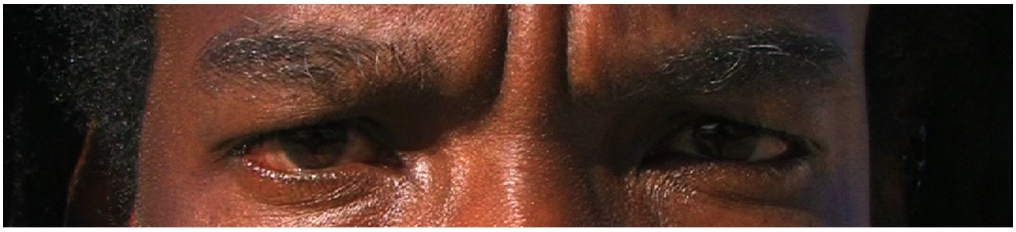
WHO WE REALLY ARE

EXEGESIS AND COLLABORATIVE DOCUMENTARY BY PAULO ALBERTON



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STATEMENT OF AUTHENTICATION

The work presented in this thesis is, to the best of my knowledge and belief, original except as acknowledged in the text. I hereby declare that I have not submitted this material, either in full or in part, for a degree at this or any other institution.

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PAULO TRINDADE ALBERTON

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ABSTRACT

Who We Really Are is practice-lead research that consists of two parts: a collaborative documentary and a written exegesis. Both are arguments and narratives that complement each other.

The documentary uses observational and participatory modes of production to depict the settlement process of a group of migrants and refugees in Australia. This group comprises a master of the African-Brazilian art form of Capoeira Angola, a group of young African refugees, and myself, a white Brazilian filmmaker and researcher. The invisibility of the filmmaker assumed in the observational portion of the production is challenged by the participatory mode, which exposes the filmmaker as a participant in the creative process along with other participants.

The film, both in its production process and its screen content, is situated at the intersection of a complex set of narratives of diaspora and multiculturalism that, in their construction and development, have been subject to competing perspectives and values.

This exegesis proposes that the diasporic and multicultural narratives mediated by the film are similarly constructed in terms of Brubaker's notions of 'boundary-maintenance' and 'homeland orientation' (Brubaker, 2005). While these theories highlight the similarity of the narratives they also inform an understanding of their competing narrative projections.

Drawing from Ang et al. (2008) and Danforth's (2001) insights this exegesis presents some of the paradoxes of the Australian multicultural narrative and its link with a history of government acts and policies (e.g., Immigration Restriction Act, the White Australian policy, and multicultural policy). Ideas and concepts about diaspora and multiculturalism are framed in a narrative style combining personal and national narratives that stand-alone but also which shape each other (Appiah, 1996; Danforth, 2001; Freiwald, 2002).

SECTION 1: INTRODUCTION TO THE PROJECT

Over a few years, the documentary film *Who We Really Are* followed the relationship between Capoeira Angola Mestre Roxinho and a group of young African Refugees who attend Multicultural Cabramatta High School, in the Western suburbs of Sydney. The film in the form of a DVD is included at the back of this manuscript as an important part of my research. This exegesis was written in relation to the film component and it incorporates a mixture of narrative and academic style of writing. This written component is divided into five sections.

The first section is written in a narrative style. It introduces the researcher and filmmaker as a migrant of non-English speaking background and as one of the participants of the project who are settling in multicultural Australia. The section tells the story of how the film emerged as a Doctorate of Creative Arts project and introduces the key participants of the film.

Section Two describes the film component in methodological and theoretical terms and attempts to seed the links between practice and theory. It introduces participatory film as exploratory research, observational film as a tool in the participatory method and speaks of the film editing process as a creative process that assigns meaning to the field data.

Section Three academically reflects on the concepts of diaspora and multiculturalism that emerged in the film component. Drawing from Gilroy (1993), Brubaker (2005), Ang et al. (2008) and Danforth (2001) it explores these concepts as narratives that have beginning middle and end, and proposes that they can be understood as having similar constructions in terms of Brubaker's notions of 'boundary-maintenance' and 'homeland orientation' (2005).

Section Four provides an overview on the historical backgrounds of Capoeira Angola and Hip Hop with the aim of illuminating how the narratives of African diaspora embedded in these art forms were constructed and how they may relate to the Australian context of multiculturalism.

Section Five attempts to bring the personal, national and diasporic narratives presented in this exegesis to a closure.

The documentary script is included as an appendix to this exegesis.

1.1 Inception: Meeting Mestre Roxinho - 2006

New to Sydney, I was invited by a couple of new friends to a game of Capoeira Angola at the Bondi Pavilion, in the eastern suburbs of Sydney. I had seen Capoeira being played in parks in Brazil and I knew it was an African-Brazilian game, an art form created by African slaves in Brazil that was a mix of dancing and fighting. I had, however, never had a close friend who practiced it. I grew up in white middle-class São Paulo, Brazil, far away from the Afro-Brazilian cultural centre of the northeast, where Capoeira originated. Although I was aware of Capoeira I was oblivious of the social gap between Afro-Brazilians and my own socio-economic class. Previously a pilot I was knowledgeable of the geography of the northeast and had occasionally stayed overnight in Salvador at a 5-star hotel. Moved by a nostalgic urge to reconnect with a culture I had romantic ideas about but to which I had never belonged, I decided to accept my friends' invitation.

I am the youngest of three sons of an airline pilot and a housewife. In early 1960s my family migrated from Porto Alegre, in southern Brazil, to São Paulo in southeast Brazil, one of the largest cities in the world and the city where I was born. I grew up at a distance from my extended family in the south, but within a small and loving family unit. I lived a politically disengaged middle-class lifestyle in São Paulo; I was completely unaware that I lived the first 19 years of my life under military dictatorship. I didn't know that artists (such as Caetano Veloso, Gilberto Gil and Augusto Boal) were seeking exile abroad due to a fear of being tortured for using art to resist the authoritarian regime. I listened to North American music and was unaware that my early years were the richest moments in the Brazilian music history. I had no concept of slavery, the history and struggle of people of African descent, or the devastation colonisation had wreaked on the Indigenous people of Brazil and their culture.

While my father was away flying in his employment as an airline pilot, my mother was supported by a full time nanny/housekeeper who lived with us on and off for about 40 years, an occasional part time cleaner, a gardener and other occasional domestic aides. My family belonged to a privileged, though not rich, class of (white) people from the South of Brazil. Since my older brother had a slight disability he attended an expensive special school. This meant that my middle brother and I were sent to a small public school where the quality of teaching was low and where strikes by underpaid teachers were common. Despite my low-level public school education I grew up in a family of aeronautically orientated people who taught me about a pilot's career. Not surprisingly I became a pilot and my early career took me to various places accross the world. This enhanced my curiosity of different cultures. Driven by this curiosity in 1998 I left aviation to study film and to work in New York, Johannesburg, Perth and Sydney.

Eight years after leaving Brazil I was a migrant living in multicultural Australia. Curiously, I was sitting next to other migrants from different cultural backgrounds, being introduced to the African-Brazilian art form of Capoeira Angola. It was now clear to me that I occupied a less privileged social position than when I was an airline pilot in Brazil. I thus observed the Capoeira Angola practice from a different perspective. I paid a lot more attention to it. The way they were playing the Capoeira game did not equate with my memory of the practice. It appeared that participants were making the effort to 'pull themselves together' as a group. Alongside their attempts I too started to try and pull together the different components of my identity after being absent from Brazil for eight years.

All of a sudden the disjointed nature of the Capoeira group changed. The music stopped, I heard whisperings, people relocated on the floor to form a circle. Musicians took their positions and an unknown Afro-Brazilian 'figure' entered the space and in Portuguese said:

> If you see a Master, you must invite him to the circle and not just look at him … Capoeira Angola is a tradition … Who taught you to behave like this? You move here, you move there, don't cross your arms, close the circle so the energy doesn't escape, you need to respect the Master.

His name was Mestre Roxinho and he had recently arrived from Brazil and taken over the leadership of the group, after this position was left empty by a previous teacher. His presence created an immediate sense of obedience and respect amongst all the people in the circle. With a strong voice he started singing a 'Ladainha', (a kind of song that starts a Capoeira game), and the conduct of the participants suggested they all knew the rules of the game. Everyone knew their place and their role in that micro community. They knelt in front of Mestre Roxinho before entering the circle to play. They negated the kicks at the rhythm of the music. They sung the chorus in Portuguese. It was a very satisfying and, to a degree, spiritual experience and gave me a sense of belonging to a culture I had never belonged to. This experience revealed to me that I was not sure of my place in Australian culture. I asked myself why the majority of people in the circle were foreigners. What did that say about Australian culture, about Capoeira Angola, and about us, migrants and refugees who participate in this project?

Ironically, my first encounter with the African-Brazilian art form of Capoeira Angola happened in Australia and not in Brazil. The cultural distance between Mestre Roxinho and I in Australia seemed smaller than had we met in Brazil. Here we were both migrants, belonged to the same social class and lived in the privileged eastern suburbs of Sydney. I didn't realise but this encounter was about to take me on a complex journey of discovery. I joined the Capoeira group when Roxinho decided to stay in Australia and when the community was being re-formed after the previous teacher had departed.

I asked Mestre Roxinho if I could start filming him as he established his Capoeira Angola culture in Australia, I explained that I wished to make a documentary tentatively called *My Father, My Mestre*. I did not know what would become of the documentary but I knew I had to start immediately. Roxinho agreed to be filmed.

1.2 Overview: Who We Really Are

The idea for *Who We Really Are* emerged while I was filming the documentary *My Father, My Master*[1], in 2007 As Roxinho was establishing himself in Sydney he started teaching Capoeira Angola to groups of recently arrived young refugees on the outskirts of the city. The fact that one of these groups was composed of refugees who had come from African countries caught my attention. What was Capoeira's connection to African cultures and Africans today, centuries after the emergence of Capoeira in Brazil? Were there common stories to be shared between contemporary Africans in Australia and the stories of oppression sung in Capoeira? These questions drew my attention to the African continent and to the history of Capoeira Angola and slavery in Brazil.

Capoeira Angola was an art form created in Brazil by African slaves and their descendants as a means of resisting the colonial oppression of Portuguese rulers. It is an expression of physical and spiritual survival that weaves African tradition, history and spirituality into a unique physical and musical 'game' played in a circle. It is believed that the social skills learned in the Capoeira circle are transferable to and helpful in real life.

When I met Roxinho's young African refugee students, the fact that we all came from Language Backgrounds Other Than English (LBOTE) helped us to empathise with each other. Despite our different cultural backgrounds, in Australia, we were 'placed' in the same multicultural category. My encounter with Roxinho and his students raised questions about who we really were in multicultural Australia, and about how the public policy of multiculturalism influenced the way we constructed our identities as migrants and refugees settling in Australia.

Having observed popular documentary formats and series that aired on the dedicated Australian multicultural Television channel – the Special Broadcasting Services (SBS), such as *Long Way Down* (Alexanian & Malkin,

[1] This film did not attract finance and has not been finalised yet. It is in a rough-cut stage.

2007), *Go Back to Where You Came From* (O'Mahoney, 2011) and others, I realised that ethnic stories were not often presented in first person.

These questions led to an idea for a new documentary. As an immigrant filmmaker in Australia I began to think that I could take steps to fill this gap in representation. In 2008 I a dialogue with Mestre Roxinho, the New South Wales Service for the Treatment and Rehabilitation of Torture and Trauma Survivors (STARTTS), Cabramatta High School and the young African refugees who practice Capoeira Angola with Mestre Roxinho, about producing a collaborative documentary about who we really were as we settled in Australia.

In order to produce the film I sought the interest of SBS, Screen Australia, Screen New South Wales, but all without success. Eventually it was in academia, through a Doctorate of Creative Arts (DCA) degree at the University of Western Sydney, that I found the support to produce this film. In my search for support my interaction with different government funded agencies made me aware that the funding source body would influence the way ideas took shape and narratives constructed. In the case of the DCA I was required to produce an academic component, this exegesis, which functions to communicate in a scholarly context the ideas and processes associated with my research. My initial urge to reconnect with 'my' culture, therefore, transformed into a larger project.

According to DCA guidelines from the University of Western Sydney:

> The DCA aims to provide professional artists with recognition of both their practice and the contribution they make to professional and scholarly knowledge. It is a program of advanced research embedded in professional practice. It also must be able to contribute to the advancement of policy and practice in the creative arts (UWS, 2004, p. 1).

Filmmaking is my professional craft and was my starting point for this academic and creative journey that aimed to make sense of how diaspora and multicultural narratives are both similar and different. I also sought to examine where these two narratives interact. The documentary *Who We Really Are* has been framed and constructed after a complex set of creative and inter-subjective processes with participants and government and non-government organisations. The filmmaking practices occurred at the intersection of the

activities of a diversity of actors and their narratives; this diversity is explored throughout this exegesis.

This research project did not seek to use filmmaking to gather raw data that could be objectively analysed in the exegesis. Instead knowledge was gained through the process of the construction of the film's narratives, through creative collaboration with participants, through the editing of material, and through interaction with government and non-government organisations. Knowledge was also obtained through the use of the traditional research tools of reading and writing. The documentary and exegesis are both arguments and narratives that complement each other.

Together and separately I, along with participants, engaged with a number of organisations including: The NSW Service for the Treatment and Rehabilitation of Torture and Trauma Survivors (STARTTS), the Special Broadcasting Services (SBS), Fairfield Council, Cabramatta High School, and the University of Western Sydney. All these organisations are engaged, in one way or another, with the ideology of multiculturalism as it operates in Australia. Actually this ideology, according to Hage (2006), emerged through a government policy that was created to manage the kind of cultural diversity that emerged when migrants of Languages Backgrounds Other Than English migrated to Australia.

As a filmmaker and a migrant of a 'Language Background Other Than English' I became interested in understanding the following:

- Who are we becoming as we settle in multicultural Australia as migrants and refugees labeled as coming from 'Language Backgrounds Other Than English'?
- How are we constructing our personal narratives and identities? And how is Australia constructing its national narrative and identity in relation to migrants and refugees?
- How have these questions emerged in the production of this documentary?

1.3 Participants

Mestre Roxinho
Capoeira Angola Mestre (Teacher)
Country of birth: Itaparica Island, Bahia, Brazil
Arrived in Australia in 2006

African-Brazilian Mestre Roxinho's birth name is Edielson da Silva Miranda. He was born in a large and broken family with an alcoholic father who couldn't provide for the family. At the age of six he was selling peanuts on the streets of Salvador, in the northeast of Brazil, surrounded by people engaged in criminal activities. It was during this time that Welder Virgílio Maximiano Ferreira, who is also a respected Capoeira Angola Mestre, offered him a job as an assistant welder. Edielson not only accepted the offer he also brought his personal belongings and literally moved into Virgílio's home. Virgílio did not send the boy back to his mother. Instead he raised the young boy in his home until he became a grown man. Because of this Roxinho refers to Virgílio as his father, his Capoeira Angola Master, and his friend.

Within the circle of Capoeira Angola, Mestre Virgílio prepared Edielson, at first only a young boy for the challenges of growing up black and poor in northeast Brazil. Mestre Virgílio's father was an important Mestre of Capoeira Angola. When Edielson was approximately 18, he received the Capoeira name of Roxinho, meaning 'little purple'. When Roxinho started teaching Capoeira Angola, he replicated the style of Mestre Virgílio and taught Capoeira Angola to at-risk youth in northeast Brazil. Roxinho understood what it meant to be a kid at-risk. Over time Roxinho shaped this teaching style into a project which he named 'Project Bantú'. Bantu, according to Roxinho, is the name of his ancestors in Africa. Most Angolans were Bantu people. Roxinho's knowledge of his ancestry, and his connection to the Bantu people, is not based on documentary evidence but on his spiritual understanding of his ancestry. He gained this understanding through his involvement with the African-Brazilian religion of Candomblé.

After twenty-two years of Capoeira Angola practice Mestre Virgílio gave Roxinho the title of 'Mestre' (Master of the art form). Mestre Roxinho then

started a pilgrimage-style journey practising Capoeira Angola. As a response to a calling he travelled around Brazil teaching Capoeira Angola to at-risk youth; he then travelled in various countries overseas until he arrived in Australia in 2006.

In Australia Mestre Roxinho opened a Capoeira Angola Cultural Centre and school in the heart of Sydney. With the assistance of The New South Wales Service for the Treatment of Torture and Trauma Survivors (STARTTS) and Social Worker Chiara Ridolfi, Roxinho took 'Project Bantú' to at-risk youth in the western suburbs of Sydney. In the Australian multicultural context the kind of at-risk youth Roxinho was introduced to included migrants and refugees of Language Backgrounds Other Than English, as well as young Indigenous people.

I started following Roxinho's engagement with STARTTS in 2007. Both Roxinho and STARTTS became aware of my intentions to develop documentary project that later became a part of a research degree at the University of Western Sydney. They supported the idea and throughout 2008 and 2009 a number of meetings were held to negotiate terms and conditions of our collaboration. In 2009, STARTTS employed Roxinho and his assistant, Chiara Ridolfi, because they believed that Capoeira Angola could help young refugees recover from trauma and assist them in settling and integrating into Australian society.

Chiara Ridolfi
Social Worker, Project Bantú Officer, Capoeira Angola Teacher Assistant
Country of Birth – Italy
Arrived in Australia in 2005

Chiara has a Masters degree in Social Change and Development from the University of Wollongong, NSW. She has worked in community-based projects with young people in Italy, Brazil, Thailand and Bangladesh. She was one of the first Capoeira Angola students of Mestre Roxinho when he arrived in Australia in 2006. Very dedicated to learning Capoeira, Chiara is also a qualified social worker and is fluent in both Portuguese and English.

After meeting Mestre Roxinho Chiara quickly became a key player in the implementation of 'Project Bantú' in Australia from 2007. One of her roles has

been to help Roxinho with English and to translate into English his traditional culture which manifests orally, physically and musically. During the implementation of 'Project Bantú' Chiara counted on the support of STARTTS, an organisation that helps refugees recover from their previous trauma experiences and to build a new life in Australia. Chiara and Roxinho helped STARTTS in the production of funding applications to make 'Project Bantú' possible. Eventually, as these applications attracted funding, STARTTS employed both Chiara and Roxinho to run 'Project Bantú'.

At STARTTS Chiara's role included the co-facilitation of Capoeira Angola groups, project documentation and evaluation, liaison with schools, social support and referrals for young people. Chiara's skills have developed to the point that she is able to independently teach classes to young participants of 'Project Bantú'. In 2012 she started working as a Child and Adolescent Counsellor at STARTTS, adding individual counseling and therapy to her duties (Ridolfi, 2013).

Elisabeth Pickering
Cabramatta High School Counsellor, Intensive English Centre (IEC)
Qualifications in Bachelor of Teaching and a Masters degree in Educational Psychology
Country of birth: Australia

Elisabeth has had a long career in education and in working with migrants and refugees newly arrived in Australia from a number of different countries. She has worked for seventeen years as a teacher with a focus on teaching English as a Second Language and for twenty-four years as the School Counsellor at Cabramatta High School Intensive English Centre (IEC). IECs operate under the rubric of the NSW government high school system. The aim of these centres is to prepare newly arrived migrants, refugees and secondary aged students for study in an Australian high school by providing them with intensive English tuition (YAPA, 2009).

Elisabeth has a special interest in the impact of war trauma, the challenges of resettlement and students' management of loss and grief. She has a keen interest in alternative approaches to address the needs of the different cultural and ethnic groups that arrive in Australia. Elisabeth maintains that to obtain

effective outcomes for young people who have suffered from the traumas of conflict and displacement, interventions need to be long-term and tailor-made

Elisabeth is passionate about issues of equity and justice for all people. She was introduced to 'Project Bantú' and to my DCA project via STARTTS, and supported both projects from her first exposure to them. Elisabeth is very resourceful. During my project she frequently went out of her way to help me. Her 'extra help' included, but was not limited to, negotiating food for students who stayed for filmmaking workshop, organising camps and events, and helping to fundraise for the filmmaking workshops.

Brendan O'Byrne
Cabramatta High School Deputy Principal
Country of Birth: Australia

Brendan has had a long career in teaching. He began teaching as a science teacher and later became Head of Faculty. He was appointed Deputy Principal of Cabramatta High School in 2006. He has a strong background in administration and a passion for technology in education. During his time at Cabramatta High School he instigated a number of environmental programs and building projects When we were filming the project in 2010 Brendan was skeptical about the efficacy of the Capoeira program. He threatened to 'sink' the project unless the behavior of young participants improved. When interviewed in 2012 he admitted he no longer had problems with young students from African backgrounds. In 2013 Brendan moved to another NSW state school.

Beth Godwin
Cabramatta High School Principal
Country of Birth: Australia

Beth Godwin has been the Principal of Cabramatta High School since 2004. At the school she has created a culture of community advocacy and community involvement and in doing so has acted as a role model for her culturally diverse students and their families. Beth has embraced various causes and in the school supports a wide range of extra-curricular projects, such as Project Bantú and this film project, with and for her students, with whom she maintains a close, supportive and personal relationship (UWS, 2014).

In order for the school to host such programs Beth relies on the support of organisations such as The NSW Service for the Treatment and Rehabilitation of Torture and Trauma Survivors (STARTTS).

Paulo Alberton
Role – Filmmaker and Researcher
Country of Birth – Brazil
Arrived in Australia in 2000

I am a Brazilian-born independent documentary filmmaker who used to work as an international airline pilot. I am interested in the ethical, political and artistic dimensions of the documentary form. Since 1998 my films have explored issues of race, culture, religion and identity.

I have lived and worked in São Paulo, New York, Johannesburg, Perth and Sydney and explored my filmmaking voice in different styles including video poetry, road-documentary, Auteur animated documentary, character-driven documentary and format documentary for television. I have taught film at university, certificate and community levels and produced educational drama and documentary for NGOs.

The documentaries that have influenced my filmmaking style include the subjective and performative *Tongues Untied* (Riggs, 1989), the animated political allegory *Isle of Flowers* (Furtado, 1989), the interactive and online documentary *Long Journey, Young Lives* (Goldie & Dahdal, 2004) and the hybrid documentary *Jabe Babe* (Merewether, 2005); the latter produced as a part of a Doctorate of Creative Arts degree. These films were not funded with an aim to reach mainstream audiences but funded under schemes that aimed to support community arts, that sought to push the boundaries of the documentary form or to challenge mainstream politics.

My credits at SBS Television include *Going to the Dogs* (Alberton, 2004), *Give Me A Break* (Tait, 2005), *Living On* (Alberton, 2005) and *Swapping Lives* (Goldie, 2004). In Brazil I work as the editor of a long running documentary series called *Passagem de Som* (Alvim, 2013) which airs at Sesc TV, Brazil. My awards include Best Photography for *Water and I* (Alberton, 1996), Film Australia special

commendation, ATOM Best-multimedia award for *Mijn Man* (Royds, 2005), and Best Documentary and Best Editing at Western Australian Screen Awards (WASA) in 2004 for *Going To The Dogs* (Alberton & Way, 2004).

Going To The Dogs is the first authorial film I produced after arriving in Australia. It marked the beginning of my identification as an ethnic filmmaker and member of a minority population in Australia. It is a highly stylised and half animated political allegory that uses dogs as metaphors in order to examine multiculturalism and immigration policies in Australia.

A large part of my film schooling was in the practice of filming. I started studying film five years after I started making them. In regards to my film studies I completed a Certificate in Film at New York University (NYU), Queer Film Studies at WITS University in Johannesburg and a Master of Arts at the Australian Film, Television and Radio School (AFTRS) specialising in documentary directing.

Refugee Participants Under 18 years old
Country of Birth: various
Participants arrived in Australia between 2005 and 2010

The young participants in my project were 30 Cabramatta High School students (17 male and 13 female) who were enrolled in the Capoeira Angola classes in early 2010. They were aged between 11 and 17 years old. Four of them were still studying at Cabramatta High School's Intensive English Centre (IEC) in order to prepare them for a transition to mainstream high school. Twenty-five of them had already transitioned to regular Cabramatta High School. All were of refugee background, 27 of them were of African origin (11 from Burundi, 11 from Sudan, four from Congo, and one from Somalia), two students were from Iraq, and one from Thailand. Some participants' English language skills were low and they required the presence of a community translator or liaison person, who was always present during Capoeira classes. When 2010 'Project Bantú' commenced the young participants' length of stay in Australia varied from six months to four years. Details of the students involved in the project are summarised in Table 1.

ID	Name	Sex	Class	Ethnicity	IEC /HS
1	Izahaki IRAGEZA	M	1J	Burundian	IEC
2	Zidonia MKESHIMANA	F	1J	Burundian	IEC
3	Sharmarka BARE	M	1R	Somali	IEC
4	Madlina KEN	F		Sudanese	IEC
5	Yohana ABALA	M		Sudanese	IEC
6	Jones Ntungwanayo	M	7	Burundian	HS
7	Jemimah OMARI	F	7	Congolese	HS
8	Dieme MUHIMBIRWA	M	7	Congolese	HS
9	Charity BOSCO	F	8	Sudanese	HS
10	Kuat ABOL	M	8	Sudanese	HS
11	Chantal NZEYIMANA	F	8	Burundian	HS
12	Joha KANYAMNEZA	F	8	Burundian	HS
13	Miriam OMARI	F	9	Congolese	HS
14	Evelyn AGRIPA	F	9	Sudanese	HS
15	Evoni NIBIGANA	F	9	Burundian	HS
16	Rita GAWAM	F	9	Sudanese	HS
17	Makor MAKOR	M	9	Sudanese	HS
18	Azam AL MOUSAWI	M	9	Iraqi	HS
19	Hunkun BOSCO	M	9	Sudanese	HS
20	Abdhari RASHID	M	9	Burundian	HS
21	Migarit JOHNS	F	9	Sudanese	HS
22	Deborah JOHNS	F	9	Sudanese	HS
23	Fadi PETTO	M	9	Iraqi	HS
24	Severino GAPAWA	M	10	Burundian	HS
25	Lewis HANTENGIMANA	M	10	Burundian	HS
26	Maneenuch KULAWUT	F	10	Thai	HS
27	Bilali RASHID	M	10	Burundian	HS
28	John WATHWEI	M	10	Sudanese	HS
29	Rama KAYUNGU	M	10	Congolese	HS
30	Aaron HAKIZIMANA	M	12	Burundian	HS

Table 1: Capoeira Angola attendance sheet of April 2010

The information in Table 1 was provided by participants at the school. It was not verified by official documents. This brings up a question about precision of information. For example, Evelyn Agripa, one of the students in the project, said in an interview that she was Sudanese. As we got to know each other better and I conducted further interviews, she mentioned she was born in a small village called Agojo, which is in Uganda. She used Uganda and Sudan alternatively to refer to her country of origin. Further I learnt of another student who claimed she had a different age to that provided on her documentation. The reasons for these indiscrepancies could be various and are not explored in this exegesis. What is important, though, is that the statistical information provided in my film, screenplay and exegesis could be imprecise, particularly in relation to the

age and place of birth of some of the students - this potential imprecision points to the importance of the narrative voices of these participants and the stories of their identities.

In terms of the classes not all of the students who participated in the Capoeira classes chose to participate in the filmmaking workshops. Despite this they agreed to being filmed while they practiced Capoeira. Most students who participated in the filmmaking workshops also participated in the Capoeira Angola classes. Capoeira classes pre-existed the film workshops. I had expected to work with up to 15 students in the filmmaking workshop component, dividing them into three groups of up to five students each. This was most ideal in terms of the three sets of AV equipment and the three tutors I had available to this project. This number, however, was highly variable throughout the year.

Below is a brief introduction to the key young participants who feature in the documentary, based on the information provided by participants in conversation and interviews. Following the name of each participant is the age of the student as it was at the beginning of the school year in 2010.

Rama Kayungu (15) was born in Congo and in the first years of his life moved to the town of Kigoma in Tanzania where he learned how to Rap. His idols included Professor Jay and Juma Nature. When we started this project Rama had been in Australia for approximately four years.

Dieme Muhimbirwa (17) was born in the small Congolese village of Bunyakiri. In 2010 he had not seen his parents for six years. He told me that most of his family members were still in Congo and that he speaks with them over the phone every now and again. Dieme lives in Sydney with his grandparents. During the project I noticed that he was a very mature and responsible young man.

Miriam Omari (15) and Gemimah Omari (13) are part of a Christian family of four girls and a boy. The children of this family were born as the family moved across different national borders on the African subcontinent, a movement that occurred due to war or for religious reasons. All the girls of the family sing in a

church choir. Of the girls Gemimah composes the most. Part of the song *Who We Really Are* (theme song of the documentary) was composed by Gemimah.

Evelyn Agripa (15) said in an interview to camera that her family and herself escaped by foot from a small Ugandan village called Agojo because of her mean step-father who had three or four wives and who no longer liked Evelyn and her family. According to Evelyn, after escaping Agojo, they stayed in a refugee camp in Kampala, Uganda, until they found a place to live in Sudan. She does not remember the name of the town they lived in Sudan. Evelyn was one of Roxinho's best Capoeira students, along with Makor and Hunkun. Evelyn is the cousin of Hunkun.

Hunkun Bosco (16) is Sudanese and during the project showed he was one of the most devoted Capoeira Angola students of Mestre Roxinho. Although Hunkun was initially not keen to participate on the film workshops, by the end of 2010, he started participating in some workshops and expressing his opinions to the camera.

Deborah and Migaret Jones (Twins - 15). The twins were born in a refugee camp called Kakuma, in north-west Kenya. At Cabramatta High School they were very popular and always articulated clearly. During the project they showed they had an interest in both Capoeira and Rap.

Makor Makor (16) is a highly intelligent and articulate young Sudanese man who during the project was deeply committed to both Capoeira and Rap. Makor chose not to participate in the filmmaking workshops and the film, therefore, does not portray his Rap. He did, however, come to be vocal about Capoeira on the film. In 2013 he was diagnosed with cancer and had to cancel his Capoeira travel to Brazil in order to undergo chemotherapy.

1.4 Defining Refugee

The 1951 United Nations Convention, also signed by the Australian government, defines a refugee as:

> A person who is outside his/her country of nationality or habitual residence; has a well-founded fear of persecution because of his/her race, religion, nationality, membership of a particular social group, or political opinion; someone who is outside his/her country of origin; and is unable or unwilling to avail him/herself of the protection of that country, or to return there, for fear of persecution (UNHCR, 2007).

The Organization of African Unity's [OAU] Convention Governing the Specific Aspects of Refugee Problems in Africa was a regional treaty adopted in 1969 and in that it is added that a refugee is, 'any person compelled to leave his/her country owing to external aggression, occupation, foreign domination or events seriously disturbing public order in either part or the whole of his country of origin or nationality' (Chaloka Beyani, 1995).

Refugees in Australia

In the 2008 to 2009 financial year 13,507 refugees and humanitarian visa applicants entered Australia. In this time period the primary countries of origin for offshore refugees and those with humanitarian visas were Iraq (2874), Burma (2412) Afghanistan (847), Sudan (631), Bhutan (616), Ethiopia (478), Democratic Republic of Congo (463), Somalia (456), Liberia (387), and Sierra Leone (363) (Government, 2010). Approximately 7,000 of these refugees were children.

Many of the newly-arrived refugees who enrolled in Intensive English Centres (IEC) in NSW were born in detention and refugee centres around the world and have never attended school. Many have experienced war, hunger, life threatening situations, or have witnessed the killing or raping of close relatives.

As refugees of high-school age settle into Australian life they often have to manage one set of values at home and a different set at school. This means that often their resettlement needs take priority over their need to engage in some kind of trauma healing process. As part of their settlement they must learn English, the rules of Australian society, the way finances are managed, the culture, even their way around their local environment. Sometimes students also have to be responsible for their parents who are not as fluent in English as they are.

Although in Australia these children are offered specialised settlement services and psychological support at places such as IECs, they are generally expected to integrate into the mainstream school curriculum after three school terms. After this period they lose access to most of the special support programs. This transition from IEC into mainstream school is one that needs to be examined more closely and better understood (Chegwidden & Thompson, 2008).

Government and community reports point to the largely unassisted transition from IEC into mainstream schooling as a period when a number of pressures may result in violent or disrespectful behaviour at school and at home. This is particularly significant in African communities because between 2002 and 2006 African refugees constituted the largest refugee intake in Australia (NSW, 2006; Chegwidden & Thompson, 2008). African refugees have therefore been experiencing growing learning and settlement difficulties in NSW and many schools are having trouble managing the situation; many schools are not fully aware of the cultural backgrounds of such African refugees, nor the needs of these communities. Government agencies still need to better comprehend the realities of these families in order to better address the issues of healing and settlement (Chegwidden & Thompson, 2008).

1. 5 Sites and Organisations

Cabramatta High School
8 Aladore Ave., Cabramatta, NSW 2166

Cabramatta High School is a large public high school 30 kilometres west of the Sydney CBD. In 1974 Film Australia produced a participatory documentary titled *Stirring* (Oehr, 1974), which was filmed within the grounds of Cabramatta High School. This controversial feature documentary showed a school attended by Anglo-Saxon male students and the topic of the film was a questioning of the practice of corporal punishment. After the arrival of Vietnamese refugees in 1975 other documentaries (Do, 2003; Lim, 2012) have depicted a dramatic shift

in the demographics of the Cabramatta region. Often such films featured narratives of Asian drug gangs and the history of racist Australian public policies that favoured immigration from Britain.

By 2010 *Who We Really Are* showed a very different school. At this time Cabramatta High School was a coeducational school where the majority of students were from Language Backgrounds Other Than English (Cabramatta High School, 2014).

Although Cabramatta High School had a history of accommodating migrants and refugees, and had an IEC attached to the school, it began to experience difficulties in managing refugees from African backgrounds who started to arrive in larger numbers from 2005. Perhaps it is because of these problems that the school became a strong supporter of my DCA project. Their support included, but was not limited to, allowing me to film on school grounds, and offering rooms and some equipment to conduct filmmaking workshops. I met with participants twice a week at school throughout 2010 – every Wednesday for filmmaking workshops, and every Friday for filming of the Capoeira Angola Classes.

Capoeira Angola Mato Rasteiro (ECAMAR) &
Capoeira Angola Cultural Centre Australia
41 Belmore Street – Surry Hills – NSW

ECAMAR stands for Escola de Capoeira Angola Mato Rasteiro. ('Mato Rasteito' Capoeira Angola School) - 'Mato Rasteiro' makes reference to the origin of the word 'Capoeira'[2] which according to Roxinho comes from the indigenous Brazilian language of 'Tupi-Guarani'. It means 'low grass', the kind of grass that grew after a harvest, the place where slaves in north eastern Brazil gathered to practice African rituals or to have fun in the XIX Century. The Sydney branch of the school opened in 2007 in the suburb of Surry Hills, in 2011 it moved to the suburb of Chippendale but then closed in 2012 when the building was returned

[2] Roxinho's version of the origin of the word Capoeira is confirmed as one of versions presented by Brazilian historian Rego (1968). See more on the historical background of Capoeira in Section Four.

to its landlord. At this time Roxinho started to teach out of the Redfern Community Centre in Redfern, NSW.

The sibling organisation of ECAMAR is the not-for-profit Capoeira Angola Cultural Centre Australia, also launched in Sydney in 2007 by Mestre Roxinho. The organisation aims to introduce, preserve and develop Capoeira Angola and Afro-Brazilian culture in Australia. The Cultural Centre hosts 'Project Bantú'.

I filmed at ECAMAR and Capoeira Angola Cultural Centre Australia on special occasions. For example I filmed at Capoeira Angola Youth Encounter, an event that happens in November and unites students from the various high schools where Roxinho teaches. Both the Capoeira Angola Cultural Centre and ECAMAR School supported my DCA project from the beginning.

The New South Wales Service for the Treatment and Rehabilitation of Torture and Trauma Survivors (STARTTS)
152 – 168, The Horsley Drive, Carramar, NSW 2163

Like the two organisations listed immediately above STARTTS was another organisation that supported my DCA project. STARTTS is a not-for-profit organisation that helps refugees recover from trauma and helps them build a new life in Australia. STARTTS also works with other individuals and organisations in order to guide them to work more effectively with refugees. STARTTS provided me with information about the needs, strengths and challenges of torture and trauma survivors. They provided psychosocial support to participants of my DCA and addressed any issues when they arose in regards to the research, filming and workshops. The organisation also taught me how to deal with participants who have experienced trauma and how to implement self-care strategies in terms of boundary setting. Ethical guidance was another service STARTTS offered as well as assistance with my liaising with refugee communities who participate in 'Project Bantú'. STARTTS also helped me to identify and access government funding programs for the implementation of the workshop element of this research project.

I filmed and conducted film and music workshops at STARTTS on special occasions. For example, when I and the film workshop students felt ready to produce film clips.

Secondary research sites

- The Cabramatta Plaza, Cabramatta, NSW.
  We conducted the filming of the Refugee Week Capoeira Angola presentation.
- The Casula Powerhouse Arts Centre, Casula, NSW.
  We conducted the filming of the 'Who We Really Are' music clip with young participants.
- The streets around the suburb of Cabramatta, NSW.
  We conducted the filming of the 'Who We Really Are' music clip with young participants.
- Mestre Roxinho's home / Bondi Beach, NSW.
  We conducted the filming of the weekend gathering between Roxinho and young refugees.
- Young participants' homes in the western suburbs of Sydney, NSW.
  We conducted the filming of the 'Mama' song and the filming of participants collecting their personal belongings in their homes when they were on their way to Roxinho's home.

1.6 Presentation to Community

A formal outline of this DCA project was presented to potential participants and their families in February 2010 at Cabramatta High School. In preparation for this presentation the organisation STARTTS and Cabramatta High School Counselor, Elizabeth Pickering, helped me liaise with the communities involved. This involved making phone calls, sending emails or handing a written introduction of the DCA project to various refugee community leaders. This occurred in December 2009. At this stage nobody was sure who was going to participate in the Capoeira Angola program at Cabramatta High School in 2010.

When a list of Capoeira Angola participants was confirmed in February 2010 we invited all participants and their parents/carers for an information session at Cabramatta High School. During this session I outlined the idea of the film workshops, the documentary film and the exegetical components of the DCA. I then screened extracts from previous years' videos I had produced with STARTTS which portray Capoeira Angola classes being conducted at Cabramatta High School.

I explained how the *Who We Really Are* project would use film to tell the stories by and about young refugees. I explained how the footage in the film would identify participants and organisations who were involved. I made it clear that any sensitive material or legally uncleared footage would have participants' identities protected or classified as confidential.

At this session community translators clarified any questions participants and their families had about the project. I then left the families with information sheets and release forms for potential participants and their families to consider and hopefully complete. Mrs. Pickering helped to collect the signed documents from participants and their families or carers before the commencement of the film workshops.

1.7 Minimisation of Risk or Harm

My DCA project received the approval of the UWS Human Research Ethics Committee and the New South Wales Department of Education and Training ethics (SERAP). Both the Capoeira Angola and the filmmaking workshops were supported by Cabramatta High School and by STARTTS. Their support included administrative assistance and the supply of facilities (such as rounding up students for class, liaising with parents, the organisation of school camps, and the provision of a teaching space), specialised trauma and general psychological support, and information and training for researchers and tutors.

Working with Children and Criminal Record Checks were conducted by the NSW Department of Health on behalf of STARTTS. I undertook the elective and

mandatory workshops offered at STARTTS for adults working with children and adolescents of traumatic backgrounds. If any distress arose as a consequence of a storytelling exercise (for example reliving past experiences), participants had access to the school counselor and, if needed, the STARTTS trauma expert counselor offsite. Contact numbers for the UWS Ethics Officer were also supplied on the information sheets.

1.8 Limitations of Research

Who We Really Are is a qualitative enquiry that draws from ethnographic and participatory filmmaking methods. The findings, therefore, are technically not generalisable beyond this particular context of participants. Despite this, though, the experiences recorded provide insight into the experiences of young African refugees settling in Australia and the power of Capoeira Angola and filmmaking to help these refugees articulate the challenges they face while adapting to Australia.

Although most of this research was set in a public high school, and although it raised questions about literacy and the way refugee trauma is dealt with within an Australian school context, these issues did not become the central focus of my analysis. This choice was made because I believe these issues are extremely complex and thus deserve more attention than a short Doctorate of Creative Arts exegesis can offer.

SECTION 2: FILM COMPONENT

2.1 Film Component Overview

The film component of this DCA is composed of a long-form documentary that uses a mixture of observational and participatory modes of production. In this section I detail how this process took place.

2.1.1 Participatory filmmaking and grounded theory

I conducted weekly participatory filmmaking workshops at Cabramatta High School. These workshops ran for approximately two hours and were conducted on most Wednesdays throughout the 2010 school year. The film group varied in size throughout the year from approximately 7 to 25 students per session. Sometimes the group size even varied within one session because the workshops were not compulsory and participants sometimes came and went throughout the duration of the workshop as they accommodated other activities such as studying for exams or attending soccer practice.

The filmmaking workshops functioned as a space where I could meet with the students independently of the Capoeira Angola environment. We took this time to watch films, build rapport, brainstorm ideas and develop, in an informal way, small biography projects using stills images and text. This process operated in a cumulative fashion where one workshop built on another. So I would design one workshop session, then implement it, watch the video materials produced from it and then reflect on the participatory process. I would then start a new cycle of design, implementation and reflection. In distinction to the non-interactive style I used to film the Capoeira Angola classes, the filmmaking workshops brought a level of complexity, collaboration and proximity to students that deepened my relationship with them. As an interventionist, I became an integral part in the development of the young participants' stories and music clips. Sometimes in the workshops we discussed the students' relationships with Roxinho.

STARTTS and school counsellor Elisabeth Pickering played an important support role during the implementation of these workshops. Not only did they

offer psychological support if needed, they also helped to make the workshops possible by liaising with communities, organising a space to conduct the workshops, organising food and applying for grants to pay for tutors and assistants. As stories arose during our weekly workshops at Cabramatta High School Library more intensive workshops were planned to produce participants' creative projects; these were largely run during the school holidays. Music emerged as participants' preferred mode of expression as opposed to more traditional film narratives. I had to seek expert support to incorporate the music element into the workshops. I sought the advice of composer and music producer Basil Hogios and he actually ended up helping participants and I to realise the participants' music ideas and compositions. UWS provided the stills, video cameras and computers, and I became reliant on the assistance of a number of volunteers to conduct these workshops throughout the year.

The participatory filmmaking workshop component was not only a creative tool used for the construction of the film but a form of social exploratory research as issues of the groups' relationships emerged, were discussed and then illustrated through creative projects. According to Schutt, social exploratory research, or grounded theory,

> seeks to find out how people get along in the setting under question, what meanings they give to their actions, and what issues concern them. The goal is to learn "what is going on here?" and to investigate social phenomena without explicit expectations (Schutt, 2006, p. 14).

The different politics deployed by Roxinho's Capoeira Angola and young participants' Hip Hop practices became noticeable after the participatory workshops started. It was then that I decided to examine how the different African diasporic art forms informed participant's diverging politics [3]. Further, it was only during the workshops that young participants' musical performances emerged. Without the participatory workshops particular stories would have remained untold. For example, the story of how Burundian Jones felt about his journey to Australia and his faith in God would not have been revealed. Also it was through the hip hop performed in the participatory workshops that I learnt

[3] I will explore more of this on Section Four.

that young participants call themselves ‘niggas from Africa’ and that Rama loves his mother.

Additionally, the performance component of the participatory workshop was incorporated into the documentary in a way that challenged the reality portrayed in the observational component. According to Bill Nichols:

> performative documentary presents a distinct disturbance to ethnographic film. Such films have been classically bound by a triadic conception of “the field”, the academic institution that supports it, the geographic sites that host it, and the disciplinary forces that police it (Nichols, 1994, p. 96).

The different languages and creative processes of both Ethnographic and participatory filmmaking helped to construct the dialogue between Roxinho and his students. While the ethnographic component emphasised realism, the performative component challenged or devalued these conceptions of reality. Ethnographic films and performative films offer different perspectives and allow for different interpretations of reality. As Nichols says, ‘One is poetic and evocative, the other is evidential and referential in emphasis' (Nichols, 1994, p. 97).

2.1.2 Ethnographic film as observational method and as theory

> In recent years film has entered anthropology both as a method and as a theory. As a method, the focus has been on the use of film as part of the ethnographic process, as a means of recording data, of “documenting” events. The theoretical emphasis has been on the analysis of the finished film: on film as a medium for presenting interpretations and representations of “other cultures”. Thus theorietical and methodological concerned have tended to be distinct from one another (Morphy, 1994, p. 118).

Morphy’s distinction between method and theory is an important one to understand in relation to this project. *Who We Really Are* intentionally mixed ethnographic and participatory methods to challenge the invisibility of the filmmaker and researcher, an invisibility which is assumed in ethnographic methods. This allowed for different perspectives and cultural interpretations to enter into the dialogue on screen.

While the observational method facilitated the collection of ‘raw’ data and an observation of events with minimal impact on the setting, the creative intervention was designed to have an impact of the setting. It thus cannot be

ignored in this analysis. When observational footage was used in the participatory method, as part of an intervention, it provoked dialogue and challenged our understanding of ourselves. For example, during a moment of crisis in the project, I presented the observational footage to participants. They had the chance to watch themselves living their lives and interacting with other participants on screen. They were then encouraged to have a conversation about what they saw. This helped them to have a better understanding about who they were at that moment of crisis. In watching the film I too had a chance to better understand the complexity of the relationships and to determine how much I was contributing to the crisis. In this case observational footage was used as a tool to understanding.

According to Eraso, ethnographic film, historically, was a product of colonialism that created audiovisual narratives of exotic 'others'. Since the 1970s, though, this practice began to evolve 'with a wave of self-criticism and theoretical reflection about the role and impact of ethnographic filmmaking. The result, today, is a great deal of reflexivity and inter-subjectivity' (Eraso, 2006, n.p.). According to Eraso ethnographic filmmaking also experienced a 'crises of representation' in regards to the fields of ethnography and anthropology. It was criticised for displaying the naive assumption that the ethnographer was invisible.

Today, the ethnographer 'must accept that the filmmaker(s) will lose authority in the film and that authority will tend to get decentralised and shared among subjects' (Eraso, 2006, n.p.). In other words, there is a greater emphasis on negotiation between authorities as well as on a shared ownership of the process of filming and telling of stories. The negotiation of authority between my subjects and I can be seen in the documentary. For example, when I discuss with the participants whether they want the films to go public.

Eraso also believes that 'written and spoken forms of qualitative research still overshadow the visual realm' (2006, n.p.). Certainly in my project, though, the film component of this Doctorate of Creative Arts project was used to unearth

data, stories, perspectives, and was pivotal in informing the direction of the research.

2.1.3 Observational documentary as one of the modes of production

> Ethnographic films have been profoundly influenced in recent years by the ideas and techniques of observational cinema that arose out of cinema verite in the early 1960s and the British Free Cinema movement of the preceding decade. Lightweight synchronous sound cameras and film stocks of increased sensitivity made it possible to film almost anywhere with a minimum of disturbance to those being filmed (MacDougall, 1978, p. 414).

Through observational filmmaking I framed the evolving relationship between Roxinho and his young students as they interacted in Capoeira Angola classes every Friday throughout the 2010 school year. As an orally transmitted practice and tradition, Capoeira Angola is learned through a long-term relationship with a Mestre. Observing this relationship over a long period of time was necessary in order to allow narratives to form from everyday interactions. I had agreed with Mestre Roxinho not to take an Assistant Camera-person into the classroom and also to work as unobtrusively as possible. The aim of this was to preserve Mestre Roxinho's authority as the teacher of Capoeira Angola. This was only possible because of the quality and portability of the video equipment I used, and because I had years of experience in operating cameras 'solo'. Having said that, sometimes the technical quality of the footage was compromised. In particular moments of crisis I was not able to move or to stop the action to insert a wireless microphone on a person who entered the room to discuss something important. I just had to accept what I could see and hear from the position I was in without interfering with the unfolding relationships.

I filmed, using an observational style, nearly every Capoeira Angola class held weekly throughout the school year of 2010 at Cabramatta High School. Sometimes after the class I conducted camera interviews with a Capoeira Angola student, Mestre Roxinho, or school staff. Over time participants got used to my presence and my camera and I was able to capture rich moments of their relationship development. I also obtained footage of the students' improvements in regards to both their physical abilities and also their social skills. These images helped to illustrate the students' journeys as characters.

Despite these positive aspects of the observational filmmaking component mentioned above I was always conscious of the challenges of 'disembodied observation', which is the case with this mode of production. As MacDougall says such observation creates an 'illusion of authorial invisibility [that] could lead to a false interpretation of the behavior on the screen' (MacDougall, 1978, p. 415). It is with this in mind that I incorporated a participatory filmmaking component. This not only exposed myself as a filmmaker and interventionist but also foregrounded participants' creative interpretations of their experiences.

2.2 Film Component Informing Intellectual Framework

The process of analysing and assigning meaning to observational and participatory footage was two-fold. First, the construction of the long form documentary's narrative, at a creative level, tried to give meaning to the data through using the editing process to link different pieces of audio and video content. Second, the direction of the academic scholarship evolved alongside the editing of the film; this was possible once the focus of the story and the topics depicted in the film were defined. The finished film foregrounds the complex creative and ethical decisions that were made in the construction of the 'finished data'. As MacDougall points out,

> The film-as-text stimulates thought through a juxtaposition of elements, each of which bears a relationship to the intellectual framework of the inquiry. These elements may reveal information on how materials were gathered, provide alternative perspectives by the film's subjects, or present the evidence out of which the film proceeds (MacDougall, 1978, p. 423).

In other words editing of the film component was as critical in assigning meaning to field data as the writing of the exegesis itself. The next section is an example of an academic reflection of the themes that emerged from the production of the creative component of this DCA.

SECTION 3: FRAMING NARRATIVES OF AFRICAN DIASPORA AND AUSTRALIAN MULTICULTURALISM

The documentary component of this DCA, both in its production process and screen content, is situated in the intersection of a complex set of narratives of diaspora and multiculturalism that compete in terms of the perspectives and values in which they are constructed and developed. This section proposes that despite the fact that these narratives have competing projections, they are similarly constructed on what Brubaker calls 'boundary-maintenance' and 'homeland orientation'. These are two of the three core elements that constitute his concept of diaspora (2005, pp. 5-8).

In this section the concepts of diaspora and multiculturalism are developed in a narrative form, as concepts that evolve through time. For example, the narrative of African diaspora starts in reference to the experience of the Jewish diaspora of forced migration and evolved to incorporate 'the voluntary emigration of free, skilled Africans in search of political asylum or economic opportunity' (Akyeampong, 2000, p. 183). Similarly, this section proposes that the concept of multiculturalism can be understood in a narrative form. I mainly draw from Ang et al. (2008) and Danforth (2001) to suggest a continuity of narrative from one cultural construct to another (e.g., Ethnic Nationalism to Multiculturalism etc.) and to relate these constructs to a history of government acts and policies (e.g., Immigration Restriction Act, the White Australian policy, and The Multicultural Policy). This section is not intended to be a complete study of diaspora and multicultural narratives. Instead it only presents contextual debates around these notions in order to theoretically frame the field experiences.

3.1 Narrative and Identity

Narrative, for Barbara Herrnstein Smith, can be conceived 'most minimally and most generally as verbal acts consisting of someone telling someone else that something happened [...] [and this is not far from] saying that something is (or was) the case' (Smith, 1980, p. 232). For Hayden White, 'a narrative is a story

with a beginning, middle, and end. […] [A] form of representation that gives significance, coherence, and continuity to a series of events. It is through narratives, in other words, that human beings endow reality with meaning' (White cited on Danforth, 2001, p. 364). For Gilroy music, performance and ritual are essential narrative tools for people of the African diaspora because they help them to share their stories and construct their diasporic identities (1993, p. 200).

In my documentary, *Who We Really Are,* participants performed their different narratives through Capoeira Angola and Hip Hop in alignment with Gilroy's notion of narrative mentioned above. The Capoeira Angola narratives presented in the film originated within the communities of disenfranchised slaves and slave descendants in Brazil from the early sixteenth century to the mid-nineteenth century (Lovejoy, 1989, pp. 368-386). The early Hip Hop narratives originated in 1970s America, and particularly in the poor Black and Latino communities of southern suburbs of the Bronx (Chang, 2005, pp. 7-19). For Gilroy, the locations where African diasporic performances take place are sites of democratic interaction that build community and identity. They are also, he claims, an inter-subjective resource that he calls 'the ethics of antiphony' (1993, p. 200). The Capoeira circle and the rap rehearsal sessions depicted in the film are examples of such spaces of democratic interaction, where each performance is constructed in a call-response style both physically (e.g., a kick that calls for a response movement in the Capoeira game) and musically (e.g., the chorus that responds to the lyrics of the key singer). In the film participants are seen to be performing diverse interpretations of what happened to them in the past, and although sometimes confronting we witness the construction of their identities as Africans and African descents who are settling in Australia. Their narratives are as much about diaspora as they are about multicultural Australia, and in regards to the latter a dialogue and tension is evident between the students' own perspectives as migrants and the perspectives of both ethnic and mainstream Australia.

Art-forms are often key sites for the construction of artists' narratives and identities. On the other hand literature, film and laws of society can be

considered as narrating a nation. In this exegesis I illuminate concepts of diaspora and multiculturalism in a narrative style. I show how they are evolving concepts that not only connect personal and national narratives but also interact in a way to shape each other (Appiah, 1996; Danforth, 2001; Freiwald, 2002). According to Stephen Appiah:

> It is a familiar idea that modernity allows the ordinary citizen to make a national identity central to an individual identity [...] It is a slightly less familiar thought that the identity of this nation is tied up with the stories of individuals [...] whose stories, in helping to fashion a national narrative, serve also, indirectly, to shape the individual narratives of other patriotic-nationally identified-citizens (Appiah in Freiwald, 2002, p. 1).

It is in the context of complex interconnectedness between personal and national narratives that questions of power relations emerge.

3.2 Narrative and Power

For Nigerian writer Chimamanda Adichie, the ability to tell stories is related to power. She argues:

> How [stories] are told, who tells them, when they're told, how many stories are told, are really dependent on power [...] Power is the ability not just to tell the story of another person, but to make it the definitive story of that person [...] show a people as one thing, as only one thing, over and over again, and that is what they become (Adichie, 2009).

For example, a story narrated from the subjective perspective of 15 year-old Jones, a Burundian refugee who, while participating in this project, raps his journey of escaping war and his feelings of being in Australia with his friends is one story of African diaspora and multiculturalism. Another story is the so-called objective television depiction of the arrival of a boat full of illegal refugees in Australian waters. This latter story is one that is entangled with the legal concerns of an immigration department. The former constructs, in a bottom-up style, through performance and helps to develop a subjecthood based on that individual's own terms. The latter feeds the mediated construction of an Australian national narrative, it is from the perspective of a government and its policies. I argue that the perspectives from which diaspora and national narratives are constructed are different because they draw on cultural values from different 'homelands' outside of Australia.

In order to develop this argument, in the next section of this chapter I provide an overview of how the narratives of African diaspora and Australian multiculturalism emerged and developed in both general and theoretical terms. Then further on in this section I examine multiculturalism by focusing on the Special Broadcasting Services (SBS) as the most explicit communications institution in Australia that continues to claim this territory.

3.3 Framing The African Diaspora Narratives

The term 'diaspora' refers to a conceptual homeland and has its origins in the dispersion of Jews outside Israel. When George Shepperson introduced the concept of the African diaspora in 1966 he did so with the Jewish experience of forced migration in mind (Brubaker, 2005, p. 2). But as Akyeampong highlights:

> the nature and composition of the African diaspora have undergone significant changes overtime: from the forced migration of African captives of the Old and New Worlds to the voluntary emigration of free, skilled Africans in search of political asylum or economic opportunity (2000, p. 183).

Stuart Hall's broader interpretation of the composition of diaspora extends on this argument. Hall argues that diaspora is about displacement and identifies his own life experience as diasporic. He states, 'being displaced, or out of place, is a characteristic experience of mine. It's been all throughout my life' (Hall & Back, 2009, p. 21). Hall does not use the term 'displacement' only to refer to forced migration but applies it to anyone's feelings of being 'out of place'. Hall says the following about his experience of presenting a paper on identity at the London Institute of Contemporary Arts, in 1988:

> I looked out into the hall and I saw a lot of white faces and one after another everybody stood up and said, "Well, actually I'm not really English because my parents come from Australia" or "from the North" or "from Scotland" or "from Wales" or "from the working class"; and I suddenly got this feeling that everybody was becoming diasporic (Hall & Back, 2009, p. 23).

In a similar vein Brubaker argues that since the late 1980s the term 'diaspora' has come to be interpreted differently as it has proliferated across different fields and disciplines and accommodated different agendas. He suggests that this dispersion of the meaning of the term could be called a '"diaspora" diaspora' (2005, p. 1).

3.3.1 Homeland Orientation and Boundary-Maintenance

Despite this spreading of the meaning and constitution of the term diaspora, Brubaker identifies three core elements that remain widely understood as constitutive of diaspora. The first is forced or traumatic dispersion in space. The second is the orientation to a real or imagined 'homeland' as an authoritative source of value, identity and loyalty - a place one would, or should return to. And the third element is the preservation of a distinctive identity, a 'boundary-maintenance' which can signify resistance to assimilation into the host nation (Brubaker, 2005, pp. 5-8). In this exegesis I focus my attention on the second and third elements – 'homeland-orientation' and 'boundary–maintenance'. I do this because I believe they are the key constitutive elements of Australian multicultural narratives.

Not all scholars agree with these concepts. For example, James Clifford challenges the model of 'homeland-orientation' arguing that:

> [d]ecentered, lateral connections may be as important as those formed around a teleology of origin/return. And a shared, ongoing history of displacement, suffering, adaptation, or resistance may be as important as the projection of a specific origin (Clifford, 1994, p. 306).

In terms of the subject matter of my film, Mestre Roxinho's journey to Australia is an example of the importance of both 'homeland-orientation' as well as decentred lateral connections. Despite his strong ancestral identification with the African continent and with African-Brazilian culture, both his sources of value, he chose to teach his Capoeira Angola culture in Australia, not in Africa. The group of refugees from various African countries who participate in this project and depicted in the film is only one of many ethnic groups he teaches. He deploys the experience of oppression and resistance inherent in Capoeira history[4] to connect with refugees from around the world as well as with Indigenous groups living in Australia and neighbouring countries such as New Zealand. Roxinho maintains a lateral connection to his ancestral homeland through his teaching of Capoeira Angola and his engagement with diverse cultures and organisations that help to fund his project. He does so, though, with

[4] I will further explore the historical background of Capoeira Angola in Section Four.

a traditional approach that attempts to maintain the cultural essence and purity of his art form and its African and Brazilian roots.

Ghanaian historian Emmanuel Akyeampong is another scholar who focuses on the African diaspora and he claims it is evolving 'from a diaspora with little contact with the point of origin to one that maintains active contact with the mother continent' (2000, p. 183). Indeed the African influences of Hip Hop have travelled back, via radio broadcasts and the transportation of vinyl records, to African countries such as Tanzania, to influence cultural practices[5]. In Tanzania the local version of Hip Hop is called Bongo Flava and it is accompanied by a new style of politics. In Section Four I explore in more detail how Hip Hop has been transformed in Tanzania.

On a theoretical level the concept of 'boundary-maintenance' is deeply connected to discussions of homeland orientation because it can refer to diasporic peoples' process of identification towards their 'homeland' and in distinction to their hostland (Brubaker, 2005, p. 5). Although Brubaker proposes this model he also acknowledges that scholars, such as Hall, adopt transnational 'boundary-erosion' terminology such as 'hybridity', 'fluidity', 'creolisation' and 'syncretism', terms with fiercely resist 'boundary-maintenance' approaches to diaspora (2000, p. 183).

Concepts of hybrid and fluid identification (boundary erosion) and the maintenance of distinct identities (boundary-maintenance), paradoxically, can both be applied to the way diasporic people identify with their homelands as well as with their host nations. Clifford and Gilroy offer different approaches to this paradox.

On the one hand, Clifford advocates for a hybrid approach to diaspora discourse, an approach that builds lateral connections as it spreads (Brubaker, 2005, p. 6). He uses the example of the Jewish diaspora which he says: 'can be taken as [a] non-normative starting point […] for a discourse that is travelling or hybridizing in new global conditions' (Clifford, 1994, pp. 305-306). By this he means that

[5] In the context of my film, Tanzania was where Congolese refugee Rama was introduced to Hip Hop. Rama and Roxinho go on to meet at a highly 'multicultural' high school in Australia where they negotiate the African origins of their art forms and of their identities.

diaspora can begin with fixed ideas about specific cultural forms but then give way to new ideas about the character of different cultural forms as they are developed in the new 'setting'.

An example of this kind of hybridisation was evident when a more contemporary style of Capoeira emerged in Brazil in the 1930s called Capoeira Regional. This type of Capoeira was influenced by Martial Arts imported from Asia and this diversification gave this style of Capoeira more of a global appeal. It involved a hybridisation with non-African and non-African diasporic cultures, and moved this type of Capoeira away from its original links to African ritual, more towards combat and sport. The popularity of Capoeira Regional, however, had a negative impact on the 'traditional' Capoeira Angola style which nearly went extinct in the 1950s (more is written about Capoeira in Section Four).

On the other hand, Gilroy focuses on the hybrid identification processes that exist between African diaspora and African cultures. For example the blend between Reggae music and Rastafarian culture in Zimbabwe, or the impact on 'authentic' African culture, of music played by slaves who returned from Brazil to Nigeria in the 1840s' (Gilroy, 1993, p. 199). Through these lenses Gilroy proposes that diaspora could be spoken of as

> the apparently magical process of connectedness that arise[s] as much from the transformation of Africa by diaspora cultures as from the affiliation of diaspora cultures to Africa and the traces of Africa that those diaspora cultures enclose (Gilroy, 1993, p. 199)

Figure 1: Gilroy's 'The Black Atlantic', www.blackatlantic.com

This concept of associating, blending and strengthening the roots of African cultural identity is represented by the pictorial representation of Gilroy's concept of the Black Atlantic (1993) (see figure 1 above) which highlights the fluidity of the Atlantic Ocean as a container for the stories of the African diaspora.

In such a model the ocean is a space defined by flows and stories rather than by territorial nations. The ocean unites and validates the diasporic stories in a kind of 'negative continent' of dark stories, and this 'fundamentally disrupts contemporary forms of cultural nationalism' (Erickson, 1997, p. 506).

While Clifford emphasises that diaspora in the new global condition is defined by 'boundary-erosion', he acknowledges Gilroy's preoccupation with maintaining a diasporic identity boundary in the host country. For Clifford, Gilroy's kind of

> diaspora discourse articulates, or bends together, both roots and routes to construct what Gilroy describes as alternate public spheres (1987), forms of community consciousness and solidarity that maintain identifications outside the national time/space in order to live inside, with a difference (Clifford, 1994. p. 308).

Living inside the host nation while maintaining one's identification with a national space outside of it could signify a resistance to assimilating into the host nation's dominant culture. In regards to diaspora discourse, therefore, Gilroy simultaneously highlights the erosion of identity boundaries in relation to a migrant's homelands at the same time suggesting that a migrant may maintain a distinct diasporic identity in relation to the host nation's identity. Gilroy thus borrows Du Bois' concept of 'Double Consciousness' to refer to this double identification experienced by Black Atlantic people who struggle to be both European and Black at the same time. Du Bois' popular depiction of 'Double Consciousness' is that it is:

> a peculiar sensation [...] this sense of always looking at one-self through the eyes of others, of measuring one's soul by the tape of a world that looks on in amused contempt and pity (Bois, 1994).

3.3.2 The African Diaspora of the Southern Hemisphere

Gilroy's understanding of the African diaspora in Black Atlantic (1993) is limited by his study of the North Atlantic slave trade routes, and North American and European literature. His conceptualisations, therefore, leaves the southern hemisphere largely unexplored.

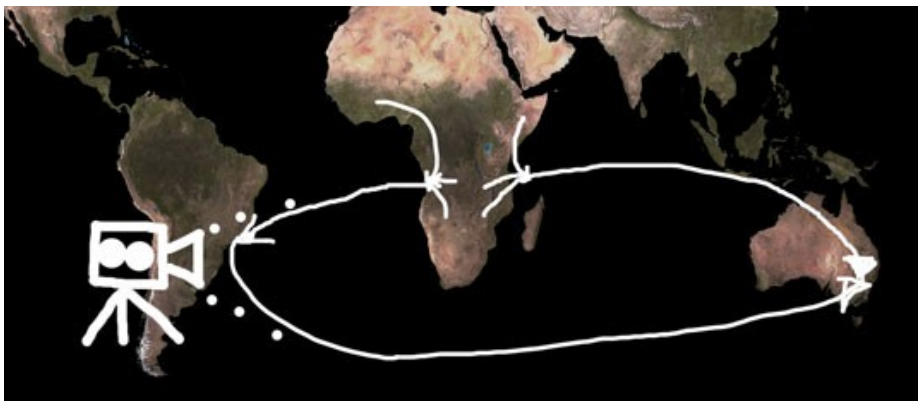

Figure 2: the African diasporic routes of *Who We Really Are*

Who We Really Are adds to Gilroy's study of African diaspora by tracing different routes (see figure 2) and stories that are of great significance. The study of these diasporic routes informs the human encounters framed by the documentary component of this DCA. One set of routes originates from West Africa to the Portuguese colony in Brazil, the largest importer of slaves and the place where the art form of Capoeira Angola originated. The next leg in this route takes Mestre Roxinho and the Capoeira Angola culture to Australia. The other set of routes, the 'new routes' of the African diaspora, leaves the African continent from the east side, crosses the Southern and Indian Oceans and brings together the diverse range of African refugees that participate in this project.. These routes can be seen as closing a symbolic circle that highlights the important stories of the African diasporas of the southern hemisphere. Two other symbolic circles are also played out in this project; one in the Capoeira Angola practice led by Mestre Roxinho (see figure 3), and the other in the film workshop circle led by myself (see figures 4). It is within these symbolic circles that participants' diasporic stories are reflected upon and where participants work out what it means to be black in Australia.

Figure 3: Capoeira Angola circle **Figure 4: Film workshop circle**

The tensions between the maintenance and erosion of identity boundaries are articulated in my project through performance and the clear evidence of conflicting relationships. For Mestre Roxinho while Brazil is his birth country the African continent is his ancestral 'homeland'. The latter is, a land he has never lived in but it functions as an authoritative source of value, identity and loyalty. Roxinho's art form clearly displays African influences and these influences shape his black identity in both Brazil and Australia. He is explicit in stating that he does not wish to adopt a mainstream Australian identity, but he wishes to share the Australian land, as an agent of African-Brazilian culture, with many other cultural agents. In the film Roxinho said to camera: 'It's not bad to be Australian, I just want to be who I am, and they need to respect who I am [...] and I think the kids have to be the same, they have to be Africans, but they can live here and share the country'.

Roxinho's young students who have recently arrived in Australia as refugees from various African countries are more open to eroding their identity boundaries in their settlement process. During their identity-forming years many have lived in refugee camps across national borders and their concept of homeland can be unclear, dispersed across a number of different locations. In Australia the young participants are seen to be engaging in a number of different African diasporic art-forms of North and South Americas, such as Hip Hop and Capoeira Angola, as well as with traditional practices from their 'home' continent, such as choir singing, dancing and drumming. They are not as concerned as Roxinho in maintaining an 'African authenticity' because they also

identify with global fashion and contemporary religious practices, which are not 'authentically African'.

Despite Roxinho's resistance to incorporating mainstream Australian identity into the documentary *Who We Really Are*, he highlights the African connection and solidarity between the African influences of his art form and the origin of his young African refugee participants. Roxinho attempts to associate and strengthen what he sees as their common and 'authentic' cultural roots, although he is challenged when he encounters the North American gangster Hip Hop influence of his students, which he considers 'not' to be authentically African.

Together Roxinho and his students perform old and new narratives of African diaspora and negotiate what it means to be black in multicultural Australia. As a story of diaspora, however, all the participants exhibit traces of both their routes (their journeys) and their roots (their origins) and they negotiate these through the cultural forms and contexts provided to them.

3.4 Framing Australian Multicultural Narratives

Loring Danforth (2001) frames the ambivalences of national narration beyond the literary readings of transnational narratives, and into the history of Australian soccer. He divides Australian national narratives into three main kinds: the narrative of ethnic nationalism, the narratives of multiculturalism, and the more recent narrative of cultural hybridity (2001, p. 367).

I draw on Danforth's concepts of national narration to examine the multicultural narratives depicted on the 'public' service broadcaster, SBS, and the relationships of these narratives to government policy. I am particularly inspired by Ang et al.'s *The SBS Story* which argues that 'three versions of multiculturalism have circulated within SBS over time: ethno-multiculturalism, cosmopolitan multiculturalism and popular multiculturalism'(Ang et al., 2008, p. 19).

Both Ang et al. and Danforth suggest a continuity of narrative from one cultural construct to another (e.g., Ethnic Nationalism to Multiculturalism etc.). Drawing from their insights I seek to present some of the paradoxes of the multicultural narratives and their links with a history of government acts and policies (e.g., Immigration Restriction Act, the White Australian policy, and The Multicultural Policy).

Like Ang et al. and Danforth I also present these cultural constructs in a chronological order (e.g., ethnic nationalism, multiculturalism and cosmopolitanism) because each dominated in a different period. As Danforth (2001), Hage (1998, 2006) and Ang et al. (2008) argue, however, all three of these cultural constructs co-exist and compete today.

3.4.1 Before multiculturalism – the ethnic nationalism

> The core of the ethnonationalist idea is that nations are defined by a shared heritage, which usually includes a common language, a common faith and a common ethnic ancestry (Muller, 2008, p. 10).

In the Australian ethnic nationalist narrative 'Australians were, and still are, a white, English-speaking people whose ancestors immigrated to Australia from the British Isles' (Danforth, 2001, p. 367; Muller, 2008, p. 10). People of English descent are constructed as ethnically unmarked (not seen as ethnic) and are referred to as Anglo-Celtic, mainstream Australians or 'Aussies'. They are perceived as the key components of the national community. Young participant Gemimah, from Malawi, refers to Australians and 'Aussies', who according to her, 'have blue eyes and blond hair […] [and] like to have a barbeque'. Their identity is constructed in opposition to the ethnically marked, immigrant other, or Australians of non-English-speaking background who arrived in Australia in different periods throughout Australian history (Danforth, 2001, p. 367). For example, Chinese migrants who arrived in large numbers during the gold rushes in the second half of the nineteenth century, and the extensive European migration, from countries such as Italy and Greece, shortly after the conclusion of World War II. Although these migrants had considered Australia a promised land (Gunew, 1990, pp. 103-104), once in Australia they found themselves

outside of the mainstream national story and identity, or they found themselves on temporary visa arrangements, which required them to return to their country of origin after a few years.

This notion that Australians were members of the 'British race' was institutionalised in the Immigration Restriction Act of 1901, 'which formed the basis of the White Australia Policy, which guided Australia's immigration program' (Danforth, 2001, p. 367-368). Danforth argues that:

> from the end of World War lI until the early 1970s, the principles of assimilation and integration guided Australian immigration. According to these principles, some people of different cultural backgrounds - Europeans, but not Asians were held to be capable of adopting the Australian way of life and becoming members of the Australian national community (2001, p. 367).

This period was marked by a transformation in the demographics of Australia, with a growing number of ethnic communities, and the development of global alliances of capitalism. These changes threatened the Australian ethnic nationalist identity and provoked debate about what it meant to be Australian (Danforth, 2001, p. 367). Mark Lopez identifies this period as a transition from ethnic nationalism to what he calls 'proto-multiculturalism' (2000, p. 2).

3.4.2 Emergence of multiculturalism

Different ideologies[6] of multiculturalism started to emerge between 1966 and 1968[7], when criticisms were directed at ethnic nationalism and its assimilation policies (Lopez, 2000, pp. 2-7). During this period, according to Ghassan Hage, there were three key conditions in Australian society that bolstered multiculturalism. The first was what he calls a 'relaxed form of nationalism', the second a secure sense of Australian identity, and the third the presence of ethnic others who were only mildly different from the mainstream Anglo-Celtic society (Hage, 2006).

[6] Lopez is referring to a 'neutral' kind of ideology that is a less comprehensive system of thought or belief, which he outlines and discusses, rather than a 'critical' kind of ideology that is conceptualised in terms of processes of maintaining a system of domination.
[7] For a more detailed account of the four multicultural ideologies that informed the official multicultural policy of 1975 see Lopez 2000.

As a caveat to Hage's claims, it is important to note that in the 'formation of multiculturalism, ethnic minorities had a minor role; despite the fact that some individuals of ethnic background and some ethnic organizations were on occasion involved' (Martin in Lopez, 2000, p. 9). This historical precedent of leaders being concerned about cultural diversity but seeking little or no input from ethnic groups in decision-making reflects the paradoxical environment in which the policy of multiculturalism emerged.

By 1975 the policy had passed through its early formative phase and reached various government departments. In the following years, as the multicultural policy evolved, it 'shifted from providing one of several bases for public policy in ethnic affairs to providing the sole basis for public policy in that area' (Lopez, 2000, p. 2).

The diversity of Indigenous cultures that existed for thousands of years prior to European colonisation was not and is still not the central focus of multicultural policy. Multicultural policy is predominantly concerned with the cultural diversity that arrived (and arrives) in Australia from overseas, through migration and the diasporic movement of people. According to Hage (2006), multiculturalism emerged through government policy to manage this kind of cultural diversity, which assimilation had failed to do.

3.4.3 Multiculturalism and SBS

The ideology of multiculturalism features on SBS's charter and proves the station's link to government policy. SBS is one of three national broadcasters which are financially supported by the government and which form the national television mediascape (Appadurai, 1990). They are the Australian Broadcasting Corporation (ABC), representing mainstream public service broadcasting (Ang et al., 2008, p. 3), the Special Broadcasting Services (SBS), the multicultural public service broadcaster, and National Indigenous Television (NITV), being the aboriginal community broadcaster.

The names of these broadcasters, the different budget sizes and dates of each station's emergence are symbolic of their importance in the national context. The 'Australian' ABC emerged in 1929 and in the 2010—2011 financial year had a budget of $1.18 billion. The 'Special' SBS television started in 1979, and in the 2010-11 financial year had a budget of $216.504 million (Special Broadcasting Services, 2010. p. 46). The 'Indigenous' NITV was only launched in 2007 with an annual budget of $15.2 million. In 2012, SBS and NITV were in the process of amalgamating, with SBS being assigned a new free-to air indigenous channel. This process of amalgamation is still happening in 2014[8].

SBS is a public service broadcaster that attempts to feature multicultural stories as part of its core business. SBS relies both on culturally diverse personal stories and on the guiding principles of its multicultural charter in this process of mediation. The SBS charter is intimately related to a history of policies, acts and reports. The way SBS has incorporated these principles suggests a multicultural narrative that evolved from a need to incorporate the cultural diversity of migrants into mainstream culture to a presumption that they have already been incorporated (Ang et al., 2008). This narrative is ethically questionable because it was constructed without sufficient input from ethnic communities as narrators despite being constructed to handle ethnic communities. Furthermore, the integration of cultural diversity into mainstream culture in light of the arrival of new migrants suggests that the presumption of an unproblematised multiculturalism is a premature conclusion to SBS's multicultural narrative. Australia is more culturally diverse now than it was in when the concept of multiculturalism first emerged, and according to Ang et al., '[SBS's] relevance as a public broadcaster with a mandate to "reflect Australia's multicultural society", as its charter specifies, is even more significant today than when it was established more than 30 years ago' (Ang et al., 2008, p. 1).

In the following section I will examine SBS's problematic mediation of multiculturalism when based on a multicultural charter that can be interpreted

[8] See http://www.tvtonight.com.au/2012/05/new-indigenous-tv-channel-for-sbs.html - as part of the deal to manage NITV, SBS received a budget boost of 158 million, 15 million of which is dedicated to NITV.

in a number of different ways.

3.4.4 SBS and the mediation of multiculturalism

SBS is the greatest and most expensive 'agent' of multicultural policy. According to SBS's multicultural charter:

> The principal function of SBS is to provide multilingual and multicultural radio and television services that inform, educate and entertain all Australians and, in doing so, reflect Australia's multicultural society (Government, 2012).

Despite its charter, SBS's reflection of Australia's multicultural society is heavily influenced by British broadcasting models. For example, British formats such *Who Do You Think You Are* (Marciniak et al., 2007), and reality shows such as *Go Back to Where You Came From* (McPhee, 2011). Such programs, paradoxically, base the commissioning of multicultural stories on the values and perspectives of the dominant culture[9]. Newly appointed SBS Managing Director, Michael Ebeid, stated at the 2011 SPAA Conference, '*Go Back* needs to be the new benchmark for SBS content' (Ebeid, 2011). He enunciated a policy that tried to project a vision of what multicultural content will be in future SBS programs. Ebeid's view suggests that the way multiculturalism is constructed at SBS is complex. Ebeid is the first SBS Managing Director from a Non-English-Speaking-Background but paradoxically he defends the British model of multiculturalism as the best way of mediating multicultural stories.

SBS emerged not long after the multicultural policy and Henderson's Poverty in Australia report (1975). Henderson's report identified migrant communities as one of the most disadvantaged communities in Australia, and recommended that '[e]xtra efforts, through television, radio, newspapers and informal networks, must be made to try to get information through to migrant groups' (Henderson, 1975, p. 7). SBS commenced its operations as an experimental ethnic radio narrowcasting foreign language programs under two stations, 2EA in Sydney and 3EA in Melbourne. Getting information to migrants was an important aim in the early stages of SBS. For Ang et al. this kind of multiculturalism, the ethno-multiculturalism, 'focuses on catering to the special

[9] In Section Three I provide a brief review of *Go Back To Where You Came From*.

needs and interests of migrants and ethnic communities, who have historically been key constituencies of multicultural policy' (Ang et al., 2008, p. 19). As May highlights, though, the 1978 Galbally report 'depicted multiculturalism as a program of education and services, aimed at promoting a "multicultural society (which) will benefit all Australians"' (2003, p. 33). These conflicting aims of addressing the special needs of ethnic communities while simultaneously benefitting all Australians have been part of the fabric of both multicultural policy and the SBS Act from their conception.

3.4.5 SBS - ethnic and cosmopolitan multiculturalism coexisting

Ang et al. suggest that since the establishment of SBS Television in the 1980s, a new form of multiculturalism, cosmopolitan multiculturalism, has prevailed. They define cosmopolitan multiculturalism as having 'a more universal emphasis, encouraging all Australians, whatever their background, to embrace global cultural diversity' (Ang et al., 2008, p. 19). Throughout the 1980s and early 1990s attempts were made to engage with the special needs and interests of migrants and ethnic communities. For instance, in the 1980s SBS television's first Chief Executive, Anglo-Australian Bruce Gyngell, performed a pivotal and long lasting role in 'turning the idea of "multicultural television" into reality' (Ang et al., 2008, p. 35). He insisted on contracting people of non-English Speaking backgrounds to present programs and news, and this had a long lasting impact on the station's branding as a promoter of multiculturalism.

Other examples of SBS's engagement with ethnic needs included the production of news and current affairs programs such as SCOOP, *Vox Populi, Forum* and *WorldWatch.* Some of these programs emerged in response to the third report of the Ethnic Television Review Panel[10], which advocated for free and open debates about controversial issues associated with cultural diversity. The controversy surrounding these programs, however, was extensive and difficult for SBS to manage. Migrants used these programs as a space to complain about their employers, inadequate settlement conditions, or to protest against the

[10] This organisation was established to carry out public consultation in the lead-up to SBS Television's launch in 1980.

approaches taken by SBS programs on various ethnic issues. These programs did not have a long life (Ang et al., 2008, pp. 53-54).

In *Pluralising Identity, Mainstreaming Identities: SBS as a Technology of Citizenship,* Nolan and Radywyl argue that:

> as the most visible and most expensive commitment to the public policy of multiculturalism, SBS originated as part of a broader social policy framework rather than from a media portfolio. Because of this, SBS's history is *indexed,* though not identical, to state policies of multiculturalism (Nolan & Radywyl, 2004, p. 41).

The relationship between government multicultural policy and SBS as an evolving broadcaster that aspires to reflect Australian multicultural society is not free of ethical contradictions (See Ang et al., 2008; David Nolan, 2004; Lopez, 2000; May, 2003). Views of SBS range from it being an institution that counters top-down government agency to seeing it as an extension of government management, particularly because most of its managers have been from Anglo backgrounds (Nolan & Radywyl, 2004, p. 46). According to Ang et al., SBS Television has always been run by media professionals with no direct connection to the ethnic community they represent. They say:

> multicultural activists questioned SBS Television's commitment to multiculturalism because it was dominated, as academic and former SBS board member Andrew Jakubowicz observed, by "middle-class Anglo-Saxon males from the traditional broadcasting industries" (2008, p. 35).

In the 1990s a clear transition occurred from a focus on the special needs and interests of migrants in ethno-multiculturalism to an embrace of the global cultural diversity of cosmopolitan multiculturalism. The enactment of this transition was supported by a number of agreements and acts. In 1991 SBS became an incorporated entity and started airing five minutes of commercial advertisements between programs. Also in 1991 the 'Special Broadcasting Service Act' (which included the SBS Charter) was passed. And in 1994 SBS Independent was created which meant extra funding for independent local film production for television.

Vertovec & Cohen believe that multiculturalism (together with globalisation, nationalism and feminism) has led to a revival of the term 'cosmopolitanism' (Vertovec & Cohen, 2002). For Kendall, Woodward and Skrbis cosmopolitanism

is ‘a cultural location that affords (privileged) individuals the capacity to see, and to “consume” otherness, in ways which reproduce patterns of cultural power’ (Kendall et al., 2009).

At a 2006 SBS Forum on multiculturalism, Hage said in relation to this cosmopolitanism that the key conditions in Australian society that led to the emergence of a strong sense of multiculturalism are slowly eroding. He argues that the ‘relaxed form of nationalism’ is giving way to an ‘anxious’ form of nationalism. The secure sense of Australian identity is becoming less secure and the mildly different ethnic others are becoming increasingly more different to Anglo-Celtic Australians: potentially very religious, and increasingly dissatisfied with their share of control of the nation. Multiculturalism, like ‘assimilation’, is failing in its attempt to unify the nation and control cultural diversity. The term ‘multiculturalism’ is taking on a cosmopolitan flavour and is being associated with gay bars and fusion cuisines instead of integrating cultural diversity. Multicultural Policy is positioning otherness in further opposition to the Anglo-Australians (Hage, 2006).

This polarisation between Anglo-Australians and ethnic otherness to a degree reflects an element of ‘boundary-maintenance’ in terms of the construction of Australian identity, and an anxiety about determining a ‘homeland’ as an authoritative source of value. The quote below from Ang et al.’s *The SBS Story* is illustrative of how Anglo-Australian Managing Director Shaun Brown witnessed this split when he arrived at SBS in 2003. As Ang et al describe, Brown discovered

> an organisation held captive by the “Anglo arthouse” camp who, in [Brown’s] observation, hold a much more exclusionary view of SBS than the “ethnic” camp: There were some who cautioned me, “Don't let the ethnic voice become too dominant otherwise we won't be able to continue doing the things that we like doing - Nazi documentaries, foreign movies, things like this”. I've got no problems with any of those programs, but they're not exactly defining of our charter. And there was also, I'd say, a degree of arrogance to that: “Oh well, if they don't like it, they don't watch it. It's our quality judgment, and if the audience doesn't engage, well so be it!” (Brown in Ang et al., 2008, p. 51).

This account represents a failure in terms of the multicultural policy and the SBS charter in integrating non-Anglo Australians in decision-making. It shows Anglo Australians as national agents and the English culture as the source of

value guiding the commissioning of multicultural content. It illustrates Kendall et al.'s concept that cosmopolitanism encourages the reproduction of patterns of cultural power.

3.4.6 Popular multiculturalism

Although Brown stated that the 'Anglo arthouse' camp held a more exclusionary view of SBS than the 'ethnic' camp, he pushed programming according to ratings and not according to a need to reconcile with the 'ethnic' camp. In a speech in 2006 Brown attempted to explain the difficult challenge of addressing cultural diversity while engaging with all Australians:

> we deliver the primary objective of the Charter: "to inform, educate and entertain all Australians, and, in doing so, reflect Australia's multicultural society" . You may have noticed I emphasised two words from that primary Charter obligation – "all" and "reflect". I did that deliberately because those words directly challenge some of the media and public misconceptions of our role. It requires us to be defined by our content and services and that content is required to reflect Australia's multicultural society (in Ang et al., 2008, p. 126).

Some of the most watched factual TV programs that emerged during Brown's management illustrate the dominance of a popular approach to multiculturalism. The prime time air space was allocated to imported and locally produced programs such as *Top Gear* (UK and Australian version), *MythBusters* (North American and Australian versions), the North American *South Park,* and the English *Premier League Football,* which are hard to describe as being in line with the SBS charter. Although Australian versions of British programs such as *Who Do You Think You Are* can be argued as being multicultural, they portray a reference to England as the source of value and authority. This is a trend that permeates the commissioning process. This popular approach has moved SBS closer to commercial broadcasters while simultaneously moving it away from early ethno-multicultural concerns of providing migrants with better access to information and education. Ang et al. argue that in the popular kind of multiculturalism:

> the emphasis is no longer on actively promoting multicultural diversity, but on treating it as an increasingly ordinary, taken-for-granted feature of everyday life. It is multiculturalism as part and parcel of mainstream culture (Ang et al., 2008, p. 20).

The original SBS charter's aim of addressing ethnic needs whilst benefitting all Australians no longer applies in this popular approach, which suggests that immigrants have integrated into mainstream culture. The contradiction is that the narrative of multiculturalism is reaching mainstream culture at the same time that the national population is becoming even more culturally diverse than it was during the emergence of multiculturalism over thirty years ago. The pendulum may have swung too far towards the needs of the 'national audience'.

Should SBS, as a multicultural 'public' service broadcaster, consider itself to be appealing only to multicultural communities and audiences? Or should it be opening itself up to larger national audiences as well? Whose perspectives should it represent? These are important questions but certainly the popular TV programming under Brown's management has challenged the concept of SBS being a 'public' broadcaster. Ang et al. argue that:

> ingrained in the philosophy of SBS is the fact that the public is characterised by plurality, not unity. In this, SBS embodies a notion of the public developed by political philosopher Iris Marion Young in her book *Inclusion and Democracy:* "The public consists of multiple histories and perspectives relatively unfamiliar to one another, connected yet distant and irreducible to one another". The point for SBS is to *broadcast* the plurality of histories and perspectives, not to sweep them into some singular, common denominator (Ang et al., 2008, p. 3).

On the one hand an understanding of migrants' social position has evolved from Henderson's suggestion that 'migrant communities […] [are] one of the most disadvantaged communities in Australia' (1975, p. 7) to the contemporary interpretation of multiculturalism that migrants have integrated into mainstream Australia. As a narrative 'with a beginning, middle, and end' (Hayden in Danforth, 2001, p. 364), the narrative of multiculturalism may have reached its conclusion with the concept of integration.

Paradoxically, on the other hand, as said earlier, cultural diversity has grown much greater and more complex than it was during the emergence of multiculturalism in the mid-1970s. People arriving in Australia now include African and Middle Eastern refugees who arrived in the last decade with a history of trauma, no education, limited English language skills, contrasting religious views, but also with workforce opportunities. According to SBS's popular construction of multiculturalism, multicultural diversity is increasingly

treated as ordinary and part of mainstream Australia. But is this a romanticised view? Have migrants really integrated? Ang et al. argue that this is:

> a rationale that neglects the many groups that are still either marginalised or simply not part of the mainstream, in particular emerging migrant communities such as refugees from the Horn of Africa. […] The 2005 Cronulla riots reminded us that "living in harmony", a key objective of multicultural government policy, is by no means a universal reality. Racism, prejudice and Anglo-centric hegemony are not things of the past. […] If anything, the task of reflecting the complex reality of multicultural Australia […] is more urgent in this era (Ang et al., 2008, p. 163).

It is important, however, to highlight Hage's perception that communal cultural diversity did not emerge from the multicultural policy. Ethnic communities were the problematic reality that emerged during assimilation and then multiculturalism emerged to try to deal with. He states, 'you do not have multiculturalism without multicultural policy, but you do have cultural diversity without multiculturalism' (Hage, 2006).

Even though the Australian government constructed the ideology of multiculturalism without the participation of ethnic people, and even though SBS seems to be ending the multicultural narrative by promoting the integration of ethnic migrants into mainstream culture, cultures in Australia are more diverse now than they were when multiculturalism was being formed. The construction of diaspora and multicultural narratives, as I have presented in in this section, and as they appear in my documentary reveal both an orientation to different cultural values that originated outside Australia as well as different approaches to the process of cultural identification. The homelands of African diasporas that inform the construction of participants' stories found in the documentary come from different locations (Angola, USA, Tanzania, Brazil). Despite the different origins the multicultural narratives can be constructed in similar terms – the 'boundary-maintenance' approach (by keeping ethnic identity distinct to mainstream identity) or the 'boundary-erosion' approach (by merging mainstream and ethnic identities). Different homeland orientations and different processes of constructing identity inform the competing views of the narratives presented.

If the stories of the ethnic others have largely been constructed and mediated by 'non-ethnic' managers at SBS, that is top-down, the stories about being black or

Latino constructed throughout the history of Capoeira Angola and Hiphop, through songs and oral teachings, were constructed in a bottom up style by the 'ethnic communities' themselves.

The next section is an exploration of the diasporic narratives contained in the history of Capoeira and Hip Hop and a study of how these narratives also involve both the maintenance and erosion of identity boundaries. Like the Australian multicultural narrative they are also entangled with a history of power inequality.

SECTION 4: HISTORICAL BACKGROUND

An examination of the history of Capoeira and Hip Hop helps to shed light into how the narratives of African diaspora, portrayed in the documentary *Who We Really Are*, were constructed. A focus on this history also helps to explain the nature of the conflict between African-Brazilian Mestre *Roxinho* and his young refugee students of diverse African cultures, particularly Congolese rapper Rama. These relationships highlight issues of performance, social position, cultural identity, race and power as they are situated in an Australian context and are key elements of the documentary film's narrative.

It is not my intention to provide an in-depth historical account of Brazilian history or to replicate and analyse the various discourses on the origins of Capoeira. As Assunção argues, there are many different and competing 'myths, fakes and facts' about the origins of this art form (2005, p. 5). The history of Capoeira has been constructed through three channels: through written documents such as explorers' journals, newspaper articles and police reports, orally through various lineages of Mestre-student relationships and songs and, only recently, through books and films. Assunção (2005), Rego(1968) and others have produced extensive historical accounts. In this section only a brief contextual overview is given of how this art form evolved and was shaped over the years by the Brazilian social context of slavery, colonisation and post colonisation. Further, the role of a Mestre as a moral authority and the holder of knowledge – a fact recognised in the Capoeira world but not necessarily in the wider social and academic worlds - is introduced.

This section distinguishes between the two main Capoeira styles: the Western-friendly Capoeira Regional style and the Capoeira Angola style, the latter being the style practised by Mestre *Roxinho*. In Capoeira Angola there is an emphasis on traditional learning methods and a connection to ritual, lineage, and racial and spiritual consciousness. These connections are made through its links to slavery, African ancestrality and African-Brazilian religion.

Following the examination of Capoeira is a brief review of how Hip Hop culture, like Capoeira, emerged as a grass-roots black resistance movement, but how, unlike Capoeira, it was diffused worldwide through mass media without the need of the presence of a Mestre. Depicting the complex history of Hip Hop, with all its artistic variations and elements - such as graffiti, rapping, and b-boying, amongst others - is not my intention here and is beyond the scope of this thesis. Filmmakers and writers, such as Ahearn (1982, 2002), Rose (1994), Murray Forman (2004), Chang (2005) and others, have produced valuable historical accounts of Hip Hop in books, articles, blogs and films. My intention in this section is to identify the Hip Hop style that influenced Rama when he lived in the town of Kigoma, in Tanzania. My other aim is to explain the different approaches Rama and Roxinho take in terms of explaining African identity and politics, as featured in the documentary component of this thesis.

4.1 Capoeira Angola

> In times of captivity, when my owner beat me up, I used to pray to the Virgin Mary. Oh my God! How it hurt! I worked in the cotton, the sugar cane and the straw. I was whipped on the old tree trunk. When I arrived in Bahia, Capoeira freed me up. Till now I remember the orders of my owner: "work black man, or you will be beaten!" (Capoeira Angola song by Mário Macumba).

From the early sixteenth century to the mid-nineteenth century approximately 12 million Africans – mainly from west and central-west Africa – were sold by other Africans to European slave traders (Lovejoy, 1989, pp. 368-386). The Atlantic slave trade to the Portuguese colony in Brazil accounted for 38.5% of all Atlantic slave trades (Behrendt, 1999), making Brazil the largest importer.

In Brazil over time slaves, drawing from diverse African cultural and spiritual influences, created Capoeira as a 'game' that helped them build physical and spiritual strength to resist the oppression imposed by slavery. 'Game' in the West African Yoruba culture involved 'engaging in a competition of wits verbally and/or physically, and playing it out tactically to disorient and be disoriented, to surprise and be surprised' (Chvaicer, 2002, p. 537). Chvaicer notes that:

> [A]ccording to Zairian scholar Fu-Kiau, *games* in Congo were an important part of one's life. It contained all the ingredients a person needed to acquire mental and physical fitness […] For the African slaves in the early 1800s, Capoeira was […] a social expression that inherently incorporated all the basic elements of an African *game*: the circle, dance, music, audience, as well as the rituals and symbols that served *capoeiras* [11] [participants] in the course of this activity; it contained all the supplementary Congolese ingredients of a *game* to train and prepare the individual for his daily life. As a process that mirrored life itself, it provided the player with the required experience to strengthen the body and the soul (2002, p. 537 my italics).

Brazilian ethnologist, Camara Cascudo, draws a parallel between Capoeira and African dances such as the N'Golo dance, which were used as rites of passage to adulthood (1967, p. 183). As stated previously the word "Capoeira" means "low grass"[12] in the Indigenous language of Tupi-Guaraní. 'Capoeira' was this grassy place where slave community gathered to have fun and to practice African rituals (Rego, 1968, pp. 19-35). According to Roxinho, a Capoeira Angola Mestre and a slave descendent, the name 'Angola' comes from the believed place of origin of the slaves (Roxinho, 2009).

Mestre Roxinho also explained that throughout centuries of Brazilian colonisation slaves and slave descendants heard the term 'Mestre' being used to refer to the captains of the ships that brought slaves to Brazil, the heads of building sites, respected musicians and teachers. With respect to Capoeira, Roxinho says that the word 'Mestre' emerged in popular culture when it was used to refer to a person who is respected for holding and passing on knowledge of the art form. Although students must submit to their Mestre's authority and knowledge in order to learn the art form - in a similar way to disciples of martial arts respecting their 'masters' - Roxinho does not view the role of the Mestre as an oppressing one.

In Western ideology the word 'master' in the master/slave binary suggests a complex set of relations, and this has resulted in many important discussions and theories in disciplines such as philosophy. For instance, for Kohn:

> [Hagel's] use of the terminology of mastery and slavery (or lordship and bondage) draws attention to the issues of slavery, struggle, and liberation, issues that were not simply of historical interest in Hegel's day. […] Each self-consciousness tries to force the

[11] I use '*capoeira' or* '*capoeirista'* with lower case 'c' and *italics* throughout this exegesis to refer to the practitioner of the art form of Capoeira, which is written with capital 'C'.
[12] In Portuguese 'low grass' is 'mato rasteiro', which is the name Mestre Roxinho gave to his Capoeira Angola school – ECAMAR – Escola de Capoeira Angola Mato Rasteiro.

> other to recognise his point of view while withholding reciprocal recognition from the other. This violent struggle ends when one participant chooses submission and life over death, thereby establishing the relationship between master and slave (2005, p. 497).

Capoeira practices and methodologies seem to mirror relationships in life through performance. The metaphors contained in these performances, however, are rooted in the culture of slavery where the power imbalance was extreme and strongly influenced by racially discriminatory ideas which were 'supported by theories about the inferiority of blacks, which were supposedly stuck in the very early stages of human development' (Chvaicer, 2002, p. 528). Although I have adopted the Brazilian Portuguese word 'Mestre' to refer to the highly respected role of Capoeira Angola teachers and mentors, I am aware of the entangled historical issues of authority acted out in this role (see Wesolowski, 2007).

It was during the process of Brazil seeking independence from Portugal, and in the search for a national identity, that a connection with African identity was not considered desirable for the national psyche. According to Assunção, the legal system that was established to oppress slaves and the practice of Capoeira 'originated within the structures of an absolutist monarchy' (2005, p. 9). Those in power ruled that the practice of Capoeira was a dangerous offence against public order, and 'any slave or freedman caught *in flagrante*, even though without doing any harm to property or persons, was to suffer immediate "correction" in the form of brutal whipping' (Assunção 2005, p. 9).

By the middle of the nineteenth century the ruling authorities increasingly felt threatened by the informal slave gatherings and 'games' performed. People of military and religious parades organised by White rulers, and performers of Capoeira started to clash in public spaces. Occasionally, the *capoeiras* (participants of the Capoeira 'game') were accused of committing crimes and murdering peaceful citizens. Chvaicer quotes an 1853 letter from a Police Commissioner to the Minister of Justice:

> One of the most frequent crimes in this city [Rio de Janeiro] is homicide. It is singular that neither revenge nor the desire to commit theft is the cause of these offenses. It is the pleasure of seeing blood flow [...] that brings them to commit these serious attacks. The perpetrators are known by the common name of 'capoeiras' (2002, p. 528).

The commissioner's letter does not explain the causes of these conflicts. As in many other cases the viewpoint of the slaves was not expressed in such written documents. Slaves belonged to highly codified Black sub-cultures that used performance as a form of resistance while protecting themselves by using rituals and art forms such as Capoeira and travelling in public spaces in gangs. Assunção's research highlights how territorial Capoeira gangs in Rio de Janeiro formed during this period and how they were clandestine in nature. He notes:

> [the Capoeira gangs] constituted a kind of secret society of predominantly young, black or coloured lower-class males in a hostile environment dominated by white and mestizo slave owners. The clandestine character of the maltas [gangs] implies that many aspects of their organization will probably never be known and it is therefore extremely difficult to assess on what principles of solidarities they were built upon (Abreu in Assunção 2005, p. 84).

Interestingly the codified black subculture of Hip Hop, involving music, dance, and gang fights, emerged approximately a century later in the United States, with descendants from the same Atlantic slave trade. Hip Hop and Capoeira are only two of the many art forms of resistance that were influenced by different African cultures brought to the Americas via the slave trade.

Brazil was the last country to abolish the Atlantic slave trade in 1850 and the practice of slavery in the country was only legally abolished in 1888. The racial miscegenation and the liberation of slaves that followed the end of the trade brought 'dynamic changes in the demography of the *capoeiras* [and this] had a tremendous impact on their actions' (Chvaicer 2002, p. 533). Many *capoeiras* started to serve as bodyguards for politicians during elections and had an impact on local politics (Chvaicer 2002, p. 535). *Mestre* Nestor Capoeira confirms that:

> Capoeira has been in perpetual interaction with "the System" and different power structures, and this has caused it to mature. Capoeira gangs in Rio de Janeiro associated themselves with deputies, senators, and ministers of state, and played a major role at the end of the 1800s when Brazil became a republic (Capoeira, 2002, p. xxii).[13]

When the Brazilian government needed to extend its armed forces in the face of the Paraguayan War (1865-1870), the fighting skills of the *capoeiras* caught the attention of the government and slaves were conscripted to fight on the war

[13] For more on the alliances between different Capoeira gangs and different factions of the government during the transition to a republican government see Assunção (2005, pp. 89-91).

front, 'with the promise that they would receive their freedom as well as other privileges upon their return from the war' (Chvaicer 2002, p. 534). According to Assunção the war had important social consequences. Not only did it disrupt the Capoeira gang culture due to the drafting of young men, but on the battlefield Brazilians of very different backgrounds closely interacted in a setting where whites and blacks played the same role. When Capoeira players who had fought in the war returned home they were more recognised and admired by the white population (Assunção 2005, pp. 83-89).

According to Trochim, however, 'the abolition of slavery in Brazil has aptly been called a white revolution' (1988, p. 286) because the proposed reforms introduced to benefit the liberated Africans and African descendants were not successfully managed by organisations such as the Black Guard. For Trochim, the idea of racial miscegenation compromised racial solidarity and created a 'destructive distinction between negro and mulatto' (1988, p. 286) and this, he believes, weakened the agency of black political organisations after the abolition of slavery in 1888. When Brazil became a Republic in 1889, 'radical measures against the *capoeiras* were adopted' (Assunção, 2005, p. 90). The first few decades of emancipation and Republican government proved hard for the Capoeira community.

The modernisation of Capoeira

According to Assunção, in Brazil 'the Modernist movement, launched in 1922, put the search for the popular roots of "Brazil-ness" back on the agenda and contributed to a positive reassessment of the African heritage' (2005, p. 125). The 1930s also marked an important transformation of Capoeira in Brazil. Assunção argues that the process of the modernisation of Capoeira happened alongside an increase in international interest in African-American music and African sculptures and in the context of the emergence of modern sports and the systematisation of combat arts (2005, pp. 125-126). Two important individuals in the Capoeira world played a key role in this period of intense transformation and modernisation of Capoeira. They were Mestre Bimba, who created the more Western-friendly version of Capoeira called Capoeira Regional, and Mestre

Pastinha who revived and re-organised the traditional style of Capoeira, which became known as Capoeira Angola.

Mestre Bimba re-invented the tradition of Capoeira by adapting it to a sports and combat arts environment, and by making it friendlier to mainstream culture. He set up challenges against fighters from imported martial art forms such as Ju-Jitsu, Greco-Roman wrestling, Judo, and French 'Savage'. He kept in mind the influences of these different forms in the re-shaping of Capoeira. In 1932 Mestre Bimba opened the first Capoeira Regional School and named it *Escola de Luta Regional Bahiana (School of Bahian Regional Fight).* Not only did Bimba leave the word 'Capoeira' out of his school's name, but his modern style moved away from Capoeira's traditional connection to ritual and spirituality. By adapting the art form into a sport, Bimba made it more attractive to white middle-class students. Some of these students were influential and contributed to Bimba's relationships with the Bahian elite and to the institutionalisation of Capoeira in Brazil. On the 9th of July, 1937 Bimba was awarded a Physical Education Teaching certificate and he went on to teach his style of Capoeira to the Training Centre for Army Officers in the Reserve (Centro de Preparação de Oficiais de Reserva—CPOR) (Assunção 2005, pp. 125-138). According to Mestre Roxinho, the popularisation of Bimba's style of Capoeira as sport meant that the traditional art of Capoeira Angola became marginalised because of its links to both ritual and to the African-Brazilian religion of Candomblé, considered by most whites as being a practice of the devil.

As organised by Mestre Pastinha the Capoeira Angola game is played inside a circle framed by an orchestra of eight instruments and a group of engaged spectators who sit on the floor. This ritualistic circle of practice is called 'roda', or circle in Portuguese. Inside this circle a range of improvised physical games are played by two players at a time. The Capoeira Angola 'roda' is generally an unpaid event and is treated as a ritual, even to date. It generally lasts for a couple of hours, but it can last less or more time.

The links between Capoeira Angola and the African-Brazilian religion of Candomblé are taught by Mestre Roxinho, who is also a devotee of Candonblé.

In the rituals of Candomblé, before dancing, the dancers pay respect to the drummer who, according to Roxinho, is generally an Ogan, which in the African language of Iorubá means a chief or superior person.

Similarly in Capoeira Angola two *capoeiristas* bend on their knees to pay respect to the berimbau[14] instrument and player as they enter the circle to play their 'game'. Some *capoeiristas* use this moment to ask for protection, to concentrate or to strategise. This spiritual and ritual approach to practice gives the Capoeira Angola circle a sacred quality.

Capoeira Angola participants, or players, can act in multiple roles during the course of a 'roda'. A participant can play a musical instrument in the orchestra, then sit on the floor and sing the chorus, and later play the improvised physical 'game' in the centre of the circle. The arrangement of a circle feeds the physical 'game' played in the centre with musical energy and messages contained in the lyrics. The lyrics contain moral narratives as well as metaphors of oppression that refer to times of slavery and the struggles of important Mestres and long deceased slave leaders. Different kinds of songs are played at different moments and for different purposes.

The physical 'game' starts when two *capoeiristas,* who are sitting on the floor, move toward the orchestra and bend on their knees in front of the key berimbau player. Once cleared by the key berimbau player[15] the two *capoeiristas* then move toward the centre of the circle as they play an improvised physical dialogue, or 'game', that responds to the musical messages sent by the orchestra and responds to the bodily messages of each other. The 'game' may include attack, defence and dance-like movements. A Mestre can sing a song to set the kind of 'game' he or she wants to see being played, or a song that carries a message to the two 'players' inside the circle for them to change their 'game' style. The lyrics of these messages are sung in Portuguese and use metaphors specific to African-Brazilian culture. A player unconnected with these musical messages, not aware of the rules of the 'game', or who is not

[14] Berimbau is the key musical instrument in Capoeira.
[15] If a Mestre is present, he or she is likely to lead the *roda* as he or she plays the berimbau. It is a convenient position to choose songs and send messages to the *capoeiristas* playing the game.

engaged with the other player, may be surprised by a kick or can be pulled to the ground by the other player.

Capoeiristas sitting in the circle participate in the 'game' as an active audience that respond, as a chorus, to the 'leading-lyrics' generally being sung by one of the berimbau players. The sitting players also have the chance of observing the 'game' being played in the centre and imagine possible tricks and ways of dealing with these situations when it is their turn to perform in the centre of the circle. After a period of time the Mestre directs the two performing players to sit and welcomes two new participants from the sitting chorus to play the physical 'game' in the centre. The new players, who had observed the previous 'game', now have the chance to perform as 'protagonists'. The active role of the sitting player in Capoeira Angola is likened to the role of the theatre audience of Boal's Theatre of the Oppressed (Boal, 1979, 2000), as both use the opportunity of observing to rehearse for future action on 'stage'.

After Capoeira started travelling the world in the mid-1980s great cultural differences had to be explained so that international participants and hosting organisations understood the art form, and thus did not simply place it in pre-existing categories such as sport, martial arts or exotic dance. The terminology of resistance and oppression used and performed by *capoeiristas* had to be reconsidered in new contexts and in more complex terms. Many Capoeira Angola Mestres have had to find ways of explaining their orally and bodily learned art form in written terms, and in foreign languages, so hosting authorities could understand the history and methodology of Capoeira and, more importantly, appreciate its benefits and thus contribute to the funding of Capoeira projects.

4.2 Hip Hop

Although Capoeira Angola and Hip Hop have emerged over a hundred years apart and in different hemispheres, there are similarities in the way these African diasporic art forms emerged from grass roots black resistance movements outside the African continent, in social contexts of power inequalities, and in what was considered illegal public gatherings that involved police arrests and the suppression of gang culture. The original participants of these art forms were by and large African slaves or slave descendants from the Atlantic trade. Racial and class discrimination embedded in, or inherited from, colonisation have greatly shaped the music and dance components of these art forms, and the way they relate to power structures. As Jeff Chang says, '[i]f blues culture had developed under the conditions of oppressive, forced labour, hip-hop culture would arise from the conditions of no work' (Chang, 2005, p. 13). Chang explains that the roots of the social tension that gave birth to Hip Hop culture in the Bronx region of New York in the 1970s was the 1929 Manhattan urban development plan (designed by the New York Regional Plan Association) to construct the Cross-Bronx expressway (2005, pp. 7-19). This master plan aimed to transform Manhattan 'into a centre of wealth' and allow people to drive from New Jersey to the Bronx in fifteen minutes (p. 11).

A few years before construction started white middle-class inhabitants were offered white picket fence homes in 'white-only Levittown suburbs, while working class [residents] [mainly composed of Black Americans and Hispanics] got nine or more monotonous slabs of housing, areas soon-to-be crime-hidden "parks"' (Chang 2005, p. 12). When development of the expressway reached the Bronx apartment buildings were passed into the hands of slumlords who saw in the crisis an opportunity for profit. Chang states that '[b]etween 1973 and 1977, 30,000 fires were set in the South Bronx alone' (p. 15). The construction of the expressway changed the local demographics and social context of the region immensely as the unemployment rate hit 60% (p. 13) and a violent street gang culture emerged in the 1960s and 1970s (pp. 10-15).

It was in this context of social chaos and lawlessness that Jamaican-born DJ, Clive Campbell, moved to the Bronx in 1967. He gained the respect of the local gangs through hosting regular parties with a DJ crew or a break-dance crew. His rhythmic party announcement style, which introduced songs, dance moves or 'cooling off' messages directed at gang members who attended his parties, were the beginning of what we now know as 'rapping' (Chang 2005, p. 67-79). Campbell is also known as 'Kool Herc' and is credited as being one of the fathers of Hip Hop as well as the creator of the musical form of 'break'[16], and the terms 'b-boys' and 'b-girls' - those who would dance to his breaks. Kool Herc's style was heavily influenced by the Jamaican tradition called 'toasting', the act of announcing songs and improvising lyrics over a sound track, which was used in the Jamaican popular music genre of Dancehall and Reggae (Bradley, 2001, pp. 300-40). Herc's DJ'ing quickly influenced New York-born Afrika Bambaataa (of Jamaican and Barbadian descent) who later formed the influential Hip Hop awareness organisation called 'Universal Zulu Nation'. This organisation helped to spread Hip Hop culture throughout the world. Bambaatta describes Hip Hop culture as consisting of four basic elements: the music of the deejay, the announcing or 'rapping' of the 'emcees', break dancing performed by the 'b-boys' and 'b-girls', and graffiti art (Chang, 2005, p. 90). Herc suggests that a list of Hip Hop elements should also include 'the way you walk, the way you talk, the way you look, the way you communicate' (Herc, 2005, p. xi).

Hip Hop culture went through a prolific, diverse and innovative period in the mid-1980s and early 1990s and this was commonly referred to as Hip Hop's golden age. According to Dyson, this was an Afro-centric moment when 'art was never far from life […] It was always found at the intersection of reflection and reaction or of critical consciousness and social intervention. Art was a servant of the masses'[17] (Dyson, 2007, p. 63).

Since Hip Hop culture has been diffused and globalised its diverse sub-genres have undergone a creolisation process, or a process of cross-fertilisation

[16] The sampling of drum beats, which are played as the rhythmic basis of Hip Hop.
[17] Although a similar Afro-centric and interventionist style of politics is used by Capoeira Mestres in the dissemination of the art form, Capoeira has never been considered as addressing the masses, as it relies on a Mestre-student relationship.

between different cultures. The spread of Hip Hop culture does not rely on a long-term Mestre-student relationship. Its access through radio, vinyl records, CDs and music videos facilitates a 'do-it-yourself' (DIY) style of learning and gives the audience more power to relate to and experiment with different influences in order to produce something new. For instance, since Hip Hop reached Tanzania in the late 1980s it has incorporated influences from other diasporic musical movements such as reggae and R&B, as well as local traditions such as taarab and dansi (Graebner, 2007, pp. 192-94). This localised version of Hip Hop, which is known as Bongo Flava, (or boiling brains), was initially practised by middle-class Tanzanians who were able to access Hip Hop music from the USA and understand its lyrics. They were, therefore, less marginalised than the early American hip hoppers.

Congolese Rama, the key rapper and young refugee participant in this project, was introduced to Hip Hop while living in the town of Kigoma, in Tanzania. Young rappers in Tanzania respected the fathers of Hip Hop from the Bronx, such as Herc and Bambaataa, but considered them 'old school' and outdated in terms of politics (Stroeken, 2005, p. 489). Stroeken argues that the way Tanzanian Hip Hop developed sheds light on what he calls a 'sophisticated post-colonial strategy of survival' – that is, the evolution of specific politics used by the founders of Hip Hop. For Herc, Hip Hop is about 'keeping it (morally) right' (2005, p. xiii), and for young Tanzanian rappers, it is about 'keeping it (pessimistically) real' (Stroeken, 2005, p. 502). There has thus been a 'shift from discursive content to experiential effect'(2005, p. 488), from being hopeful, naïve and moralist to employing pessimistic and witty tactics. For example, artists describing harsh realities such as the survival of male and female prostitutes and the conditions of street children, realities in stark contrast to the experiences of the wealthy (p. 488). Stroeken notes that:

> [t]he shift to predatory pragmatics has a streetwise quality hard to outwit, as it responds to social inequality with personal enrichment. Of particular relevance to political scientists is how the logic of popular culture (of what is "in" and what is "out") has compelled Tanzanian hip-hop to consider the merit of both gangsta rapper and postcolonial elite in overcoming the naive ideals of predecessors. Any critique that does not at least have this merit will prove futile, that is, fail to be taken seriously by the population at large (2005, p. 489).

The political differences between young Tanzanians who engage in Bongo Flava and the fathers of Hip Hop are, in essence, similar to the political differences between Rama and Roxinho. Bongo Flava's new politics does not focus on blaming one singular other for the poverty and corruption in society, such as the European coloniser, the rich, the corrupt or the white. Instead it foregrounds the social complexity and hard-core reality of Tanzanians by describing a social conflict using irony and pessimism. In that way they do not claim moral superiority and instead leave the choice of whom to blame for this situation to the listener. Stroeken claims that Tanzanian rappers 'immunize themselves against the suspicion of moralism' (2005, p. 490). They criticise post-colonial indifference and 'get away with it by including themselves in the critique, thus making their critique resistant by analogy with the biological process of becoming immune after contagion' (p. 505). An extract from Professor Jay's music exemplifies this:

> We are killing each other like eating tomorrow
> If only the Beijing meeting had taken place in the village
> Perhaps with my grandmother in the group
> Help does not arrive, gets stuck up the trees
> The rich get more, how about the poor?
> Tanzanian politics have begun to smell like blood
> Tanzanian brothers killing each other in turns
> Who will collect the blood spilled?
> (Professor Jay, 2002)[18]

Bongo Flava's immunising strategy presents a different kind of politics to the moralist 'politics of the oppressed' used in Capoeira Angola. For Stroeken, the strategy used in Tanzanian Hip Hop is more effective in influencing a larger and more diverse section of society. This is because the young rapper's 'streetwise approach tries to outwit the ruling logic of self-seeking predation, which to [his] knowledge no Western philosophy has been able to defeat' (Stroeken, 2005, p. 492).

[18] An extract from the introduction of his highly acclaimed album *Tears, sweat and blood (Machozi, jasho na damu).*

4.3 The Intersection of Capoeira Angola and Hip Hop

Racial and class discrimination embedded in, or inherited from, colonisation have greatly shaped the music and dance components of Capoeira Angola and Hip Hop and the way they relate to power structures. A search for belonging played an important part in the formation of these movements, and still does, because the activities of these art forms are social processes of gathering and forming like-minded people. Despite the diasporic connections to Africa these art forms maintain, the Capoeira Angola style practised by Mestre Roxinho and the personal Hip Hop style developed by Rama demonstrate differences in regards to the way Black identity is constructed.

African-Brazilian Mestre Roxinho, in his forties, brings to Australia traditional views on resistance and black identity which he learned from his Mestre and adoptive father over a period of more than thirty years. For him, black identity is constructed over a long-term relationship with a Mestre and it follows a 'boundary-maintenance' style. The politics embedded in Capoeira Angola includes codified moral messages and metaphors that are rooted in the history of slavery. Although Roxinho's daily practices are part of a culture in Australia he affirms that he does not practise Capoeira Angola as a means of belonging to 'Australian culture'.

Congolese refugee Rama, who is only fifteen, brings to Sydney a mixture of personal influences. These include influences from his journey as a refugee as well as artistic influences from Hip Hop artists such as Tanzanian artists, Professor Jay and Juma Nature, and a North American artist called 50Cent. Influenced by Bongo Flava's immunising strategy, he builds identity in a more 'boundary erosion', hybrid style. He does not rely on a presential relationship with a master or on a close relationship to African tradition and morals to build his identity. Rama and his Cabramatta High School friends compose songs about being black and being a refugee student amongst many other African refugees at School. Being an independent thinker, Rama struggles with the role of authority that Mestre Roxinho adopts and with Roxinho's views on Hip Hop and black identity.

The performative elements contained in these African diasporic art forms gave participants in this project instruments to better understand who they really were becoming as they settle in multicultural Australia. For readers of this exegesis and viewers of my documentary I believe this section provides the historical background to better understand the conflicts experienced by participants in the documentary narrative and to understand how these conflicts are a part of the students' growing understanding of themselves in relations to their new country and each other.

SECTION 5: CONCLUSION

This research project has revealed the interconnectedness between personal and national narratives in the Australian national context. On the one hand, we constructed our personal and diasporic stories in interaction with organisations that were entangled with the ideology of multiculturalism, such as Cabramatta High School, STARTTS and SBS. On the other hand, personal stories of people from culturally diverse background are mediated by national organisations such as SBS to 'help fashion a national narrative' (Appiah in Freiwald, 2002, p. 1). In my documentary a bottom-up style was employed which, I believe, empowered participants on their own terms. The stories by organisations such as SBS feed a mediated construction of an Australian national narrative from the perspective of government and its policies.

In this exegesis I have presented some of the contradictions surrounding the construction and development of narratives of diaspora and multiculturalism and explored how the documentary component of this DCA mediates these. In particular, I have suggested that diaspora and multicultural narratives have similarly been constructed on grounds equated with Brubaker's notions of 'boundary-maintenance' and 'homeland orientation', and this similar foundation also informs their competing views. The perspectives displayed in these stories were drawn from the cultural values of different 'homelands' outside of Australia.

The historical backgrounds of Capoeira and Hip Hop demonstrate how the narratives of participants in *Who We Really Are* are informed by a number of different homelands including Angola, USA, Tanzania and Brazil. In comparison the historical trend for SBS to have Managing Directors and Commissioning Editors of an Anglo-Celtic heritage, and their preference for British broadcasting models, suggests that this network's multicultural narrative is orientated towards England as the predominant homeland and cultural reference.

In this exegesis I have explored how the meaning and constitution of the term diaspora has been transformed and I've done this using a range of theoretical resources and tools (Brubaker 2005, Akyeampong, 2000). Theorists such as Clifford and Hall emphasise the transformation of diaspora culture and identity in global conditions, and a merging of the values of 'hostland' and 'homeland'. In contrast, scholars such as Gilroy focus on establishing a distinction between 'homeland' and 'hostland' values by merging the different homeland identities into a united diasporic identity. This latter view is the one expressed by Mestre Roxinho in the documentary component of this DCA.

I have considered how the narrative of multiculturalism emerged without much input from ethnic communities, as a public policy that aimed to integrate migrants into mainstream Australia. Following on from this, I have framed SBS's contemporary assumption that migrants have integrated into mainstream Australia suggesting that the multicultural narrative is now symbolically reaching its end (Hayden in Danforth, 2001).

This DCA project is critical of this latter top-down construction of the national multicultural narrative and attempts to construct its narrative from an alternative and collaborative perspective. This is evidenced throughout the film and in the title of the film, which includes the second person pronoun 'we'. *Who We Really Are* is a title that emerged in the collaborative filming process with participants who were keen to tell the world who they 'really' were. The film foregrounds the inter-subjective perspectives of students and thus shows what happens to a group of migrants and refugees after they arrive in Australia and how their voices evolve into our voices, and their stories become our stories.

Who We Really Are provides an alternative to dominant British inspired narrative models and perspectives (*Who do You Think You Are?, Go Back to Where You Came From, Long Way Down*), which are popular programs aired by SBS. The documentary component of this DCA was produced through collaboration, experimentation and a long-term mode of production. These elements made it difficult to sell as a broadcast film. This mode of production,

though, highlighted the importance of long-term interventions as a way of dealing with and learning about refugee experiences and stories

While the long-term collaborative experience created an incredible rapport with participants, enormous access to and insight into the migrant and refugee experience, it also took away my perspective as a filmmaker. Throughout the seven years it took me to produce the film I had to wear different hats - the researcher, the documentary producer, the director, the film tutor, the cameraperson, the editor, the Capoeira Angola student. These roles were additional to being one of the participants and to eventually becoming the students' friend. Within the complexity of intense relationships it was sometimes hard to picture the narrative arc. One thing became clear to me, however, by the end of 2010, which was the year I filmed the documentary with participants. We had reached a crises point, a conflict with unclear resolution. If I stopped filming then I would run the risk of not doing justice to participants' stories. How would Rama resolve his conflict with Roxinho? How would students relationship to Capoeira Angola evolve after such an intense year? Would the Deputy Principal succeed in 'sinking' the Capoeira Angola project?

Although I had reserved the year of 2011 to produce the academic component of this DCA, I was constantly tempted to film a little more and take their narrative a step further. Sometimes I did manage to meet participants and film some scenes that revealed how the 2010 conflicts evolved. Many times, however, I was not able to. Apart from being on a tight schedule to write this exegesis, I was entangled in the more than 150 hours of footage that had been shot, and which contained a complex set of personal, collective, creative and national narrative possibilities. Finding closure for the documentary narrative and its links to the academic component proved challenging.

Interestingly, while I was concerned with finding an end to the film's narrative I had insights about my own story. I realised it had been 14 years since I lived in Brazil and that my parents were getting old. I suddenly felt an urge to reconcile with my own roots before it was too late – I was already 46. I decided to move back to Brazil to give meaning to my own story.

In Australia it occurred to me that the importance of educating and integrating refugee and migrant others into mainstream society is frequently spoken of in the same terms that mainstream Brazilians speak about the need to educate blacks and poor others in order to reduce violence in Brazil. Black, poor, refugee and migrant others are expected to learn the values that are acceptable to dominant members of society. It is not generally considered that before teaching, one could learn about the other, and reflect critically on one's self. I am deeply grateful that this DCA experience has given me the opportunity to reflect on, not just the other, but also myself.

What made me want to learn about the other in Australia, and in consequence, learn about myself, was the fact that my social position changed after my move to Australia. Over the years in Australia I started to feel more and more 'out of place' in the same way that Hall speaks about feeling displaced in the diaspora (Hall & Back, 2009, p. 21). As a consequence I was forced to consider my environment more critically. Deciding to return to Brazil came out of this reflection. It also came out of learning about Roxinho and the importance of his roots to his integrity. Similarly, my decision came out of learning about the resilience of the young refugees in the film, who, despite all the hardship, were able to reconstruct their lives over and over again in different contexts. Filmmaking was an essential tool in this knowledge gaining process. It enabled relevant topics to emerge, our relationships to evolve and our stories to be mediated and told.

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