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Constructing the popular from public funding of community music: notes from Australia

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Those things that go under community music and people who call themselves community music practitioners and organisations, have got to remember all the community music that is happening anyway. But at this point in time I think that it is incredibly important to develop community music activities, to fuel the fire and create examples of what the possibilities are. The real community music will happen when that is generating spontaneously out of community. (Linsey Pollak, 28 January 1993)

In Australia in the past dozen years, community music has been caught up and promoted within the publicly funded sector of the community arts. As the above comment suggests, community music already existed as an organic musical expression within community, despite the funding. Government support for existing projects and the incentive to begin new ones raises many questions and issues. One major consideration is the unstable relationship public funding has with the organic. For example, how does public funding reorientate cultural behaviour? But in a country like Australia, where a mixed economy is the norm and the limitations of the 'free market' are well recognised in the context of the ongoing project of social democracy, public funding is welcomed for its socially beneficial outcomes. Furthermore, public funding for cultural activities such as music making, reinforces the possibilities that are generated within the imagination of the social democratic (Breen, 1993). In each country in which the egalitarian mythology of social democracy is induced, the results differ. Australia is no different.

The following notes from a survey of publicly funded community music programmes, indicate that public funding can produce fresh seeds of musical and social pluralism across a range of possibilities. The survey examined a variety of programmes offered under the community music rubric in Australia. The notes are offered here as an overview of projects which cross the territory normally constructed as the popular, but which, in this context, are presented according to the broader, less definitive terms of 'community music'.

Much of the growth of publicly funded community music in Australia has occurred with support from local agencies and supporters, who have slowly found their efforts legitimated by funding. In his essay *Musica Practica*, Roland Barthes suggested that 'the style of the perfect amateur' is inextricably linked to the desire to make music (1977, p. 150). It is an ironic twist that the development of professional community music co-ordinators and organisers introduces a mediating force into Barthes' equation. As professional community music facilitators, the medi-

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ators interviewed in this project almost always recognised that their task is to generate in 'perfect amateurs' 'the desire to make music'. Once their task is completed 'community music will generate spontaneously' from within the community. As Linsey Pollak suggested, this spontaneity is already present in some community music programmes which I have called the idealised-authentic model, which finds its strongest expression in the migrant communities. It is in this community, defined by new experiences in a new country that music is used to reinforce, stimulate and reflect life experiences. Elsewhere, the community music formations are quite different.

There are three levels at which community music operates:

(1) It exists for its own sake, as an art form; (2) It exists as an expression of community development; (3) It exists to feed into and develop the music industry.

(1) Community music can and often does provide enormous pleasure for those who make and hear it. But its purpose in relation to the arts industry is unclear. If it is examined in relation to principle policy institutions such as the Australia Council (the Federal Governments Arts Funding Body) and various state and local government ministries, it is a second cousin to other arts activities that appear under the 'community' umbrella. It needs to be more fully defined and developed as a creative activity by funding organisations.

(2) Community music helps the community and seems to work effectively when its organic linkages across the communities of interest are clearly expressed. This happens most readily in geographical localities. The most enthusiasm for community music projects happens at the level where there is a close association between local government and musical production.

(3) Some projects share a much bigger goal of developing musicians and audiences for popular consumption within the mass market. This potentially controversial role for community music is not antipathetic to the less ambitious purposes some programmes may have within the community. However, the industrial vector along which some community music moves and is directed, appears to be an automatic progression for some projects, for example the link between young people, the media and rock and pop music. At another level, projects with longevity and security of funding and management benefit from recording and selling their recordings.

The project

Over a period of two months interviews were conducted with community music facilitators/mediators, or 'change agents in the field', as the Breed Report curiously termed them (1986, 5.1). These people are either responsible for conducting programmes of community music in one location, or several locations, serving different constituencies and meeting different needs. Eight men and six women were interviewed. The intention of the project was to cast a net over a representative sample of projects from all states and territories in Australia (the Australian Capital Territory was unintentionally excluded). The case studies were based on intensive, structured, one-off, person-to-person interviews.

All the people interviewed were involved with publicly funded projects, and were as follows:

Peter Winkler: Bondi Pavilion Community Cultural Centre, Sydney
Hernan Flores: Kara Llantha, National Music Ensemble, Sydney
Bev McAlister: Dandenong Ranges Music Council Incorporated, Melbourne
Florenz Ronn/Fiona Studdert: radio 3CR, Melbourne
Bill McPherson: Djurabalak Aboriginal Musicians Co-operative, Brisbane
Sarah Moynihan/Chris Anderson: Feral Arts, Logan City, Brisbane

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Linsay Pollak: Scienceworks Museum/freelance musician
Shirley McCarron: Performance Tasmania Incorporated, Devonport
Keith Preston: Adelaide Community Music
Kavisha Mazella: The Joys of the Women, Fremantle
Madge Fletcher: Alice Springs Trades and Labour Council Solidarity Choir
Eric Erickson: West Australian Music Industry Association, Perth

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Analysis

The sample of twelve interviews reflected a variety of projects, interests and issues appearing under the community music umbrella. However, one important developments needs to be highlighted. The term community music is becoming less accurate with time. An orthodox model of community music would assume limitations of involvement within a defined geographical area, matched with a particular style or genre of music, usually folk-acoustic. Redhead and Street suggested such an orthodoxy, noting that:

> The idea of community is tied to a folk conception of music as emerging from the collective experience of working class people. (1989, p. 181)

They problematise such a definition, indicating that 'commercialisation' has interfered with the traditional linkages between 'the people, music and collectivism' (ibid., p. 181). Redhead and Street go on to suggest that a folk ideology artificially maintains the linkages between mythologised interests of community and a singular reading of that community's music. Such linkages, they suggest, actually 'overdetermines' the relationship between music and community (ibid., p. 183). In other words, the orthodox model of community music renders the music and its content less effective in its historical gestation.

Not surprisingly perhaps, this study revealed that the dimensions of the activity known as community music exceed the orthodox model. The orthodox model may still be applied in some cases by practitioners with an idealistic view of the singular relationship between music and community, but it has been extended and added to by the impact and the increasing presence of all sorts of music in the media – radio and television, as well as the availability of recordings. Public funding has served to enrich this circulation of music, shifting it from passive (media) consumption to potentially active community participation. The result is new networks and relationships formed at the musical coalface that extend outside musical boundaries, and which are described as 'communities of musical interest'. This term suggests that the notion of a geographical identification is one means of recognising a community. It is increasingly likely that music can be mobilised across geographical boundaries to be appropriated where and when circumstances converge. Locality is the only characteristic of community music that entirely fits an orthodox model.

In Alice Springs for example, the Trades and Labour Solidarity Choir 'creates a music network. It creates, through the culture of music a communication that would not necessarily go on between people', Madge Fletcher, one of the founders

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of the group said. 'It perpetuates some sort of interest in music culture, just because it is there, its very being'.

The Australia Council's Community Cultural Development Board maintains that its purpose is to assist communities to obtain the resources they need to develop their own culture through the arts'. Communities, in so doing 'help shape Australia's cultural identity' (*Annual Report, 1991–1992*, p. 35). It is probably unreasonable to expect community music to make a conscious contribution to the nation's cultural identity in anything but the most indirect way. Alternatively, a more reasonable policy intention is for community music funding to generate social networks around musical activities. This is a more ephemeral task than that of building the nation's cultural identity. However, if access to musical activities is considered part of the broader cultural context of the nation, then community music is important in making a contribution to that broad vision of Australia. At a localised level, such as the case of the trade union choir, the explicit political efforts of the choir make a contribution to broadening the social environment in an isolated and in some cases deprived town like Alice Springs.

Mapping developments

Community music shares a relatively comfortable relationship with the electronic media. Alternatively, it is extremely mobile in its own right. It can be made using only the voice as an instrument, or with the latest in digital technology. Its subsequent veracity and mobility are unlike many other art forms, or 'time and space culture', which is restricted to fixed locations. As Attali suggested more generally of music, it moves 'much faster than material reality', it is prophetic and immaterial all at once (1985, p. 11). It is the preferred art form that is learned through the media. Sarah Moynihan, from Feral Arts, which works in Logan City in Brisbane's depressed outer southern suburbs explained music's appeal.

> We had moved away from theatre because it was too threatening and wasn't culturally relevant to the community at that particular time. We had worked in writing with a writer and had worked with other musicians as well and music was something that was relevant to those young people and was really easy for those young people to express, or to create within that. It was really difficult for them to create just with writing because literacy is a really big problem and so music was something that came as being really relevant and really accessible for the people because they were always listening to the radio.

Community music stretches across continuums of practices and interests. The research undertaken for *Sending the Sound Around* shows that the continuums reflect communities of interest which interact in dynamic relationships, across four general categories. In the policy sense, its dynamism means that it provides access to previously denied users. By recognising the communities of interest rather than the static exclusionary geographical notion of community, an appropriate explanation of the current state of community music in 1990s Australia can be constructed. The many sites and expressions of community music are thereby recognised and included in each of their interactive moments (Morris 1992). (In this and the following section on typology, I have used an 'experimental modelling' method as a means of explaining the relationship between music policy and practice (Cunningham 1993, p. 33). It is intended to be indicative rather than definitive.)

In no particular order the continuums can be broken down into the following:

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Communities of Music Interest
Geography
Precinct–Local–Regional–National–Global
Users
children–youth–ethnic–adult–senior citizens–disabled–unemployed–'ordinary garden variety'
Genres
acoustic–folk–rock–pop–experimental–world music–women–choir–acapella–orchestral–brass bands–theatre
Industry
personal–subcultural/specialist–recording–print–radio–television.

Community music can occur along any of these continuums, with vigorous activity around almost any permutation of the points of interaction of the communities of interest (see Figure 1). For example, children's music (users) can emanate from a precinct or locality, but find and reflect the values and attitudes of users along the continuum of geographical locations (geography). Children's programmes are likely to use the acoustic-folk style (genre), although almost any musical style may be appropriated. The users are likely to make use of a variety of media, such as cassettes, videos, radio and TV, with music that may originate in other communities around the world (industry).

A comment by Peter Winkler encapsulates the manner in which the interactive nature of the music making moves in its relationship to the media, a locality or community, a genre and a potential user-audience.

Most people are set in the mould of being consumers of music and deferring to the fact that really only wonderfully skilled professional musicians make music. And I think that has probably been a trend in the later half of this century.

A lot of people in their heart of hearts do not believe that's the case; are able to reflect on a time when lots of people played lots more music before mass media type music was pumped out. The idea that people get together and make music together, not necessarily,

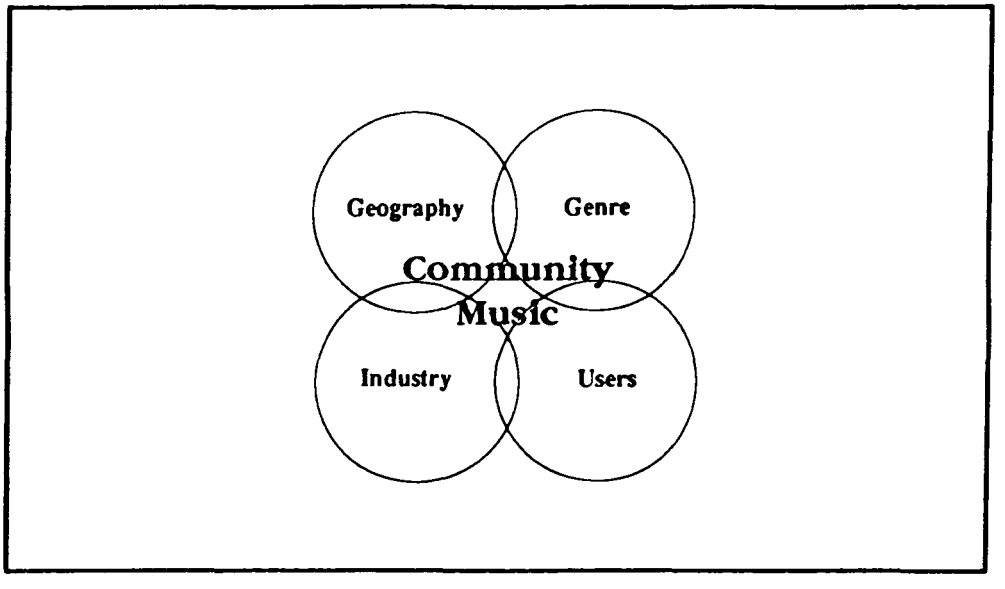

Figure 1.

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although not excluding doing it for a living or commercially, but just for the expression and community involvement and joy of it, is still really strongly there. You can see it in every garage band around. It is obvious that 99 per cent of those garage bands are never going to make a buck out of it but they have got a dream and that is fine. But what they are doing is, they are just playing. They have got a passion to want to do that.

Approaching the relationship between the key personnel and the community as an organic expression of need, rather than an imposed activity as perceived by 'outsiders' enhances an understanding of the continuum model. Chris Anderson, a Brisbane-based Aboriginal musician and writer, who worked on the Feral Arts project and with the Djurabalak projects in Central Queensland explained the relationships with the following analogies.

Well the basic principle I see operating is that, if you make comparisons, like there are some organisations that can go into an area with a preconceived idea of outcome and that outcome is external to the actual community. A prime example of that is through a circus and then you draw a line from the circus down to like a Shakespearian company, that goes to a community theatre organisation that produces a show somewhere and then takes it out west. Well they are all imposed outcomes, whereas the work that Djurabalak and the way that Feral Arts operates is to be aware of that and to go into a community with the express purpose, or as far as you possibly can, to find out what that community wants and to pass that information and individuals around from individual to the community itself to the external world. So it is very difficult to not go into a community and impose something, but the whole basis of the way that the organisations operate is that they're aware of that and don't want to take anything. They actually want to allow people to have access to technology and information that they otherwise wouldn't have access to.

But what makes community music distinct? Certainly it is now an 'official term', used as a means of demarcation within the cultural industries and funding sector. It is highly valued by those involved. It represents a distinct process associated with the creation of music by the participants and organisers. The community of interest continuums explain the development of this type of music into previously uninvolved communities.

Another way of explaining the continuum is to identify the range of meanings used at various points in the discourse. The following comment by Keith Preston prioritises 'culture' as the focus of community music, but places it within two different readings of 'industry'.

I believe the industry (1) stuff is important. But the thing that makes us strong or different, the backbone is the cultural aspect: the fact that we are on about culture, we are not just on about a product and an industry, but we have got to approach it as an industry (2). Does that make sense?

Industry (1) in the first sense here refers to the media-product-cultural industry, while the second reference to industry (2) refers to the organisation of the services that are offered at the community level. The industry of the music product – the media, including recordings, radio and television – is, as Keith says, important, but it is always a cultural activity which is, in turn, co-ordinated by workers and funded organisations.

Including industry in community music may not be well received by some participants in the field. A pragmatic view of community music would recognise the need for organisational structures at a number of levels. These structures are 'industrial' in the sense that they involve co-ordinated activities that produce measurable outcomes.

Another aspect of the continuum is the users and genre. Not only are choirs,

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folk groups and orchestras a focus for community music, as suggested by the orthodox model, but so too is contemporary youth music. Youth has benefited from community music programmes. Policy has been restricted in this respect, as the historical weights of the past have been slow to shift to musical genres constructed around commodity-oriented pop music. Eric Erickson of WAMIA noted the dilemma.

Most arts policy is generally keeping pace. Youth arts policy is lagging behind. But I feel we still have a problem where the contemporary music sector clashes at times with a general arts or mainstream arts. We feel that we are mainstream art. Our art is popular, it is involved in the homes of most people, being popular contemporary music. It is also one of the least subsidised.

The considerations that come into that are if it is so popular it should be able to support itself, yet as I say, with young people, their access is so restricted that it is not supporting itself. Passive access to art is one thing, but we feel that an active involvement both increases the appreciation of the art form itself, and as well, people should be able to actively access art at al times. If they have the notion to create music it should not be a lack of funds that stops them doing it.

Community music formations: typology

It is possible to identify a range of community music formations. That is, the expressed intention of community music activities is to meet specific social and personal needs. Such formations are the 'social outcomes' of each project, or the intended, achievable social benefits, expressed as the internal logic of each programme (see Figure 2). Each programme was analysed to reveal the intentions, content, motivations and outcomes, thereby exposing the internal or hidden characteristics, of its form. I have produced a typology of seven formations derived from the interviews. Some of the projects appear in more than one category because they contain several elements of different formations. This characteristic makes community music extremely dynamic. For example, radio station 3CR offers a means of observing the intersection of different formations. It offers a pluralistic formation – access to radio airwaves – an industrial formation – broadcasting and cassette recording – consensus – public benefit – oppositional – political songs and high local content policy.

Utilitarian	Industrial	Oppositional	Pluralist	Normative	Consensus	Welfare
Bondi pre'85	Youth Wave	Youth Wave	Joys of the Women	Ethnic	Performance Tasmania	Feral Arts
	Joys of the Women	Solidarity Choir	3CR		Scienceworks	
	WAMIA	Djurabalak	Performance Tasmania		Dandenong Ranges	
	3CR		Adelaide Com Music		WAMIA	

Figure 2. Community music typology. Based on Community Work or Social Change, Thorpe and Petruchenia (1985).

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Utilitarian

Utilitarian is the social reductive system of operation, where a musician enters a community and provides a minimum of activity by way of participation or community development. (The exogenous, or external agent tends to act primarily out of self interest, whether that is benefiting by employment on the project or the mining of musical ideas from the community.) Chris Anderson's comments cited above, draw on the circus and the Shakespearian theatre company analogies to explain how 'imposed outcomes' are 'external to the actual community'. In the interview he shared with Sarah Moynihan, Anderson suggested that programmes work when they are 'operating within the community'.

Utilitarian projects do not reflect the internal social and cultural needs of the community being served. Such projects are generally non-organic – it has no roots within a defined needs base. Keith Preston, co-ordinator of Adelaide Community Music suggested that the organic characteristics of 'community music represents the culture and interests of the community'. [It] is music that reflects, represents, promotes and involves a community'. A non-organic relationship may include those situations where the musician-organiser may consider the project a means of career advancement, in some cases exploiting the community for ideas and strategies which are taken away from the community. (Witness the opposition by some Tasmanian Aborigines to the use of the name Truganini for a song by Midnight Oil in March 1993.) This is the negative version of community music.

None of the projects investigated for this report manifest exclusively the negative aspects of the Utilitarian formation, which may be a historical relic of community music's not far-distant past. Alternatively, there are positive expressions of the Utilitarian formation. In these cases, the musician will be involved in a two-way exchange of information and ideas with participants, thereby empowering the participants, without being an organic participant. Peter Winkler's encouragement of the Challora railway duo is an example here.

Industrial

The Industrial formation is the most recent development in community music. Inevitably, the industrial formation leads directly to media exposure and possible commercial exploitation. Fiona Studdert at 3CR referred to community radio as 'the testing ground' for other radio and recording media. This move towards the commercial or mainstream media is enhanced by the enormous appetite of the recording music industry and audiences for new sounds and ideas, many of which develop at a local level. World music is an example of such a development, as indeed is the history of the blues.

Eric Erickson provided an example from a WAMIA song writing workshop, that indicates how industry concerns and ideas slide across and into other community music formations. The very idea of song-writing itself, may be constructed as an end in itself, directed primarily at reproducing pre-existing styles of music that are known through media exposure. Professional assistance promotes the association. This is part of the industry definition.

If we are working on song writing or performance, if they are accompanied by professional musicians, generally the results sounds at least to them like what they are hearing on the radio and television and yet they are involved in it and they are part of it. So left totally to

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their own devices, occasionally they can be disappointed with the results compared to what they are used to. So primarily, we have professional musicians as facilitators and this also gives the chance for these young people to talk to these people about their industry and their craft and all the joys and problems that go along with it. So it works in a number of ways and generally we find the industry and professional artists are only too keen to be involved.

A contrary view sees the 'industrial logic' argument as a misrepresentation of lived experience. This scepticism about industry, was articulated by Chris Anderson.

There are some people who, when they talk about community arts or community music, they talk about producing cannon fodder in a musical sense. Like cannon fodder to the music industry, they get people skilled up, organised into bands so they can become part of the machine of the music industry. Industry is a great term because that is what it is. You become a cog in a machine. Someone else is winning that battle. All the producers and the record companies and all that sort of stuff, which means that people again become powerless. They focus on becoming owned and turned into a commodity and all that sort of thing. Which is not my interest at all, I am not at all interested in producing, in skilling people up so that someone else can exploit them. Like my interest is entirely the process of people and individuals liberating themselves and moving into a position where they not only feel better but actually are, about themselves and about their community.

Linsey Pollak's view is that an alliance between music industry and community music is unlikely.

Community music and the music industry? I think at this point in time fairly mutually exclusive, because I think the music industry does not really have much to gain from people creating their own music because then people tend to buy less. Community music certainly is not the concern of the music industry and I don't think it ever will be. I think these are sort of things that will go side by side.

However, Linsey did see immediate prospects for bringing the community and industrial sectors closer together. He noted that musicians from the industry 'could be involved in community based music, but don't necessarily know how to do that or don't even know of that possibility, but could be incredibly useful resources in that way. At the moment they are busy creating a product that the community is buying'. This is a developmental issue that could be taken up as a major theme for the future of the community music sector. What is the relationship between music industry musicians and community music? An investigation along such lines could help to extend community music activity. Peter Winkler uses one or two professional rock music musicians in his Youth Wave Bondi Pavilion programme and discovered that a healthy mutually beneficial relationship developed between the musicians and the workshop participants.

Oppositional

Oppositional involves the use of community music as a means of expression within a specific subculture, usually with explicit political intentions, directed against a social reality. Unemployed youth making songs about their anger at the absence of jobs is an example, as is a trade union choir singing songs of political solidarity or protest. Madge Fletcher, described the 'orientations' of the Alice Springs Trade and Labour Council Solidarity Choir as being 'towards doing on-the-spot community based stuff that has a message'. Drawing its members from a variety of 'issues based organisations' in the town, the choir is defined in an oppositional sense by

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'The places that we perform and the content of what we perform', which includes singing at picket lines, in protest rallies and meetings as an explicit 'expression of political ideology'.

Alternatively, community radio station 3CR maintains a 55 per cent Australian music content policy, which 'discriminates towards non-mainstream music, particularly musics composed and performed by women, indigenous cultures, non-English speaking background-type cultures', Fiona Studdert said. Such an approach to local content advances the community interests of minorities, in opposition to the mainstream, adding in turn to the pluralist potential of the social spaces in which it operates. As Studdert noted later in the interview, 3CR provides an opportunity for people 'to listen in a non-threatening way to a whole range of music and pick up a whole lot of cultural and political ideas from that music . . . in terms of decolonisation, that is going to be a good and significant development that has occurred'.

Aboriginal music programmes, such as Djurabalak are difficult to categorise, in that they may be oppositional but their opposition also expresses a strong welfare component. Indeed, the oppositional elements of making music to enhance their cultural identity is an important form of welfare within Aboriginal social life. Bill McPherson's comment explains the isolation the Aboriginal community experiences, and indicates a sense of opposition to European Australia: 'Well, in the Aboriginal community, it always seems that we are our own community, that there is no one to help us.'

This comment indicates another form of opposition which suggests a different way of seeing Aboriginal music within community music. In this instance, community music for the Aboriginal community consolidates the cultural identity of Aboriginal people, who want to make music in and for their community. They use whatever means is available to facilitate that development. This is yet another permutation of the utilatarian formation. Their first concern is not for white Australia, but for a system of management that enables them to meet their needs.

Pluralist

Pluralist formations incorporate aspects of tolerance, openness and access as priorities. The opportunities created for otherwise silent/songless groups, extend society's dimensions. For example, the purpose of Adelaide Community Music is to:

> link things in, generate work and promote and help develop the diversity of music that is happening here in Adelaide, specifically those areas of music that have links with the community and organisations and communities of interest, whether that's women performing, trade union choirs.

Kavisha Mazella saw her work as a facilitator of the Italian women's musical experience as well as a historian. 'I feel I am accessing here into cultural memories, or the heritage memories of these people', she said. Her role also involved explicitly broadening the musical experiences of the women and the audiences to which they performed. By doing this the project created new musical and cultural avenues for herself and audiences, thereby generating a pluralistic outcome.

> I see the community becoming increasingly a-musical and non-musical. That is why I feel so passionate about doing such a project as this. Because I feel like we are losing our musical and our natural abilities to make music and music is being left up to the specialists. I am a professional musician and that is what I do for a living. But I do not see why it should only

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be people who are professionals who choose this path. They shouldn't have all the joy of making music.

The critique of professionals and exclusive music making is an important element of the community music rationale, which assumes that democratic access to all styles and standards of music making should be available to all those members of society who seek such avenues of expression. For this reason the pluralist formation is the central formation of Australian community music. As such it reflects the Australian policy approach to cultural practice.

Normative

In the normative formation the activity occurs within a highly definable community of interest, for example, the ethnic migrant community. In this context, the activities represent the expected everyday expression of the values of that community. Kavisha Mazella referred to the 'real folk music' and 'authentic' music, as an expression of the lived experiences of the Italian migrant women in The Joys of the Women choir. Linsey Pollak recalled his experiences of music making with a migrant Macedonian community in Sydney. In this case, as the result of playing instruments that are typically heard in Macedonian villages – bagpipes and drum – a suburban park became the focal point for weekly community music rituals for that migrant community. It was 'something generated . . . out of community', 'something that did just happen', he said. Such musical events seem to occur within the migrant community, and are generally identified by mediators as models of authentic community music. In this scenario the migrant community's relationship to music is idealised.

It is possible to see the linkage between the migrant community and community music as the expression of an **idealised-authentic model**. In reality, this may be the goal of community music programmes. That is, that music finds a natural expression within the community. Certainly music in the migrant community is highly esteemed. According to Linsey Pollak, music 'is an integral part of their lives', in the Latin American, European and Asian migrants communities. 'That to me is hopefully where community music will end up'.

The whole area of multi-channel music is where we have got most to learn in the area of community music because in a lot of those ethnic communities the music is still very much alive and part of community life. So there is an actual living example here that is quite often ignored and very marginalised.

It is necessary to be aware that this interpretation of ethnic community formations could be seen as naive romanticism of cultural practice when it is presented as 'other'. Because it is outside the expected experience of everyday life for non-migrants, ethnic music could be idealised as an ideal type by a researcher-observer and outsider. However, it is clear from the comments from Hernan Flores, that community music in the ethnic and migrant communities has a distinct purpose within the social and cultural life of the communities. This extends as far as playing music, often at the musicians expense. A Latin American event for example, will see Latin American musicians travelling long distances across cities in Australia to facilitate the 'musical expression', which is 'a need from within the community', Hernan said. Commercial rewards 'represent a denigration of cultural expression', thereby, heightening the value of music as an organic component within the life of the community.

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It is cultural and the expression of that here in Australia is just expressing part of a culture which has thousands of years of development and that has always had this part of their own lives attached to music or arts in general. And music plays a very important role.

Community music is the artistic musical expression of the community in general, coming out of a need of this community to express themselves. In other words, it is music which is many times produced by a group of people and not just individuals, usually held by an individual musician, but not necessarily. And that is something that is shared between a large amount of people. You share in the production of it, as well as the enjoyment of it.

A lot of the music that is played for example, most of these groups when they get together even friends get together, they carry instruments with them. For any particular occasion, they will all get together and play the guitar and everybody sings the songs that most of the people know and just make as part of living, a part of being alive, a part of a cultural group, a part of being of the society.

An outcome of the idealised-authentic model could involve the development of community music programmes that were organic to the extent that there would be no further need to fund them. Linsey Pollak suggested this as the expression of the organic nature of community music, where the communities value it to such an extent that they are willing to pay for the music to be part of their lives. This has already occurred with the self-funding of The Joys of the Women project. As noted earlier, categories move across each other in a non-contradictory way. The idealised-authentic or normative formation can find an expression in the industrial formation.

Chris Anderson confirmed this interpretation with an historical observation about the development of music.

I mean without sounding too strident or something, like on a world scale if you look at the impetus behind especially commercial music and every form of music that is mainstream, its basis is in what you could possibly term community music. Like a lot of current western music that is based on African, black music basically, how appropriation of that begins and so forth. A lot of impetus in modern music now also comes from a lot of the stuff that actually pushes it out continually to get it a newer edge. People going into other cultures and finding stuff and places like third world countries like Africa and the Middle East, Latin America and the same in Australia. There is a lot of impetus, a lot of the credibility that people get in terms of the mainstream, comes from the stuff that comes out of community music.

The search for authentic musical experience and expression is closely aligned with community music in the migrant context. Recent world music developments suggest that this aspect of community music will increasingly be absorbed into the music industry.

Consensus

Consensus formations are those programmes targeted at particular groups, with social betterment as a generally intended outcome. Direct participation is encouraged, as per a liberal democratic model of opportunity for all members of society. It is often populist and not explicitly political, focusing on the joy of making and valuing music. Frequently it aligns with the pluralist formation, where a breadth of musical activity is the valued outcome. This similarity between the formations was expressed by Shirley McCarron, whose Performance Tasmania Incorporated has a youth focus built on orchestra genres and performance excellence.

But it is now at the point where we play everything from the latest pops, the big stage shows, jazz through to light classics and now our young people are doing some of the

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classical repertoire, but always a mix to keep their interest and to let them explore those particular genres and get a feel for what music is all about.

The consensus formation can be seen to incorporate community development objectives. These are programmes that benefit society in general. They may be called the everyday projects – the ones that meet the basic musical and cultural needs of society, or subgroupings, such as young people.

WAMIA's emphasis on rock and pop music provides another perspective of the consensus view, as put by Eric Erickson:

I am not sure why people are a bit blinkered to understand that this is the sort of music that kids like. This is the sort of music that they want to be involved in. Trying to force something else upon them, is just that, it is force. Offer them the opportunities. Have them available. But don't channel their enthusiasm by not offering them other opportunities.

In order to meet the needs of a community in a consensual sense, a number of facilities and services need to be available. The best general example comes from Dandenong Ranges Music Council, an umbrella organisation with thirty-five community music groups as members, with a base in a two-storey community music centre. The perspective from Bev McAlister, the council's secretary is instructive. She emphasised the importance of the 'infrastructure' the centre provides, which enables 'people to be very creative, they can be very flexible, they can be innovative, but there is always that solid structure beneath them that they can fall back on'. Within this context, it is possible to 'create opportunities for people to listen to music, to learn music, to perform music, to create new music and to have access to enrichment and partnerships'.

Community music centres have been examined in the past, in particular in the *Report on the National Coordination Research Consultancy on Community Music* (aka Beed Report, 1985). The Footscray Community Arts Centre was identified as a 'prototypal model' because it offers music activity within the 'collegiate environment' of a community arts centre (1986, 4.14). It is clear from the Dandenong Ranges example, that a centre focused exclusively on meeting community music needs is more effective. The community building centre that serves to promote any musical activity whatsoever – heavy metal rock, jazz, aged people choirs, roadie experience – such as the one in Upwey, operates in a unique and distinct mountain community where social life differs from typical suburban social life. The history of bush fires in the Dandenong Ranges was mentioned by Bev McAlister as a significant factor in assisting people to work together in the geographical region of the Dandenong Ranges. Such regional history may also encourage the consensual view of the public benefit of access.

Community Music Centres fit within the consensual perspective if they follow the Dandenong Ranges Model outlined by Bev McAlister. That is, if their policy is explicitly liberal, focused on 'creating opportunities for people of all ages', as she put it. Alternatively, if community music centres are not feasible, it would appear that the projects where co-ordinators have been operating individually for extensive periods of time are the most effective. This includes the Bondi Pavilion programmes offered by Peter Winkler (nine years), and Adelaide Community Music (five years), The Joys of the Women (three years). At least two of these projects, Bondi and The Joys of the Women have elements of self funding and recording programmes in place. Adelaide is developing such an infrastructure.

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Welfare

The welfare formation includes the welfare community. These are programmes that serve to assist, rebuild and redirect the musical opportunities of an isolated, alienated or disadvantaged social group. This may be unemployed youth or various disadvantaged groups. The Feral Arts programme attempts to directly address problems within the welfare community, as Sarah Moynihan indicated: 'It's a welfare culture and we are artists who work within a welfare culture'. She explained the links to welfare agencies which suggest the multifaceted associations community music programmes can have.

> We work as artists with young people in that community who are socially and culturally disadvantaged because of the isolation . . . Feral Art focuses on issues that are relevant to young peoples' lives in Logan City, like health in relation to poverty, social justice, urban development and those kind of issues. Work will happen around an issue that is relevant to that group of lives.

Feral Arts emphasise its 'social work' approach by implying a mixed funding approach to its project. The organisation uses Australia Council funding together with small amounts from Queensland State Government departments which are welfare-oriented and support Feral Arts projects.

Conclusion

The changes in community music, from the orthodox model to the community of interest continuums and the formations expressed in the typology represent a diverse range of activities and interactions, undertaken with public funding. These notes indicate that detailed, systematic investigations can generate useful maps that may in turn improve our understanding of popular music.

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