! Orana! to Christmas day
Down where the tree-ferns grow by the river,
There, where the waters sparkle and quiver,
Deep in the gullies, bell birds are chiming,
Softly and sweetly their lyric notes shyming,
Orana! Orana! Orana! to Christmas day.

Friar birds sip the nectar of flowers,
Curra wongs chant in wattle-trees bowers,
In the blu ranges, lorikeets calling,
Carols of bush-birds rising and falling,
Orana! Orana! Orana! to Christmas day.

**I Am Australian**
by Bruce Woodley and Dobe Newton

*All*
I came from the Dreamtime, from the dusty red soil plains,
I am the ancient heart—the keeper of the flame,
I stood upon the rocky shore, I watched the tall ships come,
For forty thousand years I’d been the first Australian.

**Chorus (Harmony)**
We are one but we are many
And from all the lands on earth we come,
We share a dream,

And sing with one voice,
I am, you are, we are Australian.

*All*
I came upon the prison ship bound down by iron chains
I cleared the land, endured the lash and waited for the rains.
I’m a settler, I’m a farmer’s wife on a dry and barren run
A convict then a free man, I became Australian

**Men Hum**
I’m the daughter of a digger who sought the mother lode
The girl became a woman on the long and dusty road
I’m a child of the depression, I saw the good times come
I’m a bushy, I’m a battler, I am Australian.

**Chorus**

Men Sing, Women Hum
I’m a teller of stories, I’m a singer of songs
I am Albert Namatjira, and I paint the ghostly gums
Appendix R (continued)
Lyrics of Senior Choir’s Australian-Themed Repertoire

I am Clancy on his horse, I’m Ned Kelly on the run
I’m the one who waltzed Matilda, I am Australian.

All
I’m the hot wind from the desert, I’m the black soil of the plains
I’m the mountains and the valleys, I’m the drought and flooding rains
I am the rock, I am the sky, the rivers when they run
The spirit of this great land, I am Australian.

Chorus (repeat last line)

Home Among the Gum Trees
I’ve been around the world a couple of times or maybe more
I’ve seen the sights, and had delights on every foreign shore
When my friends all ask of me the place that I adore
I tell them right away

Give me a home among the gum trees
With lots of plum trees
A sheep or two and a kangaroo
A clothes line out the back—verandah out the front
And an old rocking chair

I’ll be standing in the kitchen, cooking up a roast
Or vegemite on toast—just me and you and a cockatoo
And after tea we’ll settle down and go out on the porch
And watch the wombats play

Chorus

There’s a Safeway on the corner and a Woolies down the street
And a brand new place that’s opened up where they regulate the heat
I’d trade them all tomorrow for a simple bush retreat
Where the kookaburras sing

Chorus

Some people like their houses built with fences all around
Others live in mansions, or in bunkers underground
I won’t be content until the day that I have found
The place I long to be

Chorus

Aussie Jingle Bells
Dashing through the bush, in a rusty Holden Ute
Kicking up the dust—Esky in the boot
Kelpie by my side, singing Christmas songs

It’s summer time and I am in my winglet, shorts and thongs.

Oh Jingle Bells, Jingle Bells, Jingle all the way
Christmas in Australia on a scorching summers day
Jingle Bells, Jingle Bells, Christmas time is beautiful
Oh what fun it is to ride in a rusty Holden ute

Engine’s getting hot—dodge the kangaroos
Swaggy climbs aboard—he is welcome too
All the family’s there, sitting by the pool
Christmas Day, the Aussie way, by the barbecue.

Chorus

Come the afternoon, grandpa has a doze
The kids and Uncle Bruce are swimming in their clothes
The time comes round to go—we take a family snap
Then pack the car and all shoot through—before the washing up.

Chorus
Appendix R (continued)
Lyrics of Senior Choir’s Australian-Themed Repertoire

_Aussie Pride_
written by Christine Guy ©Christine Guy 2009

1. In this place we call Australia
   Such beauty you will find
   Mountains rocks and rolling plains
   And rivers flowing by
   But in the spirit of it’s people
   The true beauty lies
   It shines so brightly
   Like the stars in a desert sky

   Chorus:
   We stand as one
   Shoulder to shoulder
   We come together
   Our mates by our side
   We stand as one
   Strong with Aussie Pride

2. We’re a people of a nation
   Standing proud and tall
   When trials come against us
   And our backs are against the wall
   That’s when the Aussie spirit will rise

   Chorus
   3. We have fought the floods and fires
      The famines and the wars
      Storms that came at Christmas time
      Upon our sunny shores
      When hardship comes that spirit will rise
      Of that you can be sure
      We come together
      Come together one and all

   Chorus

   . . . Strong with Aussie pride

_I Still Call Australia Home_
I’ve been to cities that never close down
From New York to Rio, and old London town
But no matter how far or how wide I roam
I still call Australia home

I’m always travellin’–I love being free

And so I keep leaving the sun and the sea
But my heart lies waiting–over the foam
I still call Australia home

All the sons and daughters, spinning round the world
Away from their family and friends
But as the world gets older–and colder
It’s good to know where your journey ends

Someday we’ll all be together once more
When all of the ships come back to the shore
I realize something I’ve always known
I still call Australia home

All the sons and daughters, spinning round the world
Away from their family and friends
But as the world gets older–and colder
It’s good to know where your journey ends

Someday we’ll all be together once more
When all of the ships come back to the shore
I realize something I’ve always known
I still call Australia home

I realize something I’ve always known
I still call Australia home

I realize something I’ve always known
I still call Australia–still call Australia
I still call Australia home
Appendix R (continued)
Lyrics of Senior Choir’s Australian-Themed Repertoire

**Wollemi Pine**
Words: Denis Kevans & Sonia Bennett  
Music: Sonia Bennett

There’s a tree that’s so rare grows deep in the gorges out there  
Deep in my heart I will sing of the Wollemi pine  
No preaching words no angry tones  
The Wollemi stands alone  
One hundred million years of passing time.

Wollemi Wollemi look around you keep your eyes open  
Ah look about you Oh oh oh Wollemi Wollemi  
Wollemi look around you  
Keep your eyes open or look about you

The trees in this Wollemi band  
Come from Gwandana land  
When the orphan lands of the south were as one.  
She’s the mother of my song Gwandana you are strong.  
You were here before the dreaming of the dreaming had yet begun.

**Chorus**

The only clue to your tale  
Were the leaf prints in the shale  
And we thought you’d come and gone long years ago.  
About then what did we see a living  
Wollemi tree where the mountain waters pure and sweet do flow.

**Carra Barra Wirra Canna**  
by Marva Cogan

There’s a lake in South Australia,  
Little lake with lovely name  
And the story woven round it  
From the piccaninnies came  
Every night the native mothers  
Croon this lovely lullaby  
Croon across the moonlit waters  
To the star up in the sky

**Chorus:**

Carra Barra Wirra Canna  
Little star upon the lake  
Guide me through the hours of darkness  
Keep me safely till I wake

Picannnies’ heads are nodding  
Drowsy crooning fills the air  
Little eyes at last are closing  
And the boat of dreams is there

Guide my boat across the waters  
‘Cross the waters still and deep  
Light me with your little candle  
Safely to the land of sleep

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Appendix S
Campbell’s (2004) Cultural Prism Model

Musical Beginnings
Who created the music?
How old was the creator at the time the piece was created?
When was it created?
Where?
What inspired the creation of the piece?
Who first performed it?
How was it performed: As music with expectations for quiet listening, dancing, marching (including professionals), or as “background” to social conversation?

Musical Communities
Who performs it now?
What qualifications do performers of the music have?
Does it always sound the same, or is there flexibility within the tradition to personally interpret it, vary it, transform it?
Are there recordings of the piece?
Who teaches it?
How is it learned?
How do audiences respond to the music?
Are there social norms for these responses?

Musical Meanings
Are there particular social or cultural themes to the music?
What use or function does it fulfil?
Do historical and contemporary performances of it demonstrate different meanings?
Do particular groups of people, as defined by age, gender, ethnicity, religion, socioeconomic status, nation or region, identify with the music?
Dear Professor Marsh

Thank you for your correspondence received 20 June 2011 addressing comments made to you by the Human Research Ethics Committee (HREC). I am pleased to inform you that at its meeting held on 5 July 2011 the Committee approved your protocol entitled “Exploring musical acculturation: The musical identities of the Sudanese Australian, Filipino Australian and Anglo Australian communities in Blacktown”.

Details of the approval are as follows:

Protocol No.: 13855
Approval Period: July 2011 to July 2012
Annual Report Due: 31 July 2012
Authorised Personnel: Associate Professor Kathryn Marsh
Mrs Samantha Dieckmann

Documents Approved:
Participant Information Statement Version 2 15/6/2011
Participant Information Statement for Parents and Guardians Version 1 23/5/2011
Participant Consent Form Version 1 23/5/2011
Parental (or Guardian) Consent Form Version 1 23/5/2011
School Principal Consent Form Version 2 15/6/2011
Interview Topics Version 1 23/5/2011

Special Condition/s of Approval

1. It will be a condition of approval that permission from the school Principals (and other authorities as necessary) is received by the HREC prior to research commencing. [Link to School Permissions]

References:
Ref: IM/PE
8 July 2011
Associate Professor Kathryn Marsh
Sydney Conservatorium of Music – C41
The University of Sydney
Email: kathryn.marsh@sydney.edu.au

Appendix T

Ethical Approval, Participant Information Statements and Consent Forms
Appendix T (continued)

Ethical Approval, Participant Information Statements and Consent Forms

2. Please supply certified translations of the public documents as appropriate. The translations must be certified by a person who is not associated with the research project (either an applicant or other persons identified in the application) and has no conflict of interest. They need to indicate that the documents translated are a true and accurate representation of the English language versions submitted to the HREC. A statutory declaration to this effect (if not a registered translator) would be appropriate if they are not an official translator. A statutory declaration form can be found at http://www.ag.gov.au/STATDEC

The HREC is a fully constituted Ethics Committee in accordance with the National Statement on Ethical Conduct in Research Involving Humans-March 2007 under Section 5.1.29.

The approval of this project is conditional upon your continuing compliance with the National Statement on Ethical Conduct in Research Involving Humans.

A report on this research must be submitted every 12 months to the Human Research Ethics Committee from the final approval period or on completion of the project, whichever occurs first. Failure to submit reports will result in withdrawal of ethics approval for the project. Please download the Annual Report/Completion Report Form from the Human Ethics website at: http://sydney.edu.au/research_support/ethics/human/forms.

The HREC approval is valid for four (4) years from the Approval Period stated in this letter and is conditional upon submission of Annual Reports. If your project is not completed by four (4) years from the approval period, you will have to submit a Modification Form requesting an extension. Please refer to the guideline on extension of ethics approval which is available on the website at: http://sydney.edu.au/research_support/ethics/human/extension.

Chief Investigator / Supervisor’s responsibilities to ensure that:

1. All serious and unexpected adverse events should be reported to the HREC within 72 hours.

2. All unforeseen events that might affect continued ethical acceptability of the project should be reported to the HREC as soon as possible.

3. You must retain copies of all signed Consent Forms and provide these to the HREC on request.

4. It is your responsibility to provide a copy of this letter to any internal/external granting agencies if requested.

5. All research participants are to be provided with a Participant Information Statement and Consent Form, unless otherwise agreed by the Committee. The following statement must appear on the bottom of the Participant Information Statement: Any person with concerns or complaints about the conduct of a research study can contact the Manager, Human Ethics, University of Sydney on +61 2 8627 8176 (Telephone); + 61 2 8627 8177 (Facsimile) or ro.humanethics@sydney.edu.au (Email).

6. Any changes to the protocol including changes to research personnel must be approved by the HREC by submitting a Modification Form before the research project can proceed. Please refer to the website at http://sydney.edu.au/research_support/ethics/human/forms to download a copy of the Modification Form.

7. A Completion Report should be provided to the Human Research Ethics Committee at the completion of the Project.
Appendix T (continued)

Ethical Approval, Participant Information Statements and Consent Forms

Please do not hesitate to contact Research Integrity (Human Ethics) should you require further information or clarification.

Yours sincerely

[Signature]

Associate Professor Ian Maxwell
Chair
Human Research Ethics Committee

cc  natalie.plant@sydney.edu.au; sseb0564@uni.sydney.edu.au
Exploring Musical Acculturation in Blacktown

PARTICIPANT INFORMATION STATEMENT

(1) **What is the study about?**

This study investigates the musical lives of the Sudanese Australian, Filipino Australian and Anglo Australian communities in Blacktown, NSW. In particular this study aims to identify how these communities are affected by the cultural exchanges they experience in the multicultural society in which they live.

(2) **Who is carrying out the study?**

The study is being carried out by Samantha Dieckmann, who is studying for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy (PhD) in Music Education at the Sydney Conservatorium of Music, University of Sydney. Samantha is under the supervision of Associate Professor Kathryn Marsh.

(3) **What does the study involve?**

*Observation:* As a part of this study, Samantha will watch and sometimes join in musical events and experiences that happen in and around Blacktown, NSW. Examples of these include community festivals, concerts, rehearsals and music classes. If everyone involved in these events or experiences permits, Samantha will video record what she sees.

*Interviews:* Interested community members who volunteer to participate will be interviewed. These people will be interviewed in a group, and each group will involve up to five people. If necessary, translators will be provided for these interviews. These interviews will be audio or video recorded if you permit this. In addition to community members, community workers or leaders who work with these communities will be interviewed regarding their work.

*Documents:* Documents related to these musical experiences, such as concert programs and newspaper clippings, will be collected.

(4) **How much time will the study take?**
Appendix T (continued)

Ethical Approval, Participant Information Statements and Consent Forms

Observation: Observations will take place at a convenient time for the people involved (that is, whenever rehearsals, performances or festivals are scheduled).

Interviews: The group interviews will run between half an hour to an hour. The time that these interviews will be conducted will be arranged with you.

(5) Can I withdraw from the study?

Being in this study is completely voluntary - you are not under any obligation to consent. You can withdraw from the research at any time, without having to give a reason and without consequences. Your relationship with the researcher(s), the Sydney Conservatorium of Music and the University of Sydney will not be affected now or in the future because of your withdrawal. If you withdraw from an interview, you can request that the audio or video recording be erased and the information you have already given will not be included in the study. However if you take part in a group interview and wish to withdraw, it will not be possible to erase what you have already said once the interview has already started.

(6) Will anyone else know the results?

All aspects of the study, including results, will be strictly confidential and only the researchers will have access to information about you. In the publication of the findings, pseudonyms (not real names) will be used for all people taking part and no identifying information will be published unless you specifically request to be identified.

(7) Will the study benefit me?

It is anticipated that this study will contribute to: the further development and improvement of musical experiences available to Blacktown residents; and a better understanding of how a sense of unity can be achieved through music in a highly multicultural area.

(8) Can I tell other people about the study?

You can discuss all aspects of this study, and your involvement, with other people.

(9) What if I require further information about the study or my involvement in it?

When you have read this information, Samantha Dieckmann will discuss it with you further and answer any questions you may have. If you would like to know more at any stage please feel free to contact Samantha at:

Mobile number: [REDACTED]
E-mail address: sseb0564@uni.sydney.edu.au

Samantha's supervisor Kathryn Marsh, Associate Professor at the Sydney Conservatorium of Music, can be contacted at:

Work number: 9351 1333
E-mail address: kathryn.marsh@sydney.edu.au

(10) What if I have a complaint or any concerns?

Any person with concerns or complaints about the conduct of a research study can contact The Manager, Human Ethics Administration, University of Sydney on +61 2 8627 8176 (Telephone); +61 2 8627 8177 (Facsimile) or ro.humanethics@sydney.edu.au (Email).

This information sheet is for you to keep.
Appendix T (continued)
Ethical Approval, Participant Information Statements and Consent Forms

Music Education
Sydney Conservatorium of Music

ABN 15 211 513 464

KATHRYN MARSH
ASSOCIATE PROFESSOR

Room 2129
Building C41
The University of Sydney
NSW 2006 AUSTRALIA
Telephone: +61 2 9351 1333
Facsimile: +61 2 9351 1287
Email: kathryn.marsh@sydney.edu.au
Web: http://sydney.edu.au/

Exploring Musical Acculturation in Blacktown
PARTICIPANT INFORMATION STATEMENT FOR PARENTS AND GUARDIANS

You are invited to permit your child to participate in a study of the musical lives of the Sudanese Australian, Filipino Australian and Anglo Australian communities in Blacktown, NSW. We hope to learn how these communities are affected by the cultural exchanges they experience in this multicultural society. Children have been selected as possible participants in this study because they are Blacktown residents that have been identified as either Sudanese Australian, Filipino Australian or Anglo Australian.

Children who are permitted to participate will be interviewed in a focus group setting (up to five participants at a time) about the music they listen to, watch and play. We will also observe them engaging in musical activities such as school music classes, musical play and listening to music.

Who is carrying out the study?
The study is being conducted by student investigator Samantha Dieckmann, and will form the basis for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy (PhD) in Music Education at the Sydney Conservatorium of Music, University of Sydney. Samantha is under the supervision of Associate Professor Kathryn Marsh.

What does the study involve?
Observation: The study involves your child being observed while participating in various musical activities (that is, performing, learning music in school, listening to music). If you and your child permit, these observations will be video recorded.
Interviews: If you and your child consent to participation, your child will be interviewed. This will be carried out in a focus group context, which will involve up to five participants at any one time. If necessary, translators will be provided for these interviews. If permitted, these interviews will be audio or video recorded.
Documents: Documents pertaining to your student’s music, such as concert programs and newspaper clippings, will be collected.
Appendix T (continued)
Ethical Approval, Participant Information Statements and Consent Forms

How much time will the study take?
Observation: Observations will take place at the convenience of the participants (that is whenever performances or music classes are scheduled).
Interviews: The group interviews will run between half an hour to an hour. The time these interviews will be conducted will be arranged with interviewees.

Can I withdraw my child from the study?
Your decision whether or not to permit your child to participate will not prejudice you or your child’s future relations with The University of Sydney. If you decide to permit your child to participate, you are free to withdraw your consent and to discontinue your child’s participation at any time without affecting your relationship with the researcher(s), the Sydney Conservatorium of Music and/or the University of Sydney.

Will anyone else know the results?
All aspects of the study, including results, will be strictly confidential and only the researchers will have access to information on participants. In the publication of the findings, pseudonyms will be created for all participants and no identifying information will be disclosed unless a participant specifically requests to be identified.

Will the study benefit my child or I?
It is anticipated that this study will contribute to: the further development and improvement of musical experiences available to Blacktown residents; and a better understanding of how a sense of unity can be achieved through the arts in a highly multicultural area.

Can we tell other people about the study?
You and your child can discuss all aspects of this study, and your involvement, with other people.

What if I require further information about the study or my involvement in it?
When you have read this information, Samantha Dieckmann will discuss it with you further and answer any questions you may have. If you would like to know more at any stage please feel free to contact Samantha at:

Mobile number: [redacted]
E-mail address: sseb0564@uni.sydney.edu.au

Samantha’s supervisor Kathryn Marsh, Associate Professor at the Sydney Conservatorium of Music, can be contacted at:

Work number: 9351 1333
E-mail address: kathryn.marsh@sydney.edu.au

What if I have a complaint or any concerns?
Any person with concerns or complaints about the conduct of a research study can contact The Manager, Human Ethics Administration, University of Sydney on +61 2 8627 8176 (Telephone); +61 2 8627 8177 (Facsimile) or ro.humanethics@sydney.edu.au (Email).

This information sheet is for you to keep
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KATHRYN MARSH
ASSOCIATE PROFESSOR

Room 2129
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NSW 2006 AUSTRALIA
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Facsimile: +61 2 9351 1287
Email: kathryn.marsh@sydney.edu.au
Web: http://sydney.edu.au/

Exploring Musical Acculturation in Blacktown

DIALOGUE STATEMENT

I am interested in finding out about the musical experiences of the Filipino Australian/Sudanese Australian/Anglo Australian (choose relevant one) community in Blacktown. I am very interested to see what kinds of music you listen to, watch and play and if this changes when you come into contact with other cultures.

I would like to go to see Filipino/Sudanese/Anglo Australian performances, festivals and concerts. If you play music I would like to watch you learn and perform as well. If you give your permission, I will record these music activities with a video camera. If you agree to talk to me, I would like to talk to you about the music you like and why. I will have a conversation with a group of you. This conversation will be recorded. If it is needed, we will get a translator to help us during our talk. You do not have to let me come and watch music with you, and you do not have to talk to me. It is up to you and nothing bad will happen if you do not let me. If you do let me come and watch music and talk to you, and you decide you do not want to do it anymore, you can tell me to stop any time. Nothing bad will happen if you stop talking to me. If you do want to talk to me, when I write about what you say I will not use your real name. I will use a pretend name, unless you want me to use your real name.

If you would like one, I will give you a copy of the videos I take, and I will keep a copy. If you would like to know more, you can ask me or (insert relevant community leader’s name) about what I am doing.
PARTICIPANT CONSENT FORM

I, ..........................................................[PRINT NAME], give consent to my participation in the research project

TITLE: EXPLORING MUSICAL ACCULTURATION IN BLACKTOWN

In giving my consent I acknowledge that:

1. The procedures required for the project and the time involved have been explained to me, and any questions I have about the project have been answered to my satisfaction.

2. I have read the Participant Information Statement and have been given the opportunity to discuss the information and my involvement in the project with the researcher/s.

3. I understand that I can withdraw from the study at any time, without affecting my relationship with the researcher(s), Sydney Conservatorium of Music or the University of Sydney now or in the future.

4. I understand that my involvement is strictly confidential and no information about me will be used in any way that reveals my identity. However, if I prefer to be identified, I can choose for my real name and/or identifying information to be used by completing the “Disclosure of Identity Option” section on page 2.

5. I understand that being in this study is completely voluntary – I am not under any obligation to consent.

6. I understand that I can stop the interview at any time if I do not wish to continue, the audio and/or video recording will be erased and the information provided will not be included in the study.
Appendix T (continued)
Ethical Approval, Participant Information Statements and Consent Forms

I understand that I can stop my participation in the focus group at any time if I do not wish to continue, however as it is a focus group discussion it will not be possible to erase my participation in the discussion to that point.

7. I consent to: –

i) Audio-taping YES □ NO □

ii) Video-taping YES □ NO □

iii) Receiving Feedback YES □ NO □

If you answered YES to the “Receiving Feedback Question (iii)”, please provide your details i.e. mailing address, email address.

Feedback Option

Address: ____________________________________________________________

Email: _____________________________________________________________

Disclosure of Identity Option

I, _______________________, prefer to be identified by my real name in publications produced as a result of this study.

Signed: ......................................................................................................

Name: ....................................................................................................... 

Date: .........................................................................................................
Appendix T (continued)

Ethical Approval, Participant Information Statements and Consent Forms

Music Education
Sydney Conservatorium of Music

ABN 15 211 513 464

KATHRYN MARSH
ASSOCIATE PROFESSOR
Room 2129
Building C41
The University of Sydney
NSW 2006 AUSTRALIA
Telephone: +61 2 9351 1333
Facsimile: +61 2 9351 1287
Email: kathryn.marsh@sydney.edu.au
Web: http://sydney.edu.au/

PARENTAL (OR GUARDIAN) CONSENT FORM

I, ........................................................ agree to permit .......................................................

, who is

aged ....................... years, to participate in the research project –

TITLE: EXPLORING MUSICAL ACCULTURATION IN BLACKTOWN

In giving my consent I acknowledge that:

1. I have read the Information Statement and the time involved for my child’s participation in the project. The researcher/s has given me the opportunity to discuss the information and ask any questions I have about the project and they have been answered to my satisfaction.

2. I understand that I can withdraw my child from the study at any time without prejudice to my or my child's relationship with the researcher/s now or in the future.

3. I agree that research data gathered from the results of the study may be published provided that neither my child nor I can be identified.

4. I understand that if I have any questions relating to my child's participation in this research I may contact the researcher/s who will be happy to answer them.

5. I acknowledge receipt of the Information Statement.
Appendix T (continued)
Ethical Approval, Participant Information Statements and Consent Forms

6. I consent to: –

i) Audio-taping YES □ NO □

ii) Video-taping YES □ NO □

iii) Receiving Feedback YES □ NO □

If you answered YES to the “Receiving Feedback Question (iii)”, please provide your details i.e. mailing address, email address.

Feedback Option

Address: __________________________________________

Email: __________________________________________

Signature of Parent/Guardian

________________________________________________________________________

Please PRINT name

________________________________________________________________________

Date

Signature of Child

________________________________________________________________________

Please PRINT name

________________________________________________________________________

Date