

UNIVERSITY OF NOVA GORICA
GRADUATE SCHOOL

**TRACES OF DIVERSITY: MULTICULTURALISM
ACROSS SOCIO-POLITICAL PRACTICES IN
MELBOURNE**

DISSERTATION

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Declaration of authorship

I hereby declare that this thesis has been generated by me as the result of my own original research. Where other sources of information have been used, they have been acknowledged.

Maša Mikola

A stranger appears, eyes greet eyes and
soon two people are discovering
something - a missing link, a consoling
wisdom, or perhaps just a laugh, a gem or
a simple moment of pleasure...

M. Leunig, *In the company of strangers*

Abstract

This study traces the politics of multiculturalism in the spatial practices of Melbourne. It investigates the politics of multiculturalism in Australia in general and as it applies more specifically to the city of Melbourne. It examines the ways in which the politically imbued concept of multiculturalism, along with that of cosmopolitanism and the concept of (cultural) diversity, enable or prevent the actual dialogical relations between people of different cultural and linguistic backgrounds. It discusses the ways through which everyday practices of people challenge political multicultural discourse. The thesis focuses particularly on central Melbourne and on three public urban spaces: the marketplace, the central square and the tramway. Within these localities, the thesis looks for spaces of negotiation through the notions of strangeness, boundaries, cultural difference, silence and opposition. It focuses on dialogical exchanges in socio-political practices within chosen locations.

Theoretically the thesis encompasses the notions of diversity, language in action, dialogism and relation. It connects these to the Australian experience of colonialism, the initiation of the nation state, migration and multiculturalism on the political plane. It specifically examines relations between migration patterns and the use of urban space throughout the Victorian capital's history. It then analyses the four main localities that serve as separate case-studies in this thesis. Each of the chosen localities is connected to immigration patterns and multiculturalism in Melbourne and they show different ways through which cultural and social diversity becomes evident in everyday practices. Some practices, especially those that happen at the boundaries of the examined spaces, present opposition to official multicultural discourse and offer alternative ways to think about multiculturalism not only as the policy for cultural, but also for social diversity that would reconfigure concepts of recognition and reconsider cultural and social distribution.

Keywords: multiculturalism, Australia, diversity, cosmopolitanism, dialogism.

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Preface

Not belonging to any place, any time, any love. A lost origin, the
impossibility to take root, a rummaging memory, the present in abeyance.
The space of the foreigner is a moving train, a plane in flight, the very
transition that precludes stopping.

Julia Kristeva¹

I first started to think about the content of this thesis while riding a Melbourne tram. I often found the clinking sounds and electric wires placed above the tramways captivating. The tram ride felt like a journey to me. There was something else accompanying the simple travel from A to B. It seemed as though there was something that was always hauntingly present by its absence.

The Melbourne tramway grid has an old, extensive and quite glorious colonial past and after the first electric trams joined the city's slightly older cable tram system, the Melbourne tramway system soon became one of the most extensive tramway systems in the world. Trams were an important part of the city throughout its colonial past and they provided a seemingly stable line along which everything, even history, fell into place. Melbourne trams today seem to me like a thread that connects different parts, different people, and perhaps even different consciousnesses. They look as if they would be dwelling rhythmically between different times. Sometimes I even think that their purpose is to keep this seemingly quiet, sprawling city together.

Moving trams provide a recurrent metaphor of flexible places and of reconfiguring spaces. Upon examination, the trams fit into the image of a harmonious community, of a palpable city, or of a satisfied nation. When listening to the sounds surrounding them or inhabiting them the feeling of community still persists, but this community is often not very harmonious anymore. I believe trams and their spatial practices have the ability to shift our perceptions of places. It is possible to sense changes while observing their social space. They are metaphors of harmony and permanence, but also of flow and flexibility.

¹ J Kristeva (1991, pp. 7-8).

We will engage with tramways in this thesis at different points and in different ways. In a practical way, they will serve us as one of the case studies. In a metaphorical way, they will provide a thread that will hopefully hold this thesis together. In a symbolical way, they will provide a background for the sounds and silences, presences and absences. As much as this work has been an academic journey, it has also been an imaginative one.

As the main title of this thesis indicates, we are moved by traces and traces accompany us. Traces are there before Being, not only in and for the presence, but in and for the past, future and all other times we do not have access to. The concept of trace – this complex and complicated thing that has a life of its own (or we could say that it is not a thing and does not have a life at all because it is ‘not that’ and also ‘not there’), as brought out by the philosophy of Jacques Derrida - is an important starting point for this thesis and it does not appear only as a stylistic tool (which does not mean that it has not appeared ‘out of nothing’) in the main title. Even though we will not be addressing it directly, a trace characterises this work. What it says and gives to us is that which it does not say and does not give. A trace, which is in Derrida’s writing under erasure and is similar to Heidegger’s notion of Being that he crosses out in order to get to the thought,² is inherent in the other that is forever absent.³ This thesis is thus focused on what is ‘there’, but at the same time it is observant of what remains absent. It tries to identify the ‘lack’.

² For Derrida, Being is already a master-word and the master-word already ‘presents itself as the mark of an anterior presence, origin, master’ (Derrida 1997, p. xv).

³ As Gayatri Chakravorty Spivak in her famous introduction to the English translation of Derrida’s *De la Grammatologie* says, ‘Derrida’s ~~trace~~ is the mark of the absence of a presence, an already absent present, of the lack of origin that is the condition of thought and experience’ (Spivak in Derrida 1997, p. xvii).

1 INTRODUCTION

The idea for the research that culminated in this thesis came out of the interest in the politics and practice of multiculturalism, urbanity and spatial socio-political practices. These practices are thoroughly marked by immigration, colonialism and various forms of civic engagement when it comes to using, appropriating and transforming the space. Experience of Melbourne's forms of over-layering the urban space may be similar to the one we can observe in several other cities that share traits and connection to the imaginative, ideological and material vision of European centrality and colonialism (especially in Canada and the United States but less in Europe itself); nonetheless, the local and localised case of Melbourne is interesting also because this layering is well pronounced and also visible in material architectural, social and cultural practices which pronounce also the overall 'obligation' to urbanity and its inscription in the city as the character of Melbourne stems from its urbanity rather than its landscape (Dovey & Sandercock 2004, p. 29).

The thesis is based on the ethnography of four public and shared spaces in Melbourne, of which two are discussed comparatively. All spaces (localities) are connected through the sense of imaginary, symbolic, real and performative. On the basis of organisational patterns of these localities the thesis builds a kind of a map of personal experiences (or sound-images) of chosen places, specifically as experienced through everyday peoples' perceptions. The topic of this thesis is based on the ethnographic work in Melbourne in 2006, 2008 and 2009, when different topical discussions occurred with people of diverse backgrounds and when most of the other material (newspaper articles, leaflets, literary works, archival material etc.) was collected.

1.1 The aim of the thesis and its research questions

The thesis starts from the position of the individual migrant who is in the centre of the analysis and the discussion is built around the dialogical relations upon which this migrant builds her or his localised experience. This is realised on two different levels of analysis:

1. By discussing relations between policy of multiculturalism, diversity and lived multiculturalism (and in some instances cosmopolitanism) in place, explained through the thesis case-studies.
2. By broadening the research approaches in studying ethnicity and expression of ethnicities and by setting aside the type of research in migration studies that is characterised by ethnic divisions and nationalisms. Diversity is introduced as a concept and methodological as well as analytical approach in order to tackle this dilemma and it is examined as an alternative mode of incorporation of migrants.

Research questions of the thesis are centred on the concept of multiculturalism, cultural diversity and multilingualism. The main, broadly defined research questions are as follows:

1. What are the meanings of multiculturalism and the multicultural city when being translated into practice? How is multiculturalism actualised in socio-cultural practices?
2. Is Melbourne multicultural (and/or cosmopolitan)? What do these terms mean in light of inclusion/exclusion in the case of 'linguistic others' in Australia and in the context of postcolonial debates?
3. What is the role of language in action in urban spaces and how can it be explained through the concepts of multiculturalism (cosmopolitanism)?
4. How does the concept of multiculturalism incorporate the concepts of dialogism and cultural/social relation?

Along with main research questions dealing with broadly set areas of negotiation in the studies of migration and multiculturalism, a set of other questions relating contextually to specific localities in Melbourne have been identified as follows:

1. What are the forms and manifestation of daily connections and negotiations in places defined or designed by multicultural encounter? Does the encounter in culturally/socially diverse places happen at all?
2. How is the difference in these places expressed through visual and audible aspects? What is the role of languages other than (Australian) English within these places?
3. Are the ideas of multiculturalism and cosmopolitanism (and being multicultural and cosmopolitan) important in these specific places and if they are, how are they expressed?
4. Can a multicultural space incorporate spaces (and languages, utterances) of opposition? Where are the boundaries and barriers formed between affirmative and oppositional spaces (languages), and how can barriers be transgressed?

The thesis builds upon and operates within the concept of urban space and urban socio-political practices which determine the nature of lived space and of everyday life. Urban is not defined as an opposition to non-urban; urban in this thesis is not primarily a category that would distinguish a certain set of practices, but more characterise a globalising and pluri-local nature of everyday life. The urban is seen as challenged by the multiplicity of living forms and sudden changes in population, fluidity of differences and temporariness of cultural and social groupings.

The aim of the thesis was to test and analyse the politics of multiculturalism, nature of cosmopolitanism and diversity talk in practice, on the ground, in the everyday life. This was done by tracing the discourse on language as language in action and materialised in space. The observational methods of exploring space (especially following the ideas of Henri Lefebvre) were selectively chosen and some methods in exploring sound were tested.⁴ The idea was to avoid setting specific subjects (people, voices) in the foreground and background categorically on the basis of a specific methodological approach. The originality of participant's position was most important. In the second stage, twenty-two semi-structured qualitative interviews were conducted with users of

⁴ Soundscape is most often defined according to the initiator of the term and the beginner of soundscape ecology, Canadian composer and researcher Murray Schafer (in his seminal book, 'The Tuning of the World', 1977), as an environment of sound which puts an emphasis on the way how it is perceived by an individual, or by a society. As much as 'soundscapes' and 'soundscape studies' are inclusive in its scope, there have been many problems in defining the right methodological approach that would be suitable for tuning the ear to the sonic environment. Additional methodological and conceptual problem is that it is not sufficient to study sonic environment separately, not including other perceptual categories. The dialectics and interaction between the visual and audible (as well as other categories of perception) must be taken into account, especially when we talk about a site-specific research.

particular spaces in order to further discuss the arguments brought out by the initial method of participant observation.

1.1.1 Thesis outline

The structure of the thesis followed a line leading from general to particular. The thesis as a whole follows this kind of logic and also each of the eight chapters separately follows the same general-particular structure.

Chapter 1 and chapter 2 (Introduction and the Theoretical outline) are followed by a chapter on multiculturalism (national identity, citizenship) in Australia where specific questions and discussions related to the Australian multicultural policy are addressed. Chapter 3 is followed by a chapter on Melbourne as a city (chapter 4). This is followed by three chapters (chapters 5, 6 and 7) focusing on specific spaces (localities) that form the main empirical body of the thesis. All chapters are connected with the common thread which has been posed by the main research questions.

The methodology for this thesis and the main issues of analysis and conceptual categories are listed later on in this chapter. The following, additional concepts identified and discussed in the theoretical part of the thesis (chapter 2) all relate to the main analytical categories. Along with this very first introductory chapter, Chapters 2 and 3 offer a slightly more general background topic, even though they contain also some of the empirical data and additional questions that were raised during the fieldwork research. In the chapter 2, I begin by addressing the non-representational background of the study and the questions of multiculturalism, difference and diversity. I then deal with the issue of dialogism referring to the theory of Valentin Voloshinov and Mikhail Bakhtin. I examine closely the theoretical contributions of Gilles Deleuze and Félix Guattari, particularly in terms of their discussions on dialectics between the major and the minor (language, literature). I conclude after an examination of the poetics of relation of Édouard Glissant and relations across differences of Luce Irigaray.

Chapter 3, and all subsequent chapters, present the main set of categories of analysis and with this in mind, it deals with the historical background related to Australian colonial heritage and the conditions that led first to the constitution of the Federation in

1901 and then to the implementation of the politics of multiculturalism in the early 1970s. It outlines the immigration policies that shaped contemporary Australia, from Federation until the present. The history and the development of the politics of multiculturalism is followed by the history and the development of language policies and linguistic diversification in Australia.

Chapter 4 also provides the reader first with some of the historical background regarding the origins and history of Melbourne. It starts with the ‘baby Melbourne’ pose in the time of initiation of Melbourne in the first half of the 19th century and does not lose its thread all the way to the urban/suburban, highly work-oriented neo-liberal Melbourne of four million today. It discusses the migration patterns and the politics of multiculturalism on the level of the city, halting with the promotion of the ‘cosmopolitan city’ in the new millennium. Similarly to the chapter 3, chapter 4 also addresses the question of linguistic transformation of the city since the time of the European settlement to the most recent changes posed by the various new and more temporary arrivals to the city. This chapter also addresses some key statistical factors relevant for the wider location of particular spaces examined.

First four chapters of this thesis are followed by the foundational empirical body of the work, which is based on the researched localities and the ethnographic material gathered. All three (conditionally four) main localities examined follow a similar general structure which is framed around three main questions of history, strategy and socio-cultural practices within these localities. These three levels of examination have been used interchangeably in all three main empirical chapters.

Chapter 5 is devoted to the microscale of market exchanges. It is based on the field-work and the participant observation at the central Queen Victoria Market, which is coupled with the field-work and the participant observation at the Footscray Market in the western suburb of Melbourne. The fifth chapter swings through the boundaries of the markets, in and out through the doors, discussing the signs, textures, loudness and silences, languages and accents, differences, multicultural and cosmopolitan strategies and desires.

Federation Square – the main public square in central Melbourne – is the site investigated in the chapter 6 of the dissertation. Federation Square as one of the newest planned public spaces in Melbourne offers a conceptual frame for the examination of questions of multicultural managerialism, politics of multiculturalism, multicultural consumerism and cosmopolitanism. The idea of audible appropriation of space and boundaries as well as questions of translation are among the topics of this chapter.

The idea of a mobile and changing space passes through most chapters of this thesis. One of the chapters (chapter 7) is, however, entirely devoted to the socio-political space of public transport. Mobile space of the Melbourne tram no. 19 invokes the ideas of mobility of language, community and individuality; it questions forms, structures and processes of social stratification; it looks at the public transport as a multicultural space. Through its optics, not only multiculturalism, but also the legacy of Australian colonialism and postcolonial nostalgia is explored. This chapter also discusses the possibilities for a hospitable space and the space of connections.

The Conclusion (chapter 8) brings particularity of the chapters 5, 6 and 7 back into the general (or universal) realm and concludes by connecting the main findings with the main research questions of this thesis.

1.2 Methodology and the research stages

Research for this thesis was carried out over the course of three visits to Melbourne during a period of four and a half years. The first phase took place in 2006, the second one in 2008 and the third, in 2009. During the first two research visits I collaborated with the University of Melbourne as a visiting research fellow and a PhD student. I participated in discussions and conferences in 2006 and 2008, in university coursework and in several informal meetings with researchers, professors and postgraduate students at the Department of Anthropology and at the Australian Centre at the School of Historical Studies at the University of Melbourne. In 2006, and sporadically during 2008, I also worked as a volunteer at the Asylum Seeker Welcome Centre in Brunswick, a northern inner suburb of Melbourne. Whilst there, I made contact not only with present and former asylum seekers, migrants, their family members, but also some others, such as volunteers and staff of the Centre. Their stories were not recorded or directly used for this thesis; however they did provide a complex and rich background to a more comprehensive understanding of the topic. The background to the present research topic was also provided by another personal research project previously undertaken in Melbourne: a discussion of varied experiences among the younger generation of Australians with Slovenian backgrounds in 2002 and 2003. This research was then published in a book 'Living between cultures: from Australian Slovenians to Slovenian Australians' in 2005.

The initial idea to carry out a comparative study in a different location in Europe proved to be inadequate and also potentially ineffective in meeting one of the primary objectives of this research: to conduct the in-depth localised political, social and cultural examination through focusing on the notions of multiculturalism, diversity, difference and cosmopolitanism in particular contexts. It is equally important that this research be attentive to its historically conditioned meanings as much as it is concerned with the actual, present and material connotations that space of diversity, and space of difference, bring to the fore. In this respect, this research was not only constantly re-thinking the often narrowly defined approaches adopted by ethnographic research, but tried to interconnect various methodological approaches used in anthropology, history and cultural studies and to combine them with newer, as yet disciplinarily undefinable,

experimental interpretative methodologies that are oft-times pushed to the margins of methodological discussions or are not known and thus also not promoted.⁵ These new methodological approaches were tested during this thesis whilst not occupying a dominant place in the analysis.

The research for this thesis was utterly qualitative in nature, especially its first part characterised as it was by the gathering of original, primary data. This part took the anthropological methods of *observation* and *participant observation* as its central research methods. It coupled them with settled and in-depth research (Pardy 2006) centred upon and carried out in four particular localities:⁶ Queen Victoria Market and Footscray Market, Federation Square and the tram no. 19. These particular spaces were chosen in context and in light of my previously defined research questions and aims because:

- in general, they are accessible to everyone / they all belong to the category of public spaces,
- the idea of cultural diversity is inscribed into them (as we will see, one of them was even built on the grounds of this idea),
- in various degrees, they are promoted as the hubs of multicultural Melbourne and as ‘icons’ of the multicultural city,
- they are all changing, transient and/or mobile.

Four localities explored around Melbourne serve as the ground upon which ideas of language in action, relations and dialogisms (under the conditions of multiculturalism policy), as well as diversity and cosmopolitanism are all examined. Their differences are observed in order to locate the relations between these differences. All three localities examined are considered as parts of urban Melbourne and were chosen on the basis of

⁵ For a reference on the types of experimental interpretative methodologies tested within this thesis, such as the ‘spatially based impressions and fragments (vignettes)’ and ‘multisensory walks’ see pp. 22-24 of the dissertation.

⁶ Locality in this thesis is understood as inhabiting the position that moves between on the one hand physical boundedness and fixity often attributed to the concept of place and the potential over exposure and total unrestrictedness that usually accompanies the concept of space on the other hand. Locality is thus understood as a place which is physically definable but also always incorporates meanings pointing to something absent.

their changeability as well as their potential to shift our perceptions of multiculturalism, of signs and of directions.

The research aims to encapsulate the sociability within these places from the context of the materiality of these sociabilities, utterances and dialogism, to capture the space between official proclamations of multiculturalism (and diversity) and the everyday practice of multiculturalism, cosmopolitanism and linguistic diversity, by not having wider systems and structures hovering upon these places in mind from the very beginning. Wider systems and structures do enter the thesis at the stage of analysis; they enable the process of connecting explored places among each other and of making sense of these connections. The structural outline of the thesis also reflects these connections. Federation Square, Queen Victoria Market and Footscray Market are all three linked by the Melbourne tramways. A specific Melbourne tram is also one of the case-studies and is a thread that binds the other explored localities together. Some localities that were not a part of the research in the beginning were later interwoven into the discussion and analysis. Footscray Market, for instance, is introduced to serve as a counterpart to the Queen Victoria Market. Footscray Market in the western suburb of Melbourne, characterised by the traces of several migration waves, is examined in order to better understand the meaning and the idea of a Melbournian (and Australian) centrality. The centre is also where Federation Square is located. Federation Square is the newest of the places examined and it offers an understanding of the significance of the 'old versus new' debate in the context of Australia and also of the 'inner thought' of managerial and promotional multiculturalism (and cosmopolitanism) in contemporary Australia. As for the trams, the no. 19 was consciously chosen for its reference to migrancy, diversity and multiculturalism. Since I took this tramline almost every day and at different times whilst living in Melbourne, I had a chance to carry out the participant observation of this tram and its occupants on several different occasions. The no. 19 tram in various different ways also provided a space in which to research the extensions and transgressions of boundaries. This was particularly relevant due to the close relationship it maintained to its multicultural surroundings, in particular the road upon which it travels - universally considered as one of the most multicultural road strips in Melbourne. It also proved an appropriate line to examine since on its way towards the multicultural surrounding that defines it, it passes another of the chosen localities: the Queen Victoria Market. On one

of the occasions and to bring the important question of postcoloniality into the discussion, one event that happened on another tramline, the no. 112 tram, was used.

Four methods of data collection were employed in the research of four localities:

1. detailed observation of social interaction in the researched spaces was carried out and recorded at focal points – recording types of interaction and language;
2. short interviews with users of each space;
3. photographs were taken at all examined spaces showing key features of the design, their layout and the ways in which people engaged (socially) with one another;
4. semi-structured interviews with users of the space were carried out in the last stage of examination. Users were divided into two categories:
 - people professionally connected to the space and
 - people visiting the space.

In the case of the markets this meant the interviews were conducted with the shoppers (according to their proximity to the markets) and traders; in the case of Federation Square interviews were carried out with people visiting the Square and people working at the multilingual Special Broadcasting Service that is located at the Square; and in the case of the tram no. 19 interviews were recorded with passengers and with the tram driver.

First, the observation of the examined spaces was carried out and then a personal narration was recorded. This narration was in turn re-examined in semi-structured interviews with the users and professionals. Additional material was also gathered and examined.

Participants for this research were chosen more or less intuitively, my requirement and one of the aims from the beginning of this research being to break-up and open the closely defined area of research techniques often present in migration studies which concentrate on one or more particular groups of people of certain culture, ethnicity, age, gender, socio-economic status etc. At first, I have, however, loosely chosen the requirement of different linguistic backgrounds of people interviewed including those

whose first language was Australian English with the purpose to record any variations in their answers. This categorisation did prove at least partly ineffective since the answers of people according to this set of categories did not show any significant differences. Another differentiation, which was differentiation according to respondents' proximity to the researched spaces (whether they felt connected to the spaces for longer and had for instance some childhood memories of these spaces or whether they were more recent users of the space) did show as more relevant.

Nevertheless, the categories did not serve as the clear lines upon and around which the analysis would be structured. In line with the previous argument about one of the levels of analysis, which tried to broaden the research approaches in studying ethnicity and expression of ethnicities and to set aside the type of research in migration studies that is characterised by ethnic divisions and nationalisms, the people interviewed were first of all approached to as the coincidental users of the space and their responses were used primarily in order to test the findings brought about by the method of the participant observation.

Twenty-two *individual, semi-structured interviews* were conducted. All together, I carried out eleven interviews at the markets (four shoppers and seven traders), seven at Federation Square (four visitors and three SBS employees), and four at the tram no. 19 (three passengers and one tram driver).⁷ Along with the individual, semi-structured qualitative interviews, I conducted three other general interviews and one group discussion on the topic of multiculturalism in Melbourne. This provided the original, supplementary supportive material for the thesis. Parts of these interviews were included also into the chapters on multiculturalism in Australia and on the City of Melbourne.

Three *other general interviews* addressed above were recorded with persons of Slovenian background; two of them loosely followed the structure of life-stories which is a part of biographical interpretive method (Denzin 1989, p. 7) and one was a semi-

⁷ The reason for organising only one interview with the tram driver was of administrative nature. Since I approached the drivers first at the Brunswick tram depot, I was given instructions that talking to the tram drivers about multiculturalism cannot be done without prior approval of the public relations and media manager. Since the process for getting the official permit proved too lengthy and potentially ineffective, I was forced to ask for the interview without this permission on an individual basis and was successful in (only) one occasion.

structured interview with a sound artist, who was born in Australia and who lives and works in Melbourne.

A *group discussion* was recorded with six members of Migrant and Refugee Youth Council on the 21st December 2006. The interview followed the form of an open discussion and its topic centred on the everyday experiences and spatial conceptions they had about certain places in Melbourne, suburban living in metropolitan Melbourne and about Australia in general. Young people that mainly migrated to Australia as children also filled in a short written questionnaire, that required them to shortly identify ideas that they associate with Australia, Melbourne and the suburb in which they live.

All of the interviews were recorded using first the minidisc recorder and a microphone and later the M-Audio Microtrack II mobile digital recorder. They were fully or partly transcribed and archived; parts of them were included into the main body of the thesis. The full texts are not openly and publicly available in this thesis; they are, however, available upon request.⁸

Furthermore, two other forms of gaining data were tested in the course of the research for this thesis. The first had a general form of an open questionnaire and its aim was to collect *spatially based impressions and fragments (vignettes)* of observations of urban places in Melbourne in written form. Fifteen of these questionnaires were given out and five of them were returned.⁹ Limited parts of these captions are also included in the body of the thesis.

The second experimental research technique followed the style and nature of what I call a *multi-sensory walk* which is similar to what for instance Murray Schafer and other members of the World forum for acoustic ecology in the early 1970s called ‘soundwalk’ to focus on a multi-sensory experience and environmental quality of urban spaces. ‘Multi-sensory walks’ as a complimentary methodology to photographic surveys at this

⁸ As the study is spatially based and as its main methodologies were observation and participant observation (with recordings, photographs and written observations being its main source of analysis), interviews provide generally the additional source, which makes the arguments and findings more applicable. Unrestricted availability of full interview transcriptions is therefore not necessary for the understanding of the topic.

⁹ One of these questionnaires is included in the Appendix 4 of the thesis.

point provided only a background to better understand the researched spaces. It was the method which was the most challenging and the most exciting method used in this work, even though it only attended to people's reactions to the space of social and cultural dynamics without actually taking the discussion along the categories proposed by Schafer (such as keynote sounds, figure sounds and soundmarks) into account at this point. This method in general aimed at bringing out the discussion on sound environment (specifically vocality) in place without developing an acoustic-centric position in the first place. Soundscapes were recorded using a minidisc recorder and a microphone in 2006 and the mobile digital recorder on which the mini microphone was attached in 2008. There were several recordings I made by myself in localities observed in 2006 and 2008. I returned to these places several times on different occasions and at different times of the day. In this respect, my personal 'soundwalking' project supplemented the method of observation and participant observation. In addition, I organised and recorded four group multisensory walks in 2008; one was carried out at the Footscray Market, one complemented a walk in the Footscray Market with the walk through the Little Saigon Market which is also located in Footscray, one walk was recorded at the Queen Victoria Market and the last one encompassed both Footscray markets and the surrounding area of the suburb of Footscray. All multi-sensory walks took approximately an hour except the last, which took about an hour and a half. The participants in these walks were various: the first included, besides myself, a person born in Australia and a person who migrated to Australia; the second was also made with two people besides myself, both of them were born in Australia, but of different cultural/ethnic backgrounds; the third was made at the Queen Victoria Market and included three people and myself, two of them born in Australia and one who migrated as an overseas student (one of them, born in Australia, was already present at the walk in the Footscray Market). The fourth walk in Footscray was recorded with one person besides myself – an academic, born in Australia, living and conducting academic research in the area for several years. The recordings were later uploaded to the computer, minimally edited and archived. Some parts of them were also transcribed and used as a background to the topic of the thesis.

As I have stated above, the multisensory approach to methodology was an experimental technique which I hope to develop in the context of anthropological and intercultural

methodological approaches in the future. For the purposes of the present research, multi sensory walks proved an interesting and significant technique that has not only a potential to widen the frame of perception when researching the sociability in the urban environment, but also to immerse participant into the research to a greater extent and to bring out the mutual experience for the participant and the researcher. For me as a researcher and a participant in multisensory walks, this was a valuable experience where I was uniquely placed to listen to (and observe) the encounters, interconnections, and negotiations between participants themselves and those between participants and people on the streets as well as shoppers and traders. They were spontaneous, materialised and actualised rather than reproduced or provoked.

The second part of the research consisted of gathering various kinds of secondary written and published data on the topic of multiculturalism, cosmopolitanism, diversity, urban planning and the localities researched. I regularly followed *media reports* in two major newspapers that in general fall into the category of more ‘serious press’ in Melbourne, *Age* and *Australian*. Apart from journalistic reports and feature stories, the letters to the editors were followed as well as advertising material relating to the issues of multiculturalism and migration, especially the promotional material used by the Governmental bodies (such as for instance the promotion of the ‘Just Like You’ campaign administered and authorised by the Victorian Government).¹⁰

The *websites* of federal and state government agencies, Melbourne City Council, City of Maribyrnong Council, Federation Square, Queen Victoria Market, Metlink and the Railpage Australia were visited repeatedly during the course of the research. To gain as much information and discussion sources from various different sides relating to the places researched, in the written or the visual form, online sources were examined as well: online discussion forums, blogs, Facebook and Youtube sites.

In addition to that, more poetic and partly *fiction writing* served as background material for a more comprehensive understanding of some phenomena, discussed in this thesis. Among them, I found most useful and interesting the following: visual poetry of Pi.O.

¹⁰ ‘Just Like You’ campaign was an initiative of the Victorian Government (Equal Opportunity Commission Victoria) in 2006 (Victorian Government 2006a, 2006b, 2006c, 2006d). Yarra Trams (Connex Trains and Metlink) joined the campaign as well to show that ‘as Victorians, we all share many similarities even though we come from different backgrounds’.

whose poems very clearly and straightforwardly depict various topics related to migration to Australia, especially from the period just after the Second World War; the novel of Alice Pung entitled 'Unpolished Gem', which is a story about growing up in Footscray (with many vivid descriptions of the Footscray Market); and some writings of Marcus Clarke, a bohemian writer from the start of the 20th century, whose written pieces on the topic of urban life were published at that time.

Some documents relating directly to the policy of multiculturalism and issued by the federal government of Australia, the state government of Victoria as well as urban planning strategies from the Melbourne City Council were also systematically resourced from the State Library of Victoria and a variety of online sources.

Overall, the research stages and methodology were characterised by a bulk of varied material that provided at times fragmented and wide scoped, whilst at others an extremely rich resource collection. Navigating through the various kinds of material from different media was difficult and a challenge in itself, but I believe a multi-sourced research to be necessary for the topics presented in this thesis. As the goal of this research was also to show things that are often hidden or that are even required at times to stay silent, it was important to stay alert to changes throughout the research and to adjust the research methodology according to them. A lot of material was not suitable for a relatively focused work that this thesis was struggling to become. Therefore a bulk of material was omitted throughout different stages of the research and will hopefully have a chance to be presented at some other place and at some other occasion.

1.3 Issues of analysis: key categories

By seeking to analyse the concept of diversity as well as the political strategy and practice of multiculturalism - as they are practiced and lived in the context of the (cosmopolitan) city - three main categories that need to be answered in order to put the study into perspective must be defined: the concept of diversity, the concept of multiculturalism as a political strategy (multiculturalism on the level of social and cultural policy) and the concept of cosmopolitanism.

All three concepts relate to one another. Semantically and topically, the first and the second concepts are specifically interlinked, as the primary aim of any politics of multiculturalism can be read as the realisation of diversity.¹¹ *Diversity* in our case demands, to begin with, a consideration of the concept of cultural plurality and proposes some new ways of incorporating this plurality into the wider, civic sphere. Diversity programmes are seen as contributing to the civil sphere (Faist 2009a), even though the distinction between diversity as a political programme and diversity as social equality, which is yet to be met, are not put aside. Because we are dealing with the practices that are based on culture and multicultural accounts, diversity is analysed from this particular field of engagement. This does not mean, however, that we do not seek to position the discussion on diversity into a broader field of engagement that leads us to debate diversity as a long-term practice that is multi-directional and dialogical. Having said that, diversity programmes on the level of policy have come recently to be proclaimed within different multicultural strategies as well. In this thesis, I talk about the interplay of these two concepts (including the political concepts of assimilation and integration the presence of which one cannot deny, despite the introduction of multiculturalism) in the Australian case, where the political multicultural strategy has been thoroughly planned and is now in the phase of ‘fine-tuning’ (Ling 2000, p. 214), with ‘diversity talk’ being present in the political debates since the introduction of multiculturalism into practice from the side of the policy. Valuing difference in terms of diversity has not yet come to the phase where it would clearly and unconditionally interconnect with the logic of economic rationalism and productivity,¹² so we still have a chance here to talk about the necessity for social equality before the concept of diversity enters the realm of economic rationality and productivity without addressing any of these issues.

Multiculturalism as a political strategy is a second point of reference for this thesis. It is discussed largely in the context of Australia, but more specifically in the context of the city and the locality. Multiculturalism is examined as a policy towards migrants and not so much in the conceptual or theoretical terms. It is seen as merely a practice and one

¹¹ Here ‘incorporation is not celebrated as inclusion, but as an achievement of diversity’ (Alexander 2006, p. 452).

¹² This connection has become apparent in the case of Australian multiculturalism, which we can now talk about also as a ‘managerial multiculturalism’ (Hage 2003, pp. 110-112).

that is strategy based – one that follows certain theoretical dilemmas,¹³ but is most importantly politically (and economically) driven. Both, the concept of multiculturalism as a political strategy and the concept of diversity, are examined in the present dichotomy of local/global. As multiculturalism in Australia has been particularly ‘value driven’ on the level of ‘national values’ throughout time, there is another potential for the concept of diversity to enter the stage by reminding us that multiculturalism in fact extends beyond the borders of the national state (Faist 2009, p. 187).

The approaches towards *cosmopolitanism* have been, similarly to multiculturalism, characterised by a number of different projects that were influenced by liberalistic thinking. By avoiding discussions around social relationships, cosmopolitanism in this form gave only little solutions for new accounts on solidarity. Cosmopolitanism, under the conditions of a globalising world, has often been universalising and this approach has been, as Craig Calhoun contends, attractive, because ‘it confronts the fundamental mismatch between global processes (...) and the structure of states and nations that organizes citizenship and political rights’ (Calhoun 2003, p. 7). Western cosmopolitanism grew in response to the increasing muddiness of the concept of multiculturalism in practice because of its claims to essentialism on the one hand and the denying of essentialism on the other. The critics, emerging as they did from cosmopolitan circles, often inhabited the lines between communitarianism and individuality. The view of these cosmopolitans was often locally undefinable and thus also intangible. There was another stream of cosmopolitans emerging from diasporic elites of the non-Western world at the same time, which was more rooted and more

¹³ Multiculturalism as a term can designate the actual cultural/social reality, it can be related to the theory and is thus one of the categories to depict specific relations among different ethnic groups within one country and then we have a third option, when these two usages are somehow connected and come into existence through political programmes and movements (Lukšič Hacin 1999, p. 15). In this thesis, I look at the latter depiction of multiculturalism and I focus predominantly at the official policy that target immigrants in Australia. I also examine ways through which this policy came into being (what and who contributed to its establishment and implementation). To only explain shortly the theoretical stance in the discussion on multiculturalism in this thesis, as a theoretical concept I take the conceptualisation proposed by Peter McLaren (1994) who identifies three debates on multiculturalism (conservative or corporate, liberal and left-liberal) to propose a fourth type of multiculturalism (not yet in practice) which he terms as ‘critical and resistance multiculturalism’, which works under the conditions of poststructuralism and postmodernism and stresses the task of ‘transforming the social, cultural, and institutional relations in which meanings are generated’ and ‘doesn’t see diversity itself as a goal, but rather affirms that diversity must be affirmed within a politics of cultural criticism and a commitment to social justice’ (McLaren 1994, p. 53). In this way, critical and resistance multiculturalism basically has the same premises as I argue for in the discussion on ‘diversity’ – the potential to bring the ideas of cultural pluralism and social justice closer together.

complex, but which could also provide many tensions between ‘dwelling’ and ‘belonging’ as this wave of cosmopolitans that submerged to subaltern studies was still a part of the elite and their intellectual perspective reflected their position.

Rather than looking at cosmopolitanism in terms of political organisation to which a lot of the theories surrounding the term subsumed (for instance David Held in discussing the cosmopolitan democracy or Martha Nussbaum who argues for the ethical universalism; obligation of each person to the humanity on the whole), I am resorting to the variety of cosmopolitanism that Calhoun (2003, p. 14) terms the ‘urbane social psychology’ or that we could describe as being an urban formulation of cosmopolitanism. This cosmopolitanism works on the basis of dialectics between the conditions (from which the work of members of the Chicago School originated) and those with which we are presented through modern capitalism. Its major figure is the urbanist Richard Sennet. For him, cosmopolitanism began in a dialectic between strangeness and rigidity, or alterity and bureaucratic rationalization (Sennet 2002, p. 42). Sennet’s argument is more concerned with what it means to be cosmopolitan rather than what cosmopolitanism is as a theory or ethics or a way that would stir between universalism and particularism. In this way, Sennet’s version of cosmopolitanism is more engaged with how one embodies cosmopolitan ways (how one connects or not to the urban space) than with the meaning and ethics of cosmopolitanism. This notion of cosmopolitanism starts from the premise of diversity, which is also something embodied by the fourth version of cosmopolitanism, labelled under Calhoun’s typology as hybridity. Hybridity is, however, more concerned with what cosmopolitanism does to the individual as opposed to the urban formulation of cosmopolitanism which bases its observation on the cosmopolitan direction and its relation to place. Out of the relation between multiculturalism and cosmopolitanism on the level of urban practices, the thesis also introduces the concept of ‘cosmopolitan multiculturalism’ which has, in the Australian context and in connection to its multicultural policy, obtained various meanings. In a study of the multicultural Special Broadcasting Service, Ien Ang (2008, pp. 19-21) examines the potentials and the positive aspects of cosmopolitan multiculturalism as it winds its way between two other versions of multiculturalism, ethno multiculturalism (being more prominent in the 1970s and early 1980s) and popular multiculturalism (a focus for the broadcaster since the 1990s). As Ang argues,

‘we now live in a globalised world where nations are increasingly interdependent and interconnected. The internationalist outlook of cosmopolitan multiculturalism enhances people’s resilience in such a world’ (Ang 2008, p. 20). Ghassan Hage (2000), on the other hand understands so called ‘cosmo-multiculturalism’ as an active element of cultural politics and as strongly class-related. Through its concept, Hage offers a class critique of multiculturalism policy in Australia, especially in the time of the Hawke-Keating governments (1983-1996). ‘Cosmo-multiculturalism’ along these lines exists only for the urbane elite, in the form of ‘White cosmo-multiculturalism’ that grants certain kind of inclusion to ethnic people, but it is exclusionary towards White working- and middle-class people, ‘who are perceived as unable, by definition, to appreciate and value otherness, let alone govern it’ (Hage 2000, p. 205).

Three main categories (multiculturalism, diversity, cosmopolitanism) are addressed and analysed through the concept of *difference*, which is put in perspective of political liberalism-pluralism, conservatism and critical and radical approaches. Difference is addressed primarily through language that is set in the context of *dialogism*, dichotomy between *major and minor language*, and *relation* within the social space.¹⁴

The issue of language centres on the concepts of *dialogism* and *relation* within this thesis, which are understood and examined in space (even though space as seen through sociality serves us as a tool of examination not as the theoretical analytical concept). Focusing on the concept of multiculturalism, this thesis aims at explaining the language as action or the active language (Lefebvre 2003). This conceptualisation of language as active language is very close to the embodied way Mikhail Bakhtin and Valentin Voloshinov understand speech and its socio-ideological character.¹⁵

¹⁴ Since its implementation in the early 1970s, the strategy and concept of multiculturalism in Australia has also included the term of linguistic diversity (with language - and language plurality - being the second main determinant behind cultural plurality) and as such has been the very fabric of the politics of multiculturalism. Language strategies and language policies have been indicative when talking about social and cultural change also within spatial practices.

¹⁵ Bakhtin and Voloshinov were of course not the only ones who would be interested in the language ideologies and the socially engaged research of language use. Linguistics, especially when interdisciplinarily connected to other fields in social sciences and the humanities, is particularly interested in the language-culture interface. This thesis’ approach that takes its point of departure in Bakhtin’s and Voloshinov’s conception of dialogism, could find its place within or alongside the paradigm in linguistics that Duranti (2003) terms as the ‘third paradigm’ (pronounced in linguistic anthropology) that was determined as the separate study of language use within the group of researchers of language and culture through the ideology perspective in the late 1980s and the 1990s. This paradigm is often characterised by

Therefore, in this thesis I do not engage with the theory of language as it has most often been examined in the field of traditional linguistics. Nevertheless, the examination of contextual dialogism does approach the field of later linguistic anthropology and its connection to other fields of social sciences and critical theory. Language, as it is understood by Lefebvre and as it is understood in this dissertation - as language in action or as a speech-act - leads us to examine the spaces of opposition: spaces of everyday, produced cultural *difference*, spaces of *silence* and spaces of *boundary opposition* and *threshold* in the context of spatial practice, entangled into the politics of multiculturalism. With the focus on dialogism and diversity (and where appropriate, on difference) the theories and concepts that provide the background to the aim of this thesis (including the aforementioned concepts of major and minor language and theories/poetics of relation) will be useful in illuminating traces of diversity and a dialogue formed within it.

In this thesis, we are not reading spaces and we are not reading places or cities. The city will not 'speak to us' – not exactly as the city streets spoke for instance to Walter Benjamin. Even though we are not directly dealing with power here – the space that prevents and covers the history (being produced in order to be read)¹⁶ – we return to it in discovering the trajectories of a multicultural managerial thinking when it comes to spatial practice (spatial managerialism).

Explanations of each examined locality begins by looking 'beneath the ground'; it looks into the past of the area (its historical origins). Only when this is examined, the observation is then focused on what there is that these places actually offer in the present, what they permit us to see, hear, and sense – of course in the frame and context of the politics of multiculturalism. Spaces are seen as layered and over-inscribed. At the end, this brings out the traces of diversity, their meanings and their lived experiences.

improvisation in order to look beyond structural organisation (Duranti for instance mentions Bamberg 1997, Ochs and Capps 1996). Within this paradigm, the relation between language and space has come into the focus of attention of some researchers (Duranti 1992, Goodwin 1999, Keating 1998). As Duranti (2003, pp. 332-333) argues, linguistic anthropology has also become a tool for some younger scholars to study phenomena that have already been researched by some other fields (such as for instance race and racism).

¹⁶ As Lefebvre (1991, p. 143) says, 'spaces made (produced) to be read are the most deceptive and tricked-up imaginable.'

2 MULTICULTURALISM, DIFFERENCE AND DIALOGISM: THEORETICAL OUTLINE

The near [proche] calls for difference. If the other or I lack our proper borders, we cannot approach one another. We each appropriate the other to the point of forgetting the man or the woman who is close to us.

Luce Irigaray¹⁷

... all dead still but for the buzzing ... when suddenly she realized ... words were- ... what? ... who? ... no! ... she!

Samuel Beckett¹⁸

2.1 Non-representational background

This thesis explores multicultural microspaces in Melbourne and the role of and possibilities that different social practices bring into spaces. The microspaces observed are discursive spaces that negotiate between the multicultural policy implied on them and everyday negotiations formed within them. Utterances within spaces are understood as speech-acts that have a capacity to be dialogical – among each other as well as within themselves. The specific spaces of rupture and opposition are looked for in order to show the de-stabilising effect that spaces offer even within one single national language or a ‘unified language’ (Bakhtin 1981). Each single utterance participates in a ‘unified language’ which is political rather than linguistic and needs to be unified because of the social institutions with which it is bound up (Hirschkop 1999, pp. 255-256). The ‘unified language’ in this thesis does not mean (only) the language of Australian English (in place), but language of multiculturalism as branded by the political multicultural choice. The premises of the ‘unified’ language (or the social institutions framed according to it) do not force everyone to speak it, but they do maintain the coherence and exclusiveness of the majority.¹⁹

¹⁷ L Irigaray (2002, p. 18).

¹⁸ S Beckett (1973, p. 5).

¹⁹ The notion of the ‘unified’ or ‘national’ language will be more clearly explored in the following examination of Federation Square.

The dominant, major language nonetheless always depends on and is related to other languages, just as other languages challenge the main language, suggesting that language is in general always web-like, interwoven and interrelated. As the title of this dissertation suggests, ‘traces’ become the constant reminder of this web-like nature of language, acting as both difference and a condition of differences.²⁰

Traces of diversity do not only depict diversity as culturally or socially diverse from the outside; rather, they are absorbed *into* the process of constructing diversity (and constructing differences). They point to possibility. The concept of trace leads us towards questioning our own positions as speakers. It guides us back to the process of meaning making and it questions the elements this meaning is built upon. This brings us also to the nature in which the topic of this thesis and its main concepts and categories (multiculturalism, diversity, difference, dialogism) were thought about; it brings us to the *how* instead of *what*, which is also the main postulate of what Nigel Thrift calls ‘non-representational style of thinking’ (Thrift 1996, 1997, 2000, 2008). According to Thrift’s non-representational approach, language is not examined as a fixed system or a set structure. The focus is more on dialogism, communication, on relation. Non-representational style of thinking does not delineate itself completely from language-based expressions; rather, it tends to broaden this view by considering communication as not necessarily a more complex system than language itself, but as a system with a different focus or a different approach. When Thrift talks about the non-representational style of work, he focuses on evaluating and exploring everyday practical activities as they occur. For Thrift, non-representational theory is ‘an approach to understanding the world in terms of *effectivity* rather than representation’ (Kemp in Thrift 2000, p. 216; my own emphasis). In this respect, and according to the so called speech-act theory

²⁰ This dissertation uses the notion of the trace in reference to the works of Jacques Derrida (1973, 1974, 1978, 1981). Derrida uses different names for the trace, such as *arche-writing* or *differance*. ‘Trace’ is the term that Derrida employs to indicate a way out of the closure imposed by the system. Trace is involved in the production of meaning and it preconditions the processes of distinction between nature and culture, animality and humanity etc. As Andrew Edgar and Peter Sedgwick point out, trace is ‘what allows us to speak of the human and the non-human, of what is “inside” (the self-reflexive moment in which we assert out consciousness or our own culturally specific identity) and what is “outside” (the world of empirical experience and also other cultures)’ (Edgar & Sedgwick 2002, p 50).

(Austin 1975),²¹ linguistic expressions do not simply take place, but always carry out an action.²²

In order to start to better understand the *how*, we need to reconsider at least three broad areas. First, we need to reconsider the ‘eventness of the event’ (which is Mikhail Bakhtin’s term) – the understanding that events have something else to them besides the actual happening. They are characterised by some surplus, something that we cannot predict, something unknown (or perhaps something uncanny?). This is an important consideration for this thesis especially in the chapter on Federation Square in Melbourne and two different events held there. Following on from Bakhtin, events become not only about what we sense at some place or what we experience, but are more about something that preconditions our sensing and our experiencing. Thrift thinks through this process by exploring embodiment, which never belongs only to an individual or to a specific individual of the present but to possibility. It is about something that could possibly happen between individualistic bodies within the context of the social world. Embodiment explores both the body as well as something that transcends the body, opening it up and connecting it to different times and different places.²³

The second area of *how* according to the non-representational interpretation relates to the refiguring of space and time. As Thrift reminds us, ‘it is clear that there are multiple spaces and times, not one Newtonian grid’ (Thrift 2000, p. 221). However, the refiguring of space and time according to him and also along the lines of this thesis, does not *a priori* reject the Newtonian understanding of space and time. It does not

²¹ John L. Austin’s theory, which argues that some speech acts are associated with performing corporeal actions however, clearly revealed the fact that the solid line between representational and non-representational cannot exist. Also for Henri Lefebvre (1991) non-representational and representational theory are dialectically related.

²² Whilst a full analysis of Thrift’s non-representational theory is beyond the scope of this thesis, his approach is useful for theorising some key concepts and categories explored within this dissertation. Whilst not foregrounded, the non-representational approach has considerably influenced the main conceptual component of this thesis. Hence, it is important to recognise that what I aim to address here is not the concept, but *how* - the approach that has been useful in formulating my own theoretical methodology.

²³ Thrift (2000, p. 219) introduces the concept of *affect*, which is ‘not simply emotion, nor is it reducible to the affections or perceptions of an individual subject’. Affect is originally Baruch Spinoza’s term, later used by Gilles Deleuze and Félix Guattari who argue that ‘affects are not feelings, they are becomings that go beyond those who live through them (they become other)’ (Deleuze 1995, p. 137). Affects are independent to the body and are ‘always prior to and/or outside of consciousness’ (Massumi 1997, pp. 228-229).

understand these two concepts as solely productions of the human mind, nor of human perception. Thrift's definition of space and time produces bridge between a Newtonian understanding and one that is solely perceptual (for instance in Merleau-Ponty's work on the world of perception; [1948] 2008).²⁴

Links between space and time, here and there and especially then and now (old and new) are constantly present within this thesis when examining the state of multicultural policies, the city of Melbourne and the localities observed. This conception of space and time, (including their (inter)connections and their (inter)relations), will be developed alongside concepts of 'thresholds', 'voids', and 'spaces in-between' in the latter part of this dissertation. In doing so, they come to be understood through/in the communicational practices across differences and across divides, providing a framework in which discussions on cosmopolitanism can take place.

This is also the point where the third area of reconsideration as envisaged by Thrift, that of practical knowledge, comes into consideration. Thrift talks about practical knowledge as knowledge that becomes tentative, that no longer exhibits an epistemological bias but is a part of practice. By introducing the notion of practical knowledge, a well-known conflict is exposed between non-representationalist thought and thought based on epistemological grounds. Hence, advocates of non-representationalist thought cannot fully omit epistemological grounds because they look for a 'third kind of knowledge' only through questioning epistemological perceptions. This third kind of knowledge is, for non-representationalists, the 'knowledge-in-practice' and 'knowledge held in common with others' (Shotter in Thrift 2000, p. 223). The way to grasp this perception would be by looking for new practices instead of looking for new theories (*ibid.*, pp. 223-224). Whilst this idea has been an important component of my research, it has also introduced a number of unresolved tensions that remain present within the thesis.

²⁴ Thrift partly adopts a third approach, derived from Leibnizian theory, which works through the relationship between the entities, but adds another layer by looking at many different spaces and many different times. Here Thrift discusses the issue according to Bruno Latour (1997, p. 174) who says: 'We will generate as many spaces and times as there are types of relations.' This reconfiguration of time and space relates to Latour's action-network theory. Space-times (or rather spaces-times) work in a complex manner and they are only in partial relation with one another – they are 'scattered, haphazard, plural' (Thrift 2000, pp. 221).

2.2 Multiculturalism as a policy, diversity as a condition

Multiculturalism on the plane of its actualisation features prominently within this thesis, providing both a particular frame of observation for analysis and a foundation for theorising the ‘unified language’ of Melbourne. The following chapters will address multiculturalism in a dialogical relation on two levels; ‘multiculturalism as a condition’ and ‘multiculturalism as a policy’. I examine how both levels are connected to concepts of difference and diversity, and provide a theoretical framework for understanding and managing them.

Rather than address multiculturalism as a theoretical or philosophical concept relating to ethics, citizenship and nationality (for examples see Gutman 1994, Kymlicka 1995, Taylor 1994), this thesis only draws on specific aspects of the term that are closely connected to theories of difference, diversity and language.

I discuss the actual implications of the politics of multiculturalism in the Australian case in the following chapter, which provides the main examination of multiculturalism as a political option within the specific geo-political and historical frame work. I then explore some practical developments and implications of multiculturalism more widely in the chapters that follow.

At least in predominantly Anglophone world, some founding premises of multiculturalism exist that are usually adopted in terms of ‘initiation of multiculturalism’ not as a conceptual term, but as predominantly political discourse. An example of such application can be seen in the 1971 parliamentary speech of then Canadian Prime Minister Pierre Elliot Trudeau, in which he celebrated multiculturalism as a form of conciliation and recognised its role as a salient component of unity in Canada’s bilingual community.

However, it was not only through celebratory political promotion of the concept that multiculturalism was able to develop. In the same period Trudeau made his speech, multiculturalism in Australia seemed to be growing out of no cultural diversity or recognition of it, along with an era of white racist politics that represented the Australian societal make-up just before the implementation of multiculturalism. In fact,

as we will see in the next chapter, multiculturalism did not just appear in Australia, but rather, was the product of many conditions, local and global. By 1989, the National Agenda for a Multicultural Australia was introduced, the first official overarching national policy statement of Australian multiculturalism. It emphasised a new politics of identity in Australia, and has contributed to a rhetoric of ‘identity of diversity’ now apparent in the official political lexicon of Australian governments.

Both ‘founding’ countries of this version of multiculturalism as a policy, Canada and Australia, bear remnants to postcolonial discourse, which certainly had a role in consideration of multiculturalism in these two countries. Multiculturalism did not end the colonial or postcolonial sentiments in these countries, but as a state policy it did provoke a certain degree of reorganization of state attitudes; in the official discourse, and also in everyday life. That said, multiculturalism has never really succeeded in challenging hegemonic power structures, despite the development of multiple versions of multiculturalism over time. Rather, those who initiated it (in the Australian case this means the white elite), have always maintained the power to implement it, change it, embrace it, transform it. For example, Australia’s indigenous population has always been denied access to taking part in the political discourse of multiculturalism. In their alterity, indigenous Australians have found themselves excluded from these ‘multicultural’ categories of diversity, refusing them the right to be accepted as ‘good citizens’ with ‘proper values’ and therefore outside of Australia’s socio-political community (Povinelli 2002, p. 29). However, one could argue, that there were not only indigenous Australians whose existence was pushed out of the multicultural discourse. As Sneja Gunew (2003, p. 44) contends, ‘the Australian state fails its “multicultural” subjects as much as it does its indigenous ones.’ Alongside the failure of policy multiculturalism to address ‘indigenous others’ in the Australian context, we can also talk about the failure to include ‘multicultural others’.

Multiculturalism today is linked to globalisation and the logic of multinational corporations. Multiculturalism, in its liberal sense, relies on the presence of colonial/racist attitudes in order to produce the notion of difference as an impetus. The practice most often works in the direction of the combination of what Peter McLaren (1994) terms as conservative or corporate multiculturalism and liberal (left-liberal)

multiculturalism which both work under that premise. Both of these multiculturalisms work in their specific ways to acknowledge and dwell upon the concept of difference. Difference is the key in thinking through the strategy of multiculturalism as a political practice, which becomes visible in the form of everyday urbanity and lifestyle choice.

2.2.1 Difference and diversity

All versions of multiculturalism in practice invoke concepts and ideas of diversity. As systematic structures that 'value difference', these versions foreground the condition of difference as part of the politics of multiculturalism. Diversity and difference are not interchangeable terms though. Diversity of culture is an object of empirical knowledge and a category of comparative ethics, whereas cultural difference can be understood as the 'process of enunciation of culture as "knowledgeable" and (...) a process of signification through which statements of culture or on culture differentiate, discriminate and authorize the production of fields of force, reference, applicability and capacity' (Bhabha 2004, p. 50). Rather than acting as synonymous, cultural difference can often be seen as a challenge to cultural diversity.

This thesis deals with the promotion of diversity of multiculturalism, be it conservative, corporative, liberal, left-liberal or critical multiculturalism, where diversity is seen to serve different goals in different variations of strategic multiculturalism. According to the classification of multiculturalisms theorised by Peter McLaren, we can understand Australian multiculturalism as evolving from the conservative or corporate, which uses the term 'diversity' exclusively to cover up the ideology of assimilation (McLaren 1994, p. 49) to the combination of both liberal and left-liberal multiculturalisms. Liberal stresses the sameness and left-liberal emphasises cultural differences, but also the equality of these differences (ibid., p. 51).

It is not really possible to set clear lines between different multiculturalisms and this is also something McLaren asserts. Nonetheless, some general traits can be observed in each specific, contextually set multicultural strategy. Left-liberal multiculturalism tends to exoticise difference. Difference is essentialised and removed from its historical context, which in the Australian case is promoted by a set agenda that focuses on the

specific cultural significance; packaged and preserved ethnic food, dances, traditional costumes, etc.

Sara Ahmed (2007, pp. 121-137) argues that with the focus on bonding up or ‘gluing back’ community that once existed – the focus which we can observe very clearly in for instance United Kingdom as well as in Australia – the social hope and the promise of happiness is re-enacted. Such community ‘gluing’ rests on the premise that diversity will cause unhappiness, because to be in a comfort zone means to be with people you feel alike. The Victorian campaign of ‘Just Like You’ is an example of this concept of community togetherness. As a campaign that states that ‘as Victorians, we all share many similarities even though we come from different backgrounds,’ this sentiment of community bonding is expressed. For Ahmed, such an approach does not abandon multiculturalism, but rather, it suggests that ‘we have an obligation to make multicultural communities happy’ (Ahmed 2007, p. 123). Setting people that ‘look different’ onto the football field, into the office and so on, as the ‘Just Like You’ campaign did,²⁵ suggests this turn to ‘happy diversity’, where people will interact among each other, regardless of their background. Interaction needs to be set in the environments that represent the nation and are seen as a national ideal (ibid.).

On the other hand, diversity can also be understood as a concept that can be present in discourse surrounding practices of assimilation, focusing on the adaptation of individual migrants as well as multiculturalisms to emphasise both the rights of migrants as a means of their increased recognition and their sense of belonging as means of strengthening national unity. This raises the question on whether diversity is or can be considered the new multicultural paradigm (Faist 2009a) that would appeal to those who value individual economic competence and self-reliance of migrants (such as neo-liberals), to those who emphasise the public competence of immigrants (such as republicans) as well as those who ‘push for structural reforms to turn incorporation into a two-way process’ (Faist 2009a, p. 173). Faist sees discussions of diversity as potentially capable of incorporating the individual competence of migrants as members of organisations and the civil sphere, producing a set of programmes that organisations can adopt in order to attain cultural plurality.

²⁵ For examples of the visual material gathered during the ‘Just Like You’ campaign see Appendix 3.

The problem is that in current discussion on diversity in the context of migration, diversity is more or less only a synonym for cultural plurality which has to be dealt with in the frame of multicultural societies (ibid.). Diversity is thus a premise or a fact on the basis of which the politics of multiculturalism has to work and do something about. This also culminates in the set of practices that organisations have to adopt to deal with this plurality. Questions of multilingualism, the ‘promotion of migrant languages’ and most typically adoption of regulations that serve the ‘multilingual’ education fall into this category.

Even though diverse (ethnic) community rights have been addressed in many ways throughout the development of the Australian multicultural policies, the concern for specific ‘minority rights’ were never really on the agenda, at least not in the way that it was dealt with in other countries, such as the United States or the Netherlands, that addressed specific ‘ethnic minorities policies’. In the Australian case, multiculturalism has served as a chance to ease the pervasion of racism, but – importantly – only in a way that worked to promote national identity. That is, in Australia, national identity came to be understood in terms of diversity. Rather than promoting the rights of minority groups and the effects of cultural plurality, Australian policy regarding multiculturalism has focused on and remains focused on the advancement of the rights and obligations of the individual (Castles 1997, p. 15). According to Faist, the ability to overcome these difficulties can only be achieved by focusing on diversity (rather than on individual or group rights) that indicates positive effects of cultural plurality and is a potential mode of migrant incorporation (Faist 2009a, p. 177). Thinking diversity in this way could potentially also widen the scope of its current focus, which primarily rests on the notion of cultural difference, and incorporate difference in a broader scope, taking other kinds of difference (such as gender, sexual orientation) into account. Diversity as a potential mode of incorporation would thus not eradicate multicultural policies, but would rather change its focus from ‘rights’ to ‘competences’.

In a way, the process in which politics of multiculturalism has been framed throughout the years in various contexts followed the logic of a change in orientation from ‘rights’ of groups or individually culturally specific migrant(s) towards incorporation of the concept of cultural diversity into the social/economic organisation. However, the

political participation has not been truly addressed here, nor have predispositions been acknowledged for a diverse or different mode of social equality. Multiculturalism could certainly offer more than just recognition and incorporation as achievement of diversity, to incorporate the socio-political and civil sphere – not working on the basis of the politics of difference, but on the politics of participation and social equality (Alexander 2006).

In this way, we are moving towards the call for a ‘critical multiculturalism’ introduced by Peter McLaren, which is in some ways similar to Faist’s call for diversity. Critical multiculturalism promotes the necessity of ‘resistance’ multiculturalism or a transformation of social, cultural and institutional relations, which, for McLaren, ‘[do not] see diversity itself as its goal’ (McLaren 1994, p. 53). Instead, ‘diversity must be affirmed within a politics of cultural criticism and a commitment to social justice’ (McLaren 1994, p. 53). Whilst left-liberal multiculturalism presupposes harmony, agreement and undisturbed space in which differences can coexist, McLaren rejects any harmonious, common experience, and argues that society is not ‘a forum of consensus with different minority viewpoints simply accretively added on’ (ibid., p. 54). In this instance, as McLaren asserts, citizens are able to occupy a place of ‘pure exchangeability’ (ibid.).

Similarly, whilst conservative and liberal multicultural theory assumes that justice already exists and that it only needs to be evenly distributed, McLaren challenges such assumptions by emphasising the role of language, structured upon the relations of power and the ‘politics of signification’. The central theoretical position of critical multiculturalism is that ‘differences are produced according to the ideological production and reception of cultural signs’ (McLaren 1994, p. 57). Differences are produced; they are not there just like that, coming out of some historical and/or cultural obviousness.

In Australia, cultural differences have been produced, as much as anywhere else, in the politics of language as signification, but they have also been produced in addressing the language itself. In political discourse dating back to European settlement, policies surrounding migration and citizenship have regularly drawn upon the issue of language. We could say that in Australia (and in Melbourne) the real other is in many respects a

‘linguistic other.’ This idea revisits the possibilities for dialogisms and relations between the old and the new introduced previously, and will become central to the overall argument in the pages to come.

2.3 Dialogism and relation

We know ourselves as part and as crowd, in an unknown that does not terrify.
We cry our cry of poetry. Our boats are open, and we sail them for everyone.

Édouard Glissant²⁶

If we want to carefully look for and try to understand meanings in the social context as they relate to multicultural contexts and encounters, we need to see every act and also every language in a social context. This is what makes specifically the theories of Mikhail Bakhtin and his circle,²⁷ including Valentin Voloshinov, appealing for this thesis. Voloshinov ascertains that the listener and the speaker must belong to the same language community and that they must be encompassed by the unity of the immediate social situation (Voloshinov 1986, p. 46). There is a dialogue present not only between actors or speakers, but also in each utterance.

Dialogisms and possibilities for them will be examined within the conditions of socio-cultural diversity, linguistic diversity and the politics of multiculturalism. Certain events at the square, at the markets and on the tram work as utterances²⁸ within the ‘unifying language’ of multiculturalism and they will be counter-posed by some individual events or individual utterances (perceptions) within these places. In this way, we will be able to determine in which ways the individual utterances reinforce or challenge the (hegemonic) structure.

Throughout this thesis, the notion of dialogism is developed from the work of Voloshinov and Bakhtin. In Bakhtin’s case, dialogue is conceptualised as both a linguistic necessity as well as an existential one. However, the term dialogism was

²⁶ Glissant (1997, p. 9).

²⁷ Bakhtin’s circle during the 1920s included Valentin Voloshinov and Pavel Medvedev besides him. The discussions on ‘Whose Authorship?’ were quite extensive among scholars and they mainly centred on the question whether Voloshinov’s books (for instance ‘Marxism and the Philosophy of Language’ and ‘Freudianism: A Marxist Critique’) were in fact written by Bakhtin (K. Clark and M. Holquist). On the other hand, there are advocates of Voloshinov’s authorship (I. R. Titunik).

²⁸ Utterance is not the same as a sentence; words and sentences can constitute the utterance, but the utterance is characterised also by extra-linguistic elements, such as the context and relation.

never used by Bakhtin, but was attributed to Bakhtin's work only later by philosopher Michael Holquist. According to Holquist, the term dialogism is something that stands:

not just for dualism, but for a necessary multiplicity in human perception. This multiplicity manifests itself as a series of distinctions between categories appropriate to the perceiver on the one hand and categories appropriate to whatever is being perceived on the other. This way of conceiving things is not, as it might first appear to be, one more binarism, for in addition to these poles dialogism enlists the additional factors of situation and relation that make any specific instance of them more than a mere opposition of categories.

(Holquist 2002, p. 22)

If we think about forces within language by considering forces within space, we can say that without the centripetal force within language (as Bakhtin describes the forces unifying meaning), the shared basis of understanding, necessary for social life, would disintegrate. Centripetal force, however, promotes only one monologic perception and this force is ruled by the dominant group. However, according to Bakhtin, there is always a centrifugal force on the other side; this is a force of heteroglossia, which 'stratifies and fragments ideological thought into multiple views of the world' (Bakhtin in Morris 1994, p. 15). Heteroglossia enables dialogues and dialogic relations and is an important component of Bakhtin's work. In the following chapters, I will develop the idea of dialogism in relation to national multicultural discourse at Federation Square.

Meaning is produced in dialogic relations, and it is meaning that binds the speaker (who is also a listener) and the listener (who is also a speaker). At the same time, meaning is produced in relation between them. As Voloshinov (and Bakhtin) put it:

In essence, meaning belongs to a word in its position between speakers; that is, meaning is realized only in the process of active, responsive understanding (...). Meaning is the effect of interaction between speaker and listener produced via the material of a particular sound complex.

(Voloshinov 1986, p. 102)

What binds Voloshinov and Bakhtin's theories of dialogism in the process of interaction is the sign.²⁹ Signs emerge in interaction between one individual consciousness and

²⁹ I am talking about the ideological sign here – the sign that is produced via the interchange of social and ideological. 'A sign that has been withdrawn from the pressures of the local struggle (...),' writes Voloshinov, 'inevitably loses force, degenerating into allegory and becoming the object not of live social intelligibility but of philological comprehension' (Voloshinov 1986, p. 23).

another. However, signs are also not only ‘outside’, that is in the interaction; they also exist ‘inside’ the consciousness of the individual. The individual consciousness is filled with signs just as signs are an essential part of one’s consciousness. Signs cannot exist between two consciousnesses that would have nothing in common with each other. As Voloshinov (1986, p. 12) observes, ‘signs can arise only on interindividual territory’. Communities that interact on the basis of common signs do not need to be a culturally or economically classified. Various different classes (and similarly various different cultures) ‘will use one and the same language’ (ibid., p. 23).

However, Voloshinov and Bakhtin draw on yet another element of dialogism: the presence of accents. According to Voloshinov ‘(...) differently oriented accents intersect in every ideological sign’ (ibid.). In this way the sign becomes ‘an arena of the class struggle’. It is the force of sign that stays open and dynamic under the conditions of Voloshinov’s multiaccentuality or Bakhtin’s heteroglossia, which makes possible these social interactions. By thinking along the logic of the sign, we approach different elements that affect it; there are forces that drive it inwardly, such as different accentualities, as well as those that influence it from the outside, such as structures and ideologies. Nevertheless, it should be emphasised that both dynamism as well as the capacity for further development that accentualities brings to the area of the sign remains rather arbitrary. The social multiaccentuality of the ideological sign can in fact destroy some of the processes within this sign. As Voloshinov argues, ‘the very same thing that makes the ideological sign vital and mutable is also, however, that which makes it a refracting and distorting medium’ (ibid). Multiaccentuality is thus always threatened by the uniaccentuality.³⁰ This process, however, is necessary for social change to occur and allows the inner dialectic of the sign which, as Voloshinov argues, ‘comes out fully in the open only in times of social crises or revolutionary changes’ (ibid.).

Nonetheless, beyond multiaccentuality (or heteroglossia), humans live in a ‘polyglot world’ according to Bakhtin (1981). For him, what is important here is not the existence of languages, but, again, the relation between them. He says that:

³⁰ ‘Uniaccentuality’ tries to ‘extinguish or drive inward the struggle between social value judgements which occur in it’ (Voloshinov 1986, p. 23).

Languages throw light on each other: one language can, after all, see itself only in the light of another language. The naive and stubborn coexistence of ‘languages’ within a given national language also comes to an end – that is, there is no more peaceful co-existence between territorial dialects, social and professional dialects and jargons, literary language, generic languages within literary language, epochs in language and so forth.

(Bakhtin 1981, p. 12)

Considering Bakhtin’s statement, a question arises of whether there is anything that can be identified as ‘revolutionary’ developing out of multicultural societies. In the case of Australia, multiculturalism and multilingualism have been employed as political strategies to tactically plan cultural diversity. Such an approach has separated people of different ethnic/cultural/linguistic affiliations, working to prevent the establishment of any serious connections between them. Nevertheless, when put into practice, multiculturalism cannot prevent people from interacting or sharing and contesting their environments. Such ‘revolutionary’ traits or possibilities developing from dialogism in the polyglot world will be explored throughout this thesis.

The relation (between and in utterances, voices, people’s positions and the wider systems in which they live) in Bakhtin’s work is defined as one in which differences – while still remaining different – ‘serve as the building blocks of simultaneity’ (Holquist 2002, p. 40). Relations, which are open through utterances and can express friendships, enmities, sympathies, antipathies etc., do not specifically belong to writers or readers (speakers and listeners) and at the same time they belong to all; in itself, they are boundary events or they may be boundaries themselves and as such they can occupy the space of encounter (a space of utterance). Difference is in this way a kind of a common existence.

Édouard Glissant writes about the poetics of relation in a similar way to Bakhtin, but from a rather different perspective. Glissant is interested in ‘Relation’ as the experience of the abyss, an experience he claims is ‘not made up of things that are foreign but of shared knowledge’ (Glissant 1997, p. 8). Glissant links the Relation and exchange in the abyss (which is similar to the threshold) in that the Relation is ‘the best element of exchange’ and the abyss is ‘also a projection of and a perspective into the unknown’ (ibid.). Relation thus plays a role in the exchange: the exchange does not engender the relation, the relation rather engenders the exchange.

In the system of conservative and/or liberal multiculturalism, there are no existing conditions for a relation between opinions and within separate opinions to become true. Along and because of the lines of the localised difference exchange exists only in its liminal and systematically reduced form in these forms of multiculturalism. Difference is not a shared experience, but a method of labelling and categorising diverse and potentially ‘threatening’ elements in society that challenge the hegemony of a specific type of national identity.

Relation should be viewed, according to Glissant and also according to the argument of this thesis, as a ‘spoken multilinguality.’ Multilinguality (which is very similar to what Voloshinov and Bakhtin have in mind with multiaccentuality or heteroglossia) serves as a process of exchange. The role of multilinguality should be, however, a condition administered by language as an act, not a mere product of a specific policy. The relations existing between utterances of different languages in action are both *changeable* and *able to change* the hierarchical power structures embedded in places. They may become the relation within the utterance and lead to the call of Deleuze and Guattari as well as Glissant for a rhizomatic thought, which they understand as a means to challenge the totalitarian root.³¹ It is in this concept of the rhizome that Glissant claims ‘each and every identity is extended through a relationship with the Other’ (Glissant 1997, p. 11).³²

Glissant introduces the role of speech within the plantation realm as an example of place that produces and provokes ideas of multilingualism.³³ He sees the plantation as a laboratory where ‘the meeting of cultures is most clearly and directly observable, though none of the inhabitants had the slightest hint that this was really about a clash of cultures’ (Glissant 1997, p. 74). The plantation resides at the boundary (or we could say, on the threshold). It is structurally weak and it eventually disappeared, ‘but the word derived from it remains open’ (ibid., p. 75). This is also the reason why looking for boundaries (and limitations) in observed localities or microspaces was so important for

³¹ Glissant develops this concept from Deleuze and Guattari’s initial theory on the rhizome. For more information on rhizomatic thought see Deleuze and Guattari, *A thousand plateaus: capitalism and schizophrenia* (2004).

³² The root, in opposition to relation, is monolingual and relation is going ‘beyond the impositions of economic forces and cultural pressures’ (Glissant 1997, p. 19).

³³ Another example talked about by Glissant is posed by literature.

this research, as it is in these places that the true potential for opposition (and resistant multiculturalism) can be located. However, as Voloshinov and Bakhtin would argue, the potential to transform these central/national spaces into ones of resistance are only possible when resistance is located *within* these spaces. That is, whilst the localities or microspaces observed within the thesis arguably develop a resistance to the dominant or central national multicultural space, they are also necessarily located inside of them.

Connection between possibilities of resistance and the national space is also the reason for this thesis being primarily concerned with the language in place and time; a minor language; the one that has the ability to shake and transpose the relations of power (to put relations in motion). In this respect, Heidegger's (2001) argument that we live in one language and that there is only one language in which we move, can pose only a partial 'truth' for us. Language, our language and actions, our actions need to be seen as dialogical, as relation-like.

This is also a focus of Voloshinov and Bakhtin, and also Deleuze and Guattari, Glissant, Kilito, Irigaray – authors that are most connected to this dissertation. Between two languages of two different autonomous subjects, who respectfully address each other and leave each other alone depending on the situation, a new, third language is formed. This language does not purport only uttered words and (connected) sentences, but addresses the space that is formed between us. It addresses the space of 'mishearing' that can be 'creative' or a 'sound-in-between' that Paul Carter (2004, p. 44) talks about. The idea of the space 'in-between' will be examined in the context of the multicultural city developed in this thesis. This is the space that has the potential to be dynamic and one that challenges the space of majority. Most often I call this space of a valued ambiguity a threshold (sticking to the meaning of opening of a threshold in the work of Luce Irigaray),³⁴ which proves the most appropriate; the term insinuates an active, dynamic and engaged space, rather than a space that denies motion, changeability or agency. It is important to note that a threshold needs to be seen as a space that provides

³⁴ Irigaray talks about importance of getting to know oneself and awareness of co-belonging to a spatial or cultural environment. Opening a threshold in order to approach the other requires that we dwell where we can and should be (Irigaray 2008, pp. 1-9).

for uttered speech as well as for unuttered speech - for voice as well as for silence.³⁵ Providing for silence is not the same as denying the speech. The motion and changeability does not have much to do with the degree of audibility. A threshold might be silent, but as Mladen Dolar's void (who follows Lacan in this), it is 'not simply a lack, an empty space; it is a void in which the voice comes to resonate' (Dolar 2006, p. 42).

2.3.1 Voice and silence

In the context of the multicultural state and the politics of cultural and linguistic difference in socio-political space, silence is not often seen as something that would be provided for. Within the socio-ideological space, silence would often not be seen as the silence of the threshold, but the silence as identifying some kind of lack. Nonetheless, silence does have much more meaning (and power) that we might assign it to. Rather than think of silence as the moment in which everything ceases, it can be theorised as means of potentially providing space for individuality or individual voice to be heard within the common multicultural discourse. The voice and the silence are thus also always in a dialogue.

The question of voice (and its address) introduces the issue of language into another realm, beyond representation and also beyond signification. In the context of this thesis, a focus on the constant utterance and response in utterance within the multicultural environment will be developed, and I will consider how the dynamics of specific voices

³⁵ In the work of Glissant, it is necessary to see a threshold as inevitably a threshold of silence, because without silence we would be only able to circle around and around, and the constant presence would soon push us crudely into the corner where we would be left to circle around only in our own ignorance. The silence, on the other hand, talks the absence – not the meaningless or ignorant absence, but an absence that holds the meaning itself (and is not ready to be filled with meaning). The meaning that it has, is the meaning of peacefulness, where there is nothing more to say, because it is too many things that have been expressed already. Glissant wonderfully portrays this quest with one of his stories. It is a story about a man at the beach on the southern coast of Martinique, who is wandering along the beach and is stubbornly keeping silent. 'I made an attempt to communicate with his absence,' Glissant says. 'I respected his stubborn silence, but (frustrated by my inability to make myself 'understood' or accepted) wanted nonetheless to establish some system of relation with this walker that was not based on words' (Glissant 1997, p. 122). At last, after trying a few times, the young man replied to his silent call. He replied with a sign expressing: 'I understand what you are attempting to undertake. You are trying to find out why I walk like this -not here. I accept your trying. But look around and see if it's worth explaining. Are you, yourself, worth my explaining this to you? So, let's leave it at that. We have gone as far as we can together' (Glissant 1997, p. 123). That was a conversation at its purest that was disconnected from the feelings of resentment, uncertainties and violence, even though its message revealed all of them.

have the potential to destabilise the structure of multiculturalism. The voice is a tool used in this process. For Mladen Dolar (2006), the voice does not contribute to making sense. Rather, the voice becomes that which holds bodies and languages together. 'It is like their missing link, what they have in common' (Dolar 2006, p. 60).³⁶ According to Dolar, the voice is 'the material element recalcitrant to meaning, and if we speak in order to say something, then the voice is precisely that which cannot be said' (ibid., p. 15). Voice in fact belongs to silence. It is 'the non-linguistic, the extralinguistic element which enables speech phenomena, but cannot itself be discerned by linguistics' (ibid.). Bakhtin's and Voloshinov's theories on utterance also incorporate this 'extralinguistic' character.

The voice can also become present everywhere, it is like the 'Master's voice' in which the sight remains hidden (until you prove worthy of seeing it) and the voice is always accompanying you. It is the voice one cannot place – an acousmatic voice – which this thesis considers within a political multicultural discourse. As Dolar (2006, p. 67) writes, '[w]hen the voice gets attached to the body it loses its omnipotent charismatic character – it turns out banal... The aura crumbles, the voice, once located, loses its fascination and power, it has something like castrating effects on its bearer.' The politics of multiculturalism does not connect to bodies (no one can really get 'in touch' with policy), but remains present everywhere and as such retains power over people and also places. The one who speaks the (social or cultural) difference, on the other hand, 'turns out banal' just as the stranger, the other who speaks, also 'turns out banal'.

The omni-present, acousmatic voice does not value silence, at least not in the context Dolar considers to be 'real silence', as this silence tends to bring out another voice, which is a voice 'in its pure form'. Silence provides space for the pure voice – the voice which holds the bodies (in its broad sense) and languages (in the broad sense that

³⁶ Kaja Silverman is also interested in how the voice accompanies the body – it can be said that she is, like Dolar, interested in an embodiment of voice. She bases her critique in Jacques Lacan's reverse thinking in his *The Function and Field of Speech and Language in Psychoanalysis* ([1966] 2006) where Lacan talks about the absence that speech produces, not the presence. For Lacan though, language comes always before speech and it drives the speech, which can never be anything but 'Other' (Silverman 1988, p. 44).

widens the linguistic inquiry) together.³⁷ It is through silence that we can encounter the other – the other of speech, ‘not just of sound’ (ibid., p. 152).

When discussing silence, Dolar (2006) invokes a crucial Lacanian dichotomy of the symbolic, the imaginary and the real. For Lacan, one enters into the ‘symbolic order’ when accepting the ‘Law of the Father’, recognising oneself as a subject through language. In the context of silence, the symbolic silence operates within the symbolic order. It has to be heard as the absence of the phoneme and it does need to be heard in order to get the meaning of what is being said. Symbolic silence, which is a part of the discourse, can be quite a pressing silence, because it can be a measure of sense. The pragmatics of silence can then take us to the imaginary silence, which can ‘indicate the highest wisdom, and its extension can be a “mystic silence”, a silence of the universe’ (Dolar 2006, p. 155), which can, in turn, be so overwhelming that in fact it ‘ceases to speak’. This is also where the real silence gets pronounced: in a universe that does not make sense anymore and ‘does not tell us anything, but it persists’ (ibid., 156). This is where silence, according to Dolar, turns towards drives.³⁸

We cannot resist silence, for the very good reason that there is nothing to resist. This is the mechanism of the law as its minimal: it expects nothing of us, it does not command, we can always oppose commands and injunctions, but not silence.

(Dolar 2006, p. 172)

In terms of spatial practice in Melbourne - even though it is difficult to press the theory of silence onto the actual (even if partly abstract) space - there is no room for the ‘real silence’ nor for the ‘imaginary silence’ present within the managerial multiculturalism and lifestyle cosmopolitanism. It is, however, possible to find symbolic silence. The space tries to be ‘filled with meaning’ and also ‘filled with voice’ which gives space to some voices whilst repressing others. It is no surprise that spatial designers, architects

³⁷ Silence has been also present in the work of Martin Heidegger. He argued that silence is reinvented when Being gets to the borderzone, when it cannot proceed anywhere anymore. This ‘empty silence’ (Agamben 1991, p. 59), however, ‘reverses itself into a Voice and shows itself as always already determined and attuned (gestimmt) by a Voice’ (ibid.). There is the call of the Voice without which ‘even the authentic decision (which is essentially a ‘letting-oneself-be-called’) would be impossible, just as it would be impossible for Dasein to assume its own most and insuperable possibility: death’ (ibid.). So, only when Dasein finds that Voice, it is really able to die (and not just cease, according to Agamben).

³⁸ Drives ‘present a nature denatured, they are not a regression to some originary unsurpassed animal past which would come to haunt us, but the consequence of the assumption of the symbolic order’ (Dolar 2006, p. 156).

and planners aim to bring meaning (including colour and voice which provides atmosphere) into spaces. But in this way, people cannot activate the space themselves; their connection and their communication does not happen ‘from silence’, but from the acousmatic voice, that does not belong to anyone, but maintains control over people and their spatial socio-cultural practices.

What is the everyday spatial practice able to do in relation to the omnipresence of the managerial multiculturalist that cannot be known? I argue that the silence of the everyday spatial practice can also be imaginary and can destabilise the multicultural practice; the difference through silence can work to destabilise and eventually undermine the position of the acousmatic voice. Here, the function of relation comes back into the discussion – the relation that should be enacted from the silence rather than from the voice. If the silence would be the mediator, the language would feed back to the acts that would come closer to the premises of critical or resistant multiculturalism. The space of silence and also the silent space is, as I see it, the real space of opposition. Appropriation of space through voice does not do much in regards to changing the positions of power if this appropriation does not take place in the silent space. The socio-cultural relation that brings out a real diversity in place can get active only if the stranger and the Other (not the omnipresent politics) cannot really be located. What I argue for is therefore a relation to the cultural and linguistic difference as such, not a locatable difference, but the difference as shared knowledge.

2.3.2 Minor language within major language

At this point we can already say that the ethics of difference (...) may well coincide with an ethics of resistance (Brisset 2003, p. 18). This kind of thinking is linked to the Deleuze’s conception of minor language (or even more to the concept of minor literature),³⁹ where the interchange is marked by a political act of opposition that in our

³⁹ Minor literature, as Deleuze and Guattari argue, ‘doesn’t come from a minor language; it is rather that which a minority constructs within a major language’ (Deleuze & Guattari 1986, p. 16). Minor literature, which they explore especially through Kafka’s writing, according to Deleuze and Guattari comes from both the impossibility of writing in a major language and the unavoidability of writing in it. For Kafka, a Prague Jew, writing in German posed exactly this paradox. There was no tongue from which he would be originating. Deleuze and Guattari distinguish three characteristics of a minor literature: the deterritorializations of a major language through a minor literature written in the major language from a marginalized or minoritarian position; the thoroughly political nature of a ‘minor literature’; and its

case relates to the linguistic and socio-cultural practices that may well become political practices.

The question of ‘major’ and ‘minor’ languages following Deleuze and Guattari has little to do with majorities and minorities, but rather with two different usages or functions of one language. It is the minor language that is imbued with the ‘power of variation’ as opposed to the major, which can be defined by ‘the power of constants’ (Deleuze & Guattari 2004, p. 112). The minor language possesses a different power; one that is more changeable and adaptable. Locally, users of the minor language can actually make this minor language major, capable of forcing official recognition.

There is also the opposite part to this argument: ‘the more a language has or acquires the characteristics of a major language, the more it is affected by continuous variations that transpose it into a “minor” language’ (Deleuze & Guattari 2004, p. 113). In this way, we cannot really say that there are two different languages present, but more that there are variables of the same language or ‘two different treatments of the same language’ (ibid., p. 114). Major and minor are not in opposition; there is always connection between them, where ‘[c]onstant is not opposed to variable; it is a treatment of the variable opposed to other kind of treatment, or continuous variation’ (Deleuze & Guattari 2004, p. 114). Following Deleuze’s and Guattari’s line of thought, dichotomies, such as for instance that of language as opposed to speech, do not make any sense anymore, because they belong to the constant rather than to the variation. Perhaps there is still some kind of tension between the two, but within the dyad of the major and minor, between which there is a constant flow, the movement *towards* becomes contested.

For Deleuze and Guattari, what actually separates the major and the minor is the sense of becoming. Minority is the ‘becoming of everybody’ while majority is ‘always Nobody’ (Deleuze & Guattari 2004, p. 117). Anglo-centric white multiculturalism falls in this sense into the category ‘always Nobody’, while those who embody multiculturalism are the ‘becoming of everybody.’ ‘Minoritarian’ language provides people with hope, while there is no hope for the majority. Within such conditions,

collective, enunciative value. In the context of this thesis, the division between the minor/major language and minor/major literature are not discussed in detail and the characteristics of the minor literature are partly transposed onto those of the minor language.

majority is never becoming, all becoming goes to the ‘minoritarian’.⁴⁰ Minor languages are ‘not simply sublanguages, idiolects or dialects, but potential agents of the major language’s entering into a becoming minoritarian of all of its dimensions and elements’ (ibid.). There is a distinction between minor languages, the major language, and the becoming-minor of the major language. This notion of becoming (language) will play an important role in thinking about the localities analysed within this thesis, offering possibilities of variation within these spaces as they come to be occupied by different mediators, negotiators or translators.

It is appropriate to end this sub-chapter at the point of cultural exchange and reciprocity – the point of (un)translatability instead of translation. The application of a certain hybridization, or fluidity, (which is also, for Deleuze and Guattari, the reinventing self), poses many practical questions and concerns. Hybridity and/or fluidity as a concept can potentially assist those who silently but determinedly argue for gradual assimilation of cultural (and linguistic) difference and thus for gradual extinction of grounds that would be open to translation. The space that is characterised by the ‘in between’ or the ‘third’ – as well as to some degree ‘the void’ but less the threshold – has strong predispositions to become a mishmash of blurry positions in theory and in practice, producing numerous possibilities for those who might have the power to speak to reveal it even more vigorously. Therefore, we need to always be aware that there are not only different languages and different usages of the same language, but that some of them are more powerful than the others. For Annie Brisset, this leads to a paradox, in which the only possibility is to not translate or dialogize, (literally, to remain silent), in order to provide ‘a weapon against linguistic assimilation or against the reduction to a vernacular – well on its way to extinction – of the language of the minority group’ (Brisset 2003, p. 123).

Nevertheless, if we are talking about the socio-political practice of a minor language, rather than a specific minority (or even a marginal) group, the minority arising from the minor practice could also be possible. The identification of this minority would develop from the opportunity to set up a minor practice of major language from within (Deleuze & Guattari 1986, p. 18). What brings out some revolutionary traits within an entire society is the possibility to express the minor status through the minor practice in the

⁴⁰ It is important to emphasise that the concept of ‘the minor’ is not really a question of quantity.

space of the major. The language of immigrants and/or minorities and their problem – to live in a language that is not their own – becomes in this way a problem for all of us. The problem, however, points to new possibilities for the society as a whole, to move towards thinking critically of multiculturalism and towards adopting concepts of social diversity in its discourse. The public urban multicultural space, as we will observe within this thesis, has the power to reveal minor languages and minor practices at some points and in some ways. This possibility for this to happen, however, depends on the position of the major language and location of the major practice in comparison to the minor language and the minor practice. The spaces and their design accentuate the multicultural communication between two different practices and two different languages.

2.3.3 Homolingual and heterolingual address

Bringing out the concern from the previous subchapter: Isn't it perhaps that translation as a certain kind of relation itself produces differences in languages or, better, isn't it translation that actually divides languages and puts them into dependable positions rather than builds bridges between them? It may be so, but we cannot say that this is a uniform observation. It depends on what kind of systematisation, what kind of translation and what kind of 'address' is imposed in certain spaces.

This question has been discussed at length by Naoki Sakai and Jon Solomon in their Introduction to the edited volume on *Translation, biopolitics and colonial difference*, where they consider the differences between regimes of homolingual and heterolingual address.⁴¹ The success of communication is according to Sakai and Solomon connected

⁴¹ Sakai and Solomon begin with the dialogue that emerged between Michel Foucault and Zen monks on Foucault's second trip to Japan in 1978 and continue discussing the translation of this dialogue into French by a philosopher and Sinologue, François Jullien. The dialogue was presumably conducted in both French and Japanese. The second question that one of the monks asked Foucault according to the transcription of the dialogue was: 'I am told that almost all of your works are translated into Japanese. Do you think that your thoughts are understood enough?' (Sakai & Solomon 2006, p. 7). Foucault did not directly answer the question. He repeated his critique of authorial intention and stressed that the meaning of the text 'can only be the product of endless re-readings of readings' (ibid.). According to Sakai and Solomon, within the dialogue there is something that both Foucault and his interlocutor seem to miss: this is 'the potentiality that the Japanese translations may well in fact pose questions of "understanding" back to the "original" French text in such a way that it requires us to ask of French readers exactly the same question' (ibid.).

to the equation of the national and linguistic community/readership. They argue that there is a considerable difference between address and communication. Address indicates a 'social relation (between addresser and addressee) that is primarily practical and performative in nature, hence undetermined and still-to-come' (Sakai & Solomon 2006, p. 7). Communication, on the other hand, names 'the imaginary representation of that relation in terms of pronominal identities, informational content, and receptive destinations: who we are supposed to be and what we are supposed to mean' (ibid.). Hence, 'address' is undetermined and open to the negotiation of meaning while 'communication' names the imaginary representation of that relation. According to Sakai 'addressing does not guarantee the message's arrival at the destination. Thus, 'we' as a 'pronominal invocation in *address* designates a relation, which is performative in nature, independent of whether or not 'we' actually communicate the same information' (Sakai 1997, pp. 4-5). Solomon, interpreting the function of address, explains that it is an initiation to potentiality. Address is therefore a possibility that indicates 'a relationship essential for signification to take place and order meaning, yet it does not signify anything in particular' (Solomon 2007).

Sakai and Solomon argue that most of the linguistic theories in fact confuse 'address' with 'communication' and this is what characterises the regime of 'homolingual address' (Sakai & Solomon 2006, p. 8). Homolingual address is present also in the conditions of monolingual mindset of the Australian multiculturalism that we will discuss in the next chapter. To try to communicate is to 'expose oneself to exteriority, to a certain exteriority that cannot be reduced to the externality of a referent to a signification' (ibid.) and the problem of homolingual address is exactly that it tries to look for the perfect communication, where there would be no failures.

Heterolingual address, on the other hand, takes the forms of exteriority into account in the very formation of an impossible interiority and the social relationships form a special kind of community that Sakai and Solomon call 'non-aggregate community'. 'In this respect, you are always confronted, so to speak, with foreigners in your enunciation

when your attitude is that of the heterolingual address' (Sakai & Solomon 2006, pp. 8-9). In every dialogue there is a potential of failure of communication.⁴²

We should not think about relation as a single-minded process. As Luce Irigaray argues, the roads towards the self and that towards the other do not necessarily amount to one single path. They can be different. Therefore, we will still be talking about the homolingual and the heterolingual address here, but heterolingual address, in opposition to what Sakai and Solomon argue for, will not bring about the eradication of the relation. In the examined localities we will therefore look for the actualities of the homolingual address (which desires the communication to be perfect) and the potentialities for the heterolingual address (and potentialities for a failure in communication).

2.4 The road towards the self

In *Les mots canins/Dog Words*, the story of an exploration of language and identity, Abdelfattah Kilito, literary critic who writes in Arabic and French, tells a fascinating story. It is a story of a Bedouin, a lost traveller, who has to change his language in order to search for his tribe in the middle of the night. To be as successful as possible in his search, the traveller barks – because if there is a human settlement nearby it has to be accompanied by dogs. ‘So, as he hears the dogs bark, the wanderer says to himself, “I will either find strangers or my own people. Dogs are monolingual; the ones that I know bark in the same way as those that I don’t know”’ (Kilito 1994, p. xxv).⁴³ Kilito goes through various possibilities of what could have happened to the wanderer; how he could lose his language and would never find it again; how the entire tribe would not be able to find its own language anymore and everyone would resort to barking. No matter

⁴² The interplay between the outside and the inside and the potentiality of the outside to change the view of our inside in Jullien’s translation of the conversation between Foucault and Zen monks (as well as some of his other texts) according to Sakai and Solomon is not to be underestimated, but, as they argue, ‘at the same moment that hermeneutics reveals the historicity of our position, it can also be used to institute a certain economy that regulates the distribution of the foreign (...)’ (Sakai & Solomon 2006, p. 8). Both sides have to be sanitized and homogenised – they have to be clear of any foreignness (so that the foreign may come only from without). As Sakai and Solomon argue, the role of the translator, as seen in Jullien’s case, ‘becomes that of an active agent in the regulation and distribution of the heterogenous/foreign (...) What we are given to see is the way in which the transferenceal desire to see oneself from another’s position is actually created after the process of translation’ (ibid., p. 17).

⁴³ This connects us back to the promotion of ‘community spirit’ within multiculturalism that Sara Ahmed (2007) talks about, where being with those alike produces not only happiness, but also a feeling of safety.

what the result would finally be, no matter what the wanderer would do, 'he will be seen as an animal,' says Kilito. 'When two languages meet, one of them is necessarily linked to animality. Speak like me or you are the animal' (Kilito 1994, p. xxvii). Act according to my image of you unless you wish to remain the *other stranger* for the rest of your life. So, in the story the wanderer gets recognised as an animal, but this animal is not a dog anymore. It is a monkey 'imitating not the language of dogs but barking of foreigners' (ibid.). We have a paradox of mimicry here. The mimic wants to belong, 'but in the end marks his or her own separation' (ibid.). Separation, demarcation and segregation do not only reside within the one who has the power to frame the socio-ideological space. The one without power or with less power is also susceptible to self-separation, demarcation and segregation.

In another book, *Thou Shalt Not Speak My Language*, Kilito remains focused on this notion of mimicry that accompanies the stranger. Now, however, he delves further and directs his observations from the other side. In the final chapter, Kilito talks about a detective novel written by the American writer Donna Leon that takes place in Venice. When the Italian police commissario, Brunetti, visits the singer Flavia Petrelli, he finds with her a young woman, Brett Lynch, an American who is the singer's friend and secretary. Brunetti starts to talk to this young woman and he first proudly offers her to speak in English. The young woman surprises him by replying, without any trace of an accent, that she would prefer to speak in Italian. As the conversation continues, the young woman offers to speak in Veneziano, but realises that it would in fact be rude to the Italian singer, who would not understand it. After this introductory play of positions, the commissario agrees to speak in Italian.

According to the story, the young woman produced within the police commissario a situation which could be understood as a kind of internal struggle, asserting 'her superiority' and challenging preconceived power relations. In doing so, Kilito writes,

She humiliates him, cuts off his tongue, strips him of his arrogance, or - as some would say - of his manhood. She castrates him, especially when he probably intended to impress her by offering to speak in English. In the final analysis, he is doubly robbed. On the one hand, she does not allow him to speak her language, and on the other, she storms into his language, invades and captures it. He is no longer the lord of his house, and he has no way of

penetrating into hers. He is on the threshold, waiting for the unlikely chance to exact revenge. He wanted to impress her, but she impressed and entrapped him. He wanted to take on a new guise, wear a new garment, but she was the one who metamorphosed and shed her skin. He lost the paradise of his language - but when did he ever possess it?

(Kilito 2008, p. 94)

This paragraph wonderfully leads us to consider a statement of ‘we are the guests of language’ with ‘language is our guest.’ We do not even need to particularly dislike the guest. It is more of a ‘quarrelsome and stubborn guest who arrives uninvited and who takes possession of the host and inhabits him against his will’ (Kilito 2008, p. 86). It is as if language becomes the invader that captures us, so that we are unable to escape it and we are unable to become free. Hearing a foreigner speak *our* language might create a profound feeling of unease, anger, and mistrust. It invokes the doubtfulness in us; we ask ourselves, ‘Why does she speak my language?’ What are her motives behind all of this? There needs to be something! It can turn our relationship with this foreigner (which is not a foreigner that we would know anymore) into something completely different. ‘Gentleness and kindness end, and suspicion begins’ (ibid., p. 91).

Hearing a foreigner speak your own language, a component of your identity, might invoke feelings of being robbed of some essence of yours, which you doubtlessly understand as your own possession. ‘One day I realized that I dislike having foreigners speak my language,’ says Kilito. ‘That dislike had actually been there all along, except that I had not been aware of it and dared not confess it to myself, let alone to others’ (Kilito 2008, p. 87). For an open-minded, liberal person like Kilito, it would be expected he would have liked foreigners speaking his language.⁴⁴ On the contrary, what his discovery communicated to him was that he felt ‘anger even when the person speaks the same language.’⁴⁵ I find his speech intolerable and feel that nothing justifies the least effort on my part to fathom its meaning, if it has any’ (Kilito 2008, p. 87).

Kilito talks about the feeling of struggle within which what is at stake is actually a struggle to prevent a foreigner from using *my* language. At first, we seem delighted to

⁴⁴ ‘In moments of exhaustion, I may become angry and frustrated at someone who does not know my language, and I may even go so far as to think it his fault, that out of deliberate rudeness he speaks another tongue just to ridicule and spite me,’ notes Kilito (2008, p. 87).

⁴⁵ ‘It is enough for him to use poetic or philosophical expressions that I do not understand to make me uneasy’ (Kilito 2008, p.87).

hear a foreigner speak our language, but it seems that this delight often sustains only until the foreigner masters the language to the point, when it becomes indistinguishable to our language. The foreigner in this way gets too close; she or he invades our space, as our language is ‘the principle of our existence, what we consider to be our identity, our refuge, ourselves’ (Kilito 2008, p. 91).⁴⁶ We do not only identify the foreigner as different, but rather as the objectified stranger, or other, belonging to a different world.

Kilito’s concern mirrors another one we can read from a different territorial position to his - that of the French Antilles - from the side of the anthropologist Frantz Fanon. He too talks about the profound emptiness that the mimicry, heard from a stranger, can arouse. ‘Nothing is more astonishing than to hear a black man express himself properly’, writes Fanon, ‘for then in truth he is putting on the white world’. He is a ‘complete replica of the white man’ so ‘there is nothing to do but to give in’ (Fanon 2006, p. 16).

Despite Kilito and Fanon’s positions, it is not my intention to suggest that there is nowhere we could move to following the rupture of language, self, identity. Rather, this break can lead to a discussion about the types of relationships that could emerge from this break, within the opening of a threshold. Where Kilito and Fanon end, Irigaray and Glissant can begin. As Irigaray says, we are exposed to a process of a ‘double listening’: ‘to the language in which we already dwell, but also to the saying that the other addresses to us’ (Irigaray 2008, p. 11). The listening – this double listening – is the one that prepares a place in which we approach one another. Irigaray interweaves the ‘culture of listening’ into a dilemma of whether words themselves – even in poetry – have not in fact led us to ‘lose the traces of the other in our human becoming’ (ibid., p. 12). However, Irigaray refuses to explore this argument further, as she remains convinced that words and voice remain essential for understanding the other. As she states,

our eyes alone could not recognise the other at the crossroads of our paths (...) The sound and the voice with its musical modulations and its capacity for communing, must prepare an

⁴⁶ Before that, a foreigner ‘does not open his mouth without sending this message: I am a stranger, not one of you. He is, in short, pitiful; he invokes in us the noble desire to offer assistance, encouragement, and support’ (Kilito 2008, p. 91).

external and internal space where the coming into presence of the one and the other will be possible.

(Irigaray 2008, p. 12)

For Irigaray, understanding the way we are, should not be marked with ‘negativity with respect to the absolute’ because such a process or an act remains without words. We have to become aware of ‘the possibility of overcoming a solitary destiny in order to be involved in a being-with-the-other that does not amount to a sharing of the same in the Same’ (Irigaray 2008, p. 17). Welcoming for Irigaray is silent because the other and its world are in fact still unknown to us – and they also always become unfamiliar. Welcoming also ‘does not take place simply in our dwelling, in ourselves, unless we arrange a space there which will never be ours, except as an availability on our part’ (ibid., pp. 18-19). Now, what kind of space, in a multicultural world, could this be?

3 FROM COLONIALISM TO NATION STATE TO MULTICULTURALISM

Italians, Greeks, Yugoslavs
and Hungarians, may have wanted to crawl thru the nearest
key-hole out of Australia, and the Prime Minister
of Australia in “1990” may very well be “Nick Papadopolous”
but while they were at Bonegilla
that “hot Mediterranean blood” of theirs was going
to PUMP for Australia, cos Australia [after
the war] wanted all the “industrial cannon-fodder” it could get
and “WOGS FOR COGS” sounded just
faaaaa-a-a-n-bloody-tastic!

(...)

Australia wanted “overalls”
not “hairnets”, and if he believed all that junk
about coconuts’n’beachs and’ an FJ in every garage, he was
an even bigger fool ... etc! (...)

π.o.⁴⁷

This excerpt from the visual poem by π.o. encapsulates the migrant experience (especially that of post WW2 migrants) that I often heard about during my research in Australia. The migration policy of that time brought many ‘displaced persons’ and later ‘economic migrants’ from southern and the south-eastern of Europe to Australia for the purposes of greater security and the development of the Australian economy. This was during the time of the conceptual development of ‘cultural pluralism’ and during which the conditions for later policy of multiculturalism began. This was also the time during which the ideas of ‘mateship’⁴⁸ and masculinity - which already had their place in the Australian national identity - extended to include the new migrant labour lot. New migrants or ‘New Australians’⁴⁹ as they were usually called signed a two-year contract

⁴⁷ Pi.O., excerpt from the visual poem ‘1/- Welcher’, *Big Numbers, New and Selected Poems*, 2008, pp. 15-16.

⁴⁸ The concept of ‘mateship’ (a concept that exists above and beyond that of friendship) gained prominence during the Gold rush era in the late 19th century. The idea again resurfaced when questions surrounding the construction of a common national identity came to the political fore (it was also a defining characteristic of the Liberal government of John Howard during the time I the research for this thesis was conducted). In these times the concept almost exclusively applied to the ‘White man’ as a ‘national type’ (Pardy 2008).

⁴⁹ The concept of ‘New Australians’ emerged when the number of British migrants began to decline and new migrants from non-English speaking backgrounds started to arrive in the country under work contracts (almost exclusively manual labour employment), usually requiring them to work for two years.

and were sent to work all over the country. They worked on the massive hydroelectric scheme in Snowy Mountains; they worked in the emerging factories; they worked on farms; they were builders and carpenters; later on, they were also employees of the tramways. Women were usually drawn into a domestic category. A lot of these migrants from southern and eastern Europe fell under the umbrella of migrants from 'non-English speaking backgrounds' (NESB). This was a persistent category that has existed throughout time and which has been a specific Australian term within the official multicultural discourse (Ang 2001, p. 186).

This chapter deals with (the history of) migration policies in Australia and we will return to the time of the post WW2 migration later on. In light of our discussion on policy multiculturalism, and the ways in which Australia has historically dealt with the recognition of cultural difference (and diversity), I argue that there was an entire array of conditions and developments that contributed to the implementation of multicultural policies in 1970s Australia and that kept it going over the time. Multiculturalism cannot be seen as a 'top-down' process. However, in terms of language and the actual presence of linguistic diversity in everyday life, the official discourse contributed and shaped the atmosphere considerably. If there were no programmes funding special services directed towards NESB migrants, the audibility of these migrants would be less intense as well. Nevertheless, the communitarian approach with which the multicultural policies in Australia have been generally operating is problematic. The process of serving the various, distinguishable 'ethnic' and/or 'linguistic communities' has generally not been followed by setting the dialogues between these 'communities' and the governing bodies or with the Australian society as a whole, nor between different 'communities' themselves. To understand the later migration and migration policies in Australia, one has to start at the beginning - with the earlier migration/colonisation of Australia.

3.1 Australian colonialism: white man and his ‘savage’

The topic of this chapter and of this thesis in general does not talk about the history of the treatment of the Australian Aboriginal population nor does it dwell upon the exchanges between indigenous peoples and all other various people who arrived later on. Nevertheless, it would be negligent to begin anywhere else than with the question of misrepresentations and troublesome misunderstandings that characterised exchanges between white man and ‘his savage’ in the 18th and 19th centuries.

In the first half of the 20th century, while directing his study on the comparison between the psychology of ‘primitive peoples’ and the psychology of ‘neurotics’, Sigmund Freud wrote:

For external and internal reasons, I shall select as the basis of this comparison the tribes which have been described by anthropologists as the most backward and miserable of savages, the aborigines of Australia, the youngest continent, in whose fauna, too, we can still observe much that is archaic and that has perished elsewhere.

(Freud [1955] 2001, p. 1)

The space of ‘the other’ was through the colonizer’s eyes seen as imaginative, ritualistic, animistic. Australia is labelled ‘the youngest continent’ despite the fact that geologically it is the oldest, and that the Australian indigenous population has lived there for over forty thousand years. For Freud, the animistic phase is typified by the Australian Aborigines. Freud’s account on the matter presents us with a common colonial stand in regards to the unfamiliarity of colonised people and places. To the European eye and ear of the 18th and the 19th centuries, their utter foreignness is exemplified by the lack of tools that would be available to engage in any kind of meaningful relation. In Freud’s paragraph, we can sense the radical foreignness of the Australian indigenous population, and also the apparent magic which reinforces this foreignness; the magic to separate into neat categories and to be able to magically position ‘us’ versus ‘them’ (Hage 2002). This is where, from Hage’s perspective as an

Australian anthropologist, we encounter the very origins of racism, as ‘racism (...) depends on magic.’⁵⁰

Not only the objectification, but in view of our focus on relation, Aborigines practically did not possess anything that would bring them the power to domesticate – they were possession-less and therefore considered quite appropriate for possession and domestication by white settlers. The silence in which they were left, was a symbolic silence (Dolar 2006). A silence which did not have *power* nor a chance to produce anything in response. To colonisers, Aborigines were often seen as a ‘nothing’, the ‘blank’ or the ‘void’ that they tried to appropriate, and avoid at the same time.

Of course, we can also say that the story can never be that simple. Different encounters have occurred throughout time and at different times different encounters have brought with them different ways of sharing and/or non-sharing. Chris Healy finds the concept of ‘Aboriginality’⁵¹ helpful here, because it ‘does offer a useful orientation to colonial culture. It conceptualises the indigenous and the non-indigenous as referring to both separate and connected domains’ (Healy 2008, p. 7). Healy looks for intersections, where the paths of both sides (though there can never be only two sides) came together. He considers Aboriginality in ‘spatial terms’ and thinks about it ‘as a zone in the concrete sense of describing places and moments in which indigenous and non-indigenous people observe, interact and experiment in ways that make each other in relation to the other’ (Healy 2008, p. 7). Nonetheless, as I argue, this ‘contact zone’ was not truly a ‘zone of translation’ or at least it was very rarely during the colonisation of Australia (and the following genocidal phases).⁵²

Stemming from these kinds of colonial developments in Australian history, Australia today is still the only Western democracy without its own Bill of Rights. The Government of Victoria did pass its own Charter on a state level (Victorian Charter of

⁵⁰ ‘It’s a very interesting kind of magic; it’s the magic of collective identity. The magic of being able to say “we”, “we whites”, “we Christians”, “we Muslims” as well. This capacity to say “we” and identify as an “I” with a “we” is truly magical’ (Hage 2002).

⁵¹ Whilst not the first academic to employ it, Australian indigenous issues researcher Marcia Langton has made extensive use of this term.

⁵² We can speak of translation zones that also produce something in return (the production of ‘language’ on an actual material level of everyday life, as well as on a policy level) towards migration policies even before the introduction of multiculturalism, whereas aboriginality did not culminate into strategic and systematic policy planning. The debate surrounding aboriginal issues has dealt along the lines of multiculturalism or other cultural/ethnic/religious/linguistic issues extremely rarely up until today.

Human Rights and Responsibilities) in 2006, which connects the issues concerning the cultural rights of ethnic groups and Australian indigenous groups,⁵³ but nevertheless distinctively separates these two categories in the charter.⁵⁴ They are also homogenised and essentialised.

Essentialised Aboriginal identity is something that cannot really be argued for in the context of multiculturalism; especially not the multiculturalism that has been established in Australia over the years and that can be characterised by a fusion or a ‘difference in sameness’. It has been proclaimed many times that aboriginality does not want to be fused, even though the conditions of fusion are, paradoxically, exactly what makes this claim possible (Ang 2001, p.197).⁵⁵ A homogenised ‘ethnic’ identity, on the other hand, of a group of people that wish to retain their ‘cultural, religious, racial or linguistic background’ is also left without a voice. Multiculturalism as such cannot be much else as serving as a ‘daggy cousin of radical chic postcolonialism’ (Gunew 1993, p. 54).⁵⁶ Colonial imagining, that in many ways shaped the later versions of immigration policies, had also a strong element in the spatial representation and all that was connected to non-understanding – not only of people inhabiting the land, but also of the materiality of the land.

⁵³ The rights of persons with a particular cultural, religious, racial or linguistic background; and the rights of Aboriginal people to enjoy their identity and culture. They have the right to maintain their language, kinship ties and the distinctive spiritual, material and economic relationship with the land (Victorian Charter of Human Rights and Responsibilities).

⁵⁴ Section 19, Charter of Human Rights and Responsibilities Act 2006. The rights of persons with a particular cultural, religious, racial or linguistic background; and the rights of Aboriginal people to enjoy their identity and culture. They have the right to maintain their language, kinship ties and the distinctive spiritual, material and economic relationship with the land. Victorian Charter of Human Rights and Responsibilities is included as Appendix 8 of the thesis.

⁵⁵ ‘In this sense, the postmodern condition of hybridity can ironically be seen as a constitutive of Aboriginality as identification point for Aboriginal Australians today’ (Ang 2001, p. 197).

⁵⁶ Interesting in the context of this thesis is also the utter differentiation (difference) with which the Anglo-core has been addressing the issues of multiculturalism and postcoloniality. There has been a non-dialogue (Ang 2001, p. 190) between these two problematics and they have both depended on the ‘distributive power of the hegemonic Anglo centre’ (ibid.). The difference is in the space which multiculturalism and postcoloniality occupy in the national imaginary: while the ethnic/cultural difference (at least a part of it) has not been accepted into the symbolic realm of Australia as a nation (which does not imply a lack of formal acceptance), indigeneity has begun to be seen as being at the core (or at least in the background) of the national identity.

3.1.1 Birth of the nation out of the strange and empty land

Those arriving on the First Fleet to Botany Bay, New South Wales, in January 1788 did not see many occupants of this land at that very first stage. What they saw was a rather strange, ‘empty’ land. Feelings of strangeness and emptiness have been present throughout continuous arrivals of people mostly from Britain, but also from other parts of the world during the 19th and the first half of the 20th centuries. The strangeness, vastness and emptiness have also been present throughout the migration of Northern, Southern and Eastern Europeans, South Americans, Asians and Africans in the second half of the 20th century. Somehow strange was also the development of the country from an open prison to a modern democracy.

Even though strangeness of the Australian land is generally acknowledged as a mythical construct by now, many of its implications do not seem to be much weaker in today’s Australia as they were a couple of centuries ago. Talking about the ‘harshness’ of the land in Australia is quite common, especially in the context of the first arrivals of Europeans. ‘Harshness’, in a way that it has been most commonly used in Australia, is thus a European construct. Aboriginal Australians might have a different conception.⁵⁷

For Marcus Clarke, the Australian bohemian writer of the second half of the 19th century, and his ‘academic interpreter’ Andrew McCann, everything starts in the phantasmagoric, yet uncanny ‘cohabitation’ between the coloniser and the colonised.⁵⁸ ‘If the pleasure of this imagined landscape is supposed to be an uncanny one,’ writes McCann, ‘the reader is also reminded that the uncanny⁵⁹ is itself a mode of cultural

⁵⁷ Carl Rickard writes about Aboriginal Australians rejecting the European notion that Australia is a harsh place. ‘Well, after all,’ Rickard argues, ‘this country gave Indigenous Australians everything they could have wanted – so how could they ever describe it as harsh?’ (Rickard 2005, p. xvii). However, for Rickard and his European-Australian identity, this harshness is, showing. He counterbalances it not only with the physical land, but also with the political situation of the country. ‘Australia is a direct country,’ he says, ‘a seemingly harsh country, a seemingly austere country [the political situation in Australia under the Howard government, with all of its racism and backward-looking politics is for me ironically analogous with the harshness I identify in the landscape as well; commented by C Rickard] (...) It might sound strange, but in many ways I’m proud of all the things that can kill you in Australia. This physical land is direct, this physical land is tough. There’s something about that fills you with awe, fills you with a deep respectful admiration for the place’ (Rickard 2005, pp. xvii- xviii).

⁵⁸ Here, McCann (2004) explores the depths of Clarke’s major literary work exemplified in ‘His Natural Life’.

⁵⁹ According to Freud, Uncanny or Unheimlich is not something that would resist travelling and transgressing; it is not something that would strictly be placed on the outside, but is rather something that

differentiation through which the settler recognises his or her distance from a culture still governed by totemic ritual and animistic cosmology. The modern cultivation of autonomous aesthetic-subjective experience is both the precondition for and the implicit object of the passage' (McCann 2004, p. 174). The colonial uncanny immerses itself in pleasure while it deals with evocations of animism.⁶⁰

The way European settlers were and the 'symbolic baggage' they brought along with them, did not fit the environment they happened to come in contact with. The language first European settlers brought with them to Australia, which was predominantly composed of different variants of British English, Welsh and Irish, also did not seem to suit the Australian landscape. We could say that the only thing feasible for the settlers was to endlessly produce new differences and to relate them back to the language they were familiar with. This course of action did not really work though; the elements did not click together, the landscape and the people in many respects remained deaf to each other. Perhaps it was then, through language, when the need to domesticate appeared robustly in the awareness of the everyday life for the settlers.⁶¹

As Bruce Moore, Australian lexicographer explains, 'the Australian landscape continually and habitually disappoints and confounds its observers. Its rivers and lakes, its hills and mountains, its colours and its effects of light do not behave in the way their transported language expects them to behave' (Moore 2008, p. 28). This disappointment has also contributed to the myth of the empty lands, but only partly. The myth has been constructed also because of the possibility to fill the land with their own (settlers') desire, with their own order, reason and language.

is repeatedly incorporated into the inside. As such, 'the uncanny does not manifest difference, but something familiar and old-established in the mind.' (Freud in McCann 2004, p. 170)

⁶⁰ Clarke's evocation of the 'weird melancholy' of the Australian landscape works in this way as well. It holds out the possibility of 'an uncanny pleasure at the landscape animated by mysterious forces, devolving upon a stereotypical evocation of the Aboriginal corroboree as the locus of the worldview echoed in the uncanny experience of the Anglo-Australian reader.' (McCann 2004, p. 172)

⁶¹ On his expedition to Australia in 1801, the French naturalist and explorer François Péron wrote: 'This consequence [cool winds blowing down the mountains] is so natural and so conformable to all the principles of natural philosophy, that it would seem not to admit of any kind of modification; and, nevertheless, it receives, in the case in question [Australia], the most decided and absolute exception [the winds from mountains are not cool, but warm], as if the atmosphere of New Holland, as well as the animals and the vegetables of this singular continent, has its peculiar laws, which differ from all the principles of our sciences and all the rules of our systems' (Péron in Moore 2008, p. 27).

The emptiness evokes also a different sort of differentiation, which goes along the racial differentiation and which stems from masculinity – a concept that was tremendously important in the conditions out of which sprang the formation of the national identity in Australia. Anne McClintock (1995, p. 30) argues that the myth of the empty land runs along the myth of the virgin land, ‘involving both a gender and a racial dispossession’. Indigenous peoples in this contradicting situation should not be spatially there; no one should be there, because this is the ‘empty land’ after all. McClintock argues that indigenous people are symbolically displaced onto what she calls the anachronistic space, in which colonised people ‘do not inhabit history proper but exist in a permanently anterior time within the geographic space of the modern empire as anachronistic humans, atavistic, irrational, bereft of human agency – the living embodiment of the archaic “primitive”’ (McClintock 1995, p. 30).

3.1.2 Masculinity and its role in the Australian national identity

As for many other nations in the world, in Australia not only the notion of some kind of ‘colour-homogeneity’ (in the Australian case a specific form of whiteness)⁶² but also a concept of masculinity was very important during the birth of an Australian nation and the establishment of Federation in 1901.⁶³ It continues to occupy its symbolic position within Australian society today.

The Australian case, stemming from the colonial Victorian era, is filled with examples that placed not only the Aborigine, but also women and immigrants into the impossible realm. As Maree Pardy argues, “‘White man’, as a national type, emphasised masculinity and mateship, male values and male qualities. Women, Indigenous people and immigrants were always and openly excluded from the type’ (Pardy 2008). The impossibility of land runs in parallel to the woman as an impossible realm. The land,

⁶² The issue of whiteness is an undoubtedly constitutive national element not only in the context of nation-building at the time of the actual constitution, but also later, during the time of multiculturalism or ‘white multiculturalism’ (Hage 2001) and so called ‘identity politics’. As the concept of whiteness is extremely complex and would need to be contextually positioned and analysed, the lack of space prevents it to be appropriately addressed within this thesis. What nonetheless needs to be stressed is that whiteness needs to be read alongside masculinity as a major concept in constructing the Australian nationhood.

⁶³ Australian Federation was initiated on 1 January 1901, when six separate British colonies of New South Wales, Victoria, Queensland, South Australia, Tasmania and Western Australia formed a federation. Fiji and New Zealand were initially a part of this process, but eventually decided not to join. In the time when Australia was about to be born as well as after that, until present, many (not only conservative) eyes were still turned to royalism and imperialism.

especially the new, virgin (and empty) land, is connected to the female body; it is seen as a female body, which can stylishly be conquered.⁶⁴

During the gold rush in Victoria that began in the 1850s and continued throughout the time that led to the Australian Constitution in 1901, the bush was a place for the construction of Australian legend. In the time of the 'Marvellous Melbourne', when the city dominated over the bush, the bush became a place of fascination and the 'bush figures'⁶⁵ became important symbolic figures in the time of the nation-building. They were all exclusively masculine and tough.⁶⁶ The bohemianism and radicalism that were springing up during that time also supported the masculine exclusiveness, which was the 'masculine exclusiveness of the bush ethos' (Walter 1992, p. 35). Also history and historical examinations were almost exclusively in the domain of men. There was basically no room for historical accounts on female experience of Australia in the time just before and after the creation of Federation. The reason for this was also that the female version of Australian experience undermined or would potentially destabilise the version of explanation of Australian nationalistic expectations, which were built on the ideas of fraternity, mateship and egalitarianism.

The historian Penny Russel, at the end of 1980s in her exploration of the 19th century upper class in Australia, has argued that historians have also in the past denied the feminist scholars to 'join the club' because of their desire to strive for the exploration of the egalitarian Australian society and for the 'fraternal community to retain its hold over the national imagination' (in Reekie, 1992, p. 151). Russel says that feminist history undermines the egalitarian view:

Belief in the egalitarian nature of Australian society can only be sustained while historians look at what have been traditionally regarded by men as the only important realities – namely economics, politics, and affairs of state. Once you begin to incorporate women into

⁶⁴ Cynthia Enloe (1990, p. 45) in her book *Bananas, Beaches and Bases* argues that 'nationalism has typically sprung from masculinized memory, masculinized humiliation and masculinized hope.'

⁶⁵ The most 'notable' among them were for instance Henry Lawson and Banjo Paterson.

⁶⁶ As Maree Pardy argues, 'Australia's sense of itself as a nation has always been about 'acting tough'. This toughness, based on masculinised hardiness (in the embodied form of white men) - explorers, bushmen, diggers, mateship, lifesavers - has been mythologically attached to the harshness and vastness of the Australian landscape. Indeed settler identity was founded on arriving, suffering and conquering. While the arrival and conquering instilled a sense of entitlement to the nation – as land and as territory – the entitlement while tough, has never been comfortable.' (Pardy 2006a).

your analytic framework, the myth of egalitarian society vanishes – and not only because of the obvious inequalities of opportunity between men and women.

(Russell in Reekie 1992, pp. 150-151)

Joane Nagel (1998, p. 10) also writes about ‘men’s and women’s places in the nation’ where women occupy a special symbolic role in the nationalistic discourse – ‘a role that reflects a masculinist definition of femininity and of women’s proper place in the nation’ (Nagel 1998, p. 252). Female can have a symbolic role as a ‘bearer of the nation’, a mother, ‘a national heart and home’ (ibid., p. 256), occupying a domestic space and offering the moral support to which men are returning after they leave the space of struggle.

The social laboratory that was apparent in the 1920s Australia for instance, was keenly oriented towards egalitarianism, but it had only little to offer women. It was rather ‘sustained as a national vision only by denying their [women’s] economic contribution and silencing their political voice’ (Reekie 1992, p. 151). Nevertheless, women were not entirely absent in the constructing of the Australian nationhood. As Richard White argues, they have always been present as those against which the male national character defined himself (White in Reekie 1992, p. 153). It can be said that the Australian woman has been indeed sacrificed for the sake of nationhood; that she has been a bearer of class distinction, a wartime heroine, a worker worth two-thirds of a man’s wage, the unpaid housekeeper of the workingman’s paradise and the liberal democratic society, a helpmate and slave to the pioneer settler, the silent victim of domestic conflict, mother of the nation and a metaphor for an Australian landscape that constituted the object of men’s desire (Reekie 1992, p. 155). A migrant as ‘only a migrant’ could never occupy such a symbolic post himself/herself either. Nevertheless, difference is in both contexts - of gender and migration - produced along the lines of antipathy and its distressed counterpart – the similitude. Gender distinction was a silent bearer of the nation. And we could say that the difference that migration engendered and that multiculturalism acknowledged and affirmed was a vocal bearer of the nation.

3.2 Australia before WW2

Australia before the Second World War was a 'white' country. This does not mean that Australia is not 'white' nowadays, at least not in its political construct, but before WW2, it was straightforwardly structured using the colonial canon. The structure and the heritage of colonial presence were directly present within the Australian political milieu. As any governing body, the colonial system had sophisticated internal rules governing it from within. These were based on Britishness, whiteness and masculinity, where race, sex and proper way were selected and highly structured. In this kind of atmosphere it was not only a white colonial subject that governed; in line with our previous argument, it was a white colonial male that was on the top of the line of power.

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Beginning with the first federal Australian Government at the start of the 20th century, non-whites were excluded from immigrating to Australia. The first Act passed by the new Commonwealth government was the 'Commonwealth Immigration Restriction Act' in 1901 which limited immigration to Australia, provided for 'illegal immigrants' to be deported and formed a basis of the so called White Australia Policy. It was the Act which was built upon the fear mainly of the Asian population 'swamping' Australia – a sentiment which re-appeared in the beginning of the 1990s with Pauline Hanson, a former Queensland Liberal politician and then leader of the One Nation political party in the 1990s, who publicly feared that Australians 'are going to be swamped by Asians'.⁶⁸

⁶⁷ Ghassan Hage for instance wittily remembers the children's story of the 'Stew that Grew' in his book *White Nation*, in which all sorts of different ethnic characters get introduced, each of them adding something to the stew. The agency in this children's story exclusively remains in the hands of the Australian man, a true blue Aussie that remains a cook and dominates the entire cooking process. 'Even the patriarchy which would have otherwise structured the lives of a mining Anglo-Celtic couple is forgotten,' argues Hage (2000, p. 120) 'for the sake of making the true Blue Aussie male the main will behind the whole process'. In this way, in 'The Stew that Grew', 'most of the migrants not only remain deprived of the capacity to contribute to the actual cooking process, but they are also voiceless' (Hage 2000, p. 121).

⁶⁸ The 'fear' of Pauline Hanson attached itself also to the 1980s arrival of Vietnamese refugees into Australia. As Maree Pardy explains, 'from 1975 to 1982, almost 58,000 Vietnamese refugees entered Australia. About 2000 of these arrived by boat, and yet it is those arrivals that have provided an enduring image. Vietnamese refugees, no matter how they came, were lambasted as 'boat people', whose arrival triggered panic about an 'Asian invasion' and who subsequently were represented as 'drug taking, gambling, gangsters' (Pardy 2006a).

With the Act of 1901, the customs officers gained the power to exclude all non-Europeans on the basis of language. In 1901 the Dictation test was introduced, under which immigrants could be required to pass the test in any European language.⁶⁹ If they failed, they were refused entry. The Dictation Test, even though it was constructed to 'give a lesson' to migrants of non-European origin, also worked against those Europeans that were not desirable, particularly against those that were seen as 'politically undesirable' (Clyne 2003, p. ix).⁷⁰ The test was actually a way for Government to remain able to address race, while not naming it directly. In racist discourse 'race is able to be exclusionary because it is claimed to be an essential attribute to the person. Languages, on the other hand, are learnt' (Stratton 2000, p. 206). The fifty word Dictation test had been used up until 1958, when the Revised Migration Act abolished it and introduced a simpler system for entry.

In the time when the new Parliament passed the Immigration Restriction Act in 1901, the Prime Minister at that time was Edmund Barton and his idea of 'a nation for a continent and a continent for a nation' (Jupp 2007, p. 11) dominated thinking at the time. He supported the new legislation with the words: 'The doctrine of the equality of man was never intended to apply to the equality of Englishman and the Chinaman.' The Dictation Test appeared as a substitute for this kind of wording.⁷¹ The second Australian Prime minister, Alfred Deakin⁷², was also clear in what he thought about 'racial mixing'. He thought that the unity of race is an absolute necessity to the unity of Australia. His claim that 'the desire that we should be one people, and remain one people, without the admixture of other races' should be read as the basis for the Australian nationhood of which racism was a founding element (Langton 2001).

⁶⁹ The draft document spoke only of the English language. This was later changed to include any language, even though the test was up to the discretion of the immigration official. Language was simply a pretext; people in the government were still predominantly talking in terms of race and colour.

⁷⁰ For instance, as Michael Clyne mentions, 'Europeans, such as the Czech journalist and author Egon Erwin Kisch (...) failed a dictation test in Gaelic when he wanted to enter Australia to attend a peace conference in Melbourne in 1934. The dictation was administered by a policeman without a knowledge of Gaelic!' (Clyne 2003, pp. ix-x).

⁷¹ The first government was required to remove this kind of wording.

⁷² Deakin is regarded as a founder of the modern Liberal party and he was a participant in the conferences of representatives of the Australian colonies that were formed to draft a constitution for the proposed Federation. He was in office three times: from 1903 to 1904; from 1905 to 1908; and from 1909 to 1910.

As Jupp argues, Australia before WW2 was the whitest country in the world outside of north-western Europe. By 1947 ‘the non-European population, other than Aborigines, was measured by the census as 0.25 per cent of the total’ (Jupp 2007, p. 10). Stanley Bruce, the Liberal Prime Minister during the 1920s, before the great depression hit the Australian shores, was also a supporter of the White Australia Policy which was one of the main issues in his 1925 election campaign. These were his words during one of the election campaign speeches:

It is necessary that we should determine what are the ideals towards which every Australian would desire to strive. I think those ideals might well be stated as being to secure our national safety, and to ensure the maintenance of our white Australia policy to continue as an integral portion of the British Empire, and to play our full part as a great self governing Dominion; to ensure world’s peace by bringing to the councils of the nations ideals of world’s co-operation freed from the ancient hatreds and antagonisms of older civilisations; to assist in the solution of the world’s economic problems by the production of that new wealth which the development of our resources would endure, and to promote the prosperity of Australia and the happiness and well being of all her citizens. To accomplish these things, and to realise the destiny that lies before us, we must be a united people, with a national vision knowing no distinction between Commonwealth and State, town and country, employer and employed. This ideal is the foundation of the Government’s policy. The birth of the present Government was a practical attempt to unite differences.

(Bruce 1925)

The way Bruce addressed the issues of national unity, security and socio-economic future for Australia sound rather paradoxical or even foolish today. Nevertheless, his speech sounds also quite familiar to Australia’s multicultural political wording not only of the 1920s, but also of the 1990s and 2000s. Bruce’s dictum was almost perfectly repeated again in the words of the last former Prime Minister John Howard (succeeded by Kevin Rudd in 2007). Howard addressed similar issues as Bruce, but, in the same way as their corresponding rhetoric, their fates were also similar at the end. They were the only Australian Prime Ministers in the history of the country to be elected not only

out of their prime ministerial seats, but also out of their own electorates – Bruce in 1929 and Howard in 2007.⁷³

3.3 After WW2 - towards the politics of multiculturalism

Is not Greek

I remember the ship we came out on.
I remember arriving at a cast-iron gate.
I remember the first day at school (all the kids laughed at me
for my true to life Greek haircut).
I took 2 years accordion lessons, rather than learn Greek.
every Greek I met, told me, I was Greek.
Greek kids like me
hate other Greek kids like me (Athena
my sister, is now like this).
all the time: the Greeks did this, the Greeks did that
the Greeks, the Greeks
FUCK THE GREEKS!!! . whack . !

now wipe your nose and go to sleep

π.ο.⁷⁴

The first and the second World Wars changed many things in relation to Australian migration policies. A lot of Australians died in WW1 and there were men shortages.⁷⁵ WW2 was not so severe in terms of perished soldiers, but the numbers were still significant. Both periods, after WW1 and WW2, were followed by planned migration schemes. Just after the Second World War a well known slogan, ‘populate or perish’, came into use first by the Minister for Immigration Arthur Calwell.⁷⁶ Until the 1980s there were a number of official governmental campaigns to increase population of Australia. After WW1, the campaigns applied only to Europe as source of migrants, especially to Britain. It was similar just after WW2, until the time between 1966 and 1972, when the government started to ‘officially ignore race, colour and creed’ (Jupp 2007, p. 12).

⁷³ Bruce and Howard were not only similar in the way they saw immigration issues. They both similarly attempted a transfer of industrial relations powers from state to federal jurisdictions and to intervene in the federal arbitration system.

⁷⁴ Pi.O., *Big Numbers, New and Selected Poems*, 2008, p. 149.

⁷⁵ Approximately 60,000 Australians died during WW1.

⁷⁶ Arthur Calwell was appointed as the first Australian Minister for Immigration on 13 July 1945.

According to Jupp (2007), Australia is the typical case where we can see the failure of the classic push-pull migration model. It would be incorrect though to underestimate the role of governments in influencing ‘just the right type’ and ‘just the right mix’ of migrants. It is not only necessary to ask what the consequences of the government policies are but also why governments implement certain policies.

Until 1945, the Commonwealth Government did not have a department that would specifically deal with immigration issues. It was the Department of Interior that dealt with these matters. After being appointed as the Minister of Immigration, Arthur Calwell said in the House of Representatives on the 2 August 1945:

We may have only those next 25 years in which to make the best possible use of our second chance to survive. Our first requirement is additional population. We need it for reasons of defence and for the fullest expansion of our economy (...). The attraction of new residents to Australia is, however, unlikely to be an easy task. The birth-rate in Britain and European countries has been declining to an extent alarming to their governments, and we may be faced with the position that those governments will not willingly encourage their nationals to emigrate (...). Apart from schemes of organized and assisted British migration, the door to Australia is always open within the limits of our existing legislation to people from the various dominions, the United States of America, and from European continental countries who are sound in health and who will not become a charge on the community, to come here and make their homes.

(Calwell 1945 in Lack & Templeton 1995, pp. 17-20)

After WW2, different people started arriving in Australia, especially after the Government realised there would not be enough British migrants to begin the construction of a safer nation and the fulfilling of the Australian economic plan. Some migrants were asked and paid to come to Australia and some wanted to come themselves and they were willing to pay for that.

Until 1947, Australian migration was highly planned and those who arrived were mostly assisted migrants. During the 1960s, which was a major migration wave for Australia, there were a lot of assisted arrivals as well.⁷⁷ In the manner of White Australia policies and the atmosphere of ‘White paranoia’ there essentially remained no assistance for

⁷⁷ In the 1960s, 875,000 migrants that arrived were assisted.

non-Europeans and ‘no other society, at least before the creation of Israel in 1948, has been so consciously shaped by public authorities and resources’ (Jupp 2007, p. 17).⁷⁸

In the 1950s, the rhetoric was more oriented towards assimilating rather than being white, even though white seemed more slippery concept than assimilation. ‘Being white’ in Australia in the context of British colonial whiteness was also never really directly accessible to people given the fact that large numbers of British who arrived in Australia could never possess the sort of whiteness that was required by the British aristocracy. Assimilationism could then be associated with whiteness as ‘a way of life’, which along with a ‘fair go’ became major phrases used to form and strengthen Australian identity especially in the 1960s, 1970s and the beginning of the 1980s and were joined by the ‘Australian values’ later on, in the time of the Howard government of the 1990s and 2000s.

Assimilationism did not have to be exclusively white to be successful. It could be very well placed within the ‘European’ core. Under assimilationism, it was still possible to exclude those who were not ready to assimilate or not ready to be assimilated. As Hage asserts, because certain ‘races’, such as ‘Asians’, were still fundamentally perceived as unassimilable and thus dangerous, there was now a further division – between assimilable non-Whites and non-assimilable ones. ‘Thus the threat to Australia’s White culture was no longer non-Whites as such but non-assimilable non Whites. It was this developing shift of emphasis from race to culture that made assimilation and the White Australia Policy ideologically compatible in government circles and among those who supported the policy.’ (Hage 2003, p. 56)

During the 1950s and 1960s, the urbanisation and suburbanisation in Australia sprawled. There were changes in production patterns, composition of the middle classes and the education system grew. Middle classes during that time became a special sphere of attention for Robert Menzies, the longest serving Australian Prime Minister. He was talking about ‘a backbone of a nation’ which is yet ‘for the most part unorganised and unself-conscious’ (Menzies 1942). He still kept strong political and economic ties to Britain and maintained the old colonial, white Australia policy well in place.

⁷⁸ As Jupp notes, ‘there were no assisted Chinese or Japanese nationals between 1945 and 1972, only two Burmese, three Indonesians and nine Ceylonese. There were tiny numbers from India, Lebanon, Singapore and Egypt, all of which were already sending large unassisted contingents’ (Jupp 2007, p. 17).

Public dissatisfaction with immigration laws was increasing though, especially because of numerous new economic ties with the Asian region. There was more lobbying in relation to migration, and the members of the new emerging middle class became the loudest opponents of the White Australia Policy. According to Gwenda Tavan, 'This younger generation of Australians were better educated than their parents, much larger in number than the small minority of the educated pre-war elite, more progressive in outlook than their conservative forebears, and sensitive to the broad forces affecting Australia and the rest of the world' (Tavan 2005, p. 115).

Along with 'ethnic affairs' also 'aboriginal issues' got much more pronounced, which was largely the result of Aboriginal activism. 'As a result of these shifts,' Tavan argues, 'universities in particular became 'hotbed[s] of resistance' to White Australia during the late 1950s and early 1960s' (Tavan 2005, p. 116).⁷⁹ By the end of the 1960s, the issues connected to the Vietnam War and youth movements around the world became apparent as well. In addition to that, the political names that had framed the White Australia policy had stepped down, retired and moved away from the active political field of engagement. The traditional sources of immigration to Australia dried up and new immigrants were much more ethnically diverse. Australia for instance signed a migration agreement with Turkey in 1967, which was something historically unimaginable and completely ignored during the 1940s and 1950s.

The Whitlam Government came into office in 1972 and between 1972 and 1974 Al Grassby was the new Minister for Immigration. On 11 August 1973 Grassby had his landmark speech, 'A Multicultural Society for the Future', in which he rejected assimilationism and opted for the new multiculturalism. Grassby was, however, not responsible for everything that happened in relation to multiculturalism in Australia in the 1970s. As Mark Lopez argues, he did not come to office interested in introducing multiculturalism and 'the initial attempts of multiculturalist lobbyists to win his support

⁷⁹ People mostly connected to the University of Melbourne formed the Immigration Reform Group which was first established as a study group, but it soon became political. It issued a pamphlet in regards to the necessary change of Australian immigration policy in 1960 and re-issued the expanded version in 1962. The group, however, did not manage to reject discrimination in the immigration intake all together, but change arrived slowly with the late 1960s and the 'growing opposition to the Vietnam War, frustration with the dominant political order, and evidence of mass youth mobilisations in Europe and the United States' (Tavan 2005, pp. 167-168).

were unsuccessful, largely because he had his own concept' which was the 'family of the nation' (Lopez 2000, p. 4).

Multiculturalism in Australia did not just happen in the 1970s. There were increasing numbers of supporters of multiculturalism and advocates that were close to the government and 'multiculturalism' was already happening in everyday lives of people.⁸⁰ When the sixties approached, it was also 'becoming increasingly unacceptable internationally to retain the racial tenets of the White Australia Policy' (Markus in Hage 2003, p. 54). And so, the policy had to begin to change. But even when the decisive shift in the government policy happened between 1972 and 1974, in the time of the Whitlam Labor government, migrant settlement, systematic welfare and socio-cultural policy were still not a priority for the government. The resilient multiculturalists were still lobbying though and succeeded when Grassby delivered the aforementioned policy speech, in which the 'multicultural manifesto' was considered to be a basis for the new policy. It was not until after this speech that Grassby got 'accepted' into the multiculturalist camp.

Within the Labor party itself at the time of the 'multicultural turn' there were two positions: a conservative and a progressive.⁸¹ It is not really possible to talk about the Labor-Liberal divide at that time (and also not later on) in relation to the multicultural issues. Also within the Liberal party there were those who were more opposed to multiculturalism (favouring the British heritage) and those who were more embracing (more open, 'cosmopolitan' middle class). In fact, it was under the Liberal (not the Labor) government of Malcom Fraser that multiculturalism as a policy got incorporated into the national agenda, following Fraser's commitment to translate multiculturalism into the government policy.

⁸⁰ Lopez (2000) claims that Australia was not as multicultural in 1970s as many people assume.

⁸¹ A conservative position was connected to the old and influential trade union movement and was suspicious of migrants 'considered to be robbing the "old Australian workers", and was concerned that cultural diversity would detract from the unity required for class struggle' (Clyne 2003, pp. 145-146). The progressive part was more or less 'embracing a culturally diverse Australia, represented the middle-class intelligentsia, the large proportion of Australians of non-British background in the workforce and the trades union movement and those who accepted them as a large component of fellow-workers' (Clyne 2003, p. 146).

3.4 Ideology of multiculturalism

In different countries around the world multiculturalism was set in the time when industrialism, modernism, capitalism and self-fulfilment were already well engrained into many societies, especially into those that started to deal with multicultural issues on the level of governmental policies in the second half of the 20th century.

There are a number of things that seem crucial for the development of the politics of multiculturalism in Australia in the 1970s and I summarise them here according to the observations of Ghassan Hage (2003, pp. 60-61):

- The feeling of inferiority, fear of losing something, which connects to racialising and defending the idea and the concept of Whiteness.
- Colonial dispossession – uneasiness with building the multicultural society on something that has been stolen – the ultimative otherness that is underlying all political projects in Australia in the 20th century.
- Visible difference between multiculturalism as a cultural policy (lifestyle multiculturalism) and multiculturalism as a social policy. The beginning of the official multiculturalism with the Whitlam government which promoted social democracy was overhauled later with the conservative government of Malcom Fraser who promoted a ‘culturalist version of Australian society ahead of a class one’.⁸²
- Multiculturalism was not a government ‘decision’ or the government ‘choice’. The government officially created the society of many different ethnic groups, but multiculturalism was a fact of social reality that was already multicultural.⁸³
- The move from multiculturalism as first a social policy and then cultural government towards multiculturalism as national identity.⁸⁴ The second

⁸² This was ‘a key strategy in a conservative restructuring of the welfare state whose main purpose was the demolition of Whitlam-style social democracy’ (Castels in Hage 2003, p. 60).

⁸³ Hage argues that ‘multiculturalism was the set of policies adopted by the state to govern this inescapable reality’ (Hage 2003, p. 60).

⁸⁴ The difference between multiculturalism as a cultural government and multiculturalism as a national identity can be restated, as Hage asserts, as the difference between saying, ‘We are an Anglo-Celtic society with a number of diverse non-Anglo-Celtic cultures that we (the Anglo-Celtics) strive to manage’ and ‘We are an Anglo-Celtic multicultural society because we have been transformed by the existing diversity of culture.’ The first conception has not departed too far from the White Australia sentiment

conception required a radical break with the former White Australia policy and with the Australian identity of the past. 'It entailed an Australia that was still Anglo-Celtic, but one that had been fundamentally transformed by its immigration program (...). It involved a new conception of Australia, in which multiculturalism represented a kind of higher type of Anglo-Celtic civilisation.

From its beginnings in the 1970s, multiculturalism in Australia was a version of White multiculturalism. Then it slowly moved to include different, non-Anglo and then non-European groups.⁸⁵

Throughout the 'multicultural period' in Australia there has been a lot of confusion over the meanings attached to the term. What 'multiculturalism' actually means is often an ambiguous and self-interpretable question for governments as well as for the people they govern. Multiculturalism on a state policy level has developed as a strategy to include and integrate migrants, but later it has broadened to include 'all Australians'. One of its tasks was therefore to build and shape the national identity.

In 1982, in the time of the Fraser government, assisted passages were abolished (except in the case of refugees), because assistance became thoroughly expensive and Australia also did not have conditions to offer people employment with certainty any more. That did not mean, however, that the government's need to have power and influence over the selection process of migrants diminished. The strategy to construct and protect became perhaps even more pronounced, because there was now an 'undistinguishable' crowd out there which needed to be classified and put into order. And it was no longer only working classes with which Australia predominantly dealt in the 1980s. The political was now inscribed into each separate migrating individual.

(Australia was still primarily a White nation in the 1970s and 'its Whiteness remained unaffected by the existence of ethnic minorities (...). It was just like having an Indigenous program to manage the Indigenous minority; it did not make Australia more or less of an Indigenous nation' (Hage 2003, pp. 60-61).

⁸⁵ In his book *From White Australia to Woomera*, James Jupp writes: 'Thirty five years ago Australia finally abandoned its "settled" policy of excluding all immigrants that were not "white". Instead of being the "most British" country in the world it began to proclaim itself as the "most multicultural" (...). In March 2002 Australia officially welcomed the six millionth post-war immigrant – a Filipina information technologist. At the same time Australia was responsible for detaining Afghan, Iraqi and Iranian asylum seekers at remote desert and Pacific island camps: Woomera, Curtin, Port Headland, Nauru and Manus Island' (Jupp 2007, pp. 1-2).

Hage argues that the advance of multiculturalism as a political decision in Australia in 1972 repressed the colonial paranoia (2003, pp. 54-58). The White Australia Policy before promised people that the Anglo-Celtic core will not be changed in any major way. Then, when especially after the Second World War migrants of ‘not so white’ potential started to arrive (Greeks, southern Italians, Lebanese), they ‘signalled a major change in Australia’s urban ‘visual’ culture – the everyday faces one met on the street were no longer as homogenously white, although they were never entirely so anyway’ (Hage 2003, p. 55).

At the First Annual Lecture at the Centre for Multicultural Studies at Flinders University in South Australia on the 12th May 1987, Jerzy Zubrzycki, a Polish-born Australian sociologist, often regarded as the ‘father of Australian multiculturalism’ and the chair of the Australian Ethnic Affairs Council⁸⁶ at the time declared that all persons living in Australia are ‘ethnic’.⁸⁷ Also the 1989 National Agenda for a Multicultural Australia, which is the first official document that presented the definition of multiculturalism and eight goals that government should pursue, states that multiculturalism is ‘applicable not just to immigrants, but to all Australians, including the Indigenous Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander population.’⁸⁸

At his lecture in 1987, Zubrzycki said:

In our culture, emphasis upon the independence of the individual from social connections is extreme. Typically, community is understood from the point of view of the inclinations and conveniences of the self. Community exists for self-fulfilment but self-fulfilment is not conceived as fidelity to communities. Self-fulfilment is seen in our society primarily in terms of contractual obligations, but not much emphasis is put on those social bonds that are not contractual and rationalist or based upon autonomy; very little is being said in public debates and even less done in public policy to enhance and support the crucial social

⁸⁶ Australian Ethnic Affairs Council published an important report titled ‘Multiculturalism for all Australians’ in 1982.

⁸⁷ Zubrzycki based his argument on the Greek term ‘ethnos’ which means ‘nation’ or ‘people’.

⁸⁸ Even though indigenous peoples (Aborigines and Torres Strait Islanders) were incorporated already into the ‘Nationality and Citizenship Act’ of 1948 (later renamed the ‘Australian Citizenship Act 1948’) automatically (they acquired citizenship by birth), they have been in fact citizens without citizens rights until the referendum of 1967, which allowed the Commonwealth to make laws with respect to Aboriginal people (under the Commonwealth legislation, indigenous population gained the right to vote in 1962). However, regardless of the fact that indigenous Australians were regarded as (second-rate) citizens who have been in Australia prior to white settlement, Australia was still considered a Terra Nullius, at least legally, until 1992, when the High Court of Australia handed down its decision in the Mabo Case, declaring the previous legal concept of terra nullius as invalid.

bonds and relations of loyalty, patriotism, kinship, familial feeling and historical belonging. And this is precisely where our search for roots begins, this is why ethnicity is such an important part of our mental imagery.

(Zubrzycki 1988, p. 6)

Even though Zubrzycki was obviously aware of the existence of the individuality surrounding one's search for roots and/or ethnicity, this was not something that would be incorporated into the policy he was promoting. The policy needed firmer grounds and legal framework which was something that seemed, at least for Zubrzycki, possible only by praising community over subjectivity. Zubrzycki also assumed it was absolutely necessary for one to search for its roots in some territorially distinguished place.⁸⁹ The policy and the legal and ideological framework that the policy followed permitted little or no room for variations that might occur in each individual case. Zubrzycki did talk about the 'pluralistic personality' in the sense of the individual personality, but there was no real space left for the 'pluralistic personality' that would not wish to be recognised.⁹⁰ In the continuation of the speech he, in spite of his concerns about subjectivity, went on to argue that:

personal attachments within primary groups, of which the family, church, ethnic minority and neighbourhood are prime examples, have not been destroyed by modern industrialism. In the real world, personal ties are still profoundly operative – they are part of the social cement, along with attachment to what Durkheim called 'the sacred'.

(Zubrzycki, 1988, p. 12)

⁸⁹ Zubrzycki thought that one almost necessarily longed for this place and for this home that he or she had left.

⁹⁰ In the 1980s, Zubrzycki was already talking about the need for society to be 'cosmopolitan, well-informed, and broad of vision' (Zubrzycki 1988, p. 7). The concept of 'cosmopolitanism', as used by Zubrzycki, was very similar to the concept that began to be broadly promoted predominantly within Australian urban life in the beginning of the 21st century. Zubrzycki was also speaking theoretically about the concept of tradition that would need to gain greater importance and attention - tradition as a process where opinions, beliefs, customs etc. are transmitted or 'handed down' from past to present within the individual as well as within groups of people. He believed that tradition can be used and misused for nationalistic or any other kind of ideological purposes that try to set certain boundaries and put forward one exclusive explanation of the story of the past. However, this should not prevent people from looking for it or trying to understand it. 'The sociologically significant question about the tradition of an English Christmas dinner in Australia,' says Zubrzycki, 'is its persistence in climatic conditions which would otherwise not favour the choice of stuffed turkey and plum pudding as the obligatory fare' (Zubrzycki 1988, p. 8). So, it is not that social scientists and people in general (within multicultural practice) would (need to) be interested so much in the mere beliefs, practices, customs and so on, but in the process that shapes them, or, more specifically, in the 'circumstances under which they may or may not be accepted as normative and binding upon people' (ibid., p. 9).

Sure, there are attachments that persist, but there are also attachments that diminish; some new can be formed or not; and practically, this often does not have much to do with the term Zubrzycki identifies as ethnicity. But his was the idea under which the politics of multiculturalism was able to be formed and sustained.

It was not until the 1990s and early 2000s that multiculturalism, now being already embedded in the concept of the national identity, began to operate under the logic of ultimative division in mind. Undoubtedly multiculturalism has been built upon a concept of differentiation. It offered ‘the promise of belonging, even the right to belong, but by continuing to distinguish between those who have multiculturalism (the Anglo-Celtic nationals) and those who are multicultural (immigrants), multiculturalism is structured to perpetually differentiate between “Australians and others”’ (Pardy 2006a). Multiculturalism as a policy and mostly also as everyday practice has always operated in this way, but its process of differentiation was also ambiguous and paradoxical because it tried to differentiate while at the same time unify people into a constructed ‘same-ness’. ‘Possessing multiculturalism’ as opposed to not possessing it became one of the division lines which operated in a very similar way to all other divisions (‘lettings in’ and ‘leavings out’) before multiculturalism (Hage 2000).

Thinking along these lines, it was somehow not surprising for the former Australian Prime Minister John Howard (1996-2007) to avoid talking about multiculturalism or using the ‘m-word’ and his preference to talk about ‘integration’.⁹¹ The problem was though that multiculturalism as he perceived it was nothing else than everything before the implementation of multiculturalism – it was a form of ‘letting some people in’ and ‘leaving some people out’ and in 2007, under Howard’s turn in the office, the former Department of Immigration and Multicultural Affairs (DIMA) became the Department of Immigration and Citizenship (DIAC).⁹²

‘Multicultural’ or ‘market cosmopolitanism’ is globally something that makes one richer (when contained in the right way). You can buy and sell culture and you can have

⁹¹ As one of the commentators of the *Age* local Melbourne newspaper wrote, ‘Mr Howard is notoriously leery of the word “multicultural”, last year saying he had a problem with the term and preferred to use the word “integration”’ (Topsfield 2007).

⁹² Howard supported this turn with the words: ‘I think the desired progression is that an immigrant becomes an Australian’ (Topsfield 2007).

it (not only your own but someone else's as well). You are able to possess multicultural (you are able to 'own' that culturally diverse world you live in); you can choose whatever suits you better; you can have the power to choose among different cultures – seemingly participate in a democratic process of deciding about an issue that encompasses everything, because no one can really determine what this everything is. Possessing (multi)culture as sheer consumerism does not only provide you with power to situate yourself in the world while being able to be mobile, but it also provides you with pleasure.

This agency to possess (multi)culture does not belong only to the domain of Anglo-Celtics or Europeans. When talking to people of whatever affiliation and whatever background in Melbourne, they will often say that Melbourne and Australia as a whole is lucky to be so multicultural and that they are lucky to live in a tolerant multicultural country.⁹³ Of course, there are always those who do not share this belief, but this is not the point here.

There is, however, another sentiment or emotion that is also not exclusive to the Anglo-Celtic domain and exists alongside multiculturalism; this is racism (Hage 2000). It is obvious that racism exists in all spheres, all groups and in all societies regardless of people's ethnicity, culture, class (and in this way it is a rather indiscriminating concept). Racism is usually talked about in relation to a certain group of people who has the power over another group of people. It is not seen as a process that is doable on all sides and can be used by everyone. In fact, racism as such always exists in relation to something else; there are other motivations behind it. It can be also about a will or a wish to have or to possess something your way and to gain the possession over it, you see a certain someone else as an obstacle to your success (Hage 2000). In any case, racism only exists in the conditions of relation and it has consequences on both (or all) sides. Often scholars do not really deal with what racism brings about and with the relation (or what it stems from), but mainly with the fact that it exists (ibid.). Hage

⁹³ In one of the interviews I conducted in 2002, I spoke to the daughter of a working class Slovenian family who migrated to Australia during the 1960s. Her parents first worked in factories and then subsequently set up their own business. She made frequent mention of cultural diversity as something that is unique to Australia and when compared with Slovenia, which she also knew very well, a visible diversity of people made a radical difference for her. When she stepped out of the airport in Melbourne, after spending a year in Ljubljana, she finally knew what she was missing so much. There was a multicultural variety that Melbourne was able to offer.

contends that the problem is that ‘the belief in races or ethnicities, even the belief that there is a hierarchy of races or cultures, is not in itself a motivating ideology. Racism on its own (like sexism in this regard) ‘does not carry within it an imperative for action’ (Hage 2000, p. 32).⁹⁴ A problem with tackling an issue such as racism in Hage’s opinion is that the issue, even when sociologists link it to power, slips out of the sociological discussion and attaches itself to a political milieu, which is not unimportant, but ‘anti-racist interests in an anti-racist politics and the sociological interest in explanation do not necessarily go together, as so many anti-racist sociologists like to believe’ (Hage 2000, p. 33).

In relation to the argument above, which is that racism exists across variety of ethnicities, classes, in both genders, but also within hosting and hosted communities, let me just briefly address one occurrence that stayed in my memory as a rocky reminder of my naïve understanding of ‘what doesn’t break you, only makes you stronger’, when on my first visit to Melbourne someone I shared my origins with drove me down Victoria Street in Richmond, along a predominantly Chinese-Vietnamese neighbourhood. I was surprised at the reaction of my kind driver being concerned about the transformation of that part of Melbourne, that now looked ‘like we were in Asia’, which meant not tasteful, dirty and actually even quite ‘ugly’. I was thinking that someone who was a migrant twenty years ago would understand how being a migrant feels like, how much you wish to belong and how dependent you are on the environment around you. When I actually began to study these topics, I realised that migrants are racist too. We could perhaps talk about hate (and hatred)⁹⁵ more than racism, as racism is still the term that usually needs to attach itself to particular group(s) of people. Hate (with the potential to become hatred) of a long-term migrant can be multidirectional; relational aspects can go

⁹⁴ Hage forms his argument on the basis of Pierre Bourdieu’s *The Logic of Practice*, in which Bourdieu criticises ‘what he sees as the intellectualist reduction of ‘the [practical] logic of things’ into ‘things of logic’, and the treating of practical knowledge as if it has no other reason to exist than an intellectual one’ (Bourdieu in Hage 2000, p. 30).

⁹⁵ Hate is the emotion that often runs in parallel to love and in some circumstances we hate, not in order to destroy but to conserve (Bollas 1984, pp. 222). However, as Maree Pardy (2009) asserts ‘when it [hate] endures or repeats, becomes more than a glue for the still communicating subject, it congeals to hatred and locks down, holding on to hate as a fixed sense of itself.’ Pardy in her work draws on the distinction between hate and hatred made by Lichtenberg, Shapard (2000) and Pao (1965) who argue that ‘unlike hate, which is often more flexible, hatred involves a complex scenario of grievances and retaliative malice. People who hate may want nothing to do with the person or situation that triggered their hate; people filled with hatred want everything bad they can conceive of to be done to the source of their hatred’ (Pardy 2009).

many different ways. This migrant is destined to forever remain a migrant and while always trying to belong knowing this is an impossible task, she/he may dislike other, especially newer migrants, indigenous populations and the Anglo-Celtics.

3.5 Australian multiculturalism today: citizenship and national identity

We no longer are mesmerised by the self-appointed cultural dieticians who tell us that in some way they know better what an Australian ought to be than all of us who know what an Australian has always been and always will be.

John Howard, former Australian Prime Minister, 1996-2007

People [from different countries in Africa living in Australia] live by themselves here. Getting used to that is one of the hard things. So, we have a lot to deal with here. I don't like to feel sorry, when something bad happen to us as it had happened back home. But it did affect me in many ways and some of the things I am not going to tell you, because they are too painful. So, if you see people like refugees living in Australia here, it's not like in Africa. People are really really depressed. And I'm the only one I think who has a good time here because, you know, I'm the white people of Africa.

Ajak Kwai (2006), Australian-Sudanese singer and performer

Non-western multiculturalism in terms of policy multiculturalism has not yet been written. I think it is important to have this in mind when discussing policies relating to migration and the 'management' of cultural diversity within nation-states. Multiculturalism as a political choice has been coined in Canada in the 1960s and it has variably been transported to Australia to some extent, not entirely. It has been transformed to meet the needs of the Australian social reality.

We have to understand and examine the worlds of political multiculturalism contextually. Scholars have recognised the need for contextual analysis a while ago and politicians have started to adopt this logic a bit later as well. To say that multiculturalism is the same for and in Australia, England, Japan or Brazil would be nonsense. But to completely disregard a global perspective of multiculturalism and multicultural ideas would not be very wise either. Multiculturalism has appeared worldwide, not only in individual states separately even though the multicultural policies have been brought in on behalf of certain group or groups of people that lobbied governments of individual states. The revival of multiculturalism in the field of

individual state policies and official ideologies has thus appeared as a consequence of global connectedness and new colonialism, and has been influenced by transnational corporations globally. At the same time its variations were instigated by local contexts. Nation states have been transforming over time; they transformed their goals and priorities, but in terms of policies of multiculturalism they also, at least partly, adopted the 'reality' that already existed in everyday lives of people. To say that politics of multiculturalism in Australia was (only) a top-down process would be naïve; culturally, ethnically, linguistically, socially, physically, psychologically and emotionally different and differently organised migrants have been living in Australia before the politics of multiculturalism was introduced in the 1970s. It would be incorrect to think that there was no 'community' formed along cultural, ethnic, linguistic, regional, political or religious lines in the time prior to the 1970s. Multiculturalism appeared because of the local situation as well as because of transnational expectations.

If we look at the whole picture from the global point of view, new situations culminate also in new fears. An establishment of some key new phrases around the 'war on terror' after 9/11 for instance changed the economy of multiculturalism considerably. The strength of global corporations also changed the picture for migration and also for multiculturalism. Global corporation needs the state but, as Hage (2003, p. 19) argues, it 'does not need the nation'. In such atmosphere, the state is then no longer capable to provide enough hope for the nation. When the state stops providing hope to the society and stops caring about it, a certain strata of people (even those belonging to the middle classes) become marginalised, but the problem is that unlike those that were marginalised before, this new group is not used to being marginalised. As Hage maintains, 'they don't know how to dig for new forms of hope. They live in a state of denial, still expecting that somehow, their nation and their "national identity" will be a passport to hope for them' (Hage 2003, p. 21). They are left in the feeling of stuckedness, jealous of everyone who seems to be advancing or is, in fact, appearing to be mobile, they are "paranoid nationalists" – 'vindictive and bigoted, always ready to "defend the nation", in the hope of re-accessing their lost hopes' (ibid.). Hage calls them 'refugees of interior' that are most pronounced in opposing the 'refugees of exterior'. The section of 'paranoid nationalists' also emerged in Australia and in contemporary

terms they gained recognition especially during the eleven years of Liberal government under John Howard between 1996 and 2007.

Multiculturalism in Australia is connected to global economic developments within the political context, economies and social organisations and at the same time it depends on them. Multiculturalism is a global issue and even though it would be practically impossible to find a common definition of multiculturalism, even in the policy terms, we could say that multiculturalism as a political choice overall seems eager to adopt the ideas of cultural pluralism and the identity politics.

The discussion on multiculturalism, and the concerns that the political brings to the discussion, has been frequently debated in recent time in Australia. Whilst the ‘crisis’ has been developing for at least a couple of years now, the problem does not lie only in conceptual determinations and ideological pursuits of multiculturalism; rather it lies in the crisis of the global liberal democracies, nation-social states and the questions of national identity and citizenship on a global scale. In Australia, multiculturalism has served as a ‘national identity builder’ and a ‘national identity marker’, which has often been left without content. In the case of Australia, the white multiculturalist was still Anglo, he was just a bit more multicultural because that was a new word for the visibly transformed, but in fact still largely unchanged nation. Following the thoughts of Maree Pardy, in the context of the nation, multiculturalism has been repressing the others within (which marks the internal exclusion) who it saw as threatening to the set national story. As a national marker it has worked in lines with masculinity which represses ‘the other within’ (Pardy 2009).

At its inception in the 1970s in Australia, in the era of the Whitlam government, multiculturalism was still regarded as a social policy and Whitlam’s version of multiculturalism was that of an ‘egalitarian multiculturalism’ (Jayasuria 2008, p. 2). Soon after, with the governments of Fraser whose version was that of ‘liberal multiculturalism’ (Jayasuriya 2008, p. 2), Hawke, Keating and Howard (who implanted versions of ‘managerial multiculturalism’ into policies), Australian multiculturalism had become based on ‘cultural pluralism’ which led to an ‘identity politics’ (Jayasuria

2008).⁹⁶ Identity politics was based on essentialist and static notions of cultural maintenance and celebrations of culture. At the same time, the politics of multiculturalism drew on the commonality of the nation and on the ‘Australian way of life’ and ‘Australian values’.

When referring to practicing multiculturalism it was often stated that multiculturalism is an unclear concept that is not compatible with ‘the rule of law’. This was perhaps nowhere more clear than in Australia during the 2005 Cronulla riots, retaliatory bashings between Australian-Anglo-youths and Australian-‘Middle Eastern’-youths rallied by the White Pride Coalition (Figure 1), Youth Pride League, and Australia First amongst other white-supremacist groups. At Cronulla, the rioters brought the ambiguity of multiculturalism into the public realm. Within this thesis, I do not discuss the riots at Cronulla, which was according to Pardy the ‘worst urban racial violence seen in Australia in recent times’ (Pardy 2009), because they would need much more space to be discussed properly. They did not invoke only numerous discussions about the meaning of national identity, migration, failures of multiculturalism, but also of (white) masculinity and (hetero)sexuality.

Policies of multiculturalism usually presented those who migrated with the extremes of what they should be accepting, and they were actually impossible to accept. These extremes were those of ‘absolutely simple identity and the infinite dispersal of identities across multiple social relationships’ which underscored ‘the difficulty of treating oneself as different from oneself, in a potential relation to several forms of “us”’ (Balibar 2002, p. 67). The way the identity politics was able to operate within the realm of the national, was to distinguish itself from the others, but this distinguishing also necessarily involved separation from those who it wanted to include.⁹⁷ In this situation, the concept of identity itself was ambiguous and ambivalent.⁹⁸ A migrant was presented

⁹⁶ As Laksiri Jayasuriya explains, ‘This conventional model of a ‘culturalist multiculturalism’ as public policy entailed an equality of respect, the need for mutual understanding and an acceptance or endorsement of cultural differences, all of which led to an ‘identity politics’, built around a conception of ethnic groups or cultural communities’ (Jayasuriya 2008, p. 1).

⁹⁷ This is also where we get to a concept of ‘internal exclusion’ that Étienne Balibar (2002) talks about. Balibar links internal exclusion to the worldwide division along the class lines – between the rich and poor – where any kind of external exclusion is not possible any more.

⁹⁸ Balibar says that ‘there is nothing natural in the area of identity: there is a process of identification or production of forms of human individuality in history – a process related to the always-already given transindividual “community”’ (Balibar 2002, p. 71).

with an impossible task – seemingly she or he had the right to choose, but in order to participate in the realm of the national, there was only one option she or he could take. A change in the name of the Department of Immigration and Multicultural Affairs to the Department of Immigration and Citizenship and the introduction of the Citizenship Test for migrants wishing to become Australian Citizens in 2007 (Figure 2) were both products of this thinking.



Love your Race. Be positive about your Culture and History. Do **not** be a hater like the supporters of Internationalism and Multi-Culturalism. They are bitter and resentful of our mighty achievements and are out to punish us for perceived past wrongdoings. This is the ultimate example of the 'tall poppy syndrome'. The whole scam of Multi-Culturalism is conceived and orchestrated by Zionist Jews to dilute and destroy the culture, and therefore the **power** of White Western Man. They have to do this because they know we are the only Race on Earth capable of challenging and defeating their plan for Global domination...They are using the lesser Races as a chisel to break the links of our cultural chain. Our connection with our Past and our Future!

Figure 1: Advertisement of the White Pride Coalition, issued around the time of the Cronulla Riots



Figure 2: Citizenship test cartoon, the *Age* (Petty 2006)

Nationalism, which is necessary for a liberal democracy to survive, is doubly ambiguous. Nationalism in its current state may not be identical to racism, but discrimination in the forms of racism or neo-racism is intrinsic of it, also when we talk about the national state as a multicultural state. Besides, racism is also an effect of the crisis of the nation-social state. The universalistic discourses which are in the core of projects of a common ‘identity building’ within the nation do not and in fact cannot accept otherness and alterity. They accept difference in culture, but not otherness in its full socio-cultural form. Following the explanation of Étienne Balibar, it is not only universalism as such that bears this view, sometimes it is also ‘the inverted form of particularistic or differentialist discourses becoming the paradoxical premises for the invention of new, enlarged forms of universalism’ (Balibar 2007).

Over the last couple of decades, Australian multiculturalism has been framed in terms of citizenship, which meant that the focus was on integration of those from diverse cultural backgrounds into the same citizenship frame. As citizens of Australia, migrants who acquired the Australian citizenship first of all had to commit to the acceptance of the Australian law (parliamentary democracy, freedom of speech and religion, gender equality and English as a national language). Nevertheless, the issue of multiculturalism very often got and still gets pronounced in the question of national identity.

Citizenship and national belonging are not homologous terms, even though they might often be equated (and in the Australian case citizenship is mostly seen formally as an indicator of national belonging). Although the policy of multiculturalism has always been framed in terms of citizenship (which was projected onto the nationality), the practical deployment of nationality in Australia, as Hage (2000, p. 50) asserts, ‘cannot be satisfactory equated with formal citizenship’. Under the formal acceptance of all citizens under the same citizenship legal umbrella, there is a considerable distinction in the degree to which one is allowed to take her/his ‘practical nationality’.⁹⁹ Using the concept of accumulating cultural capital of Pierre Bourdieu and attaching it to the concept of national capital, Hage argues that:

Thus, a national subject born to the dominant culture who has accumulated national capital in the form of the dominant linguistic, physical and cultural dispositions will yield more national belonging than a male migrant who has managed to acquire the dominant national accent and certain national cultural practices, but lacks the physical characteristics and dispositions of the dominant national ‘type’. This male migrant in turn can yield more national belonging than another female migrant or than a more recently arrived migrant who has not even mastered the basic national language or any of the dominant cultural practices.

(Hage 2000, pp. 53-54)

Hage observes something that was often apparent in my personal experiences as well as in some discussions I had with people – the potential to acquire national capital is much greater when one manages to possess the ‘right’ national language. As one of the descendants of Slovenians in Australia said in one of the interviews: ‘Here, we’ll accept whatever. And you can see... You can tell an Australian by the way they dress. I mean, number one, by the way they speak, but the way they dress, you can pick it’.¹⁰⁰ So, ‘what is the way an Australian dresses?’ one could ask. The sentiment expressed in *The Australian* cartoon (see Figure 3) is obviously only an illusion; a part of the set of the ‘Australian values’ which only migrants have to agree with or which only migrants have to adopt.

⁹⁹ ‘In the daily life of the nation, there are nationals who, on the basis of their class or gender or ethnicity, for example, practically feel and are made to be more or less nationals than others, without having to be denied, or feel they are denied, the right to be nationals as such’ (Hage 2000, p. 52).

¹⁰⁰ From the Interview, no. 25, April 2006, personal archive.

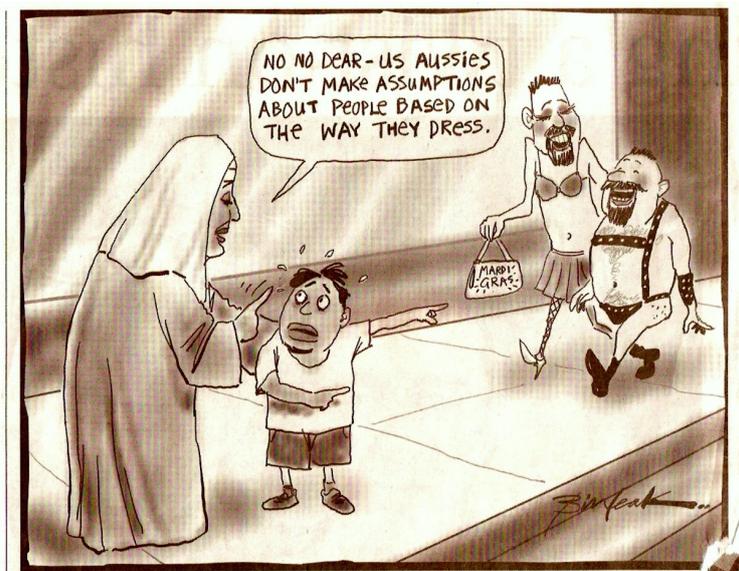


Figure 3: 'No no dear' cartoon, the *Australian* (Leak 2006)

There is a 'whatever acceptance' possible only when the right 'way of speaking' has already been acquired. Or as a young Australian Indian who moved to Australia with his parents as a child said, 'I did come with a bit of an accent, so it took a while to get used to. It wasn't too hard to fit in though' (*Strength in diversity*, 3zzz 2006). Or, another example from one of the first generation Australians, born in the 1960s to Greek parents:

I mean, I went to school at the age of five and a half, so around 1966. By that time I don't feel there was any discrimination against me being from Greek parents, from immigrant parents. I didn't feel it. I spoke English very very well having been born here, so I didn't have an identifiable accent that could be, you know, picked on by others.

(*Strength in diversity*, 3zzz 2006)

Acquiring the Australian accent seems now to be more valuable as possessing the right Australian looks. As Hage (2000, p. 56) says, '[h]aving blond hair is valuable, but if one has blond hair and an "East European accent", this does not make one more national than having brown hair and an Australian accent.'

The acquisition of language may also mean that the division of citizenship and nationality might be narrowed down. It might give a person who acquired the 'right' language the right to access a kind of 'honorary citizenship' that Frantz Fanon (2006, p. 17) talks about. 'To speak language is to take on a world,' Fanon says. 'The Antilles

Negro who wants to be white will be the whiter as he gains greater mastery of the cultural tool that language is' (Fanon 2006, p. 17). The colonial/postcolonial situation that Fanon focuses on is not entirely the same as the one we can talk about in the case of Australia, because for a black man from Antilles the doors of France were placed in front of him, but historically he did not have the means to pass through. The doors of Australia have not been so historically determined for a post WW2 immigrant or an immigrant of more recent times. In spite of this, there has been significant and repeated desire amongst non-Anglo immigrants of all periods in Australia to gain access to the club of 'real whiteness' through the doors of the 'right' language, which in turn, requires the 'right' accent.

3.6 Multiculturalism and language in Australia

One of the effects of the politics of multiculturalism in Australia was also the set-up of the multicultural media network, Special Broadcasting Service (SBS) in 1978.¹⁰¹ Ertugrul Incekara, one of the Turkish broadcasters from the early era remembers the beginnings of SBS in this way:

I couldn't believe my eyes or ears! There was even a report of a Sydney Turk driving down Parramatta Road who turned on his radio, heard the first Turkish program, stopped his truck in the middle of the road, jumped out and started to dance shouting: 'that's my language, that's my music!' Consequently, there was a traffic jam a mile long.

(Incekara in Ang, Hawkins & Dabboussy 2008, p. 60)

It would be interesting to know who the people in a 'mile long traffic jam' were and what they were saying back. Were they sympathetic to the outburst of joy of the Sydney Turk truck driver, happy to see him rejoicing in this emerging multicultural nation, or were they perhaps jumping out of their vehicles yelling at the happy truck driver, telling him that he is 'a piece of shit' (as empowered national managers often do, according to Hage) or that he should 'go back to where he came from', that 'he flew here' and that 'they grew here' (a famous catchphrase used at the 2006 Cronulla riots). And then, what would the truck driver reply if he was addressed, questioned, yelled at? Would he

¹⁰¹ SBS's 'founding parents' were experimental ethnic radio stations, 2EA and 3EA that commenced operation in 1975. Introducing 'community languages' into the public domain with a growing migrant population was an experiment and the outcome was unpredictable.

quietly get back onto his truck-seat and drive off or would he yell back at the traffic-jammers saying that ‘they’re racist’ and that ‘all Australians are dickheads’? We do not know what the story was or would have been if we traced it for a bit longer; both cases could happen, especially if we were to transpose the incident into today’s Australia.

When Amrita Cheema, a lady with ‘an unusual Indian accent’ (Ang, Hawkins & Dabboussy 2008, p. 85) was introduced as a television news presenter on the SBS programme *World News Australia* at the end of 2005, this was accompanied by the negative feedback from some viewers. Two viewers expressed their dissatisfaction in the following manner:

The presenter you have at the moment has a strong accent that implies English is not her first language. As someone who reads the news in Australia I think English should be her first language!¹⁰²

I could not believe as I watched the news tonight that the newsreader was reading news with an Indian accent! How can someone be allowed to read news in English language with such an accent? Have we run out of people who can speak proper English! I will not be watching news on SBS anymore.¹⁰³

As it has proved throughout the recent years in Australia, the topic of multilingualism is now again often reduced to the question of different accents existing in one single place. As Ang, Hawkins and Daboussy argue, ‘the negative feedback SBS received from some viewers on Cheema’s accent is evidence that intolerant, assimilationist attitudes still exist in Australia today’ and that ‘such comments show that SBS, as Australia’s multicultural broadcaster, still has an important role to play in combating the monolingual, Anglo-centric parochialism of mainstream Australia’ (Ang, Hawkins & Daboussy 2008, p. 86). Identity does not rest only in language, but language is certainly one of the most intimate elements of an identity.

3.6.1 Phases of language policy in Australia

The issue of language and language policy has been present, more or less officially, not only since the beginning of the politics of multiculturalism, but ever since the European

¹⁰² 27 December 2005; quoted in Ang, Hawkins & Dabboussy (2008, p. 86).

¹⁰³ 19 January 2006; quoted in Ang, Hawkins & Dabboussy (2008, p. 86).

settlement of Australia. The land-grabs and conflicts with indigenous Australians have been reflected also in the extermination of indigenous languages to the point where out of approximately 250 languages, representing some 600 dialects that co-existed before the British occupation, only about twenty languages are still passed on to children. Only about 50,000 indigenous Australians still speak traditional languages, which is approximately 10% of the total (Lo Bianco & Rhydwen 2001; Lo Bianco 2003). Over time and in light of reforms in education and language learning in the 1960s and 1970s, which was also the time during which multiculturalism as a policy began, the discussion on the positive aspects of bilingualism have entered the debate more prominently. However, the question of what really to promote remains pertinent: cultural/linguistic preservation or the enhancement of English literacy (Nicholls 2001).

During the 19th century, language diversity was relatively widely accepted since what existed in public attitudes got at least vaguely translated into policy (LoBianco 2003); that is with the exception of indigenous languages. There was a great mixture of languages used at that time. Apart from declining numbers of indigenous languages, the number of South Pacific, European and Asian languages were on the rise predominantly due to increasing sea cargo traffic and the gold rush. Mainstream English acted as the sole language authority, but variations were accepted on the basis of day to day exchanges and also in some formal policies of distinctive colonies. The desire for cultural homogenisation had already begun and at the turn of the century the formal policies and official texts along with certain social practices came to express this desire more vigorously. Language policies went along with immigration policies that were premised upon the exclusion of Asians, the assimilation (and eradication) of indigenous peoples and the homogenisation of the non-British.¹⁰⁴

The *nationalist phase* around the turn of the century and well into the middle of the 20th century was characterised by Australianism and the promotion of its linguistic distinctiveness. Expressions that were uniquely Australian were carefully recorded and local identity was also fostered through texts that appeared and which carried distinctive and uniquely Australian elements (and which were connected mostly to Australian

¹⁰⁴ German place names were for instance converted into English and when the radio broadcasts started, the broadcasts in languages other than English were first forbidden and later permitted with the condition that all translations were to be provided (LoBianco 2003, p. 16).

landscape, flora, fauna). Then, After WW2, Australian English was again exposed to a new variety of languages and to different variants of English. However, the immigrants in the era of the White Australia policy, in the immediate post-war era, were seen as becoming ‘new’ Australians; adapting to the new environment culturally and linguistically.

The ‘language concern’ at that time did not only exist in government circles, but also between migrants themselves, especially between the ‘older’ and ‘newer’ migrants. When for instance ‘new migrant Jews’ disembarked in Melbourne in the late 1940s, they found themselves with the card in their hands handed to them by the Australian Jewish Welfare Society which read:

Above all, do not speak German in the streets and the trams. Modulate your voices. Do not make yourself conspicuous anywhere by walking with a group of persons, all of whom are loudly speaking a foreign language. Remember that the welfare of the old-established Jewish communities in Australia, as well as of every migrant, depends on your personal behaviour. Jews collectively are judged by individuals. You, personally have a very grave responsibility.

(Martin 2008, p. 72)



Smith's Weekly, February 1947 — State Library of New South Wales

Figure 4: Anti-Jewish stereotype, Smith's Weekly, 1947 (Rutland 2002, p. 76)

Linguistic questions have also historically accompanied the Australian politics of multiculturalism and were different during the *australianism phase*. With the turn to multiculturalism in immigration policy, the linguistic question became focused more on the distinction between the categories of minority community languages and foreign

languages.¹⁰⁵ LoBianco identifies this phase as a *multicultural phase* in language policy and according to him:

the governing theoretical idea of thoughtful multicultural discourse has been for a separation of the domains of the *political* from the *cultural* nation. By this logic the political nation remains a vertical structure, a unitary, English speaking, representative parliamentary democracy, governed by law, based on notions of formal legal and economic equality, and buttressed by a single common citizenship.

(LoBianco 2003, p. 20)

The national identity was to be re-made along the multicultural lines. Language issues within this period were related mostly to special services, Adult Migrant Education Programmes and languages taught in schools.¹⁰⁶ The category of community languages became more present and these languages consisted of communities that were represented in local areas, so the schools were required to reflect their local outlook. In this way, the languages that were visible in the community started to be taught in schools as well. Multiculturalism was, as LoBianco asserts, a productive period in different areas of language policy, such as for instance the aforementioned radio broadcasts in ‘migrant’ languages. Language was an issue of governmental inquiries, which focused on language education.

Linguistic concerns were incorporated (and they became more pronounced) already within the ‘work’ of multicultural lobby groups which put out the first multicultural manifesto in 1973. The Statement on Immigrant Education, Cultures and Languages demanded, among other things,

the teaching of migrant languages and cultures in Australian schools and universities, multicultural components in teacher training, and curricula that ‘give all children an

¹⁰⁵ Under the category of ‘community languages’ there are more than 120 remaining indigenous languages and approximately 100 immigrant languages. The foreign language category has two main subdivisions; the European and the Asian (LoBianco 2003, p. 12).

¹⁰⁶ As it was mentioned in the text, Australian multiculturalism produced a unique category, a NESB (non-English speaking background) migrant. What this term officially proclaimed was that there were English speakers and all of those who were non-English (speakers) and that there was a considerable difference between these two groups. Language in Australia’s migration practices was often to serve an exclusionary desire, as for instance with the Dictation test that Australian immigration officials began using at the beginning of the 20th century.

understanding of the variety of ethnic groups in our society and which allow all groups to appreciate the special contribution that their own culture can make.

(Clyne 2003, p. 146)

For multicultural lobbyists, language issues concerned migrant education and teaching. Although they were working towards recognition and not dialogue. The questions, debates and concerns were coming from the side of the workers and workers' unions – an organisational structure that had tremendous influence in the constitution of Australia as a nation, as well as in influencing the set-up of a multicultural agenda. The situation changed slightly with the report of the Australian Ethnic Affairs Council, 'Multiculturalism for all Australians' in 1982, when apart from social cohesion and equality of access and opportunity, cultural identity was pronounced as one of the key principles essential for a multicultural society.

The 1978 Galbally report (commissioned by Prime Minister Fraser in 1977) became the basis for government policies for migrant services over the next decade and was the first 'multilingual bill' to pass through an Australian parliament. This is also where a 'cultural turn' was already visible. This Bill was 'fostering the retention of the cultural heritage of different ethnic groups and promoting intercultural understanding' (Galbally 1978). The Galbally report set up many special services for migrants.¹⁰⁷ It also made possible the extension of ethnic radio and initiated an ethnic television task force.¹⁰⁸ The negative side of it was, again, tied to the process of recognition. Ethnic groups needed to be recognised as separate entities and they needed to compete for funding among each other.

In the mid 1980s the language momentum was partially lost as the country started to think more along the economic lines and the internationalization of different productive sectors. The late 1980s in Australia culminated in the economic recession, a sharp rise

¹⁰⁷ These special services included: more grant-in-aid workers, ethnic schools, English language tuition and translation services, better communication and information, Migrant Resource Centres, the setting up of the Australian Institute of Multicultural Affairs (AIMA) in 1980 for research and policy advice, the extension of ethnic radio and the establishment of an ethnic television task force.

¹⁰⁸ Jerzy Zubrzycki criticised the report along its 'culturally predominant' traits. He argued that the Report 'only addresses issues of (...) cultural maintenance. But it completely disregards the wider issues of how will these people fit into the wider framework.' Out of the efforts of the Galbally report, however, came also the 'multicultural Special Broadcasting Service (SBS), which today 'prides itself on being "the world's most linguistically diverse broadcaster", transmitting programs in 68 languages (including English)' (Ang, Hawkins & Daboussy 2008, p. 58).

in private-sector foreign debt and economically unsustainable levels of immigration. The language moved from being a 'right' to being a 'resource' (LoBianco 2003, p. 23) and the phase of the so called *asianism* in language policies emerged. The geographic proximity to Asian countries was structured in the light of economic interest. The economic context of policy making in Australia has been 'fundamentally changed by the decisions and events of the 1980s and '90s' (Dalton et al. 1996, p. 31). The nature of the Australian economy changed from being a heavily protected, primary-producing economy to a competitive exporter of 'manufactured goods and high-technology services such as telecommunications, financial and educational services' (ibid., pp. 31.32).

The Keating Labour government in the early 1990s made language education a clear part of its project for the re-conceptualisation of national identity.¹⁰⁹ Language policy began not to entirely reflect multiculturalism policies but rather it operated in the light of new economic orientation. The calls for teaching a number of Asian languages were made and bilateral agreements were signed with Japan, South East Asia (especially Indonesia) and China in the 1990s.

According to LoBianco (2003, p. 25) in the late 1990s, the discourse around language policy changed again and returned to the assertion of the primacy of English, but this time with a more important focus on *literacy*. LoBianco argues that this turn was made more along the lines of global competitiveness rather than the new struggle to strengthen the national identity or any attempted alignment with the British culture. Following similar economic formulations, the prospects for future employment also crept into the language education.

Today language education and the presence of teaching languages reflect all mentioned phases and there has been a diversification of language training offered in schools. The new discussions on fluid and imagined communities (Anderson 1998; Tully 1997) also pose a challenge for language education and connections between the society that are based on pluralism and plurilingualism. It is questionable whether Australian political

¹⁰⁹ The Keating Labour Government (1992-1996) in particular stressed orientation towards Asian markets and made this an essential feature of Australia's well-being. The national goals were reoriented towards South-East Asia. Keating also saw a need for a singularly Australian concept of national identity that would, most of all, not be shared with Britain.

and economic voices will allow for the development of language policies in a way that will provide for some new kinds of social solidarity. The question here relates to the dependency of re-distribution to that of (cultural/linguistic) recognition. Linguistic diversity has often, throughout the history of policy multiculturalism in Australia, for instance situated individuals that ‘belonged’ to certain communities at a competitive disadvantage within the mainstream employment market. The concept of recognition remained at the cultural and linguistic foundations and even those opting for the recognition often have not seen many links between the cultural and social realms.

The solution would thus be to focus on recognition on the basis of the social status rather than the cultural one. From this perspective, Nancy Fraser proposes a ‘status model’ by which she understands recognition as a question of status. As she argues,

What requires recognition is not group-specific identity but the status of individual group members as full partners in social interaction. Misrecognition, accordingly, does not mean the depreciation and deformation of group identity, but social subordination—in the sense of being prevented from participating as a peer in social life. To redress this injustice still requires a politics of recognition, but in the ‘status model’ this is no longer reduced to a question of identity: rather, it means a politics aimed at overcoming subordination by establishing the misrecognized party as a full member of society, capable of participating on a par with the rest.

(Fraser 2000, p. 113)

As such, misrecognition would relate to structural organisation and partnership within the social organisation. It would mean changing social institutions or interaction-regulated values within the institutions. This also goes for the institutional recognition of partnership on the level of the language policies, where rethought recognition coupled with re-considered distribution would be a necessary starting point for the new developments of social solidarity.

3.6.2 Monolingual mindset of the Australian politics of multiculturalism

The above question certainly does not hold many positive promises for multilingualism in Australia at the moment. Indeed, if we take the concerns of Australian linguist Michael Clyne into account who argues that the Australian political milieu still holds strong characteristics of the ‘monolingual mindset’ (Clyne 2003), especially when

referring to the last former government of John Howard. For example, in 2006 the government introduced the Basic English language requirement within the new Citizenship test for those who wanted to become Australian citizens. Introducing the Citizenship test which also implies the knowledge of English as one of the deciding factors, certainly does not give migrants whose language is other than English, a position of equal partners within the social organisation (Fraser 2000). The existence of Citizenship test itself is a demonstration of the non-interactive nature of the citizenship dilemma. Looking at this question empirically, knowledge of the predominant language is certainly a key factor in participation in the economic market. However, setting the standard as the norm means that the possibility of 'equal partnership' is fundamentally erased.

Significant debate surrounded the issue of English language requirement at the introduction of the Citizenship test in the Australian public sphere in 2006. The *Age* published an opinion piece on December 15, 2006 entitled 'A lease of new life for White Australia' in which we could read:

The real remedy is not a literacy and history quiz, but an enhancement of a ritual that already exists for visa applications: the character test. This procedure examines any criminal record, membership of associations, risk assessment, likelihood of inciting discord or vilification, and representing a danger to the Australian community. Rather than relying on the memorised answers from the syllabus of 'Let's Participate: A Course in Australian Citizenship', more reliable data could be verified from more objective testimonials and interviews. If the English language is now perceived as essential, then the bar could be raised from basic to conversational level.

(Wakim 2006)

The *Age*, which was in the debate around the new citizenship proposal¹¹⁰ mostly criticising the introduction of the English language test, published at least dozen stories on the topic. Another article for instance read:

The Government's citizenship proposals would take Australia a long way back from where we have come over the past 40 years in terms of building a non-discriminatory immigration

¹¹⁰ A review of the Australian citizenship test was undertaken in 2008 under the new Labour government and the new citizenship test was planned to begin in mid October 2009. The key changes to the citizenship test are: (1) the test questions will be rewritten in plain English; (2) the test will not contain any mandatory questions; (3) the current pass mark will increase from 60 % to 75 %; (4) the test will be based on the Pledge of Commitment that new Australians make when becoming citizens (Department of Immigration and citizenship, *New citizenship test*).

and citizenship policy (...). Australia is a highly successful multicultural society with more than 6 million migrants since World War II. We have demonstrated world's best practice in successfully integrating generations of migrants into our community. The citizenship requirements of two years' permanent residence, basic English and a public pledge to Australia and its laws and democracy have served our nation well (...). The Government's proposed citizenship test is discriminatory and our nation would be diminished if it were introduced. The reality is our immigration program has never been more tightly controlled, so why do we need to introduce further layers of discrimination against migrants, and in particular against refugees who, against all odds, have become permanent Australian residents. We should not throw away the welcome mat and send people to the guesthouse out the back.

(Vliet 2006)

Even though the article is opposing the introduction of the English language test, I see one major problem in its lines. By claiming that the state of Australian multiculturalism throughout time has been nearly perfect, the author of the article is serving us the same sentiment that resides also in the core of the imaginary White Australian 'managerial' multiculturalism. The problem of White multiculturalism and its management is that it is racist in its tone and in its attitude. It is a slippery, pretending political concept. Its play is a performance and often it is a performance of words of arrogance. It claims its space, it possesses its nation, it knows its symbols. There is not a lot of uncertainty in what the White multiculturalist and also the author of this opinion piece is saying. It feels like the author has closed the chapter. All that is received in response is or can be a mere performance as well.

According to Michael Clyne, Australian multiculturalism has worked in a 'persistent monolingual mindset' (2003: ix) throughout time, which practically set monolingualism as a norm and acted according to it. A monolingual mindset that, as Clyne proclaims, always looks for excuses and tries to find something that is wrong, does not come only from the side of those who use English as their first and only language. The monolingual mindset has in many ways mirrored the take on migration issues in Australia as well. An especially bracketed and closed-off NESB migrant was someone who is to be feared because – at least when he/she will learn English, which will most probably eventually happen – he/she will not only 'want something from us', but will mirror 'our' lack as well.

Knowing an extra language as something that makes you ‘richer’ was something I often heard, especially when talking to descendants of Slovenian migrants who arrived in Australia predominantly in the 1960s. In one of the interviews I was for instance told:

The Potica [traditional Slovenian walnut cake] stays within the family and within a group, Slovenian group, you know, you bake Potica and you go to a Slovenian family. But that’s not enough to influence the rest of Australia, because Slovenians are a bit, you know ... Italian food... big... Greek food... big. Because it’s bigger lot of people. So, the language is the only thing where Australians know that you’re Slovenian or that others know that you’re Slovenian. If you’re Greek or Italian, you can do it with food.

(...)

You have to know who you are as in background and I think I feel a lot richer, because I have this background in comparison to an Australian who doesn’t, who is here for three generations. I feel richer.¹¹¹

However, according to Clyne, a monolingual mindset can be present also with those people who migrate with one language and never seriously explore the national language of the country to which they migrated nor any other language. Clyne quotes a letter to the Prime Minister from the Australian Linguistic Society in 1978 that affirms his argument about the monolingualistic mindset that still persists in the Australian society today:

It appears to be widely believed in Australia that foreign languages are essentially unlearnable to normal people, and that Australians have a special innate anti-talent for learning them. Multilingualism is too hard for us, it is really for ‘the others’. English, on the other hand, is learnable and even those languages which a normal person, and especially Australian could never learn, can be learnt easily and effortlessly by people whose first language is not English.

(Clyne 2003, p. 21)

The openness towards other, foreign languages in Australia was perhaps even larger before there was any talk about multiculturalism whatsoever. In the second half of the 19th century for instance, when there was not as much administrative clearness and perhaps more potential for chaos, almost all business transactions in Melbourne and Adelaide could be done in German, and ‘as many as eight newspapers were published in

¹¹¹ Interview, no. 25, April 2006; personal archive. The interview was conducted in a blend of Slovenian and English. For the purposes of this thesis I (partly) translated it into English.

that language in Australia' (Clyne 2003, p. 2).¹¹² This was a practical reflection of what was already happening in the everyday life though. The legal framework became much more complicated and developed over the time. Nonetheless, with the introduction of multiculturalism as a policy, in spite of the national programmes that tend to promote and fund language services, the general outlook for language plurality might be decreasing.

In recent years, there have also been many discussions on English as one and only language in the nation that forms Australia. This has been reflected in different media programmes as well. We could say that this is a sign of cultural homogenisation in Australia. However, this would not be an exact nor fair observation. Looking at the issue from the bottom-up, we can say that at the same time there has been a rise in different English languages in Australia. Accents are getting more and more diverse and this can be challenging, even though it often causes a sort of shame¹¹³ or frustration from the side of those who speak 'wrongly' or who speak language with an accent. In one of the interviews, I heard about an experience from a person who migrated to Australia from Slovenia in the beginning of the 1990s:

Because it has never occurred to me that first I have to learn how to speak. That this is very important. That this is really very important. And when I started to work and (...) I still didn't speak. You know how ashamed I was? Not that I wouldn't know anything. I understood, I just wasn't sure, you don't have that confidence and you think: 'What will happen if I say this now and everyone will laugh?' And then a lady said to me: listen, you're not the only one who doesn't know how to speak. There's more people that speak and understand less than you (...). There's people that have been here for thirty years and they still don't speak well.¹¹⁴

We still know who drives this community, but this community has internally diversified. Ang, Hawkins and Dabboussy assert that 'as the number of non-native speakers of English grows in Australia and worldwide, the variants of English – its idioms and accents – will also multiply, generating new cultural tensions and

¹¹² For some time, government tenders in South Australia had to be published in German as well as English. Later in the 19th century, newspapers in five languages were published in Australia and 17 churches in Victoria had sermons in Welsh (Clyne 2003, p. 2).

¹¹³ Shame is, according to Thomas Scheff, the emotion that occurs when we feel too close or too far from others. When too close, we feel exposed or violated; when too far, we feel invisible or rejected (Scheff in Pardy 2009).

¹¹⁴ Interview, no. 26, August 2006, personal archive. The interview was originally conducted in Slovenian. I translated it into English for the purposes of this thesis.

possibilities' (Ang, Hawkins & Daboussy 2008, p. 85). So, it is also positive challenges and possibilities that arise with new variations of the same language being introduced and accommodated.

3.7 Symbolic multiculturalism in Australia

Multiculturalism in Australia is an issue that is important in a broad array of concerns. Multiculturalism and multilingualism are important political issues in Australia. They are cultural issues; issues that relate to the national identity and to citizenship. Multiculturalism is predominantly an urban issue. It marks a vast turnaround in the everyday lives of people and it changes the legislations that govern them. Popular multiculturalism today is a way of life and constitutes a desired cornerstone for the urban mindset. In Melbourne, this is so at least among a growing population of the relatively wealthy, cosmopolitan inner city crowd, among which the imagined and symbolically effective ontological gap between multiculturalism and 'racist violence' has been seemingly widening. But, throughout all of this, has multiculturalism also been or become a way of thinking? And if it had, did this contribute to more fluid exchanges between migrants and 'non-migrants'?

This question goes deeper to where politics alone can reach, even though it is politics that constructs it. For settlers, it depends upon what they know, what they have learned, what their preferences in life are. For migrants, it depends on each individual situation as well. One of the participants in the study, a migrant from Slovenia, said in one of the discussions:

[It makes a difference] If you migrate because you were hungry at home or because your friend lives there or because you will get marry to someone or because you want to get away from all those people who you don't like anymore. You know what I mean. It depends. (...). And if you leave home with anger, you will need some time to throw all that anger away and start living.¹¹⁵

Even though political multiculturalism existed in Australia for close to forty years, part of it, such as for instance multilingualism, can still be 'shocking' in everyday

¹¹⁵ Interview, no. 4, August 2006, personal archive. The interview was originally conducted in Slovenian. I translated it into English for the purposes of this thesis.

encounters for people. As for example a lady from the Collingwood-Clifton Hill Tennant Association whose original language is Maori describes her experience:

I guess it was not a conflict, it was just a shocker for myself as when I was in a lift in building 253 and it was an African man in the lift with me and he greeted me in my language. I was stunned because here was an African man speaking my language (...). He was a complete stranger of another country speaking my language. Well, that blew me away (...). I couldn't believe that I actually had a full on conversation with an African gentleman, because Maori is not a world-wide language, such as Japanese, Mandarin, Vietnamese and all. You don't get to hear it often and I think when it came from a different ethnic all together it was like...was a big shock.

(Strength in diversity, 3zzz 2006)

The beginning of the 21st century has been marked by widespread criticism of the politics of multiculturalism. The consequences of its implementation in everyday life have come under increasing levels of scrutiny and have led to a re-examination of the policy as a political, national preoccupation. Post WW2 migration was characterised by labour migration in Australia as well as in Western Europe, where 'guest-workers' and their malleable status were desirable. In Australia, post WW2 labour migrants found themselves with a great (symbolic) power of the Australian working-class. At the time when multiculturalism as a policy in Australia began to be established, these migrant labourers were still working in the factories, in the mines, on the large-scaled hydroelectric projects and so on. Working class migrants with the support of the tradition of unionism then became the struggle holder and the symbolic promoter of the new agenda that eventually brought multiculturalism in its place in Australia. The migrant worker always remained different to the Aussie bloke, also when working in the same factory, in the same mine, on the same hydroelectric project. This could be fine if the difference would not too often attach itself to a certain social (and economic) platform. Here, we can talk about exclusion in and only by inclusion. This is also where a paradox of 'white multiculturalism' lies; in its boundaries that are predominantly internal and also internally structured.¹¹⁶ Exclusion would not be possible if there was

¹¹⁶ In relation to the migrant working class in Australia, Hage asserts that 'the exclusion of migrant labour was not total, since obviously its aim was not to drive them outside social space, but to drive them to the point where it was precisely their inclusion (and cheap labour) that became viable. Thus, paradoxically, it is precisely the interest in their inclusion that activated the existing social processes of their exclusion, while at the same time setting limits on how far to the margin of society they ought to be excluded' (Hage 2001, p. 135).

no need for inclusion in the first place. That is, at least in case of those migrants who arrived because they were needed. The reduction of the inclusion/exclusion concept can be seen most clearly in the case of asylum seekers, even though incorporation (and rejection) and dealing with the strangest stranger is also essential in the production of our sense of 'being at home'.

'So is there nothing to the promise of multicultural belonging? Is it a cruel joke?' asks Maree Pardy (2006a, p. 18). Drawing on the work of Lauren Berlant, she says that 'perhaps attachment to multicultural belonging is 'cruel optimism' (...) because it entails attachment to an object (belonging) that will never arrive, attachment in advance of its loss' (ibid.). Multiculturalism in Australia, as a hierarchical racialised concept does not offer migrants the 'right' to belong. 'Diversity' is not a concept that the organisational structure would really adopt (Faist 2009a). Migrants often remain the others and they also belong to the other. They wish to belong, but in the circumstances of multiculturalism today, they cannot belong. 'For the visibly different to be differently visible the gaze of multiculturalism must be transformed,' claims Pardy. And we could add here that for the audibly different, the talk of multiculturalism, debates about it and the way it addresses difference must also change.

In the next chapter, we will discuss how the process of differentiation (and urban multiculturalism) have been acquired on a scale that is usually seen as subordinate to the national level; the scale of the city. However, as the logic of this thesis demonstrates, while following a 'regular' line of thought, familiar to the processes connecting us to the past, there always needs to be space and motivation left for the argument to be read in the reverse order. And on the level of the city, followed by the everyday, common and local, we might find the space still left voiceless and ready to be filled with the feeling of belonging.

4 CITY BEAT

(...)
Cities of action, of noise, of life.
There are many cars -so brightly lit- to race around dark, worn, Melbourne
Streets,
Cars to colour the city night.
Cars to erode the silence.
Trams passing to frame the ambiguous experiences of urban citizens.
The night air breathes.
The night air leads.
Rain falls suddenly to pockmark the emotions of restless, city dreamers, slaves
To the essential comfort of their lives.
But in the end they smile.
Because they believe in the wonder of simple pleasures.

Sleep leads on for all who breathe, ignoring complexity, bringing peace.
Carl Rickard¹¹⁷

Melbourne holds many different, sometimes conflicting meanings. Parts of its history are rather unforgiving; they seem silent and distant. There are also parts that are vivacious and full of life.

Sometimes Melbourne's past, especially the past connected to the colonial heritage, looks as if it was too exposed and too insensitive. A construct of roughness is in Australian popular imagining often connected to its 'newness'; the soft, star-like poetics, on the other hand, characterises the dreamtime. This distinction has been present throughout history, especially throughout the colonial history, where the others occupied a radically different world, but can be sensed in the present life of the city too.

This chapter examines the urban space of Melbourne, its timeline and its present outlook, focusing on its development from the colonial and gold-digging village to a modern multicultural (and multilingual) metropolis. We begin with the birth of the city in the 19th century, addressing the urban versus suburban divide – an idea that came to the forefront in the middle of the 20th century – and discuss new developments, corresponding to the urban renewal and revitalization of present Melbourne. We will return to the idea and the image of the multicultural and cosmopolitan city as we conclude.

¹¹⁷ C Rickard (2005, p. 292), excerpt from a poem 'Distances Removed'.

This chapter does not discuss sociability and interrelations specifically (this is the purpose of the following chapters) even though social interrelations do influence the way city as a whole is framed and constructed and vice versa. As the actual localities explored are set mostly in the city centre of Melbourne, this chapter focuses primarily on the changing nature of the inner city of Melbourne.

4.1 ‘Planning’ of Australia and initiation of Melbourne

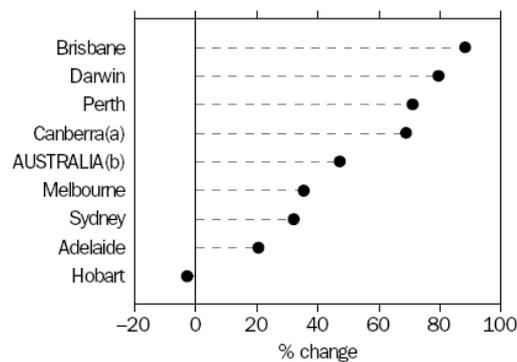
Most Australian cities, built up by the British, as well as the country as a whole began without an entirely thought through plan. In the progressively industrialised Britain of the late 18th and early 19th centuries, Australia seemed an appropriate place to send convicts in order to form a penal colony, much-needed to alleviate Britain’s overcrowded jails. Australia was not, however, the first land to receive British convicts; Northern America served as such land in the 17th and 18th centuries already. However, due to the American revolutionary war, America’s ties to Britain were effectively severed, together with its willingness and obligation to receive its criminals, and the newly-claimed continent of Australia replaced America in the British colonial plan.

The First Fleet arrived in Botany Bay in New South Wales in January 1788 and on the 26 January the first permanent European settlement was established in the area, where later Sydney was formed. From then on, convicts and other migrants, such as military and free settlers, were arriving in Australia constantly, but there was no clear idea in Britain nor in Australia how the settlement would actually continue to develop. Victoria and Melbourne certainly bear remnants of such penal settlements as well, even though Melbourne was not formed primarily as a penal settlement. As we will see, the initiation and sprawl of Melbourne has rather different beginnings of Sydney, for example, which was primarily established as a convict settlement.

The composition of Australia’s cities in general has been changing considerably over the 20th century and continues to change into the 21st. Nonetheless, today’s cities stand upon areas that were always important settlement grounds first for Australian indigenous population and then for all different categories of migrants that followed after colonisation. The first penal settlements were established at the coastal regions where cities later developed; however, the colonies were in general started

predominantly as rural settlements. In 1911, after the colonies federated, Australian society was predominantly centred on producing raw materials with strong hold in mining, and 42% of population were living in rural areas.¹¹⁸ As the figures provided by the Australian Bureau of Statistics show, by 2006, only 12% of Australians were living in rural areas and over three quarters (77%) in towns and cities of over 1,000 people within fifty kilometres off the coast (*Picture of the Nation, Where do Australians Live*, ABS 2006).

Metropolitan urban areas¹¹⁹ in 2006 accommodated 57% of population (11 million) of Australia. In the thirty years span between the mid-1970s and 2006, the Queensland state capital of Brisbane was/is experiencing the quickest growth (88%). Melbourne grew by 36% in the same time (see Figure 5).



(a) Includes Queanbeyan–NSW.
 (b) Excludes Other Territories.

Figure 5: Capital city urban areas, population growth rate, 1976-2006 (ABS 2006)

Today’s Melbourne is a city of about four million. Melbourne was officially named in 1837 (it was previously known, curiously, as Bearbrass); the inauguration of the city as well as the creation of its name belonged to the British. Melbourne was named after the British Prime Minister, Lord Melbourne. Two years earlier in 1835, John Batman, a successful Tasmanian entrepreneur, had sailed from Tasmania up Port Phillip Bay to the

¹¹⁸ The classification of urban and rural in the Australian Bureau of Statistics refers today to the Urban Centre and Locality and Section of State classifications (ABS 2006, *Statistical Geography: Volume 1—Australian Standard Geographical Classification*).

¹¹⁹ Metropolitan urban areas include the capital cities, and surrounding suburbs, of Sydney, Melbourne, Brisbane, Adelaide, Perth and Hobart, with Canberra included since 1954. This classification of Urban division includes the category of ‘Other Urban’ (the remaining incorporated towns and cities) and rural areas.

mouth of Yarra River and ‘purchased’ 600,000 acres of land from the local indigenous people. There are uncertainties regarding the way Batman took over the land and there are also doubts about Batman’s landing on the Yarra. Some people believe that Batman never entered the Yarra, but instead sailed up the Maribyrnong River and then crossed overland to the area where Melbourne stands today.¹²⁰ What we do know is that Batman did sail up some river to get to the fertile grasslands. On 8 June he wrote in his journal: ‘So the boat went up the large river (...) and (...) I am glad to state about six miles up found the River all good water and very deep. This will be the place for a village’ (Batman in Flannery 2002, p. 8).

John Pascoe Fawcner followed Batman two months later and also settled on the grounds of today’s Melbourne. Then Robert Hoddle, Melbourne’s original surveyor, arrived in 1837 together with Richard Bourke, an explorer and former governor of New South Wales, and the city grid was set.¹²¹ On the 14 April 1837 Bourke wrote to his son:

Melbourne is a beautiful site for a town and there will soon be a very pretty one erected. In laying it out I have avoided the cross into which my predecessors fell in establishing Sydney and the people of the new town will not have to go over this work a second time as we are now doing in Sydney Flats.

(Bourke in Flannery 2002, p. 76)

After the erection of Batman’s initial ‘village’, more settlers followed and Melbourne was officially transformed from a town to a city in 1849.¹²² Soon after that numerous land speculators came into town and the era of building a ‘marvellous city’ began. There was a general satisfaction with the way city was set up, but some were also dissatisfied.¹²³ Hoddle was designating a city with ‘streets wide enough to

¹²⁰ This is for instance the opinion of Larry Walsh, an Aboriginal cultural adviser working in the Maribyrnong area of Melbourne (Walsh 2003, pp. 12-18).

¹²¹ Hoddle was also an auctioneer at the first land sale.

¹²² On 3 August 1849, Act 13 Victoria No. 14 was agreed to become an Act to effect a change in the style and title of the corporation of Melbourne rendered necessary by the erection of the town of Melbourne to a city. The local indigenous population decreased significantly and was practically eradicated from the city. A penitentiary was built for the convicts in 1850.

¹²³ In 1849-50, an anonymous author wrote in one of the pamphlets: ‘Have we laid out a noble plan which might hereafter be worthily filled up? Have we drawn our rough sketch aright, leaving it time to complete the picture? Have we laid the foundations of a great edifice which might hereafter grow into an august pile? Alas, we have done nothing of all this. Melbourne boasts no large central square, possesses no main arterial streets, conducting to the heart of the town, ventilating its back lanes, and carrying health to its crowded quarters; has no broad suburban roads, giving easy access to the country, no boulevards, no great lines of communication uniting the public buildings. It has its river; but the lines of the houses on the

accommodate bullock teams hauling big loads of goods. This was not necessarily how new migrants envisaged city life.

Melbourne's beginnings were different to those of Sydney. Initiated at the time of the First and Second Fleets, Sydney had directly served as a settlement for the convicts and other migrants that travelled with them. Melbourne, on the other hand, was a settlement that flourished in the time of migration during different waves of the gold rush in Victoria. Therefore, Melbourne was from its inception dealing with the connection of colonialism and capitalism (commodity capitalism).¹²⁴

Melbourne wanted to resemble the colonial city; it did to some extent, but the resemblance was never entirely complete. This culminated in a feeling of confusion, because the place could resemble 'home' but at the same time there was something utterly strange (and foreign) in it that prevented people to find a true 'safe haven' there.¹²⁵

From its beginnings, Melbourne was a culturally, visibly and linguistically diverse city (see Figure 6). The miner William Rayment described the city at that time as 'truly a wonderful place (...) a perfect Babel' of languages and cultures (Lee 2008, p. 105). People in this uncanny colonial, strange city found their own ways of commuting and creating their own, 'human-sized' networks. This is how the (darker and more mysterious) character of laneways were formed, forgotten and then again rediscovered by the urban planners and their promoters at the end of the 20th century.

banks, instead of gracefully sweeping round with the stream, run off at a tangent from it. In short, the only skill exhibited in the plan of Melbourne is that involved in the use of square and compass. We have planned our metropolis as we should plan a coal pit' (Anonymous in Flannery 2002, p. 158).

¹²⁴ As McCann reminds us in explaining the work of Marcus Clarke, 'the dislocations of capitalism are also the dislocations of colonialism (...). The confluence of colonialism and capitalism is literalised, of course, in the gold rushes that brought speculators and miners from all over the world to the Victorian goldfields and transformed Melbourne into one of the great cities of the Victorian era within the space of a generation' (McCann 2004, p. 7).

¹²⁵ Captain Fernando Villaamil, on the round-the-world tour celebrating the fourth centenary of Columbus' discovery of the Americas in 1893 observed: 'Melbourne has American customs and looks like an English city. But anyone who is familiar with the people to be found in the streets of New York and London will not find any resemblance at all those seen in the streets of Melbourne. If it were not for the fact that one hears perfect English spoken, anyone would think that they had been transposed to Barcelona, Naples or Marseilles. For every Anglo-Saxon man or woman there are fifty or more whose physical appearance recalls southern Europe' (Villaamil in Flannery 2002, p. 361).

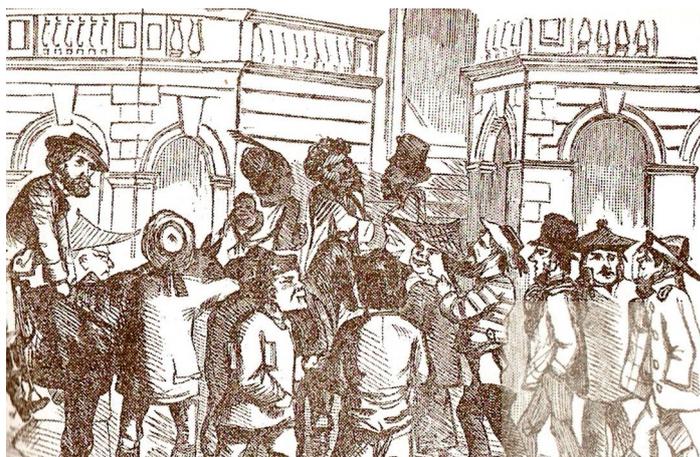


Figure 6: A *Melbourne Punch* caricature of Melbourne's polyglot population in 1856 (Lee 2008, p. 105)

4.2 Melbourne comes to gold

In the mid-19th century, gold was discovered in Victoria. In 1852 alone, 370,000 migrants arrived in Australia and in just two years the colony's population grew from 77,000 to 540,000. The number of new arrivals exceeded the number of convicts and the total population increased from 430,000 in 1851 to 1.7 million in 1871. There was a diversity of people in the goldfields and subsequently in Melbourne. Although predominantly British, there were also many Americans, French, Italian, German, Polish, Hungarian and Chinese. In 1861, Chinese migrants made up 3.3 % of the Australian population, the greatest it has ever been (Australian Government, *The Australian Gold Rush*). Among 38,337 Chinese gold-diggers, there were only eleven women. Many Chinese departed when their contracts expired, but this did not account for the fact that the experience of the goldfields and therefore also of Melbourne was utterly multicultural (and masculine).

The city sprawled in the last two decades of the 19th century and became prosperous, and the affectionate name 'Marvellous Melbourne' began to be used, first by the English journalist George Sala. He wrote in the *Daily Telegraph* in the 1880s:

It is desirable, for many reasons, that I should explain why I have called Melbourne a marvellous city. The metropolis and seat of government of the colony of Victoria has at present, within a ten-mile radius, including the city and suburbs, a population of more than 282,000 souls (...). Omnibuses, hansoms, and hackney wagonettes swarm in the streets, and very soon an extensive system of horse-tramway cars will be thrown open (...). The town

hall is gigantic and imposing; the general post office vast (...). There is a splendid university (...). There are asylums, markets, hospitals, coffee palaces, public and private schools, clubs, parks, gardens, racecourses (...). The whole city, in short, teems with wealth even as it does with humanity. Well, you may say, what is wonderful in all this? Melbourne is the prosperous capital of a prosperous British colony. What is there to marvel at in its possession of all, or nearly all, the features of the most advanced civilisation? But there is thus much that is marvellous in Melbourne. The city is not fifty years old.

(Sala in Flannery 2002, p. 327)

In the era of the gold rush, Melbourne was rapidly becoming one of the most important Victorian cities and all of this happened in the relatively short time span of only about fifty years. 'Cosmopolitan' (in a sense of worldliness) was uttered quite often in those times and as a term it was eagerly dragged back in the 21st century, when Melbourne was again on its quest to find its own, specific identity that it could market in the conditions of new global capitalism.

Marcus Clarke, a renowned Australian writer of the 19th century and himself a migrant, wrote about the characteristic of Australian cities in his time, where there was no common, melancholic or nostalgic reference to the land. The land was new and it was also considered by its European settlers to be terra nullius. As Andrew McCann writes in his book on 'Clarke's Bohemia', when Clarke wrote about the Australian mining township of Grumbler's Gully, he noted that 'the town contains people of all ranks of society, of all nations, of all opinions.' Everyone is 'surrounded with his or her particular aureole of civilisation.' The people of Grumbler's Gully play the 'latest music', drink the 'most fashionable brand of beer', read the 'latest novels' and take a keen interest in fragments of news from Europe. 'Admits all this', Clarke tells us 'there is no nationality'. The lack of romanticism in Clarke's writing was the condition of 'lack of history' or, again, 'newness'. In the main street of the mining Grumbler's Gully, everything was desperately 'new' (McCann 2004, p. 7). And the people, so diversely put together into one place that could not be romanticised because there was nothing to romanticise about, was 'found rehearsing its lack of unity in its commitment to a modern culture of novelty' (ibid.). There was a certain type of romance or nostalgia present, but this was not nostalgia for some specific place/home/city; it was more romanticism of the act or condition of being or becoming mobile.

Clarke's writing is useful and rewarding for our case. At the time of Clarke's short career as a writer, Melbourne was indeed flourishing. In 1860, as McCann observes, the Victorian gold fields had an export value of £9 million a year, a third of the total global gold production.

Along with that development, nationalistic movements promoting the nation and states of the 'new Australia' – promoting also the idea of a common federation, but more importantly the formation of 'Australia for the Australians' (which meant Australia for white Australians) – was proclaimed. In the 1880s in Australia, nationalism was already intertwined with radicalism.¹²⁶ Question of nationality became relatively pervasive during the years leading towards the first constitution in 1901.¹²⁷

At the time Melbourne wished to be a great 'European city' of the Antipodes and it wished to be metropolitan. It was succeeding in this goal for many new inhabitants. Melbourne was also a 'profoundly masculine' town. It was here that the feeling and construction of a special kind of masculinity and mateship, so important later in the context of building the national identity, was initiated. Even though there were, of course, women in Victoria and in Australia, they were most often 'reduced' to accompanying men, to live in socially and economically unenviable conditions, on the fringes of society – and in this way they were often unnoticeable or even invisible, and so the quest for identity was predominantly a masculine matter.¹²⁸

This identity was 'award-winning' for Melbourne: the city became the first capital of the Federation in 1901; it held this role granted to it only temporarily until 1927, when the federal parliament was moved to the new planned city of Canberra.

¹²⁶ The beginnings of the Australian radicalism of the 1880s and 1890s were very varied. As Bruce Scates writes, Australia during that time was 'a heady mixture of libertarianism and republicanism, free thought and feminism' (Scates 1997, p. 15).

¹²⁷ Before that time, we have to see Australian colonies as divided entities, linked to the throne of the British ruler, but not entirely interconnected among themselves. The radical programme promoting a 'new' nation started to appear in public towards the end of the century. Brisbane's *Boomerang*, promoting radical programme in Queensland for instance published the following text: 'It is not enough that Queensland shall be white, she must also be governed with justice; and States which would be governed with justice must first of all govern themselves' (William Lane, *Boomerang*, 1 September 1888 in Alomes & Jones (1991, p. 83)).

¹²⁸ The 'progressive' movements and societies as they were seen in times prior to the Federation of 1901, such as for instance the radical nationalists, have often had male mateship in minds when they tried to justify or give reasons for the absolute necessity of bringing federation into existence (Walter 1992, p. 18).

4.3 Multicultural Melbourne after WW2

Since the initiation of Federation and as a federal capital, Melbourne has been developing, sprawling horizontally and vertically. It slowed down somewhat during the recession of the 1920s but was further developed following the influx of ‘new’ migrants between the First and Second world wars, especially after WW2. Economy boomed, there was much extra labour from abroad to work in new factories and in the mines. Many post-war migrants first settled in the inner suburbs of Melbourne as houses were vacated by the longer-term Australians, who moved to the newer outer suburbs. The concept and place of suburbia rose and became widely adopted. After one generation of settlement, post-war migrants ventured out of the city. Their houses were demolished or occupied by people, who arrived after them. Melbourne began its suburban sprawl in the 1950s and 1960s. As Colin Long and Kate Shaw argue:

Thirty-five years of gentrification and restructuring have fundamentally altered the social structure of Melbourne. In the late nineteenth century well-to-do fled the inner city to get away from cramped living conditions, insalubrious air and the working class, establishing new suburbs in the cleared bush and alongside the bay. This was the result of a thorough economic change and until the 1960s, the inner suburbs were abandoned to the poor and migrants by those who could afford to live elsewhere.

(Long & Shaw 2005, p. vii)

The ‘quarter acre’ block of land in the outer suburbs with a spacious one-storey house and front veranda became desirable, evoking a new ‘Australian dream’. Since that time, the process has actually been gradually reversing: the poor (and migrants) have necessarily started moving towards the city edge where housing prices are cheaper while the well-off, young and groovy populate the inner suburbs. ‘If it’s multiculturalism you want,’ say Long and Shaw (2005, p. viii), ‘try Dandenong or Preston as well as Victoria Street, Richmond’.¹²⁹ We must wonder, however, for how long Dandenong - and even more Preston, since it is closer to the city - will indeed still be considered outer suburbs of Melbourne; as we read in the *Age* in 2008, ‘If it’s not already the case, Melbourne will soon boast a girth of 100 kilometres as it seeks to accommodate hundreds of thousands of new Victorians while giving succour to Australians’ cherished ambition of home ownership’ (Millar & Mann 2008). In this

¹²⁹ Dandenong and Preston are today still outer suburbs, while Richmond counts as an inner suburb.

climate, the boundaries of the city and of what counts as outer and inner suburbia changes constantly.

In terms of ‘cultural and linguistic diversity’ today, which is a term used in the official documents, such as the national statistics, in Australia, overall one in five people (21.9%) were born overseas and three in twenty (15.7%) speak a language other than English at home (Department of Immigration and Citizenship 2008). In Victoria, 23.8% of people were born overseas. Along with these, stating a different ancestry to ‘Australian’ in Victoria, 43.69% were either born or have a parent born overseas (Table 1). Victorians come from more than 230 countries, speak more than 200 languages and dialects and follow more than 120 religious faiths (DIAC 2008). With migrants continuing to arrive under different categories, so-called ‘skilled migration’ and temporary migration being most promoted during the recent years, approximately one fourth of all migrants arriving in Australia settle in Victoria; of these an estimated 90% settle in Melbourne (DIAC 2008). As the Victorian Government’s official publications proclaim, ‘migrants are now better educated, younger, and more job-ready, with the language skills to operate successfully in the Australian workforce’ (Victorian Government 2004).

A real change in the urban composition, especially if we look at it from the central point of view from the Melbourne’s city centre and the close surrounding areas, is posed by temporary migrants on different types of visas, from business to working holiday and student. International students, in a similar manner to more permanent migrants, have also made a specific and considerable economic impact. For instance, the annual intake of international students ‘generates more than \$1 billion [Australian] in revenue for the educational institutions and \$500 million spill-over into other areas of economic activity such as accommodation’ (DIAC 2008).

There were over 60,000 international students studying in Victoria in 2003 and over the years, international education has become one of the fastest growing export industries. In addition to bringing money into the country, international students bring also their cultures and their languages. Often international students are, at least in the beginning, true temporary entrants that understand their migration differently to, for instance, ‘skilled’ migrants arriving into the country with the aim to settle more permanently. A

greater diversity is promoted by the higher number of international students. Visibility of this diversity is also higher as we are talking about younger people who are present in the public, in the streets, going out, using public transport etc. While the numbers of skilled migrant intake has already faced a decrease in light of the economic downturn, the keenness on attracting international students is not likely to be decreased; as international students pay much higher student fees, are willing to pay more for their accommodation, are keen on staying in the city centre, and often do not require the same settlement services as permanent migrants (argued, by some, to be a drain on the economy), they contribute significantly to the growth of the general economy. Nevertheless, many temporary migrants, such as international students, often seek to remain permanently in the country at the end of their studies, having already established social links during their studies, Australian qualifications, and knowledge of the language, this economically understood condition of their migration is subject to change.

Table 1: Population diversity in Australia and Victoria. 2001-2006 census changes (Melbourne City Research 2007)

Key Facts	Australia			Victoria		
	1996	2001	2006	1996	2001	2006
Total Population	17,752,829	18,769,249	19,855,290	4,414,195	4,660,991	4,932,422
Overseas-Born (OSB) Population						
Total OSB	3,908,213	4,105,648	4,416,035	1,050,802	1,088,787	1,173,203
Born in a NIMESC ^(a) Persons	2,414,893	2,554,462	2,792,727	761,813	792,253	865,826
Born in a NIMESC as a % of the population	13.6	13.6	14.1	17.3	17.0	17.6
Born in a NIMESC as a % of the OSB	61.8	62.2	63.2	72.5	72.8	73.8
Australia-Born						
Total Australia-born	13,227,776	13,629,481	14,072,946	3,215,743	3,314,835	3,434,471
As a % of the population	74.5	72.6	70.9	72.9	71.1	69.6
With both parents born overseas	1,473,785	1,503,610	1,586,389	449,514	458,519	482,919
With both parents born overseas as a % of the pop	8.3	8.0	8.0	10.2	9.8	9.8
With only one parent born overseas	1,896,078	1,924,280	2,030,448	450,473	460,170	488,603
With one parent OSB as a % of the population	10.7	10.3	10.2	10.2	9.9	9.9
Aboriginals/Torres Strait Islanders^(b)						
Total Persons	352,970	410,003	455,026	21,503	25,059	30,143
As a % of the population	2.0	2.2	2.3	0.5	0.5	0.6
Language other than English (LOTE)						
Speak a LOTE at home	2,657,767	2,853,851	3,146,198	872,845	923,872	1,007,438
LOTE speakers as a % of the population	15.0	15.2	15.8	19.8	19.8	20.4
Religious Affiliation						
With a religion, as a % of the population	74.7	74.7	70.1	72.5	72.8	68.4

^(a) Non Main-English Speaking Countries (NIMESC) – all other countries of birth.
^(b) Persons who identify themselves as being of Australian Aboriginal and/or Torres Straits Islanders.

Even though one can often hear that Melbourne is ‘booming’, it must be noted that this boom has occurred largely in prices, particularly in the prices of housing, and Victoria more broadly has also had a significantly higher degree of new arrivals in comparison with other Australian states in recent years. The origin of these new arrivals between 2001 and 2006 (Table 2) changed slightly in comparison with the past origins of migrants. During 2001 and 2006, the highest number of people arrived from India (24,420), China (21,553), New Zealand (15,846) and England (15,129).

Table 2: Birthplaces with largest number of overseas arrivals between 2001 and 2006 (DIAC 2008)

Birthplaces with Largest Number of Overseas Arrivals between 2001 and 2006

Arriving between 2001 and 2006			Arriving between 2001 and 2006		
Birthplace	Persons	As % of Arrivals	Birthplace	Persons	As % of Arrivals
India	24,420	12.4	Iraq	3,039	1.5
China (excl SARs & Taiwan)	21,553	10.9	Thailand	2,766	1.4
New Zealand	15,846	8.0	Japan	2,564	1.3
England	15,129	7.7	Afghanistan	2,177	1.1
Other Country	9,242	4.7	Pakistan	2,090	1.1
Malaysia	9,080	4.6	Scotland	1,975	1.0
Sri Lanka	7,048	3.6	Germany	1,853	0.9
Philippines	5,854	3.0	Bangladesh	1,755	0.9
Indonesia	5,578	2.8	Canada	1,551	0.8
South Africa	5,185	2.6	Fiji	1,547	0.8
Viet Nam	5,066	2.6	Turkey	1,447	0.7
Sudan	4,980	2.5	Taiwan	1,445	0.7
Singapore	4,579	2.3	Lebanon	1,398	0.7
United States of America	4,036	2.1	Mauritius	1,379	0.7
Hong Kong (SAR of China)	4,001	2.0	Other birthplaces	24,922	12.7
Korea, Republic of (South)	3,351	1.7	Total Persons	196,856	100.0

Australian statistics also monitor the category of ‘Languages other than English’ (LOTE) spoken among migrants. In Victoria, the largest increase occurred in spoken Mandarin, Arabic, Vietnamese and Hindi (Table 3 and Figure 7). While other languages traditionally observed as ‘migrant languages’ (such as Italian and Greek) still persist, the population speaking them is aging and other languages are on the increase.

Table 3: Victoria: Language other than English, increase in number of speakers between 2001 and 2006 (DIAC 2008)

Victoria: Language other than English, Increase in Number of Speakers between 2001 and 2006 Census

Languages other than English (LOTE)	2006	2001	Change 2001-06	
	Persons	Persons	Persons	% Increase
1 Mandarin	64,374	38,863	25,511	65.6
2 Arabic	55,931	47,190	8,741	18.5
3 Vietnamese	72,161	63,919	8,242	12.9
4 Hindi	18,181	10,735	7,446	69.4
5 Cantonese	66,853	60,632	6,221	10.3
6 Sinhalese	16,920	11,654	5,266	45.2
7 Dari	4,563		4,563	
8 Punjabi	8,202	3,792	4,410	116.3
9 Tamil	11,096	7,967	3,129	39.3
10 Serbo-Croatian/Yugoslavian	2,924		2,924	
11 Korean	5,974	3,171	2,803	88.4
12 Assyrian	7,051	4,609	2,442	53.0
13 Urdu	5,163	2,817	2,346	83.3
14 Dinka	2,211		2,211	
15 Bengali	3,943	1,959	1,984	101.3
16 Malayalam	2,900	1,000	1,900	190.0
17 Telugu	3,112	1,216	1,896	155.9
18 Gujarati	2,696	1,002	1,694	169.1
19 Spanish	24,501	22,878	1,623	7.1
20 Samoan	5,614	4,047	1,567	38.7
21 Khmer	9,981	8,568	1,413	16.5
22 Japanese	6,536	5,157	1,379	26.7
23 Indonesian	10,448	9,126	1,322	14.5
24 Turkish	29,748	28,496	1,252	4.4
25 Thai	5,003	3,801	1,202	31.6
26 Somali	4,240	3,068	1,172	38.2
27 Creole, nfd	1,162		1,162	
28 Indo-Aryan, nfd	1,668	584	1,084	185.6
29 French Creole, nfd	1,082		1,082	
30 Afrikaans	2,538	1,472	1,066	72.4
31 Marathi	1,049	518	1,049	102.5
32 Auslan	1,907	919	988	107.5
33 Malay	2,669	1,723	946	54.9
34 Nuer	895		895	
35 Serbian	16,865	16,046	819	5.1
36 Amharic	1,539	747	792	106.0
37 Hebrew	3,855	3,159	696	22.0
38 French	11,864	11,178	686	6.1
39 Kannada	1,185	684	501	73.2
40 Fijian	691	199	492	247.2
41 Shona	563	81	482	595.1
42 Swahili	716	247	469	189.9
43 Pashto	1,299	838	461	55.0
44 African Languages, nfd	503	49	454	926.5
45 Teochew	1,944	1,500	444	29.6
46 Wu	444	319	444	39.2
47 Tongan	2,070	1,628	442	27.1
48 Nepali	858	423	435	102.8
49 Hakka	4,933	4,503	430	9.5
50 Karen	408		408	
51 Mauritian Creole	391		391	
52 Russian	14,339	13,954	385	2.8
53 Oromo	826	465	361	77.6
54 Australian Indigenous Lang, nfd	355	177	355	100.6
55 Albanian	6,026	5,686	340	6.0
56 Harari	334		334	
57 Tigrinya	889	572	317	55.4
58 Portuguese	4,203	3,905	298	7.6
59 Burmese	841	560	281	50.2
60 Romanian	4,542	4,314	228	5.3
61 Swedish	1,237	1,021	216	21.2
62 Maori (Cook Island)	1,141	928	213	23.0

Victoria: Top 30 Languages other than English (LOTE) Spoken at Home, 2006 Census

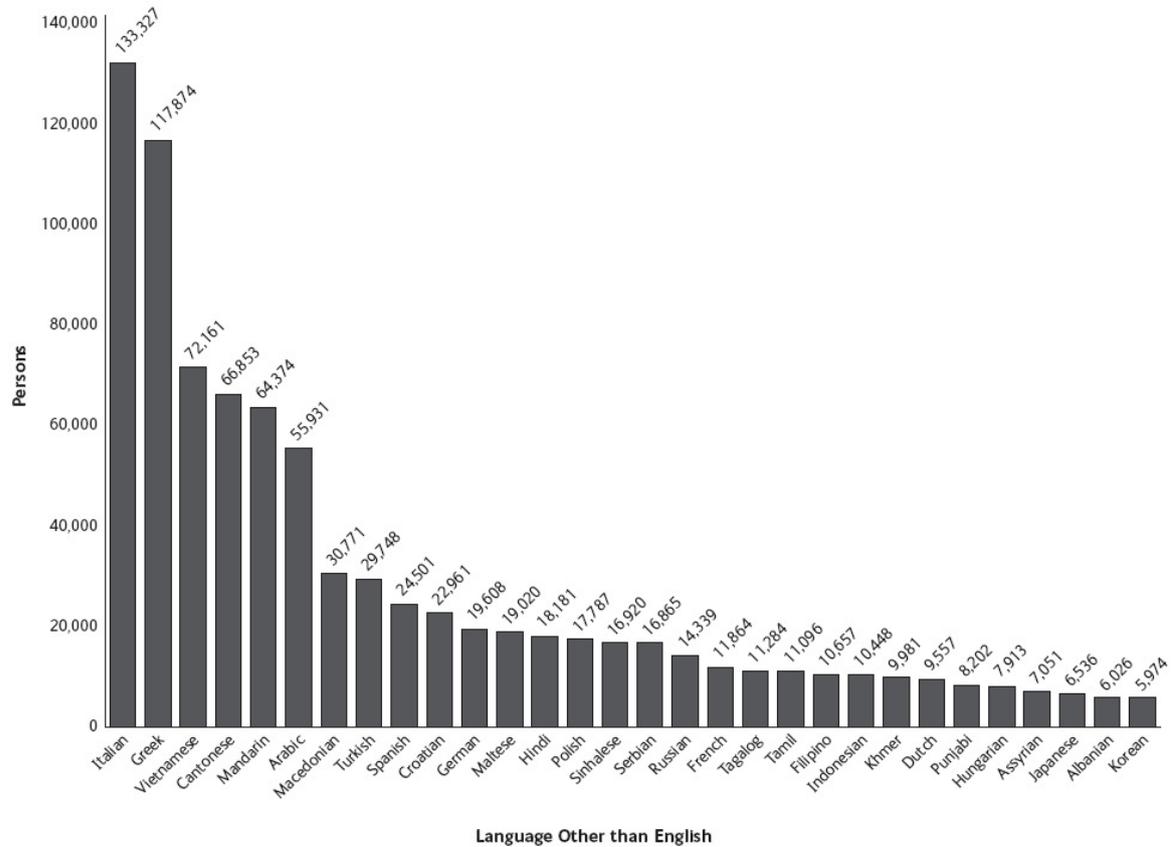


Figure 7: Victoria: Top 30 languages other than English (LOTE) spoken at home, 2006 Census (DIAC 2008)

Two of the sites/localities addressed by this thesis in the following chapters (Federation Square and Queen Victoria Market) are located within the City of Melbourne. The third is positioned within the municipality of Maribyrnong (Footscray Market) and the fourth (the no. 19 tramway) is a mobile space that runs through the city of Melbourne and the suburbs that are generally considered as inner suburbs. Tram no. 19 runs from the suburb of North Coburg (the area within the municipality of Moreland) to the City of Melbourne.

The language diversity measured by the Australian Bureau of Statistics shows that the highest proportion of LOTE speakers is in the area that has experienced a larger migration, particularly from the Horn of Africa, which is Greater Dandenong, considered an outer suburb of Metropolitan Melbourne. The Maribyrnong area (where Footscray Market is located) is listed as fourth among areas with the largest proportion

of LOTE speakers (42.8%) and Moreland (through which the tram no. 19 runs) as fifth (39.5% of LOTE speakers) while the City of Melbourne (Federation Square and Queen Victoria Market) had 33.1% of people speaking languages other than English (Figure 8). The detailed 2006 Census featured also the category of ‘Local Government areas with largest number of LOTE speakers with low English proficiency’, demonstrating the determination of local governments and even more so of the federal government to gather the detailed data on this category.

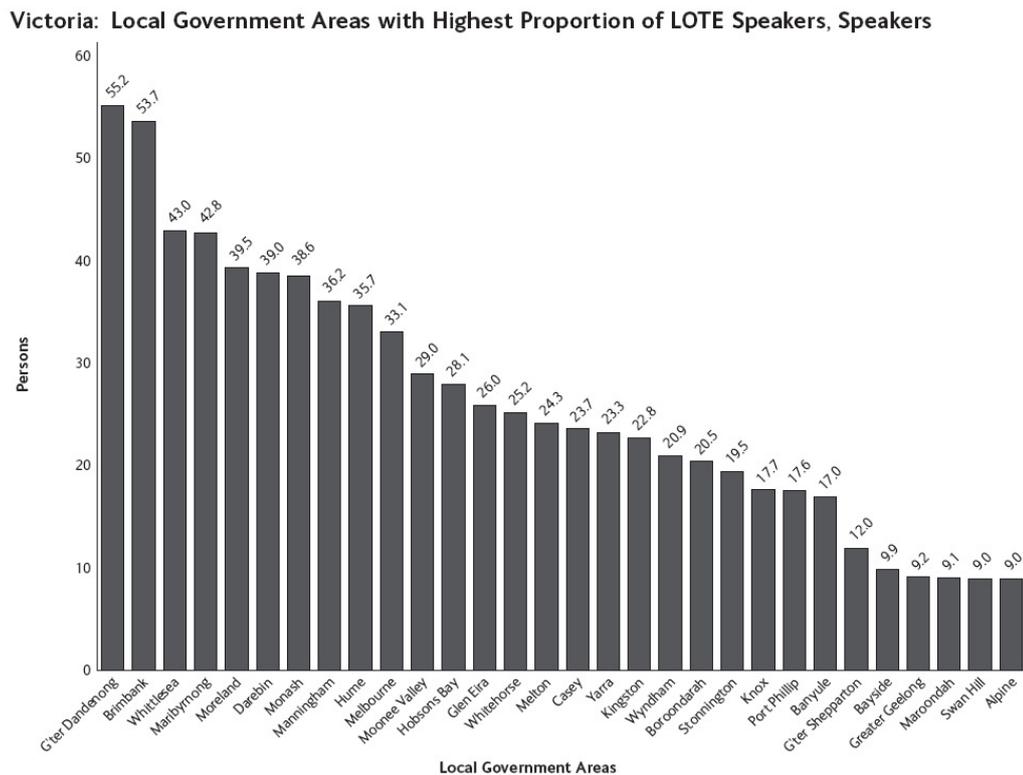


Figure 8: Victoria: Local government areas with highest proportion of LOTE speakers (DIAC 2008)

The City of Melbourne, which is only one of the 31 municipalities within larger Melbourne (see Figures 9 and 10), has undergone significant changes in recent years. ‘Melbourne is booming,’ wrote the *Age* in 2008:

Its vital statistics reflect that fact. So much for the mid-90s when the bulk of migration was outbound. Now, people are flooding in; more than 1000 a week. The city is growing faster than all other state capitals and Premier John Brumby predicts his home town will overtake Sydney by 2028. It has just eclipsed the harbour city as Australia’s most lucrative domestic tourism destination (\$4.53 billion in Melbourne last year, including travel, versus \$4.49

billion for Sydney). Trade through Melbourne continues to flourish (container activity is forecast to grow fivefold by 2035). The city produces 70% more goods and services than it did 15 years ago.

(Millar & Mann 2008)

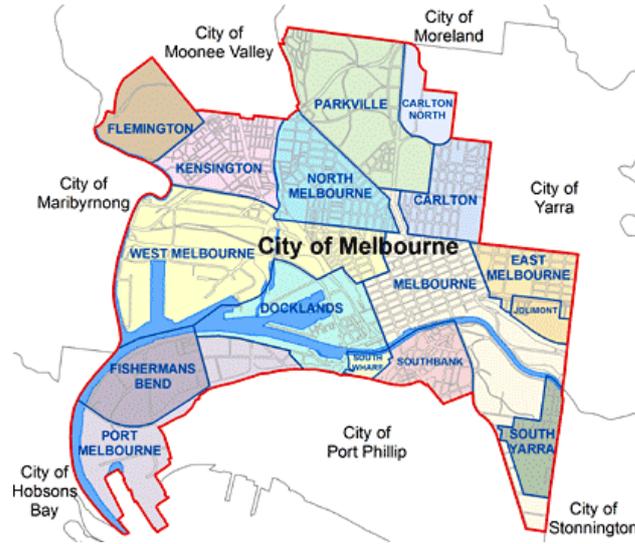


Figure 9: City of Melbourne and inner Melbourne suburbs (City of Melbourne, Suburb maps)

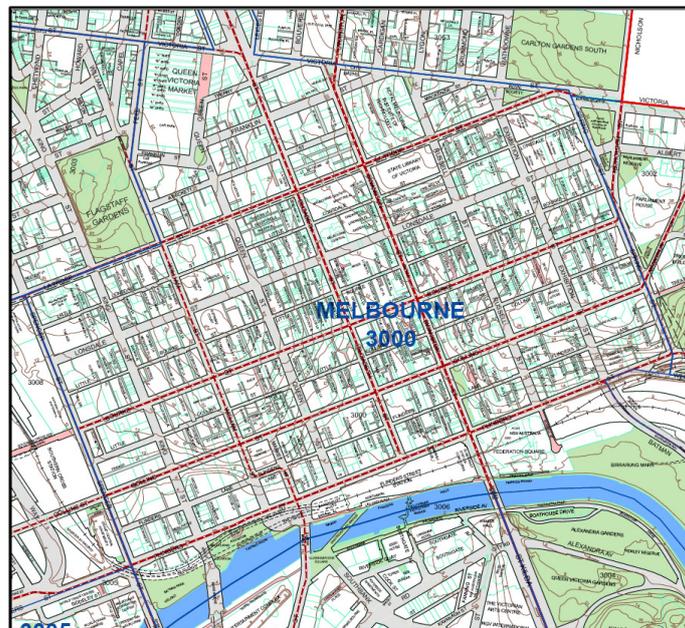


Figure 10: City of Melbourne, Melbourne 3000 (City of Melbourne 2008)

Residents of the City of Melbourne are increasingly ethnically and linguistically diverse. In 2006, Indian- and Korean-born population entered the top ten countries of birth, and Korean entered the top ten languages spoken in the municipality for the first time (Melbourne City Research 2007). This development is greatly influenced by a sharp increase in the university student population in central Melbourne, which rose by 33% since 2001 and of which many come from abroad. In the suburbs, the picture has been changing as well, but the situation depends on each particular suburb and the changes are not as rapid.

4.4 Sensing multiculturalism in Melbourne today

Walking around Melbourne today, one is confronted with the promotional popularity of the image of the multicultural city. Multiculturalism (and cosmopolitanism) are sold to both the visiting tourist and the resident. For instance, in the promotional material of the Victorian Government we can read: 'The City of Melbourne is the home, workplace and leisure centre of one of the world's most harmonious and culturally diverse communities. Residents from more than 140 nations live side by side in Melbourne.' But one could ask: 'how close side by side do people of Melbourne really live? How far does this popular image of harmonious and culturally diverse community extend to? To the corners of the new Federation Square in central Melbourne? Or perhaps to the edge of cosmopolitan Lygon and Brunswick Streets which are located in the inner suburbs? Does it end maybe somewhere near the Coburg oriental shops? Or does it extend perhaps all the way to Footscray? Or even to greater Dandenong, which is today still considered as one of the most outer suburbs? Many social theorists would say that how we understand environment around us depends on how we see the world - multicultural society extends to where we can still see diversity.

It is certainly possible to see diversity in Melbourne; if not in its architecture, then certainly in the ethnic/cultural diversity of people on the streets. However, there is often some kind of disconnection between people within the city environment. In one of the interviews, a member of the Multicultural Youth Council, born abroad, whose mother tongue was not English, said:

I do think Melbourne is multicultural place with huge diversity, yet I think, I mean, people are living together and contacting, but I think it's not to a good standard. I think there is that disconnection between the migrants and Australians, Aussies. I think the reason is they sort of judge them or assume. For example, let me say from an African migrant perspective. They sort of assume you don't know English, you know. I mean that's from experience. They assume you don't know English, that you're ignorant, you don't know anything and they sort of... not everybody obviously is doing this, but because of that there is a disconnection, they don't want to interact with you. Or maybe they do, but they are afraid you will not understand each other. I guess communication is also a barrier.¹³⁰

When asked whether he was talking about some kind of 'language racism', he rejected naming his experiences as such; rather, he termed them as the 'communication barrier'. This again leads us to the question of relation (connection and dialogism), which is, according to this participant 'one of the major problems actually'. It is also a question of hearing versus listening (listening, according to Paul Carter, is engaged hearing). Hearing does not assure the connection; the feeling for the opposite sides of multiculturalism (those producing it and those re-framing, receiving and consuming it) still stays the same. In this way another of the participants in the study with English as her first language, could still affirm that: 'When I hear people speaking a foreign language, I find this reassuring for some reason.'¹³¹

Over the last thirty years, the term 'multicultural' began to be heavily promoted to an increasingly diverse population of Melbourne and the planning and government policies supervised that development, but at the same time multiculturalism also began to serve to 'sell the city', which meant to sell the 'urban' part of the city (not its suburban part any more). The 'urban' versus 'suburban' discourse, which leaned in favour of urbanity, multiculturalism and cosmopolitanism, became most apparent during the 1990s with new planning and real estate developers in a 'hyperbolic discourse of 'inner city revitalisation' born of "lifestyle choice"' (Long 2005, p. 2). Some new developments that were built in the city centre invoked some other old and forgotten developments from the past era; laneways, for example, were only relatively recently rediscovered and soon became a foundation of the inner city 'regeneration' and 'gentrification' processes as well as of the birth of a thoroughly urban cafe lifestyle in recent years. The term 'cosmopolitan' has been specifically attached to the area of the central Melbourne

¹³⁰ Group Interview, no. 1, 21 December, 2006, personal archive.

¹³¹ 'Observing the city', no. 3, 2006, personal archive.

together with a select few of some of its accompanying inner suburbs. According to the popular managerial belief, in the Melbourne laneways one can now do an amazing amount of shopping, drink scented coffee, eat cupcakes, salads, soups and French pancakes and lay one's eyes on an hidden-away locally produced street art. In The City Laneways brochure we can read:

Immerse yourself in a café-style crowd and go with the espresso-scented flow as you wander through these two connected classic lanes. Peer down side alleys as you discover an immense street 'gallery'. Look up to see how city dwellers live – right in the action.

Degraves Street offers alfresco dining and coffee, along with cool retailers including: Little Cupcakes, Organic Food and Wine Providore, Il Papiro (Italian paper goods), and Smitten Kitten (quirky designer lingerie). Centre Place is crowded with people, food and flair, including: Hell's Kitchen (bar) Louvre (bar), Jungle Juice, Kinky Gerlinki (shabby chic), Body (clothing inspired by movement and dance). Not too far away you'll find Hardware Lane/Street which was one of the first laneways to be revived during the 1980s as part of Melbourne's much-celebrated Postcode 3000 city revitalisation project. Drop by for an alfresco meal during summer and watch out for Mahoneys Gallery, where you can rent Australian art for your office or home. While you're there check out the Golden Monkey, a bar and dining establishment reminiscent of a 1920s Shanghai opium den.

(City of Melbourne, *City Laneways Brochure*)¹³²

As Long asserts, 'Melbourne shows that government policy over the last thirty years has been aimed at achieving precisely the outcomes now being trumpeted as evidence of consumer and market choice in a context of government and planning failure' (Long 2005, p. 7). According to Long, the urbanite thinks that the spatial change merely reflects the economic change, but in fact the flow is dialectical. The structural change has been occurring since the 1970s and gentrification, renewals and new real estate constructions 'have been important means of absorbing surplus capacity as well as stimulating growth in the difficult economic environment following the long boom' (Long 2005, p. 8). In the 1980s the planning policy makers and the Labor Government thought that urban restructuring was needed, so the state Government actively encouraged the rise of new projects, especially in the Central Business area. In the early 1990s the boom collapsed leaving many commercial properties empty and the impetus was given to the inner city residential redevelopment (ibid., p. 12). In the 1990s it was

¹³² For the sample of the *City Laneways Brochure* see Appendix 1.

also the Victorian Labor Government of Jeff Kennett that fuelled the other types of facilities (mainly cultural and entertainment: casino, exhibition centre, museum). The urban and the suburban, the central and outer, have been producing a new dividing line. The suburban stayed behind while the urban boosted. ‘The idea of the city of spectacle, the restructured service-oriented city, and the reinforcement of it as a government and corporate core have led to massive reinvestment in the inner city and a reignition of employment growth there’ (ibid., p. 15). The idea of the ‘spectacular city’ along with the ‘cosmopolitan city’ invoked today finds its main origins here.

The ‘spectacular city’ is linked to the ‘multicultural city’, where ‘multicultural’ has become a promotional slogan, something that needs to be sensed, which also began to put the city on the market for tourists and residents alike. On the other hand, the ‘multicultural architecture’ itself has not gained a lot of prominence in the Melbourne’s search for managerial multicultural authenticity. David Benyon (2005, p. 70) says that the actual multicultural architecture in Melbourne is invisible. This observation also became pronounced in some of my discussions with people about how they see the city in which they live:

*The old, mixed in with the new. European architecture, Victorian architecture, arcades and laneways filled with small treasures and hidden surprises (...). The alleyways are the most comfortable and accommodating, as they are hidden away, secretive. The city signs are encouraging...but, you can easily miss them if your awareness is not open.*¹³³

As many as seventy-five per cent of the ‘multicultural’ or ‘ethnic’ buildings Benyon describes – community and religious buildings such as temples, churches etc. – stand on a so called marginal land in Melbourne. They do not stand in the inner city suburbs and they certainly do not stand in the city centre. The central ‘Italian restaurant’ might in this way not be described as ‘authentic’ because of the type of building that it features, but exclusively because of the food it serves.

In 2007, a ‘Strategic framework for Melbourne’s cultural precincts’ was developed, which aims at the revitalization of three cultural precincts in or in the vicinity of the central Melbourne: Chinatown on Little Bourke Street, the Greek precinct on Lonsdale Street and the Italian precinct on Lygon Street. The official brochures of the Victorian

¹³³ ‘Observing the city’, no. 3, 2006, personal archive.

Government acknowledge the food and the style, almost exclusively, as the ‘important contributions’ these cultural communities have brought to Melbourne:

The cultural communities have brought and continue to bring rich traditions and perspectives to modern day Melbourne. The communities who developed these areas influenced our culinary repertoire, design style and approach to community building at a social, cultural, environmental and economic level.

In this context, the cultural precincts of Chinatown, Lonsdale Greek Precinct and Lygon Street are an embodiment of our cosmopolitan lifestyle.

(...)

Chinatown, the place, is a Melbourne tradition – a destination of exotic, culinary delights where you meet friends for a yum cha, dinner before the theatre or a late night supper. The variety of food is endless from cheap eats to world standard Chinese cuisine. It has an international reputation.

(Ratio Consultants 2007, p. 5, p. 12)

The cultural precincts and their revitalisation function within the new powerful flow of cultural tourism. This is why the ‘cultural activities, festivals and events’ and the ‘exotic cuisine’ are necessary. However, all this needs to be present only in conceptual terms that adhere to the managerial (often white) multiculturalist view. In order to sell (or be sold), the place needs to be active and also visually appealing, but only to an extent that still resembles a ‘Melbourne approach’ which is well acquainted with planning and re-planning throughout the settlement history. The ‘old’ and the ‘new’ is repeated throughout the history of Melbourne. As we will see in the following chapters, this provides a concurrent metaphor for people and their experience of the city. According to the planning and promotional strategies, the ‘ethnic’ as the ‘new’ in general needs to be localised and, at least in the city centre, it also needs to be re-framed, made appealing; clean or, better, cleaned up:

There are issues with cleanliness in Chinatown due to the waste generated by many restaurants and cafes being concentrated in a small area. A waste management system needs to be implemented to make sure rubbish and associated smells do not spoil the ambience of the area and stop people from coming. The design and physical management of bins and collection points will help keep the area clean and tidy.

(Ratio Consultants 2007, p. 13)

The ‘cosmopolitan multiculturalists’,¹³⁴ with whom the governmental voices often identify, need to have difference localised; localisation makes the physical manifestation of difference manageable. If we all know where the stranger is and where it needs to be, there will not be any reasons for strange encounters and surprises. This is also why the support and promotion of the Greek Community’s Cultural and Activity Centre on Lonsdale Street in the city of Melbourne seems so important to the strategic planners: ‘when complete the centre will be a physical manifestation of the Greek Community’s heartbeat and spirit; their place in the city’ (Ratio Consultants 2007, p. 14).¹³⁵ ‘Their’ is important here. It certainly does not mean ‘our’; it also does not mean ‘our heart’ or ‘our place’. Localisation and containment is almost complete, but because it is completed ‘our’ way, we can still have something from it. This is stylish, manageable multiculturalism that often gets entangled in talk of cosmopolitanism as consumerist practice.

On the fringes of the city, the multiculturalism that we can all ‘love and embrace’ ends as well. There, it becomes not only a localised multiculturalism, but also the one that fails to call for the ‘discourse of enrichment’, discussed by Ghassan Hage, which ‘places the dominant culture in a more important position than other migrant cultures’ but also and ‘more importantly (...) also assigns to migrant cultures a different mode of existence to Anglo-Celtic culture’ (Hage 2000, p. 121). As such, migrants and the multiculturalism (that in this sense leads to the market cosmopolitanism) they bring exist for, and only for Anglo Australians. What Anglo Australians need is a sensation of multiculturalism; actual multicultural architecture can be obtrusive or intruding to the white Australian promoter of multiculturalism.

Walter Benjamin was convinced that the assemblage of objects can ‘speak for itself’. The building can ‘speak’, as well as the person. Migrants and buildings, therefore, can ‘speak’, but if they speak a language that is not ‘ours’, they are still utterly foreign. The problem is that many (white) Australian multicultural promoters do not need multiculturalism to really ‘speak’ – they need it to ‘feel multicultural’ or ‘cosmopolitan’ in their own way.

¹³⁴ At this point I am referring to the understanding of ‘cosmo-multiculturalism’ of Ghassan Hage (2000, p. 205), in which ‘cosmo-multiculturalism’ belongs to the urbane elite and bases its existence on the class-related distinction.

¹³⁵ For two indicative concepts recommended by Ratio Consultants (2007) see Appendix 2.

Nonetheless, even in this managed multicultural version of city living, even in the centre of the city, we may still find out that multiculturalism as a lived experience is traversed, contested and appropriated. This is something not usually found in the official promotional brochures of the City of Melbourne. The city centre is the changing space of Melbourne, it is the most frequent and probably most visible changing space, and migration, difference and diversity contribute to this changing significantly. This is where the relations across cultural and linguistic difference can be formed, because the boundaries are in close proximity. The lived space is then something that is most important for the nature of people's exchanges, also exchanges along the multicultural lines.

5 QUEEN VICTORIA MARKET AND FOOTSCRAY MARKET IN COMPARISON

Market places are places of trading and of consumption. They are representations of different kinds of exchange, not only of commodities, but also of verbal and non-verbal exchange. In Melbourne, market places crystallise an important multicultural narrative and that second aspect of socio-cultural exchanges: exchanges of utterances and exchanges in language that are at the centre of this thesis. Initially, I began with participant observation of the Footscray Market in the City of Maribyrnong, Melbourne. When the research became more ‘centralised’ (focusing primarily on the city centre of Melbourne), the central Queen Victoria Market became the second site of observation. Field observations led me to explore differences (and commonalities) in both markets, layouts, designs, barriers and the ways multiculturalism is experienced in both places. All of this revealed different ways people communicate with the market place (and among each other at the market), and different ways they communicate and appropriate the market place. In this dissertation, I compare two markets by starting from a similar position: by identifying both places as culturally diverse (and multicultural). This observation is later re-examined (and confirmed) through discussions and interviews with people at both markets, with traders¹³⁶ whom I identify as the constitutive part of the market places and with the shoppers of different linguistic backgrounds and different proximities to the markets examined.¹³⁷

As with each of the main localities offering a site of examination for this thesis, market places are characterised by movement. The meanings of a territory come out for an individual by traversing and re-traversing paths and routes, in familiarising oneself with the territory (or territorialise through spatial tactics according to Michel De Certeau 2002). Navigating through the markets is also a way of appropriating the space; it this way space is constituted as a social space. Movement has the ability to change the

¹³⁶ There were seven semi-structured interviews conducted with the traders at the markets, four at the Queen Victoria Market and three at the Footscray Market. The traders were working in different sections of the markets.

¹³⁷ Two interviews were conducted with persons that felt more connected to the Footscray Market (they grew up in Footscray or in the nearby suburbs) and two with persons that felt more connected to the Queen Victoria Market. All four shoppers were familiar with both markets.

nature of our living space and also of our perception of places, but through habitual process of movement, by covering and re-covering the same routes, we also come to familiarise ourselves with the territory and thereby find the meaning of the territory within the territory itself.

Even though markets are usually planned and managed, and their primary function is selling and buying, they are also places of unpredictability and surprise. Walter Benjamin (1979, p. 298) saw the origins of city labyrinths in making one move forward and for me, markets offered a good ‘learning ground’ for the city reader to start looking for surprises. To do that, we first need to turn our attention to the routes and paths of the individual and his or her encounters. Observing and analysing encounters especially through utterances (through language as action) has provided the focus point for the comparative research of these two market places.¹³⁸

5.1 Locating Footscray and Queen Victoria markets within the city space

Today, there are various markets in Melbourne with different functions and they can be placed in different locations (metropolitan, urban, suburban).¹³⁹ They can be general or specialist, they can be the niche markets (farmers, crafts, Christmas markets etc.) and their role produces and fits into the wider environment. Both of the markets examined fall into the category of the general market places; Queen Victoria Market is a metropolitan market and the Footscray Market is the urban (suburban) market.¹⁴⁰

During the 1980s and 1990s in Melbourne it already seemed that the establishment and the spread of the shopping malls would seriously de-popularise the markets and market

¹³⁸ Paul Carter examines the nature of ‘clearing away’ the encounter of colonial Australia. ‘The purposeful traveller with his compass and quadrant did not survey the thick space of encounter,’ he says, ‘he cleared it away’ (Carter 2002, p. 152). Out of the emptiness and nothingness of this encounter, he then ‘made space’ and by creating the vastness and the immense space, he created the conditions of agoraphobia (Carter 2002). The emptiness became frightening; there was no sense to find in it anymore; it haunted him back. There was room now made for dreams and fantasies and for the ‘ghostliness’. Going into the past and memory (reinserting the agoraphobe’s historical experience into the analysis) for Carter marks also the possibility to push away a bit of that ‘ghostliness’.

¹³⁹ Urban and suburban in this conceptualisation relate to the ways of using the city landscape and certain lifestyle forms while ‘metropolitan’ defines the geographies of our day-to-day lives. Metropolitan is thus encompassing urban and suburban as well as migratory changes, aptitudes and general dynamics of the city space.

¹⁴⁰ Queen Victoria Market is located within the city centre and in this way at least apparently offers space to the inhabitants of the wider metropolitan environment. The Footscray Market is located, on the other hand, within one of the suburbs and is as such defined by the meanings this particular location deals with.

shopping. This did not occur, but one of the differences that the shopping centres and shopping malls produced was the changing nature of sociability. The modernity itself did not destroy markets; it just increasingly segregated them from the main sites of mass consumption (Davison 2006, p. 26). Markets now contributed to a different feel of intimacy and individuality. Shopping at the market became sort of a neo-avant-garde preoccupation, and it needed a kind of flaneur-ish approach to shopping. Market shopping in Melbourne today can be seen as something one does for its soul in the flavour of an intimate encounter - an intimate encounter with the difference which adds to the imagined 'well-being' of a shopper.

The markets examined are spaces that go across different groups defined by gender, ethnicity, socio-economic position and other modalities. Markets themselves are usually not seen as 'places of opposition', despite the possibility for certain microspaces within marketplaces to function in such a way. These markets are certainly places of social interaction. If the policy canon focuses on the 'role of community', which is in the case of Melbourne especially true when it comes to discussing the benefits of multiculturalism for the well-being of the community, the markets act as important places to cooperate in this rhetoric. Markets could also potentially play a key role in wider policy agendas.

In the case of markets we rarely discuss about public spaces, as discussed for instance by theoreticians of the public sphere (Habermas 1992, 2001, Young 1990). Markets in Melbourne are often privatised; in our case, Footscray Market is in private hands while Queen Victoria Market is run by the Queen Victoria Pty Ltd, which is a wholly owned subsidiary of the Melbourne City Council and leases out premises to the stall-owners.

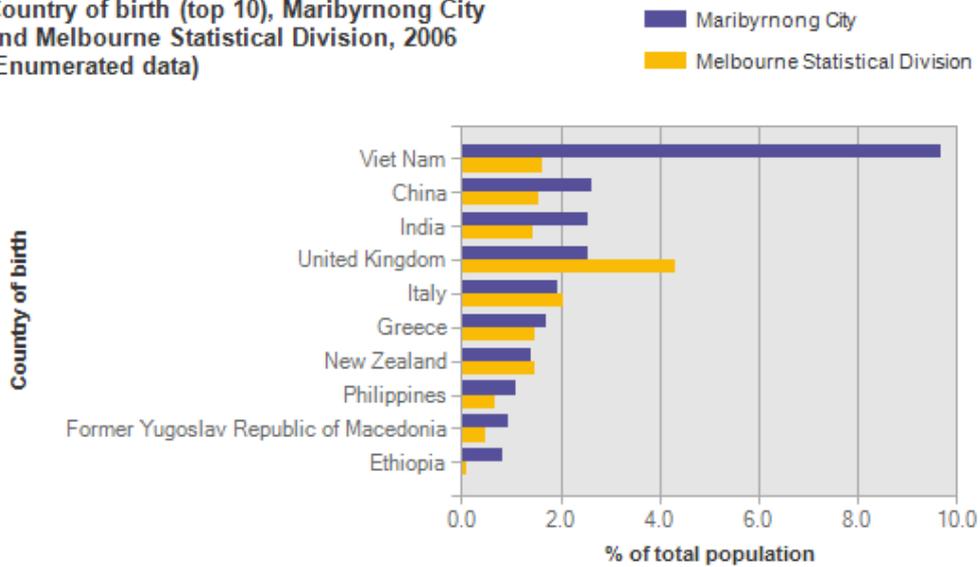
At the Footscray Market, photography or videos are not permitted, as the signs at the entrance (and exit) doors tell the visitor (Figure 11). Queen Victoria Market also gives out special permits for assembling the visual material for commercial or study purposes. Footscray Market is physically enclosed market (it is not an open-air market) whereas the Queen Victoria Market is termed as an open-air market, even though actually it is physically more a combined internal and open air market.



Figure 11: The (entrance) doors of the Footscray Market

Whereas Queen Victoria Market stands in central Melbourne, at the northern side of the city centre, Footscray Market is located in the western side of metropolitan Melbourne, which is a specific direction (location) in Melbourne, designating more than just a geographical standing. It is a designation of a socio-economic standing as well as of one's (cross)cultural view. Footscray is also specifically characterised by its changing nature, also in terms of population change. The suburb of Footscray is about five kilometres west of central Melbourne, it is a part of the City of Maribyrnong, and is characterised by successive waves of migration to Melbourne. Many Italian, Greek, Macedonian, Bosnian and Croatian migrants settled there during the 1950s and 1960s, and were succeeded by Vietnamese in the 1970s and 1980s. In 2006, the City of Maribyrnong was still home to 38.9% of people who were born overseas and 34.2% were from a non-English speaking background. The dominant non-English speaking country of birth in Maribyrnong was Viet Nam, where 9.7% of the Footscray residents were born.

Country of birth (top 10), Maribyrnong City and Melbourne Statistical Division, 2006 (Enumerated data)



Source: Australian Bureau of Statistics, 2006 Census of Population and Housing (Enumerated)

Figure 12: Country of birth (top 10), Maribyrnong City and Melbourne Statistical Division 2006 (City of Maribyrnong, Maribyrnong City Council Profile)

The major differences between the countries of birth for the population within the City of Maribyrnong and the overall statistics for Melbourne, according to the 2006 Census (see Figure 12), were a much larger percentage of people born in Vietnam (9.7% compared to 1.6%) and a smaller percentage of people born in the United Kingdom (2.5% compared to 4.3%). The largest changes in the birthplaces of population in recent years (between 2001 and 2006) were in Footscray presented by more people of Indian, Chinese and Ethiopian origin settling in the area and a decrease in Italian, Greek and Macedonian populations (City of Maribyrnong, *Maribyrnong City Council Profile*).

All these differences influence conditions of the location which underlie the forms of sociabilities that are able to be produced there. With the arrival of security cameras and security officers within the Footscray Market, unpredictability is reduced. Nevertheless, I do not focus on the conditions stemming from the ownership of these places that have led and still lead to the establishment of these differences, but concentrate primarily upon the consequences of the conditions, the ways the two places are inhabited by people, and their socio-cultural importance.

5.1.1 Locating the examination of the two markets

Two different markets were selected for the purposes of this thesis to reflect two sides of two different socioeconomic and cultural population profiles. As the analysis of the individual perception of the markets' distinct placements within the wider environments and communities will show, there are significant differences between the ways the markets operate within their relevant communities. Queen Victoria Market is central; Footscray Market is placed in the suburb. Queen Victoria Market is much larger and the variation of produce there is greater. It is divided into a number of Market Precincts; the Deli Hall, Elizabeth Street Shops, F shed laneway, Vic Markets Food Court, Fruit and Vegetables, The Meat Hall, Organics, General Merchandise, Victoria Street Shops and the Wine Market. The Footscray Market features fewer variations of such precincts. Today it is not possible to find a separate Deli Hall there (even though it existed in the past) and the shops within the market place sell some specialised food products, mainly of Asian and South-East European origin, alongside more general merchandise. Queen Victoria Market is an open-air market and the Footscray Market is a closed market. Queen Victoria Market is open all days except Mondays and Wednesdays and Footscray Market all days except Monday and Sunday. Sunday is one of the major days for Queen Victoria Market and is also a day when the market displays a much more family-oriented feel. Both markets focus on selling fresh produce, but offer also other types of merchandise.

As the Queen Victoria Market is considered as one of the (multi)cultural icons of Melbourne and is promoted from the side of the City Council as such (and is also managed by the Melbourne City Council), there is also far more promotional and official material and information, in the forms of flyers, promotions and a website. Footscray Market is not promoted in this way; it also does not have its own website; its name and opening hours only appear in other various websites promoting cheaper produce, good quality food, and cultural diversity. Therefore, in terms of representations of space (Lefebvre 1991), Queen Victoria Market is much more produced and reproduced. Additionally, in terms of 'representational' and 'lived' spaces (ibid.) that contribute to the production of space, Queen Victoria Market is more complex. To be able to better understand that, especially when it comes to the reference to the

representational space (and also representation of space), it is important to outline the establishment and development of each market.

5.1.2 A short history and development of the two markets

The story of the spaces where the markets were built direct us to the relationship between the historical and the present narrative; the ‘communication’ on which the sociabilities of the present places have been built.

The story of the Queen Victoria Market in Melbourne is characterised by the colonial Victorian narrative. The urban space was built and appropriated; it opened up, it spread and became immense, but at the same time it was tight, hopeless and haunting. Today’s central Melbourne Queen Victoria Market, a major market for the ‘cosmopolitan’ Melbourne, was erected on the land, formerly occupied by the cemetery which, among others, ‘stored’ also bodies of Aborigines.¹⁴¹ When the cemetery was moved to another location in 1854, the cemetery land was granted to the Melbourne Town Council to build a market there and one of the first parts to be given away was the Aboriginal allotment. The ‘Aboriginal part’ of the graveyard was ‘swept away’, bodies were removed from the grounds (so this was a restored, smaller version of terra nullius) and the encounter between the old (pre-colonial) and the all encompassing newness was made impossible. And so, Queen Victoria Market remained well within the space of the ‘ghostliness’, which also provide a resource to today’s so-called ‘ghost tours’ of the market. The new trader and shopper now lived in a ‘haunting zone’, exposed to fantasies, dreams and unfulfilling desires. Even though a part of the cemetery was still there (it was removed later on), two new sheds of the market now acted as barriers. On the 20 March 1878, John Pigdon, the Mayor of Melbourne at the time, officially named the buildings ‘Queen Victoria Market’ and opened its doors for business.

¹⁴¹ In 1842, two Aboriginal men, Tunnerminnerwait and Maulboyheenner, were buried at the cemetery after they were convicted of murder. Often the ‘undesirables’, those not worthy of a burial in a proper cemetery, were actually buried outside the fence. Criminals, non-Christians, paupers and Aborigines included. Even though two men were legally not subjects of British authority then, they were charged according to a British law. They were publicly hanged and stripped of their clothes in the centre of Melbourne and presumably buried in the coffins at the cemetery that opened in 1837 and that later became Queen Victoria Market (*Tunnerminnerwait and Maulboyheenner commemoration committee*).

Footscray Market at the first glance does not have such a full, remarkable, central, and controversial history. Where it stands today, there was first an important settlement ground for different groups of Aboriginal people. Later, when this part of the city was slowly starting to be occupied by the new settlers, there were cinemas, dance halls, and shops. During the WW2 the Department of Munition took over the building that housed the dance halls in spite of protests of the Council who said that people need to have some pleasure. The buildings were then cleared away to make way for the market. Footscray Market was built by an immigrant, Gheorghe Herscu, a Romanian who arrived penniless in Yarraville in 1950 and made money through a series of retail renovations. It took him 20 million Australian dollars and 220 stalls to create the market, which was opened on 19 March 1981 and was soon attracting 70,000 shoppers a week (City of Maribyrnong, *Footscray Trail Brochure*).¹⁴² More than half of people working at the Footscray Market were born overseas and many have already been ‘market people’ beforehand.

5.2 Market boundaries, boundaries of community

In general, markets are social spaces and they are networks of sociability. The exchanges at the market are usually transactional, but often they express also additional and more personal types of relations. Henri Lefebvre (1991, p. 86) argues that markets are forms of network; the network of buying and selling, the exchange of commodities, capital, labour. Diversity of exchanges and people as well as unpredictability characterise market places.

Nevertheless, Western cities were made and rationalised to repress rather than to allow or surprise and often they were destined to hold the symbolic ‘centrality’. Markets often emerged in the centres of the cities.¹⁴³ The division between the inside and the outside or the ‘inner’ and the ‘outer’ is, for Richard Sennett (1990), the separation that

¹⁴² Herscu later made fortunes with other shopping centres, in 1980s he was ranked one of Australia’s richest men; he was later accused of corruption and in the 1990s he was responsible for the biggest ever corporate bankruptcy. For the sample of the *Footscray Trail Brochure* see Appendix 1.

¹⁴³ ‘Centeredness’ originates in the Greek word ‘sophrsyne’, which translates as gracefulness or balance. Being in the centre and being balanced in the centre is also at the core of the Christian and Judean traditions (Sennet 1990). The tragedy of the Christianity is, according to Richard Sennett, that ‘experience is necessary for faith, but the sensations of experience do not correspond to the truths of religion’ (Sennett 1990, p. 9). Experiences get ‘disturbed because feelings are kept inside, invisible – the realm where Truth is kept. And the places people live in become puzzling’ (ibid.).

maintains continuous power and because of which connecting motives and actions become difficult. The 'inner' and the 'outer' belong to different realms.

Within the discussion on the 'inside' and the 'outside' an interesting argument can be made in relation to two markets examined. As previously mentioned, the Queen Victoria Market is described as an open market within the promotional material while the Footscray Market is described as a closed market. Although we can say that according to the design of places this is certainly a correct observation, discussion with informants about their perception of places put forward the oppositional argument.

The Footscray Market 'fits' its environment better and its boundaries are rarely felt. People who feel closer to the suburb of Footscray or the Western suburbs in general, who grew up there for instance (and moved away and started shopping at the Queen Victoria Market instead), especially expressed the opinion that the Footscray Market is not really a 'closed market'. There are doors that lead to the inside of the Footscray Market, but these doors are not really visible. As one of the interviewees who grew up in the Western suburbs, an Australian with Cantonese background said in one of the interviews:

It never felt like there was an official entrance at the Footscray Market, because what we were doing outside was quite similar to what we were doing inside. So, opposite Footscray Market, I think it's Barkly Street. Opposite that there's a big kind of grocery store called Dat Sing and we would go there, depended on where we parked, go there first or go there last. Because Footscray wasn't just the market for us. We would go to the Footscray Market as one of the stops. Dat Sing is another stop and then also to the back part where Bi-lo is. It's called little Saigon now. Bi-lo was a name for the entire little complex there, even though you might have not used Bi-lo in particular. So, our kind of Footscray experience would be really big giant market experience. It wasn't just going into a market, it was going to several. And then afterwards we would go to Flemington which had another miniature complex of stores, right next to the library. It's amazing how much food we ate!¹⁴⁴

Even though the invisibility of market boundaries was something that was often expressed in the interviews, in terms of the market activity itself, there was another point of view according to which the life or the 'world' at the market was viewed as a separate place; one that still fits into the suburb, but has a different dynamics to what happens within the suburb. As one of the shoppers said:

¹⁴⁴ Interview, no. 3, 11 June 2009, personal archive.

I would say that Footscray Market is quite closed in that sense, because the street life is quite different from what goes on in the market, because the main street and the back street is all eateries, bakeries, video rental shops, pharmacy. Inside the market it does have very distinct market feel of buying groceries and buying fresh meat, live animals. That's very different from what you see outside.¹⁴⁵

One of the workers in the fish shop, who has been in the market for 26 years, almost since the very beginning of the Footscray Market, pointed to an interesting analogy and compared the market space with the space that could be dislocated; that could be somewhere else in the world:

Try and buy... they've got everything on the display. And that's like walking in a totally different world. I've been to Vietnam four times. That's like going to Vietnam. If you blindfolded somebody from the house and put them in there and left them in the middle blindfolded, they wouldn't know where they were. Because they're all yelling and screaming and hustle and bustle and this and that. That's a totally different world. Like in the morning, you drive here, the roads are quiet. You enter this market, it's a buzz. At 6 o'clock in the morning, there's people running everywhere.¹⁴⁶

In terms of accessibility and the way the market fits into the surrounding area, the same trader commented that market is a part of Footscray, but not only people from Footscray would come and shop there. One of the shop owners, originally Lebanese, who sells dairy products, nuts and coffee said that there are people coming from as far as Dandenong (one of the most outer suburbs of Melbourne) or Ballarat (about 100 km away from Melbourne). Also people from the inner Melbourne visit the Footscray Market more frequently in recent years, as well as those who have moved into the new residential areas near Footscray. The fish trader mentioned that the new, working, younger people coming to the market today bring a change for the market and the way things are sold. For instance, the nuts and coffee shop owner set up a small table within the shop where it is possible to sit down and have a coffee, which they would not have thought to do a couple of years ago.

This kind of dynamic - sitting down to have a drink and a bite to eat - existed at the Queen Victoria Market for quite a long time before it was 'discovered' (albeit to a limited degree) by the Footscray Market. Queen Victoria Market is a space where people have their coffees and pastries, their sausages, borek and so on. For the Queen

¹⁴⁵ Interview, no. 2; 15 June 2009, personal archive.

¹⁴⁶ Interview, no. 11, 17 June 2009, personal archive.

Victoria Market, the coffee drinking might be the only activity people actually engage in while being at the market. Some of them do not shop there for their groceries, but come to have their lunch or meet someone there. In this respect, Queen Victoria Market is more of a meeting place. As one of the interviewees who lives close to the Queen Victoria Market, but is familiar with the Footscray Market too, said:

Victoria Market would definitely be a meeting place more than Footscray. Footscray feels like a place where people have a particular thing they are doing there. They are going to get their vegetables and they aren't meeting anyone for coffee there whereas you can definitely do that at Victoria Market. I've been there for lunch hundreds of times and there were people there who were there and had lunch.¹⁴⁷

We can say that in terms of the activity and the 'market experience', taking the routes and connecting the stop-overs, Footscray Market fits into the environment around it better. In terms of the sole market experience, the market can often still be seen as enclosed whereas the Queen Victoria Market, even though it does feature the main entrance, still appears as an open space.

Choosing of where to enter each of the markets is also often interchangeable. Both markets have a number of entrances, some of them more visible, some of them less. Even though Queen Victoria Market is termed as an open-air market, shoppers noticed something that they termed as the 'official entrance' on a more regular basis, most commonly at the side of the Elizabeth Street, where the meat and the seafood sections are located. Footscray Market, on the other hand, did not seem to feature anything like an official entrance, even though the entrances were identified, but people would enter more commonly through what they would term as the 'side entrances'.

But the market is a space that belongs partly to the inside and partly to the outside – partly to the street and partly to the house that we may even call 'home'. If we consider the sociability between traders themselves, we notice in both places that communication and interaction between sellers is an important factor that also influences the degree and type of interaction at the side of the shoppers.

Traders are constitutive part of markets. They are a visible, but moving part and a centre of the market community. The sociability and interaction between traders in the case of

¹⁴⁷ Interview, no. 1, 11 June, 2009, personal archive.

the markets, is a constitutive part of both markets examined, even they are not of the same kinds. They offer different degrees of prospects for discussion around the characteristics of the notion of diversity and the concept of critical multiculturalism.

For many traders at the Queen Victoria Market, especially at the bottom part and close to the deli section, there is very little connection to be felt. As a shop owner of one of the deli stalls expressed:

*We have nothing. When you say connection, what do you mean? I've got connection, because I have my children at the deli there, that's a connection. But apart from that, there's nothing.*¹⁴⁸

Another trader at the Queen Victoria Market was of a different opinion. For him, there was a constant connection between the traders. As he said, 'maybe it's not about doing the business, but we're talking about different sort of things. And then sometimes they will buy something from us and we'll buy something from them.' Interestingly, this interviewee was running a Greek dairy shop in the the Queen Victoria Market's Deli Hall. His shop was positioned just where the deli section ends and the vegetable section begins. So, we could say that he was positioned at the margins of one of the sections, close to one of the market boundaries. The boundary, as we will see later on, initiates the negotiation and enables the movement and language in action. This shop owner did observe the movement across the boundary. On the contrary, the shop owner from the organics fruit and vegetable section, which is separated from the main fruit and vegetable section, thought she had nothing really in common with other traders:

*When I get here, I'm here to focus on my business. I'm not here to... I mean, I observe other stalls and what they're doing, things like that, but in essence I'm here to work my own business and manage my staff. To make sure that they're working and do whatever they need to do and that the place looks respectable and clean. So, it's not an anti-social thing, it's more that I come here for a purpose, to do what I've got to do and that's what I do. I don't have time to sit and have coffees.*¹⁴⁹

At the Footscray Market, on the other hand, the interaction between traders and the sociability seems to be more or less a fact and the everyday experience. The relationships between the traders are an important part of the market and they seem as they need to be preserved and cared for from the side of the traders themselves. Even

¹⁴⁸ Interview, no. 6, 20 June, 2009, personal archive.

¹⁴⁹ Interview, no. 8, 19 June, 2009, personal archive.

though the Footscray Market has been changing more rapidly and to a greater extent throughout the time than the Queen Victoria Market, the sociability and interaction aspect of the market, when talking about the connections that the traders have among themselves, does not seem to be losing any of its prominence.

*We work very well together. We get a lot of people that come to get the fish, the meat and the fruit and vegies... all together at the same time. And the traders all communicate with each other.*¹⁵⁰

(...)

*We care for each other. We know each other in the market. In case someone has a problem, everyone jumps to help. No congregation among sections. Good with everyone. Over the years, people changed, but still we have a good atmosphere among shop owners as well as with workers. It's good for everyone.*¹⁵¹

Sociability and camaraderie provides for the feeling of welcome as well. The relation between traders produces exchange and not the other way around (Glissant 1997, p. 8). Helping each other also means helping a newcomer. It is not about how well you know each other or how close culturally you feel to each other; it has more to do with the feeling of solidarity; how close you feel to each other socially. In this respect, we are coming closer to the Faist's (2009a) notion or desire for diversity and also to McLaren's (1994) motivation for critical multiculturalism. The element that makes working together different for traders at the Queen Victoria Market and the Footscray Market is also the congregation of people around the private management of the place. In this respect, we can say that the Footscray Market offers more reliable space for the formation and proclamation of community of some sorts, because it is straightforwardly a privatised space, whereas the Queen Victoria Market disguises its role as a semi-privatised space more and as such provides a kind of a more interchangeable and ambiguous authorial in the sense of authoritative voice (Bakhtin 1984, pp. 56-57).

On the other hand, we could say that to understand a market as a 'community' is perhaps to search for a generalisation where it is rather difficult to find it; whether one feels 'a community' there or not depends on who you ask. And it is also not about being within a community; it is about constructing the community, so a market place acts as a medium that relates to different, individual, also 'impossible' communities. Thus, it

¹⁵⁰ Interview, no. 10, 1 July, 2009, personal archive.

¹⁵¹ Interview, no. 9, 16 June, 2009, personal archive.

seems like everyone who ventures out to the market place on, for example, Saturday mornings has something in common. Regardless of the fact that some of them are Anglo-Saxon, some continental European, some Chinese, some Vietnamese, some South Korean, Malaysian, Singaporean, Nigerian, Ethiopian, Chilean, South African, they have some memories that remind them of some kind of 'home'. However, this 'home' is not located as such. And this is also where home becomes Home and is produced as a 'fetish', to quote Anne-Marie Fortier (2003, p. 119), in the context of a market, because the space itself is never entirely closed (even though it is marked by boundaries). It changes and moves and for some people it invokes the feeling that the 'real' home has disappeared – hence, the home as an 'impossibility'. The space itself, accompanied by feeling of desires and wishes, in fact prevents this 'Home' to be 'home', 'Community' to be 'community' and as such it is always ambiguous. Nevertheless, along the lines of comparison of the two markets, we can talk about some sort of community of traders at the Footscray Market and the feeling of solidarity that stems also from the spatial setup and practice within the market. The relation between them at the market produces the exchange. This aspect is also not entirely neglected at the Queen Victoria Market, even though the solidarity at the latter is more focused around the economic benefit and produce rather than sociability (and relation) between people as such.

5.3 Dialogue with the suburb

We could say that at the market, people do not sense what they sense on the street outside, where they would still be only numbers in the crowd that is called society, where there are still 'beggars, tourists, merchants, students, children playing, old people resting – a scene of human differences' (Sennett 1990, p. 9). Within the market and because of its inside/outside ambiguity, they could still be a diverse lot, but it could not be so commonsensical to ask any more, as Sennett does, 'What is the spiritual value of diversity?' (Sennett 1990, p. 9). In the context of the multicultural and cosmopolitan promotion of the city, the notions that emphasise diversity and/or difference attach not only to the city as a whole and its inhabitants, but also to various particular public locations. The market is therefore never the location on its own, even though it may sometimes appear as such.

Inside and Outside are terms that belong to centrality, but a space such as the market, misplaces these terms; in a way, it theorises them. Again, it brings out also the notion of strangeness that appears also because of these dichotomies. How do we know when we encounter the stranger?¹⁵² It is very likely that it happens in the very proximity of us, though it is not very likely that we would define strangers as such in the moment of our encounter.

People do recognise migrants as migrants, foreigners as foreigners, strangers as strangers in market places because migrants, foreigners and strangers are already recognised as such before, on the outside, and this recognition also reversely demarcates and enforces the boundaries. However, the boundaries have a potential to be ‘in becoming’ within the market place; to begin with that ‘opening of the threshold’ (Irigaray 2008, pp. 1-8). The change in the market (for instance the change in stall owners, shoppers and produce being sold) is ‘on display’ and it is there to be marketed, but at the same time the experience of the shopper still remains intimate. Traders and shoppers may be strangers to each other, but because of the space and feelings of changeability, their strangeness can become more approachable.

In terms of comparison between the two markets observed along these lines, there is a considerable difference between ‘encountering the strangeness’ of the two places. Two markets are set in different parts of Melbourne; one is central and the other is not. Both ‘outsides’ of the markets are culturally and socially diverse, but they are diverse in different ways. Going to the Queen Victoria Market means for people going exactly and only to the Queen Victoria Market. Going to the Footscray Market, on the other hand, means going to the suburb of Footscray.

People engaging with the boundaries of the markets (the traders and shoppers) are, in general, of diverse cultural and/or social standing. As discussed previously, Footscray has a specific community profile in terms of ethnic/social/linguistic diversity (see Figure 12). It is a synonym for difference in itself if we regard it in the wider

¹⁵² Or, as Sara Ahmed (2000, p. 21) would ask, how do we recognise strangers? ‘Strangers are not simply those who are not known in this dwelling,’ writes Sara Ahmed, ‘but those who are, in their very proximity, already recognised as not belonging, as being out of place. Such recognition of those who are out of place allows both the demarcation and enforcement of the boundaries of “this place”, as where “we” dwell’ (Ahmed 2000, pp. 21-22).

environment of Melbourne. It is ethnically different and it is linguistically different. The centre of Melbourne cannot inhabit such a space, because in the context of the city environment it does not reside at the boundary, while Footscray as a suburb does exist at the boundary and can in this respect negotiate its character across the boundary. Difference at the central Queen Victoria Market can be more produced on the inside of the market whereas the difference in the case of Footscray is already produced within the location itself (Figure 13). Queen Victoria Market therefore produces difference within the place itself, while the Footscray Market merely lives (and represents) the difference that is already produced on the outside, within the suburb.



Figure 13: In and around the markets

The difference in the case of Footscray Market has much to do with the character of the suburb of Footscray itself, where the transience, movement and exchange of utterances (also in the sense of only transactional exchanges) are vital parts of the suburb or the group of the western suburbs. As discussed previously, for the interviewee with a Cantonese background who grew up in the western suburbs and visited the Footscray Market with her family regularly, the market was only one part of the whole Footscray experience, which was a giant market experience. Queen Victoria Market was more bounded for her and something that made it bounded among else was, interestingly, a moving space of a tram.

It was never like I'm going to Footscray Market. Actually just saying that you go to Footscray meant you're going to the market. It was always like changeable, I think. It still is.

My feeling about the Queen Victoria Market would be that it's much more closed space than Footscray, because there's a tram line. Footscray has a tramline as well, you just don't see that many trams going by, you've got to wait like 40 minutes for it. But actually Victoria Market feels like more distinguished from the rest and there isn't so much of the sprawl, so you couldn't get the same thing you got at Victoria Market on the outside. You've got the tram, McDonalds, the Pelican hotel, you've got a couple of these weird grocery stores and the Victoria Market Haircutters, then you've got more of a feeling you're moving more to North Melbourne, once you hit further up. It feels more like closed area. Because going to Victoria Market is going to Victoria Market. It doesn't mean you go anywhere else. Unless you're going to the market hairdressers.¹⁵³

Specifically in the case of Footscray Market, the cultural and also the social difference and layering of different contexts, ethnicities, cultures and languages is something one experiences on the outside of the market too, not just within the market as such. One of the traders at the Footscray Market regularly slipped in and out of the market in his description of the change of the market in the last two and a half decades:

And over the generations this market was full of Australians, Italians, Yugoslavs, Macedonians. When it first opened. And across the road there was all Italian coffee shops. Every Vietnamese restaurant there was an Italian coffee shop or a delicatessen or something like that. There was not one restaurant there Vietnamese. The only Asian restaurant in Footscray was on the other end of Barkly Street, which was Jimmy Wong, Chinese restaurant and you had Pung's Chinese restaurant. They were the first Asian things in the whole of Footscray. It was very European. And that's changed from all that Italian and Greek and whatever delicatessens and coffee shops have all sold up and Asians have taken them over.

¹⁵³ Interview, no. 3, 11 June, 2009, personal archive.

*And that lasted 10 to 12 years, maybe a little bit more [...]. Now we've got a lot of Indians and Ethiopians and they're buying the restaurants. But they have pockets down further. Down near the Court House Hotel. But Asians still hold on to this pocket. It's changed a lot.*¹⁵⁴

Especially for the people, living or working in Footscray or near it, the market was a space where they would meet people that they were otherwise meeting in their daily business, on the street, in their work places and so on. One of the participants in the study, of Vietnamese background and who grew up in a neighbouring suburb to Footscray (and then moved away), mentioned that the market itself was never a particular meeting space for her nor for her parents, but they would still meet people they would know there on a regular basis. In this respect, the market did work as a kind of a specialised cultural community hub or a central point.

*Particularly to people who had the same migrant background from Vietnam and the chances were my parents would know them, because my parents, they both worked in Footscray at that time, so they had connections with the local community as well as going to the market. Just going their day-to-day business, they would meet lots of local people.*¹⁵⁵

As for the Queen Victoria Market, this was not expressed by my participants. Queen Victoria Market produces difference in the area where difference is not to be felt. It is almost necessary to make a special arrangement with someone there; it is not often that you just 'bump into' people you know.

In terms of shopping for produce, the multicultural experience of Queen Victoria Market has a lot to do with the 'multicultural produce'. People are shopping there for originality and authenticity – Greek olives, Polish sausages, Chinese vegetables, all kinds of dips that are meant to be Italian. The promotion of the City of Melbourne as the place where you can 'taste' the difference in an Australian way also fits well into the feel of the Queen Victoria Market. One of the respondents in the study, who is a regular at the Queen Victoria Market, lives nearby and is a long-term Australian, pointed to the multicultural experience of the market:

Maybe the people from the City of Melbourne that I know are going there for its multiculturalism. There's stalls there where you can get produce that you wouldn't be able to get in your general supermarket and there's a feel about it that's multicultural. Like the people that own the stalls and run the stalls ... there's

¹⁵⁴ Interview, no. 11, 17 June, 2009, personal archive.

¹⁵⁵ Interview, no. 2, 15 June, 2009, personal archive.

*a lot of... sort of Eastern European people, a lot of Asian people that run these stores and I just think that Melbourne really likes that especially when it comes to food. We're always going to Italian restaurants, we're always going to Asian restaurants and that sort of thing and I think we have a high respect for the food they make. We really love that in Melbourne City. So I think that's why they would be going there as well.*¹⁵⁶

It is true that the shops are often in hands of Greeks, Poles, Chinese etc. and their descendants at the Queen Victoria Market, but these people are not the same to those that one could easily meet outside, on the street. Trading at the Queen Victoria Market is more of a performance and more of a display. Yet the display is not supposed to be touched by people. It is there to see and admire, not to engage with the particularity in space. The signs sometimes tell the shopper that in particular. The signs that would forbid people from touching and tasting produce before they would buy do not exist on the other hand at the Footscray Market. 'If it is out there, you can touch it. In fact, there [at the Footscray Market] are boxes of stuff there, you can try it out. I don't think that I ever, without asking, ate anything at Victoria Market.'¹⁵⁷

5.4 Polish sausage tastes Australian, but it speaks Polish: on language performativity in the market place

We can think about public spaces, such as markets, as spaces that are not able to hold any particularly clear direction. Markets greet the moving and they bring out the 'lack of direction'; they unravel the pleasure. Usually they are filled with sounds, with all sorts of communication, and with performance. Or, as Peter Langtry of the French Deli and the Polish Deli at the Queen Victoria Market puts it, 'The Market is Nature's showroom' (Hui and Griffiths 2003, p. 20). As in the cities, here is also where many find the 'magic' of markets.

'Magic' can also be understood as an element of a break between the rural and the urban, the urban being reflected in rural and 'embodying an element of symbolism, of image-and-reflection' according to Henri Lefebvre (1991, p. 235); but, we can also say that an encounter can be directed, processed, and explained in many different ways. In any way, the well-being of a community gathered in a place can be gratified when

¹⁵⁶ Interview, no. 1, 7 June, 2009, personal archive.

¹⁵⁷ Interview, no. 3, 11 June, 2009, personal archive.

memories are gathered there as well. A trader who sells coffee beans and teas at the Queen Victoria Market, and who came to the market in 1951 and stayed, says:

When I first came, it was all Anglo-Saxons, Irish Anglo-Saxons. Some of them used to sell butter and cheese – and only cheddar cheese. Cheddar cheese was the big thing in Australia in those days. In the fifties, when the Northern Europeans came out – the displaced people after the war – there wasn't any catering for these people, for their tastes up to then, because we mainly followed an English diet in Australia. But from the 1950s, the continental people coming out here started their own factories, making salamis and other types of sausages, which we started selling.

(Hui and Griffiths 2003, p. 48)

Many Anglo-Saxon families moved from the inner Melbourne suburbs into the outer suburbs during the 1960s. Immigrants from continental Europe occupied inner suburbs and bought their food at the Queen Victoria Market. Some of these immigrants started to buy the stalls and shops at the market, so the shoppers were assured to be catered for in the 'homely' (read: continental European) manner. Then many of the immigrants who arrived in the 1950s and 1960s moved out to the outer suburbs and new Asian immigrants started to buy or rent the stalls and shops around the market. Now, in the 21st century, the change for the Queen Victoria Market has come again. Anglo-Saxons (their descendants) came back, because it became popular to live in the inner suburbs. 'This seems somewhat ironic,' observe Siu-Ling Hui and Simon Griffiths (2003, p. 62), 'given that these foods were originally introduced to cater for the European clientele' (ibid.). But, interestingly, people's tastes and their preferences change, so 'European continental food' slowly became partly 'Australian'. Not entirely though. The Polish sausage may start to 'taste Australian', but often it may still be desirable that it 'speaks Polish'. According to some traders at the Queen Victoria Market, it is still necessary (and good for the business) to 'perform' foreignness for the crowd of cosmopolitan Australian customers. The owner of a Polish Deli at the Queen Victoria Market, for instance mentions:

It's really important for the ambience of the place and what they call 'street cred', especially with Australian customers, to be hearing foreign languages at a foreign deli. I get greater satisfaction and confidence when there's three or four [non European] Australian customers waiting to be served and one of my staff is speaking Polish or German to a

customer. I can almost hear them thinking, 'Gee, this must be fair dinkum because foreign people buy here.'

(Hui and Griffiths 2003, p. 67)

As for the Footscray Market, less transformation of the market throughout the time is clearly also due to the fact that the Footscray Market has existed for a considerably less time than the Queen Victoria Market. The stalls of the Footscray Market have been occupied by people who were living in the neighbourhood already and it also served more to the 'local community'. There the performativity does not work in the same way it does at the Queen Victoria Market. The language in action more belongs to the possibility and is as such closer to the concept of 'embodiment' that Thrift (2000, p. 219) talks about. The language and the voice are still used in order to sell, but the language other than English is used more because the trader assumes she or he will be understood better. Therefore, the language used by traders at the Queen Victoria Market serves more as one of the performative elements, whereas the language used at the Footscray Market is more in the function of embodiment and the function of address.

The difference in the languages used at the Queen Victoria Market can still be in the form of the individual relation, but not in the function of cross-cultural communication. There are particular stall holders at the Queen Victoria Market that do offer the relation through the change in their language to the individual shopper. For instance, for one of the interviewee shopping at the Queen Victoria Market, the connection to the holder of the Cantonese noodle shop is based on their common usage of Cantonese language:

The guy, every time he sees us, he's just genuinely really really warm to us. And it's because I think we all speak Cantonese in the same way, so I suspect he is also from Hong Kong and because my mum and me are regulars... Yeah, and that's just a really nice connection for us. It's like, you know, there are a couple of Hong Kong people here and you sort of feel that connection.¹⁵⁸

At the Queen Victoria Market, the connection still works along the lines of the monolingual mindset though; the connection in language brings the connection towards the individual that besides conversing in another language, also speaks standard Australian English. If we compare the experience of the Footscray Market to the one-dimensional connection at the Queen Victoria Market, we can say that the connection at

¹⁵⁸ Interview, no. 3, 11 June, 2009, personal archive.

the Footscray Market goes at least double way. In the case of the observed fish shop at the Footscray Market, there are Australians and Indians using Vietnamese language and they entertain their customers. The customers are predominantly Vietnamese, Chinese and white Australian.

The Footscray Market traders repeatedly pointed out that speaking other languages than English is an asset at the market because people can understand each other better this way.

*It's easier to make shopping. And you feel like you're welcomed, like at home this way. You don't feel like you're a stranger, doing your shopping and off you go. So it really makes a huge difference to keep the customers, for them to come back.*¹⁵⁹

The language used at the Footscray Market is in the function not primarily of communication, but more importantly in the function of address, and it is also something that is 'good for the business' and for the benefit of the trader as well as a customer. Performance is not a part of selling the product, even though this partly depends on who lines up as a customer. As the trader observed:

*90% of our clientele or... 80% ... because we've got a lot of Chinese as well... 80% are Vietnamese. When we're dealing with the public, we talk mostly in Vietnamese and we have no Vietnamese worker behind the counter. Not for any reason... there's no reason why we don't employ them. We've all been together, we started together and we've stayed together. Two of them went to school to learn Vietnamese, the rest of us just learn it through working. We've got Aussies behind the counter, we've got Indians behind the counter (...) and we can speak Asian and an old lady, 80 years of age being Vietnamese, can't speak a word of English, she still comes up to our shop, be confident by herself, to buy fish, get the right change back. So, it's a huge benefit.*¹⁶⁰

Interestingly, the fish shop trader describes the shop he works in as a 'circus' more as a 'fish shop', which also points out to the possibility rather than actuality. The 'circus' character comes out for the trader by the sound environment rather than its visual presentation. The whole shop is loud; according to the trader the shop is the loudest place at the market. Because according to him the customers sometimes have to wait in a line for fifteen or even twenty minutes to be served and to make their waiting a bit easier, the shop introduced the music through the loudspeakers in the background,

¹⁵⁹ Interview, no. 10, 1 July, 2009, personal archive.

¹⁶⁰ Interview, no. 11, 17 June, 2009, personal archive.

which in turn produced even louder conversation between traders and customers. Their expression in Vietnamese, according to the trader, also adds to the ‘circus’ feel. As he asserted:

So, by having that background music, we have to yell, so the customer hears us, whether that be in English or Vietnamese or whatever. If we’re talking to the Vietnamese loud, an Australian gets amused by that. We call it a circus. Not a fish shop, but a circus. Because it’s always something happening and that keeps them entertained. So the music and Vietnamese and all that keeps the customer entertained.¹⁶¹

The part of entertainment is there predominantly for the Australian customer, even though this is not exclusively the domain that the traders would be working for. As the shopper with the Vietnamese background is more common than the white Australian shopper, the ‘circus’ works in order to bring the communication and performance together. It is possible to draw the analogies to the Bakhtin’s notion of the carnivalesque here and the principle of the carnival laughter (or festive laughter) and the public square as a principle that could counter the principle of the official fear. The Australian behind the counter is there not in the function to be feared of, but more in the function to make people entertained (and to entertain themselves).

5.5 The location of the multicultural difference at the markets

While I often thought that different languages (and different tonalities) I heard at the Queen Victoria Market pleasantly fit into the category of ‘managerial multiculturalism’ (multiculturalism as a policy), which first of all tries to sell, the languages and voices I heard at the Footscray Market only rarely pronounced this feeling. It was more about selling ‘in relation’, but also selling in the absence of ‘translation’. In Footscray one is different anyway, so there is no need for a celebration of this difference as such. When cultural difference is present on the outside, the social difference becomes more pronounced.

One group on the social networking site Facebook calls itself ‘Bitch please... I’m from the Westside’ and includes 13,956 members.¹⁶² This group presents a list of 100 attributes that apply to people from the West (of Melbourne). According to the list, you

¹⁶¹ Interview, no. 11, 17 June, 2009, personal archive.

¹⁶² On the 2nd June 2009.

are from the Westside if, among else: ‘You know that the ‘Footscray Asians’ don’t carry machetes around because they enjoy gardening’; ‘At one point in your life you have been or have tried to get Centrelink benefits’¹⁶³; ‘You know somebody that knows somebody that knows somebody’; ‘Your train line has cops for ticket inspectors’; and ‘You know that Muzza talk and FOB speak are valid and real languages’.¹⁶⁴ What these lines proclaim is the proximity of something that in other parts of Melbourne would be considered as different and marginal. In Footscray, ‘Asians’ are still considered ‘different,’ but in spite of their difference they are still ‘Footscray people’. The fact that ‘you know somebody that knows somebody that knows somebody’, points to the condition of relation and, again, the ‘community’. The reference to the social security and the ‘cops for ticket inspectors’ points out to the social marginality (and relating reference to criminality). In regards to the language, ‘FOB speak and Muzza talk’ are codes for difference, which are nevertheless still valid and real. However, their validity and reality still need to be proclaimed which means they had to go through a process to become ‘valid and real’ (they were not such in the first place).

As a part of Footscray as a suburb, difference for the Footscray Market is contained already in its name. This is not a market that would bear a name of an important British or Australian person, celebrity or colonial surveyor, which does not apply to the Queen Victoria Market. Footscray Market holds a name of the suburb it is placed within. Footscray as a name still comes from Britain (and is a place name there as well), but it is a name that is open to transformation. The name of Footscray can produce many metaphorical meanings with at first sight irrelevant transformations in its writing and pronunciation. As such, the name in the first instance already works under translation. Footscray throughout the time thus had the ability to become Footscry or Footscary or Footas-Cry, to quote the famous furniture dealer Franco Cozzo who established his first large shop in Footscray, just across the road from the Footscray Market. Then there is the famous Footscrayzy sign at the corner of Orford Road and Waverley Street in Essendon (Figure 14) that has fascinated many residents for many years, even to the extent that the ‘Footscrayzy Sign Society’ was established and started to operate on

¹⁶³ Centrelink is an Australian Government Statutory Agency that provides social security payments and services, especially for the unemployed.

¹⁶⁴ ‘Muzza talk’ and ‘FOB speak’ both refer to the accents that are considered as derogative terms and are used for English spoken with Asian, South-European or Middle-Eastern accents.

Facebook and now has 6,351 members.¹⁶⁵ The sign is continuously edited by members of the public. Every now and then the Council comes and cleans it up (and the sign also started to be put higher in order to make it more inaccessible by the members of the public), but the ‘zy’ add-on appeared each time within the weeks again.¹⁶⁶



Figure 14: ‘Footscrayzy’ sign, corner of Orford Road and Waverley Street, Essendon

All these name variations fit into the image and feeling of this part of the city that, for me, was always best to explore on ‘foot’. So, there is not only one Footscray, there are many Footscrays, Footscarys, Footascrys, Footscrayzies. The meaning of the place can be appropriated by people living in the neighbourhood and also those visiting it occasionally. In this way, individuality can be inscribed into the place.

Therefore, Footscray Market bears a connection to Footscray as a suburb, which is a Melbourne’s synonym for difference. As Alice Pung in her book on growing up in Footscray wrote, ‘This is the suburb of madcap Franco Cozzo and his polished furniture, the suburb that made Russel Crowe rich and famous for shaving his head and beating up ethnic minorities, so it doesn’t really matter that these footpaths are not lined with gold but dotted with coruscating black circles where people spat out gum eons ago’ (Pung 2006, p. 3).¹⁶⁷ It is a different difference in Footscray in comparison to some other Melbourne suburbs, as the previous quote by Alice Pung affirms. As previously mentioned, Footscray has a large population of Asian (especially Vietnamese) origin and in the last years a larger number of people originally from some African countries (mostly from Ethiopia) have settled there. Over the years, there was a steady decrease in

¹⁶⁵ On 2nd June, 2009.

¹⁶⁶ It is interesting how the trends in street-art have changed the nature of street-sign writing too. Usually the Footscray sign was edited only by handwriting and now it usually appears as a stencil.

¹⁶⁷ Russel Crowe acted in a 1992 Australian movie ‘Romper Stomper’ which is a story of a neo-nazi skinhead group in suburban Melbourne. The film was shot in Footscray.

representation of European migrants. New migrants arriving in Footscray were mainly from Vietnam, China and Ethiopia.

Migrants from different parts of Asia and Africa are not alien to Melbourne. They live in many of its suburbs. However, Footscray deals with its 'difference' in a somewhat 'different' manner. Visually the differences in Footscray can be quite remarkable, having in mind the colourfulness of front windows of the street shops, posters for cheap phone calls overseas or vibrant coloured clothes of people passing by. As Maree Pardy writes, 'there [in Footscray] is no shortage of colour. Scarves and veils, dresses and tops, every variety of skin colour and hair type, singlets and tattoos. Even the brooms are rainbow coloured' (Pardy 2005, p. 109).

One of the participants in my research, an Australian originally from Nigeria, said that he 'feels like at home' in Footscray.¹⁶⁸ This was not the real 'home' for him; it was more the potentiality of the place to invoke memories – of the home 'lost'. This home is not the same as that discussed in the frame of the sociability between the traders. It is about the feeling and interaction with the place, it is not about the interaction only with people. For another research participant, born in Australia to parents from Vietnam who lived in Hong Kong before arriving in Australia, and growing up in a suburb next to Footscray, the market invoked childhood memories – a childhood that was never to come back.¹⁶⁹ She used to go to the market regularly with her parents when she was a child. Now she has moved away and lives close to the city centre of Melbourne, but still returns to the Footscray Market occasionally to buy her groceries. Her parents still live in the neighbourhood. She connected the market with the feeling of loss that communicates with the formation of community as well. The community is in the first instance formed on the things lost to be able to build something that is there now and brings that 'specialness' to the present. This 'special' is also a special difference without which the community would not sustain. At the Footscray Market the difference is inscribed into the community while at the Queen Victoria Market the difference is inscribed into every single individual. Footscray Market is the reflection of the

¹⁶⁸ The participant in the study expressed this opinion in one of the multisensory walks (MW, no. 3) through Footscray and the Footscray Market on 7th July, 2008.

¹⁶⁹ The participant in the study expressed this opinion in one of the multisensory walks (MW no. 2) through Footscray and the Footscray Market, on 27th June, 2008.

neighbourhood (and the suburb) and the Queen Victoria Market is a reflection of state-sponsored multiculturalism.

The space of the Footscray Market was multicultural for everyone I talked to. It was the same in the case of the Queen Victoria Market. Both markets were seen as representative multicultural spaces. Where is the difference between the markets produced then and what does a difference in the two versions of ‘multiculturalism’ mean? It seems that the main difference between the two markets is that at the Footscray Market, nobody is really ‘trying to be a part of that culture there’¹⁷⁰ while the Queen Victoria Market suggests to people to be a part of ‘that culture’ and ‘that diversity’.

The proximity of the shoppers to the two markets did make a difference in answers. Two respondents that were more connected to the Footscray Market in the past, while they were growing up during the 1980s and 1990s, and who later moved to do their shopping at the Queen Victoria Market, described the Footscray Market and its multiculturalism in accordance with their memories of the place. The third respondent was more connected to the Queen Victoria Market in the present (but not in her youth). She described the market more in accordance with her experiences of the central market, while she felt more ‘dislocated’ from the Footscray Market (and thought that Footscray Market is totally different from any other place in Melbourne). Two respondents who grew up in the Western suburbs of Melbourne and used to do regular shopping with their families in Footscray, thought of the Footscray multiculturalism also more in terms of the socio-economic class. One of them for instance said:

They're both definitely multicultural spaces, I reckon. But one's more... it's a different class experience, I would say. So, Footscray is more a type of everyday multiculturalism and maybe in my mind more like an 80s multiculturalism, you know, whereas Victoria Market has a much trendier, cosmopolitan vibe. Particularly if you're in the Deli section with all of that coffee stuff happening there and all that pasta and wine and yeah... so it's a different class experience. But they're both multicultural. Probably Footscray gives me more sense of it being more honestly multicultural in a way maybe because, yeah, my feeling is ... It's a lot of people in the West who are just sort of more diverse. I guess it's just not so many nicely dressed middle class Anglos anywhere around with their two and a half kids, eating their pastry

¹⁷⁰ Interview, no. 3, 11 June, 2009, personal archive.

*and drinking coffee and taking their time to buy the flowers and listening to the same kind pan-piped people at the corner.*¹⁷¹

‘Everyday’ and ‘cosmopolitan’ belong to different realms in terms of their style as well as their presentation. The distinction between ‘everyday’ or ‘plain’ market experience at the Footscray Market was in the interviews often contrasted by a ‘showing’, ‘flashy’ element pointing to cosmopolitanism of the Queen Victoria Market. The difference in ‘everyday multiculturalism’ versus ‘cosmopolitan multiculturalism’ was brought out also by the other participant in the study expressing a similar experience:

*I see Footscray Market as a multicultural place, because it reflects the kind of feel I was exposed to growing up in the Western suburbs, which was a mix of people. Victoria Market is multicultural in sense of the produce as having things from different places, but I’ve got a feeling it’s got a... it’s more cosmopolitan rather than multicultural. Because of my relationship to the term multicultural is about more feeling unfamiliar with things. Unfamiliar sounds and sense whereas, I guess, as an adult going to the Victoria Market I feel more confident navigating the place, so it doesn’t feel so unfamiliar to me.*¹⁷²

The ambiguity of the ‘unfamiliar multiculturalism’ is something that we can consider as one of the key terms that makes the multicultural experience of Footscray different to the one of the Queen Victoria Market in central Melbourne. ‘Unfamiliarity’ might not mean that someone feels unease. For the second respondent the lack of navigation, unfamiliar sounds and sense is what makes the relationship to the term multicultural viable. The relationship to the unfamiliar is set up in the first place, but the unfamiliarity brings out the notion of ‘honest multiculturalism’ or something we may call ‘critical multiculturalism’, following McLaren (1994).

To the traders at the Queen Victoria Market, multiculturalism meant a diversity of people coming to the market and trading there. To the traders at the Footscray Market, multiculturalism meant mixture between the traders and customers and the relations one makes not only within, but also out of the shopping complex. The fish trader at the Footscray Market connected the story of multiculturalism at the market to his personal story and his personal experience. As his seemed to be a representative story that brought out the atmosphere of the Footscray Market, allow me to reiterate it here at length:

¹⁷¹ Interview, no. 3, 11 June, 2009, personal archive.

¹⁷² Interview, no. 2, 15 June, 2009, personal archive.

To me multiculturalism means a lot because I work in a shop here that... When I was young, across from me there was an Italian man and his wife who is English and my family who would originally come from Scotland. We live across the road from each other. Me and their son have been best friend all of our life. We grew up together through kindergarten, we're a month apart... I'm 41. So we grew up all together and his father had a fish truck and a trailer. And he used to drive around all the streets, stopping at all different pubs, Italian restaurant in Yarraville and he used to sell the fish from the back of the truck. And... this market has been here for 26 years. When we were about 10 years old, he brought us here and he said: 'This is where I'm gonna have a shop.' And there was nothing, there was just gravel. He said, they're gonna build a market there and I'm gonna get a shop in there. We said: 'Alright, yeah.' We went to school in West Footscray and then we started to work here. Now... He met his wife here, he is married to an Asian. His cousin met his wife here, she's English. His brother met his wife here, she's English. His cousin met his wife here, she's Lebanese. We all work in the fish shop. I met my wife here, she's Vietnamese. Since then, his brother has been divorced from the English girl and took out an Indian girl, which he met here. They're still very good friends, no longer live together, but still very good friends and now he's taken out an Asian girl. So... for multiculturalism, you can't get much more than that.¹⁷³

Cultural diversity in Footscray is a fact; social marginality or at least certain, working-class socio-economic stand in Footscray is also still a fact. Multiculturalism can be more 'honest', because it is still not 'sold' to people. Culture is in part a performance, but a product itself is not a performative object or a fetish. Footscray market works more according to the lines of diversity. Multi-culture is 'everyday' and not exactly 'city-like'. This is also why this kind of (multi)culture cannot really be seen as cosmopolitan; because the space as such is not really hospitable, but the way the space is activated, usually makes it hospitable. The vocality and language are important elements to be examined in this, because the 'language in action' or the language as an utterance, language as 'non-pretty' and 'less flowery', language as 'practicality' contribute to the hospitality of the Footscray Market to a great extent.

It's just a place to go to, it's a really practical space. It's not fancy (...). And I guess at Footscray Market (...) we were really kind of forced to go there every weekend, so it wasn't something I would particularly enjoy and often we would have a lot of bags, we would be standing around whilst my mum would sort of go into the foray to actually get some food. Footscray Market is actually kind of dirtier as well (...). I think in that sense, actually you could have made an argument that in that sense it's kind of more welcoming because it has less sort of... it's less flowery, it's less pretty, so you just feel like you're going there. Footscray Market is a business actually. That's what it is. You go in there really to get your food

¹⁷³ Interview, no. 11, 17 June, 2009, personal archive.

*and get the hell out. You don't stay there. You don't pick at the flowers, you know, you don't kind of look at things.*¹⁷⁴

5.6 Sounding out the markets' cosmopolitanisms

'Has the world, in fact, arrived in Footscray?' (2005, p. 109) asks Maree Pardy. Pardy looks at the traces of vernacular cosmopolitanism in the Footscray Mall, but even if the world has arrived in Footscray, it may have arrived in some other parts of Melbourne too. What makes Footscray experience 'different', as I perceive it, also has to do with the presence of squeaky voices, congested tonalities, loud children shouting, metallic sounds of meat slicers, African hip-hop, American country, Tibetan chants and blend of all of these sounds that contribute considerably to this feeling. And also smells of fresh pork, crabs, different vegetables, coffee, soups and scented people, and a blend of all these smells. The mixture of voices and the blend of smells that do not make one comfortable or particularly good are also in the background of this 'community' built out of difference. This adds that 'different' element when describing the difference in the area of Footscray, especially from the experience of the Footscray Market. As one of the participants in the study said:

*When I was small, I was a bit more frightened of the large crowds. The smells as well, especially at the meat section. It always seemed a bit spooky seeing all the meat. But now I'm here, shopping, buying my groceries. That's what I remember from the markets too, all the shouting.*¹⁷⁵

The 'Other' according to the soundscape of the Footscray Market – the 'Other' that we often feel like we need to recognise and define, but are repeatedly failing to do so – is constituted vocally in many respects. Visually, there seems to be not so much of 'otherness', but the 'otherness' in terms of audibility is a different thing. It is a difference in the point of perspective. If we focus on visibility, we tend to read the space 'from above',¹⁷⁶ if we focus on audibility, we necessarily read it 'from below'.¹⁷⁷ In

¹⁷⁴ Interview, no. 3, 11 June, 2009, personal archive.

¹⁷⁵ The participant in the study expressed this opinion in one of the multisensory walks (MW no. 2) through Footscray and the Footscray Market. 27 June, 2008.

¹⁷⁶ For Michel de Certeau (1984) for instance, the city is laid out below him, resolved and made legible from the air.

¹⁷⁷ As Fran Tonkiss (2003, p. 304) argues, 'below the level of legibility, the everyday users of the city tell spatial stories that cannot be read'. To borrow a thought of Roland Barthes, individuals 'speak' the city by moving through it, enunciating a private language of place and practice (Barthes, 1997).

sound, we are entangled, we cannot detach; while we can easily close our eyes, we usually cannot close our ears.¹⁷⁸

The Footscray Market provides the microcosm of a public culturally heterogeneous domain – particularly in terms of audibility. Footscray Market is the place where the everyday multiculturalism is negotiated through the utterances existing in relation to each other. These relations are often oppositional but are nevertheless able to co-exist without major tensions. While listening to the languages in action and utterances in general of the Footscray Market, the notion of difference and otherness is recreated only from the point of view of the outsider and inflicted upon the place from the outside – from the point of view of those who seize the right to possess the multicultural meanings – that is, from the side of the multicultural manager. The languages used at the Footscray Market, where ‘there was no word of English’ made one of the participants in the study, who had more connection to (and was living in) the central Melbourne feel strange and different from other people there. The microcosm however lives its own life which may be characterised by its otherness but is still able to exist in the relation.¹⁷⁹

Alice Pung (2006, p. 1) begins her memoir that revolves in and around Footscray, by locating herself and her family. In it, she writes:

We begin our story in a suburb of Melbourne, Australia, in a market swarming with fat pigs and thin people. The fat pigs are hanging from hooks, waiting to be hacked into segments, and the thin people are waiting to buy these segments wrapped in newspaper over a glass counter. When they haggle over the price of trotters, there is much hand-gesticulating and frowning of brow because the parties do not spick da English velly good. ‘Like a chicken trying to talk to a duck,’ my mother calls these conversations.

The vocality of the Footscray Market reverses the order of the formal sociability. Now there are migrants who are doing the ‘speaking’, but they are also the ones who are leaving the spaces ‘blank’. They call for a translation also by the potential of impossibility of communication. As Pung (2006, p. 2) says:

¹⁷⁸ As Georg Simmel once put it: ‘The ear is an egoistic organ pure and simple, which only takes, but does not give (...) It pays for this egoism in that it cannot turn away or close itself, like the eye (...)’ (Simmel in Frisby & Featherstone 1997, p. 115)

¹⁷⁹ Maree Pardy would ask ‘Is this what cosmopolitanism really looks like? Is this what Kant had in mind?’ (Pardy 2005, p. 109) Cosmopolitanism, where there is no superficial excitement for all the existing diversity? Where the diversity walks the corridors without really being noticed? An actually existing cosmopolitanism that is fuelled by daily negotiation of cultural difference?

This is the suburb where words like and, at and of are redundant, where full sentences are not necessary. “Two kilos dis. Give me seven dat.” If you were to ask politely, “Would you please be so kind as to give me a half-kilo of the Lady Fingers?” the shop owner might not understand you (...) To communicate, my father realises, does not merely mean the strumming and humming of vocal cords, but much movement of hands and contortion of face.

This is how the Scottish descendant and those who feel like long-term Australians behind the counter of the fish shop at the Footscray Market, started to use and speak Vietnamese. In the case of Footscray, the adaptation in language went both ways.

This translation, in the case of Footscray, does not have a lot to do with the ‘multicultural feel’ and each other’s cultural, ethnic, religious differences. Shoppers here do not talk to traders because they are Vietnamese or Macedonian, but because they want to cook something for dinner. Shopping at the Footscray Market is thus rarely a ‘cosmopolitan’ experience in the way the Melbourne City Councils wishes to promote the term. It can be rather plain or everyday; it may feel like a business:

Yeah, we kind of feel it's cheaper, it's more working class, it's more business. Also it's not many people lingering around. At Victoria Market you get a lot of people lingering around, going really really slowly. It's just like, they have a different experience of market, of markets. They're not necessarily there for their week's groceries, they're there to enjoy themselves. Sometimes at Vic market people take giant cameras and they take photos of the produce. We were always laughing. 'C'mon, it's a tray of apples!' you know. And when you're loaded with kilos and kilos of food and my mum would buy a trolley, so ... literally like a pack horse, going through. And some people bring their dogs along too. Who brings a dog along? Some people actually bring their pets along to Vic market, which I think it's just crazy. I disagree with that at all.¹⁸⁰

The relation of utterances at the Footscray Market does not derive from or focus on the cultural difference (it does focus on social difference though) whereas at the Queen Victoria Market it does.

The cultural difference at the Queen Victoria Market does not impose the feeling of foreignness and total strangeness. It is about the experience, also the experience of (multi)culture. Multiculturalism at the Queen Victoria Market speaks in one (national) unified language. It is covered by one idea, which belongs to the monocultural mindset.

¹⁸⁰ Interview, no. 3, 11 June, 2009, personal archive.

Monoculturalism, paradoxically, builds upon the feeling of cultural diversity and this is similar to the way cosmopolitanism at the Queen Victoria Market is promoted.

At the Footscray Market, they are all speaking different language whereas at the Victoria Market, there's accents, but everyone is speaking English. I don't feel like they're different background to me. I feel like they're from Melbourne. Different cultures within Melbourne, but I feel like they're Melbourne people, whereas Footscray seems a lot fresher, like these people have just come over. They're still speaking their language that they speak at home whereas I feel like the people at Victoria Market maybe they've been here a couple of generations, they all speak English.¹⁸¹

The cosmopolitan element within the Footscray Market was generally rejected in the discussions with people and their perception of the place, however in one instance, the analogy between the two cosmopolitanisms has been made. The difference between the two cosmopolitanisms was not in the way the term cosmopolitanism would be understood, but more in the attitude or the orientation of the term in both cases. The Footscray Market cosmopolitanism was in this case termed as a 'sleepy cosmopolitanism', which means that one would not really know it is there. On the other hand, the cosmopolitanism of the Queen Victoria Market would be more of a 'showing cosmopolitanism', cosmopolitanism coming from above (and staying there as a hovering concept).

Victoria Market is much more ... 'I am cosmopolitan, you know'. 'I am wanting to be cosmopolitan', 'Look at all these people that frequent me', 'Look at the people who drink my coffee', 'Look at the range of food I have. I have a Hungarian sausage' and... that kind of stuff. So, if cosmopolitanism is a kind of... a pretty cloak to wear, you know, pretty coat, pretty item of clothing to wear.¹⁸²

5.7 On being and becoming in the markets

On the threshold between the inside and the outside, the Footscray Market is more ambiguous. Both markets, Footscray and Queen Victoria, have changed quite considerably over time; they have both enlarged; new shops and new products were added. Nevertheless, as one of the participants in the study, of Maltese parents, who grew up in the Western suburbs of Melbourne close to Footscray said, Footscray hasn't changed that much. 'The only thing different in Footscray is migration of different

¹⁸¹ Interview, no. 1, 7 June, 2009, personal archive.

¹⁸² Interview, no. 3, 11 June, 2009, personal archive.

cultures. Now there's African people as well as Asian. Then there's South American, Polynesian, all the different European, Eastern European, Southern European, all mixed up (...) I would say western suburbs of Melbourne are much more diverse, but coexisting culturally'.¹⁸³

Diversity makes the home out of Footscray. By now, at least since the first larger waves of migration to the area after the WW2, diversity has become ingrained in Footscray. Many people seem to 'love' Footscray today for its diversity. However, there is a concern that this love might be quite selfish and self-absorbing, not love as a dialogue, not love as a relation. As someone wrote in the comments to 'I love Footscray', a blog for the *Age* (Cook 2007), there is a concern about how many people 'give back' to Footscray:

Great that so many people seem to love Footscray. But why does everyone seem to equate 'love' with consumption? Who is loving Footscray in a way that 'gives back' to it? That makes it an even better place, for 'all' those who love it. And do we really want to be part of turning it into the next 'hip' inner city place to be? Where will all the diverse people go then? I too love Footscray. After living there for 7 years the place has a great way of getting under your skin! But it concerns me that not many 'new people' to the area ever seem to want to give back to it!

The question of relation between desire, consumption, love and well-being is important. Markets and shops are important places of human interaction within cities. They are linked to desire. This kind of desire does not only relate to the products sold but to the human sociability as such. It is desire to be with people, not to love them, but to use them as a medium for your desired love. We can read something similar along these lines in the words of the owner of the French and Polish Deli at the Queen Victoria Market who said: The market is where 'even those cast out of society can come and be with people.' This is, I suppose, the desire that anyone who likes to be in public places and goes to the markets feels. But to be with people does not mean one needs to interact. To be is not necessarily to move. To be is not to become. So, why do people gather at markets? To be or to become? Or, to put it differently, who is there to be and

¹⁸³ The participant in the study expressed this opinion in one of the multisensory walks (MW, no. 2) through Footscray and the Footscray Market on 27th June, 2008.

who is there to become and where *are* they and where *are* they *becoming*? Which place promotes being and which one promotes becoming?

In the manner of the work of Deleuze and Guattari (2004), the minor(itarian) is the one that has the capacity to become; it is the one that keeps moving and the language of the majority is the one that stands still. In cases of both markets examined, there are minor languages present and they are in the state of becoming. They challenge or, better, they play with the major language, because minor and major are not the opposites, but interact within the same language. However, there is a question of relation and the movement in relation and of the way in which minor challenges or plays with the major – this is where we may, again, find the difference between the two markets.

Queen Victoria Market sits in the perception of people well within the colonial discourse. They perceive the architecture of the Queen Victoria Market as historical; as something that has been there for a very long time, since the colonial times. The history of this market is static; it is not moving; it is not characterised by change. Interviewed traders did notice some changes in the composition of people trading and shopping over the years, and in the quality of produce, but in general the market has been the icon of Melbourne for them for a long time. It is situated in the centre of Melbourne and it is the central market to Melbourne.

Footscray Market, on the other hand, is more a reflection of the migration pattern of Melbourne as a city and of the suburb of Footscray since the WW2. The change and movement existing on the outside, the characteristics of the migration policy in Australia and Victoria are directly reflected in Footscray as a suburb and at the Footscray Market. The movement is inscribed in the experience of Footscray as a suburb and the experience of the Footscray Market. As one of the interviewees declared:

When you're leaving Footscray Market, you look up and see things that are belonging to the Greeks, so the Hellenic, building and, you know, Vietnamese or even now the African kind of a store and you can sort of look up and you can just see these bits and pieces from the past, so you sort of realise at some point Greeks and Italians, they were probably the dominant migrant groups here and then they sort of moved on or grown older and their children moved to other suburbs, because I did notice that. I mean, I know personally there are many Maltese in the West, a number of my really good friends when I was growing up were Maltese. So, I know there are Maltese in Footscray, Sunshine, St Albans, so I think it is a layer, more like a post-war migrant experience whereas Queen Victoria Market has this semi-colonial

*kind of feel to it. And I also know Victoria Market used to be Aboriginal burial place, but only via another part of my life. So yeah... it does sort of feel it connects deeper.*¹⁸⁴

In the case of Queen Victoria Market, voices belong to migrants that are seen as ‘different’, but also as more or less ‘exotic’. They are incorporated into the world of ‘managerial multiculturalism’. They ‘communicate’. In the case of the Footscray Market, voices still belong to migrants, but they are not attached to another, major body. They are ‘addressed’. The ‘address’ of the Queen Victoria Market can be seen as ‘homolingual’ and that of the Footscray Market as ‘heterolingual’ (Solomon & Sakai 2006). In the case of Footscray, we can also talk more about the speech in action or in constant exchange (an ‘active relation of one message to another’) that Bakhtin and Voloshinov (1994, p. 63) discuss. There is not much of hierarchy at the Footscray Market; the ‘author’ and the ‘speaker’ are on the same plane and their conversation is dialogized. There is not much to be said about ‘cultures’ on the streets of Footscray either. On the other hand, Queen Victoria Market is often spoken about as one of the most multicultural places in Melbourne. Queen Victoria Market is allocated its space and at least apparently stands still whereas Footscray Market moves all the time and it traverses the boundaries. Even though the Footscray Market is physically more enclosed as the Queen Victoria Market, there is always movement; people selling vegetables are often doing something just at the boundaries, close to the doors. They pull trolleys in and out, they talk and shout to each other across the doors, across the boundaries. Hence, the boundaries of the market are more porous. At the Queen Victoria Market, on the other hand, there is practically no negotiation possible at its boundaries.

I discussed the notions of openness and closedness as well as the direction that markets promote in both cases also with the shoppers and traders at the markets. Their responses varied slightly, but two basic findings in the perception of the design and set-up of the markets (and their direction) were confirmed from the side of both shoppers and traders:

- Footscray Market is seemingly more bounded and enclosed, but its boundaries are constantly traversed and negotiated. The Queen Victoria Market is seemingly more open (and spacious) but its - sometimes also invisible - boundaries are much more fixed and stable.

¹⁸⁴ Interview, no. 11, 17 June, 2009, personal archive.

- Footscray Market works in a circular way for people shopping there which also enables repetitiveness in communication, while Queen Victoria Market works in a linear way which means that the communication is also much more pre-set and directional.

Queen Victoria Market worked for people in a sort of pre-packaged way. Different sections were not seen as they would be flowing into one another and the barriers between sections were much clearer:

*The Victoria Market is definitely... well, apart from the fact that it is huge, there's that huge section of general merchandise and it's all in lanes, in blocks and columns. Big square section of that and then the big square section of lanes and vegetables and then you've got the food court down the bottom, meat section all in lanes, all going the same way actually, they don't seem to go across at all. Then organic produce has a big section as well, so you know exactly where you're getting, where you're going to get something.*¹⁸⁵

This means that the market is also sectioned off and closed-up when we talk about the cultural and language diversity there. The deli section for instance belongs to the Australian-Europeans, whereas the vegetable section belongs more to the Australian-Asian. The meat section is predominantly in the hands of the Australian-Australian.¹⁸⁶ Footscray Market, on the other hand, has more of a flowing and connected character. It is improper, sometimes chaotic and the boundaries are much more blurry, traversed and negotiated:

Victoria Market has this feeling of closed sections. This is not the case at the Footscray Market. The parts just sort of become each other. The deli and the underwear become the seafood. The vegetable shop and the egg shop become each other very very fast. Even the proximity of the court to where you actually eat if you want to buy anything from the food court, which I never felt like anyways. Proximity of the produce and food court is very close to each other and there's no kind of doors whereas at Victoria Market you have glass doors and enclosed section for meat, very clear section where the seafood is compared to meat as well and they've got bluer lights around the seafood and sort of more redddy pinky lights over the meat. And then you've got a section of the deli, which is also enclosed, you've got the section of fruit and veg and a line for organics. Actually it is really quite bounded those spaces, so you do know clearly that you've entered whereas at Footscray Market things are sort of closer. I've seen people eating bloody kebabs right next to where I tried to pick out a mandarin or something like that. So things feel more, yeah, feel less clearly bounded. If it was a house, Victoria Market would be very kind of proper. It would

¹⁸⁵ Interview, no. 1, 7 June, 2009, personal archive.

¹⁸⁶ With this category, I refer to those who feel their background is (solely) Australian.

*have its living room, its bedroom, everything is all nice and bounded whereas at Footscray Market people are living a bit too close. Obviously it depends on what you enjoy and what you don't enjoy, you know, but people are really close.*¹⁸⁷

Even though the aisles at the Footscray Market are wider than those at the Queen Victoria Market, the proximity of people seems to be greater. As one of the shop owners at the Footscray market commented:

*On a Saturday morning, if you come to Footscray Market, there's thousands of people in here. Because the aisles are wider, it opens it up more. If you put exactly the same people into the Victoria Market, you wouldn't be able to move, because it's a lot tinier. Those shops at the deli, they've got just tiny little shops. The fish shop is that tiny, it's only about 15 foot long.*¹⁸⁸

In terms of circularity, the Footscray Market most often worked in a circular or a semi-circular way for shoppers and traders. Semi circularity in fact brings about the circular rhythm which belongs to nature as well as the linear rhythm that belongs to the social activity (Lefebvre 2004, p. 8) and signifies the connection of the two.

*For us Footscray Market would be more like a half circle because we never did venture beyond that last fruit and veg stall into the food court. We never bought food there. Why bother when there's so many restaurants just on the outside, on the exterior. So, for us it would be like a half-circle. Our visitation would mean going in and then going sort of through the meat and the seafood. We might often go into little seafood lanes, but then you go through the fruit and veg and then you'd stop there and come back out. It would be half a circle and Victoria Market is very linear I would say in terms of... it's all these parallel lines and even then we only use half of them because we never go to the part where they sell sheep skins, Ugg boots and stuff like that. We never go into the touristy part. And... yeah... we would only go into these first two lanes for vegetable and fruit at the top and we only walk past that front. So we go through the meat and the seafood, walk past the more expensive fruit and veg at the front, parallel to the organic place and then we go to those first two lanes on the side close to Victoria street. Then that's it. It feels more kind of straight rather than circular.*¹⁸⁹

Because of its circularity or semi-circularity, Footscray Market is more a feminised space (Lefebvre 1991); one that challenges linearity and rationality. The set-up and the space of the Queen Victoria Market on the other hand belong to the linearity and rationality. The lanes are straight and run in a parallel way and there is basically no connection between the alleyways except of the square section in the middle of the

¹⁸⁷ Interview, no. 3, 11 June, 2009, personal archive.

¹⁸⁸ Interview, no. 11, 17 June, 2009, personal archive.

¹⁸⁹ Interview, no. 3, 11 June, 2009, personal archive.

market. Queen Victoria Market works more in terms of quadrangles separated by the glass doors, linear lines and linear organisation. The design is reflected also in the vocal environment; the cacophony of voices exists only in certain sections of the market, such as for instance in the meat and seafood section. The cacophony is still produced mainly by the standard Australian English within this section of the market. On the other hand, standard Australian English is not something that would be very common in the space of the Footscray Market. Also, the cacophony of voices is much less predictable.

5.8 Final remarks on the markets

There are not many people sitting, talking and eating at the Footscray Market's food court. In my observations, I rarely saw the food court at the Footscray Market packed with people. Food court also did not seem to be a popular place for people I talked to. None of my informants actually sat down and had food there. However, as one of the traders observed, the food court still acts as a meeting place for some people, especially on Saturdays, for shoppers that come to get their groceries with their children.

When I first started, there was all pizzas and hot doughnuts and all that... well... that's all gone. The Aussies are gone, Europeans are gone. So, now you've got your noodle shops and the Filipino shops and one Macedonian shop. Asians come to the market to shop. Not to come and get a doughnut or get an ice-cream. They come here to buy their vegetables, chicken and go home (...). But on a Saturday morning the food court is full. The reason I think is because the younger generation. It's not the old generation. The old Vietnamese, Italian, Filipinos... they all don't want to come here to eat. But because they've got their kids with them... 'Mum, I'm hungry', 'Mum, I wanna bucket of chips', 'Mum, I wanna dimsim', 'Mum, let's have a noodle', 'Mum, I want a roll'. So, they sit down and the families congregate and have lunch for the kids. If they were single, they would get their shopping and go home. But because they have kids, they sit down and eat. But through the week, the kids are at school, so they get in and get out. Or if they have their lunch, they go into a restaurant outside the market rather than sit in the food court where you get a take-away food. You go to a restaurant and get freshly cooked. But on a Saturday morning, they're meeting there.¹⁹⁰

More than the food court would be a place of inter-cultural contact, it is a place of inter-generational co-existence. During the week it is a place where older people rest more than engage in any kind of conversation, so during the week the food court is a quiet spot of the market where little happens.

¹⁹⁰ Interview, no. 11, 17 June, 2009, personal archive.

The food court at the Queen Victoria Market also occupies a different position and a different concept is, on the other hand, rarely ‘empty’. People sit down and eat (see Figure 15). The food court is usually rather packed and noisy.



Figure 15: Food courts at Footscray market (top) and Queen Victoria market (bottom)

There are families with babies, business people and tourists; ladies and gentlemen sit behind the tables; friends meet at Queen Victoria Market. Nevertheless, Footscray Market serves its function of exchange better. There, people are not speaking languages other than English because it is stylish, but because that is how they communicate. Footscray Market is louder, but in some parts, it leaves space for silence (for instance at the food court). Queen Victoria Market is in some parts silent as well, but its silence is emptier. Its loudness seems more like a staged performance that would attract a different meaning if the curtains were not drawn up. Footscray Market is still ambiguous and gives space to the ‘phonological ambiguity’ that Paul Carter (2004) talks about. Footscray Market values its ambiguity. It *listens*. In comparison to that, Queen Victoria Market merely *hears*. Footscray Market has more potential to be misunderstood; rarely there would be a generalised conception permeating its corridors;

it can change faster, because it gives room to interpretation (or better, translation) – one which is still, however, in a danger of misinterpretation.

There is also less hierarchy in the speaking positions among traders and there is less hierarchy between traders and buyers. The performativity of traders at the Footscray Market is merely an everyday practical activity: it is not representative, but is a process that produces an effect.¹⁹¹ It is still effective for the outsider's gaze. It can still give the outsider what the outsider wants. As for instance someone wrote in the comments to the 'I Love Footscray' blog for the *Age*: 'It's the closest feeling I can get to really being in a Southeast Asian market and I love it' (Cook 2007). Its changeability makes the place open to unpredictability and chaos. Another post of a different commentator to the blog reads: 'After moving to Melbourne in 1994 I lived in Footscray for a year. It was the perfect initiation for my next home - Vietnam where I lived for the next 12 years. Last year I moved to Ghana and going back to visit Footscray last month it seems like the place is following me!' (ibid.). Indeed, we could say in response to Pardy (2005, p. 109), the world has arrived in Footscray. But this can perhaps only sustain until Footscray arrives into the world.

Following two market case-studies presented in this chapter, more unpredictability or a potential for surprise can be found at the Footscray Market. While both examples are ruled by the business universes of the present, Footscray Market still gives room for unplanned misunderstanding. It leaves the space blank; it pushes some of its parts into the threshold that starts to open up. It gives room to silence as well and sometimes this silence is not only produced, but is active.

Queen Victoria Market, on the other hand belongs to the space of multicultural consumption that has to eventually be managed from above. It does not offer many opportunities for unpredictability. It is more ordered and it lacks the engaged conversation. People eating their way through the Queen Victoria Market communicate, but they do not address each other (Solomon, Sakai 2008). As I assume from my observation of the both markets, people like to 'gaze' much more at the Queen Victoria Market. And when they search for the audible, they merely hear. They do not listen. Because they only hear, speaking a foreign language in a foreign deli is important. If

¹⁹¹ Here, we can remember premises of non-representationalist theory of Nigel Thrift (2000, 2008).

they were listening, they would be a part of the relation between a trader, his or her goods and another shopper they stand besides. Now they stand on the other side of the boundary and they are able to hear only from that other side.

At both markets the necessity to incorporate some traits of community, especially the 'community' existing outside of the markets' boundaries, became expressed. Whether the market is a part of the assemblage of people existing outside or not tells us also what kind of place is formed on the inside. By being located in different parts of the city, which is something that is certainly very important for our discussion, the markets present also different kind of sociability. Central Melbourne is obviously more transient and fluid – central Melbourne is a transportation hub and people who are present there are there not only because they specifically needed, were forced to or wanted to go there. They might only be passing the place; they might only be on the move between places. Because of the mobile assemblage of people, it is practically impossible to talk about a certain kind of community that would share many common sentiments. In this respect, it is clear that the Footscray area of Melbourne is on a different level of discussion; not only because we are talking about a neighbourhood, but because we are talking about a specific neighbourhood, where the feeling of 'community' was produced by being reduced.

This chapter has shown that the dynamics (and the direction) of both markets underlie the possibilities and exchanges at the markets. As we said, the markets pose a difference in their dynamics. While the Footscray Market is constantly changing along with the suburb it is posited in, Queen Victoria Market remains simply unchangeable. Footscray Market moves and Queen Victoria Market stands still. Footscray Market is in the position of becoming and Queen Victoria Market is there to be. This gives a different prospect to the Footscray Market to open up and to challenge the imposed multicultural categorisation. It can challenge the multiculturalism of the political rhetoric because of its changeable position; because it is always minor; because the languages there are active, minor languages. In this respect, Footscray Market is surely more vocal and more defiant, but it can be such only and precisely because there is the multicultural imposition from the side of the political rhetoric, that is reflected at the Queen Victoria Market. Political multiculturalism thus permeates both markets. Both markets exist

within a single political multicultural discourse. In terms of popular cosmopolitanism, the Queen Victoria Market certainly resides within the cosmopolitan rhetoric offered by the Melbourne City Council and the state of Victoria which is not the case for the Footscray Market. The cosmopolitanism of the Footscray Market, if there is anything that we could term as cosmopolitan, resides in its 'wish' to become cosmopolitan. The dynamics of the Footscray Market, its changeability and its 'moving towards' the major concepts announces the character of this market that still belongs to the possibility. In terms of a future changing of the political multicultural as well as the urban cosmopolitan approach, Footscray Market has more chances to bring about a certain degree of change and provide the space for oppositional multiculturalisms that are critical through their everydayness.

6 FEDERATION SQUARE

More than just a new set of buildings, Federation Square is a new centre of cultural activity for Melbourne. Fulfilling the long-held dream for a large open public gathering space in Melbourne, Federation Square gives the citizens of Victoria an authentic civic destination and has exceeded all expectations to become Australia's biggest tourist destination and the new heart of the city.¹⁹²

Since its completion in 2002, Federation Square has become one of Melbourne's famous landmarks. It has become a point of arrival. It presented the city with an opportunity for a civic space for which Melbourne had been longing for some time. But has Federation Square really succeeded in becoming the heart of the city? Has it managed to connect culturally diverse people together? How does this multicultural heart behave, how do people of Melbourne inhabit it, what kind of space does it give to them?



Figure 16: Federation Square

In this chapter on Federation Square, we will be taking the position of 'everyday users' of this space: those who sit or stand on its cobblestone surface, on their lunch break, waiting to board the train or tram across the street, waiting for the friends to arrive, watching the screenings, football matches, concerts at the big screen, tourists taking photographs, spectators of multicultural festivals. Our questions touch upon the dilemma of how multiculturalism interacts with the square, how utterances get

¹⁹² Australian Institute of Architects (2004, p. 96).

expressed at the square, how oppositional spaces are formed, who becomes heard and who does not and what does the absence of voice or of utterance in socio-cultural spatial practice mean.

6.1 Federation Square comes into being

Federation Square has marked one of the most high-profiled projects in Melbourne in recent times. It occupied a space that was previously quite unappealing. It had had a variety of former uses, ranging from the industrial Gas and Oil Buildings, Jolimont Yard and the Princes Bridge Railway Station. In the 19th century, this was also the site of the morgue and then a fish market that was later relocated to Spencer Street. The design of Federation Square was selected through an open competition and the winners were the London-based Lab Architecture Studio (its main office was later relocated to Melbourne) together with Melbourne-based designers Don Bates and Peter Davidson. After lengthy discussions, problems with funding, a dramatically exceeded budget, and after disputes around considerable reduction of the height of one of the buildings by the Melbourne City Council during the construction process, which caused a considerable amount of frustration by the architects of the winning design, the Square was finally completed and opened in 2002, almost two years after the opening was initially planned.¹⁹³ ‘The new heart of Melbourne’ read the title of a newspaper article in the *Age* on October 25, 2002:

Instantly recognisable Federation Square is the new face of Melbourne (...) “Fed Square” embraces all the city’s inner tensions: between old and new, between artistic freedom and the constraints of funding and politics. Sitting opposite a cathedral, a pub and a railway station, it is a gathering place for our diverse cultures. Its grounds, according to one historian, are both sacred and secular.

(Birnbauer 2002)

There is a cleavage between the old and the new in the case of Federation Square and this question directly relates to migration and multiculturalism as the city is constantly seen as changing due to the (new) migration. When the winning design was announced in 1997, it was supported mainly by architects and the design community of Australia

¹⁹³ Federation Square was supposed to be completed on the 1 January 2001, in time of the centenary of the Australian Federation.

but it was in general causing outrage among heritage advocates. Federation Square had and still has many conservative critics. There was also a change in the state government in Victoria in 1999, which was during the construction of the Square. The new Labor administration that got into office tried to appease the conservative critics by carrying out a major revision of the site. The idea to reduce the height of the originally five-storey shard planned for the north-western edge of the city (and removal of one shard of this height all together) by the governing administration was again followed by the outrage of the architects who saw the shards as a constitutive part of the Square.¹⁹⁴ The dispute ended in the compromise to build a considerable lower, one-storey building at the site which now serves as the Tourist Information Office.

After Federation Square was opened, it continued to cause controversies. It was its design that was contentious to some people, but it was also its cost which soared at 440 million Australian dollars which had to be entirely publicly funded that was problematic. Some parts of the design (for instance the extent of the sandstone paving) had to be scaled back to reduce the cost due to over-scaling of the construction cost.

Quite a few people thought that the Square did not go very well along the old and great Victorian architecture that surrounds it. So, the question and the rupture between old and new has always been a matter of what the Square means symbolically, not only physically. For instance, in 2006, when Federation Square had already existed for some time, Peter Costello, the former Australian Treasurer, said:

Well, if you go down to Flinders Street and Swanston Street corner and you look around, you have got Flinders Street Station which I think is a magnificent piece of architecture, you have got Young and Jackson [a pub] which has stood the test of time, you have got St Paul's Cathedral which I think is a beautiful piece of architecture and those three corners have been there for well, probably over a hundred years and then you have got Federation Square. So pick the odd man out.

(Costello 2006)

¹⁹⁴ A report drawn from Professor Evan Walker proposed that the westernmost shard interfered with a so-called 'heritage vista', a view of the cathedral from the middle of the tram tracks on Princes Bridge to the south (Brown-May 2001, p. 19).



Figure 17: Federation Square between old and new¹⁹⁵

Even though the rupture between the old and the new in the case of Federation Square was considered as something quite damaging for the outlook of the city for some politicians, this feature, the mixture and the complexity of the part of the Melbourne city centre where Federation Square is located, the bizarreness of the project, was something that participants in the study – the users of the Square – in general found appealing. The dichotomy between the old and the new was very important especially for one of the participants who recently arrived in Melbourne as an asylum seeker and settled there:

*I remember I was captivated by the open space when I first saw it and there is a sort of contradiction of the old and the new. Just a few metres away, you will see the old Flinders Street Station, you will notice the old architectural design. On your left, you see the old church and then you have this new architectural design from the middle of nowhere, just at the centre of the city. I love that contradiction.*¹⁹⁶

The difference in the likeability of the space tells us something about the wider perception of the space and life and different understandings of what Melbourne as a city and Australia as a nation mean to different people. The fact that the participant, who we can term as a new migrant, liked the contradiction means that he believes that the city and the country to which he moved is able to provide the space where the old and the new can coexist. Federation Square as a central space is proof of this possibility. On the contrary, the former Australian Treasurer tends to reject this idea, which points

¹⁹⁵ There is the sound installation in the foreground of the picture. This was a temporary feature of the Square at the time when the photo was taken.

¹⁹⁶ Interview, no. 12, 2 July, 2009, personal archive.

to the fact that he finds the existence of the new within or alongside the old at least inappropriate if not impossible.

Regardless of the fact that there are still many people who do not like Federation Square, the Square today is Victoria's second most popular tourist attraction (behind Melbourne's Crown Casino) and is said to attract more than eight million visitors a year (Tourism Victoria Industry, *Facts and Figures*). It is staged in the central and crucial part of Melbourne – on the south edge of its central business district, where St Kilda Road ends and Swanston Street begins, facing Flinders Street train station, St Paul's Cathedral to the right and the Yarra River to the left. It roughly occupies one urban block and is bounded by Swanston, Flinders, and Russell Streets and the Yarra River. The names of all these places announce the realities of the Australian colonial past, but also of its contemporary whereabouts. The old and the new are here again in the cleavage.

It has been repeated throughout this thesis that Melbourne is a colonial, Victorian city that was built with a white, British-ruled colonial masculine vision in the back (if not in the front) of its mind that valued its colonial (and white) past throughout time, but that also excitedly promoted its 'newness'. In this way and because there were always parts of society that minimised the importance of newness, the city seems to be in a sort of a constant discussion (or a dialogue) with itself. Federation Square or 'Fed Square', as it is called colloquially, represents this contradiction and this dialogue.

However, in its foundation we still have to perceive Federation Square primarily as a national space, which is also a space of white masculinity.¹⁹⁷ As a masculinised space, Federation Square is characterised by a linearity and (direct) connection to Logos (Lefebvre 1991). It has, however, partly become the space in which colonialism has been challenged and where discussions on colonialism, genocide and racism were able to be staged. After all, the idea upon which Federation Square was built tried to reflect the nature of the socially and culturally changing Melbourne – one that would be able to fit in the heterogeneity as well as commonality and that would also announce

¹⁹⁷ As Maree Pardy (2009) argues, the white nation of Australia has been the ground for producing a sense of white entitlement, and public space such as Federation Square (and any public space as a matter of fact in this context) is also 'national space in which masculine practices and performances are ritually enacted in ongoing reproductions of white masculinity' (Pardy 2009).

contemporary desires for reconciliation. But, stemming from the experience of the observer of the everyday life and of the political realm, we can say that Federation Square has not entirely succeeded in its pursuits. Has it not emerged only on the surface? Has it not tried to set up an exchange in a place that was stolen in the past and its constructed tools were not designed to communicate with this past? Partly, it succeeded in communicating with the present, but it failed to communicate with the past.

6.1.1 The structure of Federation Square

Federation Square is a complex, various and scattered space. There is the main, open-air section of the Square, a plaza that positions the view of its visitors onto the big screen (and especially the stage underneath it at festival events) and the intersection of Flinders and Swanston Street behind it. There are bars, cafes and restaurants at the Square, more or less bordering the main plaza. Then there are seven centres scattered around the site: the Australian Centre for the Moving Image (ACMI), the National Gallery of Victoria: Ian Potter Centre (this houses the NGV's Australian collection; an international collection is housed at another location), the BMW Edge Amphitheatre, the Special Broadcasting Service (SBS) (Australia's multicultural, publicly funded national broadcaster for both radio and television), Champions: Australian Racing Museum and Hall of Fame (the building that houses it is positioned on the Square's south edge and is called the Yarra Building), the National Design Centre, and the Melbourne Tourist Information Office. ACMI and SBS are joined in one, Alfred Deakin Building. Federation Square also has the imposing Atrium built at the entrance of the Ian Potter Centre, which is five storeys high, and 'the Labyrinth' which is a passive cooling system sandwiched above the railway lines and below the middle of the Square.¹⁹⁸ The floor of the Square's plaza was designed especially by the academic and artist Paul Carter and is called *Nearamnew*. It is designed at the surface of the plaza and consists of three parts: a whorl pattern, nine ground figures and nine vision texts, which are engraved into the ground figure. Nearamnew's tripartite design acts as a graphic

¹⁹⁸ When the weather is hot, the cooler night air is pumped into the vents providing for the concrete to cool down and then during the day the same cold air is pumped into the Atrium, providing for some kind of a more natural (and less air polluting) air-conditioning; and the process is reversed during the winter.

analogue of the global, regional and local levels found in a federally organised society (Fed Square Pty Ltd, *Federation Square today*).

The main plaza or what is usually called the Square – the space in front of the big screen, bounded by the Yarra River on the one side and the Tourist Information Centre on the other and with the building of the Special Broadcasting Service in the back – has served as the major observational and analytical site for this thesis (see Figure 20). The buildings staged at the Square have only accompanied or bounded the space analysed with the exception of the front wall of the SBS building which was taken into consideration because of its visible logo, its central position at the Square and its direct connection to the politics of multiculturalism (Figure 19).



Figure 18: The plaza of Federation Square



Figure 19: Logo on the front facade of the Special Broadcasting Service building

6.2 Federation Square as the product and producer of the multicultural discourse

Federation Square can be described as a multicultural space and it is a central space; it lies at the edge of the Central Business District. Multiculturalism, represented there in spatial form as the national or the state representational space that ‘talks’ about (multi)culture, talks from this central position. But, does Federation Square truly talk (multi)culture? Does it talk multiculturally? Does it talk multilinguistically?

As it was noted before, Federation Square as an important public space is a national space. Its name reminds us directly of the connection and the significance of the connection to the discourse of the nation and national identity. The Federation of Australia was supposed to be exactly 100 years old at the time when Federation Square was born. In reality, it reached almost 102 years before Federation Square was opened due to the many problems and delays in its construction. Still, the Square became the material landmark and the symbol of the initiation of Australia as a federation and Australia as a nation. The Square was built on symbolic grounds and ground (the ground of the nation) that was re-possessioned. It is the representational space or the ‘lived

space' (Lefebvre 1991); it represents values, identities, historical narratives. It is not only a representation of what the nation is, but of what the nation strives to be.¹⁹⁹

From its inception on, Federation Square was not only a functional place; it was a symbolic place for multiculturalism and the policy of multiculturalism as well. This is how fractured and scattered facades found their way into the winning design (because of heterogeneity and the changing nature of the city) and this is also why the public multilingual broadcaster SBS is staged in its centre. In regards to the national space or the space of federation, as mentioned in the chapter 3 of the thesis, one of the first acts of the Federal Government in 1901 was the Immigration Restriction Act. The Federation asserted its presence by announcing a strong stance towards the immigration of 'foreigners' (that is, those who were not British subjects and who were not 'white') within its White Australia policy, which was far from hospitable or inviting. The multiculturalism that became a part of the Federation later on was also taken out of the everyday and staged firmly within the political realm. Former Victorian Premier Jeff Kennett, who was also the state minister for Multicultural Affairs at that time, said at the time when the winning design for Federation Square was first announced, that the design was 'almost multicultural (...) It is the coming together of a whole range of parts (...) and that's what federation is all about, it's also what Melbourne and Australia is all about' (Kennett quoted in Woodcock 2005, p. 91). Federation Square is thus a representational multicultural space. Multiculturalism was not only given a voice now, but a particular space as well. As the (spatial) representation of a nation suggests, people within this space are never only themselves – they inhabit their role and represent themselves as members of wider groups, also in the context of their social standing and their culture/ethnicity, and language.

At the same time, Federation Square is shaped also by the representations of its space or 'conceived space' (Lefebvre 1991) in different discourses about it, such as promotions, writings and public expressions. It has been present not only in the city space since

¹⁹⁹ Around 8000 people gathered at the Federation Square when historically crucial apology to Aboriginal people for the stolen generation happened in the early 2008. People watched the apology streamed from the Parliament in Canberra to the big screen at the Square, they waved Aboriginal and Australian flags and held banners and personal apologies and cheered when the Prime Minister who delivered the apology, Kevin Rudd, was on stage, and booed when the opposition leader, Brendan Nelson, began with his speech and again when the 1997 clip of the former Prime Minister John Howard who refused to 'say sorry' to the indigenous population appeared on the screen.

2002 and before that (in designer's drawings, plans and so on), but also in people's minds; not only those living in Melbourne, but also those visiting it. Media reports and articles have been written about it, it appeared in tourist brochures, architects and other scholars debated about it.

There is, for instance, a group of media analysts and academics working at the University of Melbourne focusing on the urban public screen staged at Federation Square. Federation Square has in this way travelled also into the international academic milieu of communication and cultural studies.²⁰⁰ Another academic, theorist and public artist. Paul Carter, has collaborated in the conceptual frame of the Square together with the Lab architecture, already at the stage of its design, by locating a part of the Square (in the frame of the artwork) to mark the site 'as a focus of historical, social and political negotiation' (Carter 2002, 2004) (Figure 20).



Figure 20: A part of the ground surface of the Federation Square plaza, art work Nearamnew

Federation Square is, however, also and above all characterised by the spatial practice of its 'inhabitants'; it is the spatial socio-cultural practice which marks its 'perceived space' (Lefebvre 1991). This means that the space is used in various different ways. Yes, there are strategic decisions permeating the central square, but people might understand it and discuss it in various different ways. The Square is, as one of the participants in the study said, 'open to interpretation.' People interpret it differently, even though it must be noted again that at the central square one's self (and one's language) is never only its own. The language *used* at the Square represents and points

²⁰⁰ In 2008, an international Urban Screens conference was staged at the BMW Edge Theatre at the Federation Square.

at something that is beyond its mere presence.²⁰¹ The public square is the place where ‘heteroglot national language’ can take shape.

Conceived, lived and perceived spaces interact and communicate within Federation Square and they produce multicultural space, but they are also produced in space along the national (and state) multicultural narrative. They make the space what it is and they are also present in each separate act, in each separate utterance. The Square is at once a result and a cause, product and producer of the multicultural discourse. The social relationships are formed within the space of the Square and are attached a special meaning within this space, but also construction finds its meaning only with the help of socio-cultural practices.

The building and the aim of the special multicultural broadcaster SBS within this space is important especially when we talk about representation of the space. As we have mentioned above, the people at the square never only represent themselves as themselves but themselves as members of wider communities. By representing linguistic communities, people working at the SBS broadcaster at Federation Square represent multilingual Australia in a representational multicultural context. As one of the professionals working at the SBS radio, which streams its programme in 68 different languages including English, said in an interview:

*SBS has got a lot of reasonably well-educated people working at SBS and they are fairly modern people maybe compared to their communities and in that way I think it fits very well with the architecture of the Federation Square. But I think probably the Square is not multicultural enough for SBS. They do have sometimes these multicultural events on, but as a Square itself I think it is not used very well as a multicultural place.*²⁰²

To the professional working at the Special Broadcasting Service, the Square seemed more like the (multicultural) event hosting place rather than the wholly multicultural space. The SBS building and its function within the space has predominantly a representational role, representing not what a nation and a national space is, but what it should be or what it aspires to be. Another professional working at the Special

²⁰¹ Also Bakhtin says that the utterance expressed at somewhere like the public square or the language of the square, is not only an instance of the language; it is also an image of the language drawn from beyond the bounds of the square itself (Hirschkop 1999, p. 259).

²⁰² Interview, no. 17, 10 June, 2009, personal archive.

Broadcasting Service thought it was fantastic that SBS is located at the Federation Square:

Despite the fact that the role of the multicultural broadcaster is dated, that is incredibly underfunded, that is floundering and that it's rotting on the inside, it's fantastic that the ideals of the multicultural Australia seem unblemished on the outside and I think that's probably quite powerful. So that it seems like it would be upholding the ideals that were there in the beginning of multicultural Australia and that because the Square is used by so many different people and people from so many different backgrounds it is important. I mean, sometimes it doesn't matter if it's not true if people see it and believe it.²⁰³

In this respect, SBS is a producer of the multicultural discourse not only by following and proclaiming the multicultural policy, but in its spatial multilingual representation as well. In this respect, the multilingual broadcaster is not a multilingual 'Other'; it is also not a multilingual 'stranger'. It is positioned in the centre not in spite of, but because it represents authority in multicultural discourse within the national context. This is also why it does not seem as important for the employees of the multilingual broadcaster that the space might not be *living* multiculturalism around the SBS building, at and around the Square. The broadcaster projects multiculturalism to the outside, but it does not establish the links and connections to this outside.

²⁰³ Interview, no. 16, 8 June, 2009, personal archive.

6.3 Skin of Federation Square and its others

Federation Square as a public square is a heterotopic space and the space of heteroglossia. Different and diverse languages are present there. They do exist in the same space, we cannot dispute this. We can read persuasion of this kind also in one of the sections of the Federation Square year book:

Multiple languages and communities are evident in daily operations, national and international visitors throng to the site, international media connections are being built and the world class offer of The Ian Potter Centre: NGV Australia, the Australian Centre for the Moving Image and Champions: Australian Racing Museum and Hall of Fame, complement the enormous program of more than 1,500 public events a year.

(Fed Square Pty Ltd, *Federation Square today*)

At the same time, Federation Square management offers a promotion of the ‘happy’, ‘community’ multiculturalism and in this way it is putting the multiculturalism as a concept into the domain of the monoculture. We cannot be really happy if we are not alike (Ahmed 2007). ‘Get under my skin,’ reads the Square’s promotional slogan, so once a cultural difference gets under its skin, it first gets transformed and then it gets consumed. Global translation or ‘transnational translation’ works very well under the conditions of chic cosmopolitanism and also under what people perceive as cosmopolitan in the context of the city of Melbourne.²⁰⁴

It is not surprising that Federation Square, in its search of how to be a good host, tried not only to build on the idea of multiculturalism which masks the politics of cultural difference (and recognition), but also to marry the idea of cosmopolitanism. Cosmopolitanism, as the case of Federation Square presents to us, does seem to fit the notions of hybridity, fluidity, and recognition. Cosmopolitanism of its sort does not address the ‘attitude of enlightened morality’ that does not place ‘love of country’ ahead of ‘love of mankind’, nor is it about normative philosophy of universalism put forward by the critical theory thinkers. It is about the sole fact that we live with the different and with difference. And the way cosmopolitan Federation Square lives with difference,

²⁰⁴ When discussing the idea of cosmopolitanism in the case of the Federation Square, interviewees most often referred to the thoroughly urban space that the square promotes and the type of consumerist practices (mostly connected to the culture) staged there.

otherness, or strangeness is by consuming this difference, by eating the other up, by making it fit to its own body (see Figure 21).



Figure 21: 'Get under my skin' (Fed Square Pty Ltd 2008)

Yet the skin of the Square is partly detached from the body; it is like a blanket covering and at the same time unveiling the pasts, serving the present and announcing the future. This skin is also various and differentiated (there are different shapes and different colours) – this is something we cannot dispute. As Kim Dovey notes, 'to some degree these facades frustrate the gaze that seeks to stabilise identities', but 'while most of the buildings are screened in this way, one of them is clearly identified by signage: the multicultural SBS' (Figure 22).



Figure 22: Special Broadcasting Service building

SBS is presented with the clear logo on the facade of the building. Dovey identifies the SBS logo as an ‘Other’, a code for ‘difference’ that travels from the margins to the centre. As it was noted before and as this study has shown, we can dispute this argument about SBS and its presentation/existence; SBS is not the real signage for difference; it is the affirmative representation of the political multicultural discourse. Multiculturalism is a constitutive element of the Square, but it would be as strange as the strangest stranger if it was not covered with the skin, varied according to one, monocultural view. Cosmopolitanism promoted at the Square corresponds with this logic.

The SBS building within this space has worked in a kind of comforting way for the informants participating in the study regardless of what their linguistic background was. They did not consider the SBS building and the SBS logo to be the ‘Other’ nor a ‘stranger’. Nevertheless, the SBS building was without a failure the building that was the most recognisable building at the Square, instantly identifiable by the participants in the study. Its difference (the difference of the culturally different) is covered with one ‘skin’ within the multicultural discourse. It was also seen as such by the participants, especially when we talked about its architecture and design. As an idea, Federation Square does place and locate the culture in the centre, which is a governmental multicultural idea. For one of the users of the Square and a researcher of migration and multiculturalism, the Square without the SBS building located there would be a different kind of space:

I think that without it the Square becomes more of a commercial space. When you put the SBS in there, it becomes a different kind of public space. It is sort of anchored by that government sanctioned television station and it also tries to place multiculturalism in the centre. TV stations tend to be on the outside of the town and suddenly you’ve got this sort of located in the centre there and I sort of like it being there.²⁰⁵

In this way, the national space and the multicultural space are brought together, they are one, but in line with the argument about the ‘one skin’ that still governs the space, the multicultural as the national is not dialogical. According to this, the Square is a multicultural space ‘when it wants to be,’²⁰⁶ as was said by a participant in the study.

²⁰⁵ Interview, no. 13, 21 June, 2009, personal archive.

²⁰⁶ From the interview, no. 13, 21 June, 2009, personal archive.

I think it can be easily constructed as a multicultural space depending on what is going on there. I think on the everyday basis, it is multicultural in its basic descriptive term which is different people of different backgrounds in the one space (...), but depending on the kinds of events that are staged there, it can go more towards the particular segments of society, but I think there have been some considerable efforts to encourage cultural diversity in particular festivals that use that space. So I think that it is multicultural provisionally.²⁰⁷

Multiculturalism in the space of Federation Square is not something that would be commonsensical for everyone. We can say that the space offers the packaged or entrepreneurial version of multiculturalism that is bounded by a single particular political multicultural umbrella and does not offer the distribution of competences. This argument would also correspond to the languages heard at the Square. The main language one would hear at the square is English. The multicultural festivals staged at the Square are deliberately using languages other than English and their main function is to represent. Again, English and languages other than English are not put into dialogue. The protests, on the other hand, most commonly positioned off the main space of the plaza towards the outer boundaries of the Square, mainly use the languages other than English with the wish to express, not solely to represent.

²⁰⁷ Interview, no. 13, 21 June, 2009, personal archive.

6.4 Oppositional spaces: the protest and the multicultural festival

Protests only occasionally happen at the Square and usually the protesters hold banners and slogans, uttering, representing and living the condition of their opinion (see Figure 23). These are gatherings that can be understood as bearing a possibility of a surprise of some kind that might change the narrative of power between the state or the city administration and the specific group of people.



Figure 23: Protest against Israeli invasion to Lebanon, Federation Square, 30 July 2006

Staging a protest at the public square contradicts the foundational idea of the public square, at least to a certain extent. The idea of the community, of a happy community, is destabilised. Showing a banner and saying ‘Stop the genocide’ means not only that ‘We as a specific community (not only I), the community of Lebanese and their descendants, want the genocide in Lebanon to stop’; it also means: ‘We don’t agree with the current political stance on this matter of the Australian government that should represent us and our opinion.’ In this way an ‘oppositional’ space that is vocal and uttered is formed, but the problem is that the space still does not really include the presence of the oppositional place into its own historical narrative. The narrative of the ideological space still does not respond to the utterance of the specific group of protesters. At the protest at the Federation Square following the Iranian elections in June 2009, the protesters also gathered in the front of the Square, on the steps leading towards the Swanston Street facing the building of the Flinders Street Station. They held banners

and Iranian flags (see Figure 24), but as one of the participants attending the protest said,²⁰⁸ their wish to broadcast the singing of the Iranian national anthem through the sound system at the Square was rejected by the Square management. Their singing, which nevertheless happened, was therefore quiet and ‘not intruding’; it did not repossess the space vocally; it just added another layer to the Square.



Figure 24: Protest following Iranian elections, 16 June 2009

Oppositional space does happen within the national space (the public square) if we talk about the protests at the Square and they are formed also within the national language (banners were written in English). The language of the protesters is the common language which the opposing group uses and is the same as the language of those it is opposing. The protest happens at the ‘ground’ of Federation Square, at its boundary, not at the stage at the plaza, constructed specifically for the purpose of specific events. As such, it is more ‘visible’ not only to people at the Square, but also to people surrounding the Square. As the participants of the protest in light of Iranian elections in 2009 said:

*People will notice it. They may not even know anything, but what they see it's like ... the flag of Iran, the face of Ahmadinejad, you know... because it's just those instant looks that will put something in the back of your mind (...). I think it was a great place to do it. I really appreciate the fact that people actually put the effort to actually organise it there, because it would capture some eyes. Because we need that.*²⁰⁹

²⁰⁸ Interview, no. 14, 3 July, 2009, personal archive.

²⁰⁹ Interview, no. 14, 4 July, 2009, personal archive.

Uncovering the oppositional space is an important difference between the protest and the multicultural festival, which happens at (and around) the stage, especially because the cobblestone surface of the Square is in the function to set up a dialogue between the global, regional and local levels, the nation and its past and the local community (according to the Carter's *Nearamnew* artwork staged at the cobblestone surface of the Square). The opposing group is the one that is using a 'minor language' on the ground of the national; the opposing group is in the process of becoming and is the one that is critical to and of the major.

A multicultural festival, such as for instance the Russian Pancake Festival or the Buddha's Day and Multicultural Festival,²¹⁰ on the other hand uses the language that is 'different' and that, apart from that it marks the difference, also approves the politics of recognition of solely cultural difference that does not contribute to the re-distribution of competences and the dynamic on the social front. It does not have practically anything challenging to offer to the national language in the context of the politics of recognition that would not be the 'identitarian' politics (Fraser 2000, p. 120). It prepares and presents the food that is 'different' (the Russian Pancake Festival), there are people who dress in the specific national costumes and therefore 'look different' (see Figure 25). It is staged at the socio-cultural political space that is a national space, but it is anti-political in its nature. It does not challenge the politics and it also does not challenge the national space. It is more in the process of giving something to it and taking away from it, so it is in the process of exchange, not in the process of inventing its own language. This does not mean that the protest for instance operates completely beyond the frame of some kind of exchange of giving and taking with the national space, but it incorporates another function of struggle besides that.

²¹⁰ For the sample of the Buddha's day & Multicultural festival programme brochure see Appendix 7.



Figure 25: Russian Pancake Festival, Federation Square, 5 February 2006

At the multicultural festivals as they are termed (they are not promoted as ethnic festivals) at Federation Square, there is also no clear ‘we’ possible to feel anywhere. One usually sees there a number of different people belonging to different socio-political persuasions, standings and cultural/ethnic affiliations. There are tourists and there are Melbournians. People at the stage usually speak the language that applies to the festival in question and their language is usually translated into English. Presenters use microphones and sound systems, which is different to the sound environment and volume within which the protests operate. As mentioned previously, there is a stage and staged performances at the multicultural festival. The communities that might be only provisional communities represent what they should be representing within the national multicultural space. While we could see that as problematic, especially considering the possibilities for a dialogue that the structural fixity prevents, this might not be seen as such for some people, for example professionals working within the multilingual environment. As one of the employees of the SBS said in their interview, the unchangeability of the cultural representation is not necessarily a negative thing, but makes that culture ‘even more special’. ‘At least something is preserved. Maybe they’re not a part of that culture anymore, but at least it’s preserved here. It’s amazing.’²¹¹

²¹¹ Interview, no. 18, 23 June, 2009, personal archive.

Nonetheless, there is no one unified or clear message coming from the side of those attending this kind of festival. Their language is individualised, but it is not intersubjective. The language is a ‘tool’ they use; it is not a part of a structure of intersubjectivity. People do not engage in a dialogue with each other. They are in the function of representation, but not in the function of moving, changing, and becoming. What we can see for instance at the Multicultural Buddha’s Day at Federation Square is an elephant, a statue of Buddha and people in traditional Thai costumes (see Figure 26).



Figure 26: Buddha’s day & Multicultural festival, Federation Square, 21 May 2006

Picking and choosing an expression does happen in the structured space. Deciding which expression to choose plays out in the field that is structured and that is structured unevenly. It is not only ‘monological mindset’ (Clyne 2003) that threatens the usage of some languages and that does not permit or camouflages utterances. It is also that other languages contribute to the extermination of some others. No matter in what context, Thai and Russian culture find their representation within the public, national space. Indian, Lebanese and Iranian do not for instance, even though they find their space there more intersubjectively – in the everyday, in the context of the opposition, where people interact, in the context of the protest (already mentioned two protests for instance or the protest of taxi drivers in 2008, of which many were of Indian origin). Some events, such as protests, happen on the grounds of the national space, using a national language and challenging it while some other events, such as for instance the Russian Pancake Festival or the Buddha’s Day and Multicultural Festival, happen underneath the skin of the national multicultural space. They do not challenge this space, but constitute it as such by using a language that is ‘different’.

The location of protests in comparison to the multicultural festivals was identified also by users of the Square as constituting events of a different nature with different kind of logic and positioned at different parts of the Square. The protests worked for the participants in a more interactive way. Because they were staged close to the Square boundaries and in many cases traversing these boundaries, the protests interacted with the passers-by who would not necessarily enter the space of the Square as well as with the traffic around the Square. The protests brought also the idea of circularity close to the idea of linearity present at the level of the streets surrounding the Square. The events and the spatial practice of people would work in the sense of an intersecting linearity, which would create the movement that is not the same to the movement at the street.

6.5 Exposure of the Square

Federation Square seems ‘exposed, somehow vulgar’, one of the participants in the study, born in Melbourne and the resident of one of its inner city suburbs told me while I was doing my research at Federation Square.²¹² How can we understand this statement? For her, ‘vulgarity’ derived from the stone, the concreteness of the Square, and from the elimination of the nature from it. Its ‘vulgarity’ may be described also in the sense of elimination or localization of the other and the elimination of the relation between people-strangers. According to the idea behind the construction of Federation Square, the Square is fluid and inclusive, but as my interlocutor suggests, its surface tells us that this fluidity is fundamentally impossible. For another participant, the space when constructed seemed ‘absolutely bizarre’.

Federation Square stages its desire in the centre; it presents the cultural diversity, but it boxes this diversity in or pushes it out. A scant indigenous population still assembles on a few public benches across the road, in front of St Paul’s Cathedral, and a lot of young people still gather across the road, under the clock in front of the Flinders Street Station. The Square is not a place of assemblage for them. The trams stop beside it, but there is a relatively small amount of people that turn towards the Square when they step off the tram.

²¹² Interview, no. 15, April 22, 2008, personal archive.

We could say that Federation Square is not (yet) a space of (natural) encounters or some kind of a natural gathering (Woodcock 2005, p. 90).²¹³ Its presence has had to and still needs to be heavily marketed. The events did not just ‘come to’ Federation Square. Federation Square management brought them there. The Square is a managed space even though it would not necessarily be seen by the people participating in the study as a commercial space. Because it is a managed space, Federation Square thus again cannot primarily be a place of assembly, because its main function is occupied by consumption. Consumption is not provoked by marketing specific products, but by marketing the culture within the national space. Not only the multicultural festivals; the protests and the meetings of friends are also sold there; even the invitations are promoted. It seems like you have to subsume to the logic of consumption of the space as such if you wish to be a part of it:

Meet at Federation Square. Everyone else does. Ever since this landmark cultural and entertainment destination was opened to the public, Melburnians and visitors have been gathering here. Locals have embraced Fed Square as a true reflection of their city, with rich cultural experiences, a diversity of places to eat and drink, unique shopping and a wealth of information to welcome visitors. Fed Square is where cultures meet, friends meet, minds meet and worlds meet. No wonder all of Melbourne is saying, ‘Meet you at Fed Square!’

(Fed Square Pty Ltd 2008, *Melbourne’s meeting place*)

It may well be that a part of the Square’s ‘exposure’, ‘vulgarity’ and ‘bizarreness’ lies also in the promotional cosmopolitan campaigns of the Federation Square management. Meeting space does not just occur there, Federation Square is promoted as Melbourne’s meeting space. ‘Everyone’s meeting at Fed Square this summer,’ we can read in 2009. ‘There’s always so much going on! Meet your friends and family in the right place at the right time by emailing them a fun, personalised invitation to Fed Square’ (Fed Square Pty Ltd 2008, *Melbourne’s meeting place*). The time and the place therefore need to be right for one to meet there – ‘right’. With a marker, you can choose a meeting place at the Square online, you can enter in your friend’s and family’s emails and write your ‘personalised’ message in the box provided. Federation Square is thus

²¹³ Ian Woodcock (2005, p. 90) states that Federation Square is ‘a whole building complex in a burka’. It is ‘not a natural gathering point in the flows of city life. Since opening in 2002 it has had to be very carefully marketed and programmed to generate the life that it has, a self-conscious choreography of cultural events, commercial promotions and even public demonstrations’ (Woodcock 2005, p. 91).

about doing your own thing in the box that has already been provided for you. It is not about subjectifying your experience and making space for yourself.²¹⁴

The logic of ‘boxing in’, especially boxing in the difference that is ‘unable’ to represent itself, was, for instance, visible also during the Melbourne Fringe Festival in 2006, one of the annual arts festivals in Melbourne, when a colourful little house erected in the north side of the Federation Square (Figure 27) represented the hopes and memories of asylum seekers settling permanently in Melbourne. It was a simple house that was set up at the Square in collaboration between two artists and asylum seekers, filled with dolls, messages, clothes, a table, stove and other household items.



Figure 27: Material World, 2006 Melbourne Fringe Festival, Federation Square

By the artists, the house was described as ‘eccentric, and reminiscent of the gingerbread cottages of fairy tales’ (I Pidd, J Wilson & A Sanson 2006). It was ‘as if it has simply landed in this environment of harsh edges, from another place’ (ibid.). In the background of the photo that I took at this event (Figure 27), we can see St Paul’s Cathedral. Is this what the artists saw when they referred to the house being ‘from another place’? Or are the modern diversifying buildings of the Federation Square what they had in mind? I argue that it was the combination of both. The house did not belong anywhere, as it was out of place; it stood out because of its shape and its colour(fullness). Interestingly, the voices of asylum seekers filled the room inside and again, these voices were contained, they were like voices coming out of a tin box, from

²¹⁴ One is even prevented to make a space of its own at the Square, even though I have observed some instances where this could be happening in the future, for instance the example of an assemblage place under four trees at the Square.

a space provided; there was no dialogue formed between the voices despite their diversity and assemblage. To Sakai and Solomon, this would probably represent a typical situation of the 'homolingual address'. It marked the space of heteroglossia or multiaccentuality, but it also revealed the ideological space and the space of power.

Federation Square is about planning; planned, staged difference is there architecturally as well as socially. There is not much space left for unpredictability. And this is also where problems of 'homolingual address' (Sakai & Solomon 2008), which communicates but does not relate and does not address, reside. The Square cannot be a spontaneous space of gathering, because there is no element of surprise left there to be used in various different ways by the everyday user. Federation Square is therefore a space of arrival, not a space of movement, not a space of becoming, but more a space that is there 'to be'.

Federation Square is also not really a migrant space even though one could see a lot of migrants (as well as many tourists) spending time there. As one of the participants in the study who himself migrated to Melbourne fourteen years ago said, Federation Square is also the first space a new arrival would be drawn to or taken to upon arriving in Melbourne.²¹⁵ Federation Square is a space of arrival, but it is not a migrant space. 'It is an important space you go to if you want to learn about a certain version of Australia.'²¹⁶

The representational function of the Square was also important in another interview with a person who arrived in Melbourne five years ago. He was introduced to the Square by a friend of his, herself a migrant who arrived in Australia when she was eight, who took him there about a month after he arrived in Australia. He said that he 'loved the openness of the Federation Square.' For this interviewee the Square represented Australia or Victoria as it is today in terms of multiculturalism.

I walk into the Federation Square as any other person. I am going there to look at the art exhibition. There might not be any person that looks like me there. I might be the only black person there in this sea

²¹⁵ Interview, no. 18, 23 June, 2009, personal archive.

²¹⁶ Interview, no. 17, 10 June, 2009, personal archive.

*of white people, but because in my mind I've not created any barriers, I'm going there, I have a look, I do whatever everyone else is doing and I try to be law abiding.*²¹⁷

This same sentiment was observed in one of the other discussions as well. The city and the state narrative form a part of the Square which is a constant and a static feature of the Square.

6.6 Spaces at the boundaries

We cannot say that there is absolutely no assembling and no movement going on within Federation Square. It is just that most often there needs to be some purpose for people hanging out at the Square: football, tennis or soccer matches, New Years celebrations, multicultural festivals, a protest. Trams and trains signify constant movement that happens at the boundaries of the Square. As the construction of the Square is placed above the complex system of train lines, trains drive underneath the Square as well which means that there is also movement underneath it.

The Square is dynamic, but its dynamics comes from what happens around it rather than from what happens within it. We can say that this is a good thing, since the space itself permits for silence. However, if the voices do not 'spring up' in some way or another after the reconciliation with (or in) silence is initiated, we cannot really talk about the space of heteroglossia nor the space of a dialogue or relation.

Nevertheless, the observation of the socio-cultural practices at the Square did culminate in identifying some sort of new, still developing spaces of encounter at the Square (at its plaza section). These are small and localised spaces of encounter, which promise to perhaps extend since there are no real boundaries possible to see or feel around them. When four little trees were erected on the left side of the Square looking at it from the side of the Flinders Street station, I started to notice groups of people assembling underneath them (Figure 28).

²¹⁷ Interview, no 12. 2 July, 2009, personal archive.

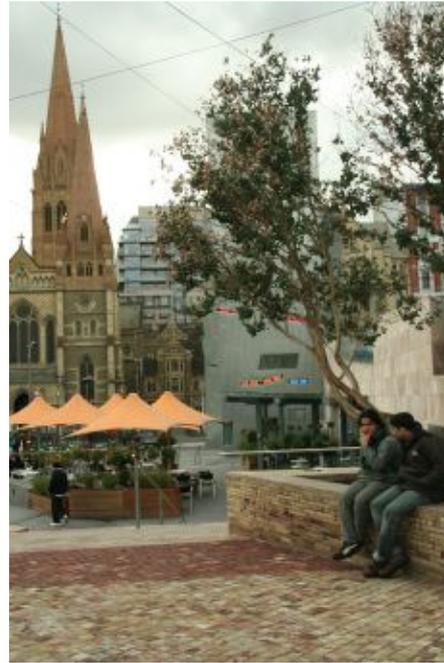


Figure 28: New spaces of encounter?

I noticed that there are predominantly men assembling under the trees. Their social circle sometimes looked like an old gathering place. Usually, they rested, but leisurely engaged in conversation. They spoke different languages, often languages other than English. As I learned from conversations with some younger men there, they were students, new migrants, new settlers, temporary migrants. I rarely saw Australians of older generations there. Even though the space created a kind of a micro-space and its own micro-climate within the public square, it still staged there a difference (not diversity). This difference was also created by the spatial organisation of their gathering place, which was presented by the trees (nature) in an otherwise exclusively urban (concrete, glass, metal) setting. When I returned to Melbourne in 2009, I noticed another microspace similar to the first one newly erected at the front part of the Square, near the Swanston Street, facing the Flinders Street Station. People also started to gather there. As this new microspace, also featuring a couple of weak-branched trees, is now positioned closer to the boundaries of the Square where more movement takes place, it points to the potential of the Square to start acting as a gathering space in the future. However, the two identified gathering spaces were at this point still not seen as such by the people participating in the study.

Ian Woodcock argues that ‘at Federation Square, this architecture of difference may be pregnant with possibilities of new becomings but covers over the necessity of negotiations and translations between actual differences that might have been foregrounded had the project been divided up between a number of different architects’ (Woodcock 2005, p. 92). I agree with this argument, but I argue that the process of translation is not something that would be done by the architects or by any initiators of any project. It is not something to be done by the City Council or the Government representatives, who would need to be ‘equal partners’ in this exchange. As I see it, translation would need to be always in becoming (it would need to be in-translation). The role of translator as well as the ‘task of translator’ would need to be always changing. The contribution of the space in this would be to cater for this changing role; to enable it. Then, the space could act as a ‘translation zone’.²¹⁸

The ‘talk’ of the people assembling under the trees, within their own microspace, cannot be translated, because they do not have the power to translate themselves. They cannot be staged in the very centre, in the square’s heart, at the plaza, because their difference is not planned or packaged and they cannot be staged exactly at the boundaries because they do not inhabit the true space of a national language (they speak a ‘foreign’ language). They do, however, present a possibility for challenging the immobility of the structured multicultural space. There certainly is a potential for more dynamic microspaces to develop within Federation Square in the future which would enable minor languages to interact and also challenge the structure of the planned multicultural space.

6.6.1 The role of boundaries

When asked about what he likes about Melbourne, one of the participants in the study at the Federation Square, who moved to the city from abroad, speaking originally a language different to Australian English, said: ‘I like Federation Square vicinity,

²¹⁸ The translation zone may well be a zone of conflict or a ‘war zone’ (Apter 2006, p. xi). A translation zone therefore may not work well, especially not when there is a conflict and it is also an idea that is difficult to grasp in the conditions of the global system. Then the translation zone often becomes a zone where the major tries to squeeze out the minor.

especially at the other end where Yarra River flows. There is no much activity on that side, and its quietness makes it an ideal place to do meditation'.²¹⁹ As he said:

*In my first years in the city I would just go to the city and just look at the city and sit alone by that river. I just enjoyed the tranquillity and the peace that comes with sitting by the river side. I liked my own peace and my own space and I was lonely at that time. So maybe in a way it connected me with the inner self, with my family. I was just alone here at that time (...). When I go there, I see Melbourne as a good place to live, I feel a part of the community.*²²⁰

So, Yarra is 'attached' to the Square and to (some) inhabitants of the city by being detached – by allowing space for quietness, for silence where different people can reconnect to their selves.²²¹



Figure 29: Yarra River and the passage to Federation Square

If we turn at this point back to the work of Mikhail Bakhtin, he mainly discusses linguistic relations in the format of a novel, but his novel can occupy our urban social space as well. Under the conditions of authorial speech, vocal centres tend to be unified

²¹⁹ 'Observing the city', no. 7, 2006.

²²⁰ Interview, no. 12, 2 July, 2009, personal archive.

²²¹ The connection of the Square to the Yarra River has an important role in the setting of the Federation Square. The Yarra runs besides Federation Square, in line with one of its sides. The Square wished to engage the city into a dialogue with its river and this was the idea, which was present not only in the minds of historians and those opting for reconciliation with the indigenous past but also in the minds of the urbanists since the late 1980s when they started to redevelop the entire Southbank district which runs along the river, connecting it to the indigenous narrative at several different points. The Yarra is a symbolical reminder for the city and its colonial beginnings of the difficulty or even the impossibility to engage in conversation, into a dialogue throughout the time; the announcement that there is 'something else' to the facades of the city than its Victorian and modern spirit and the 'newishness' the city tends to show us. As often not understood or misunderstood, Yarra has been open to fantasies as well. With the construction of Federation Square, now the Yarra is reconnected to the city, its fantasies diminishing. Federation Square might have succeeded in doing that, but this connection of the Square (and the city) to the river in fact produces their further dislocation. There is still a relation between them, but it is the broken relation to the 'Other'.

and centralised. Within the novel-like space that inspired Bakhtin, we can nevertheless identify the social diversity of speech types within space, which help heteroglossia enter the urban stage.²²²

The fact that there is no clear authorial speech present in the space of Federation Square – that the authorial voice is itself not locatable, but is overarching and omnipresent – is problematic. Remember the image of ‘Get under my skin’ advertisement. There is no head present or represented at its body, but is somehow present within the body, which means, in our case, within Federation Square (and is as such present everywhere). No apparent authorial vocal centre or no authoritative narrative in fact suppress the voices that would otherwise get actualised ‘from within’ (but maybe not from ‘around’), that would form a space of opposition and between which the dialogical relations could begin that would eventually or potentially challenge the authorial narrative (or the major language).

The space is not repressed because the voices are not permitted to get actualised and embodied in space, but because they have to remain static. It is a matter of movement and relation, not a matter of representation. Relations between minor languages are to be localised – this is, as I have observed – happening under the trees of the Federation Square.

So we have these scattered, individualised bodies that are pulling the blanket or the skin of the Square in different directions. We have a cultural difference that is there to be taken but not to be put into the dialogue; we have cosmopolitanism that does not have much in common with the idea of relations and connections. Translation works under the conditions of the monolingual attitude. The Other rests in the red centre and we do not really know what to do with it. The ‘zone’ of Federation Square is socially and culturally engineered and in this respect it corresponds to ‘regulated language parks’ and ‘restricted areas of mixed use’ (Apter 2006, p. 6). It is not the site of the ‘in-translation’ (Apter 2006), belonging to no single, discrete language or single medium of communication. Federation Square resides well in the national multicultural space – in

²²² Let's just remember that ‘heteroglossia’ is a term that alludes to multiple languages existing within the apparent unity of a national language and does not omit tensions between differentiated languages (Bakhtin in *Discourse in the novel, The Dialogic Imagination* 1981).

the space of Federation – and a static translation. It is not ‘taken out’ and brought to the surface. Embodied languages are still orchestrated by the non-locatable authorial influence.

There are the voices existing outside of the centre though which are able to break through or even break up the authorial speech, especially if the centre is bounded by one single language. In this way, the voices existing at the boundaries of this space, at the Yarra River, at the Flinders Street Station, at the tram stops scattered around the Square, can challenge the orchestrated authorial speech of social and cultural difference. Protests always happen close or at the boundaries of this space; movement happens around (and underneath) the Square. Multicultural festivals happen at and close to the stage, shifted away, into the centre, into the ‘heart’. The space of ‘becoming’ belongs to the boundaries.

‘Becoming’ is also a state that the Yarra River is put into by the design and the function of Federation Square. Coming from the side of the strict central business centre, the Yarra River is not really visible. As one of the participants said:

You kind of forget how many ways there are to get into the Square from the river. [The]Square kind of finishes and then you’ve got the river there. The stairs, the boundaries and all that tell you: ‘this is the Square, this is the River.’ The river hasn’t been really incorporated into the Square.²²³

Again, the narrative of the river has not been incorporated into the narrative of the Square as a central, national space. The narrative of the Yarra River invokes also the (post)colonial discourse. The Yarra River in many ways carries the story of the indigenous population of the area of Melbourne as it has been an important source of life in the era before Melbourne was established. The real Other is in this way the river which brings us back to the difficulties in engaging in the dialogue with the indigenous past. Federation Square is therefore a multicultural space as long as it applies to the white multiculturalist view. It is multicultural ‘when it wants to be.’²²⁴ The Square does invite the migrant to enter by offering her/him a space designed for cultural difference. The barrenness of the space and its openness does not, however, extend to the indigenous population who is offered a space next to the river, pushed away, not put

²²³ Interview, no. 13, 21 June, 2009, personal archive.

²²⁴ From the interview, no. 13, 21 June, 2009, personal archive.

into dialogue. Nonetheless, the boundaries do challenge the space of the Square and the boundary of the side where the river resides also changes. People often do not think about the river boundary as a boundary though. The real boundary that will or would need to be transgressed for multiculturalism to become a real lived experience rather than the representational one, is thus the river boundary of the Square.

6.7 Final remarks on the Square: approaching the promised land

The multicultural politics is, in the case of the Square, visible also in the politics of location. It is staged in the centre and it works in an almost magnetic way. The location makes it central and the central location draws people towards it. The space organises the encounters. The element of surprise is minimised, and unplanned multicultural relations are in this way also minimised. The politics of multiculturalism in most cases corresponds well to the politics of place in the case of Federation Square.

Nevertheless, we can say that the boundaries that exist at the Square and constitute the narrative of the multicultural space stay at least partly opened. Boundaries at the Square might not correspond to the boundaries in the minds of the users of the space. As one of the participants said:

I would not put many barriers in my mind of where I can go and where I can't go. And even in my culture something that translates into something like 'first impression lasts longer'. The way you present yourself that's how the people will take you.

(...)

Life is not a straight journey. In life there are valleys and flat surfaces too. And in a way you have to manoeuvre your way through to get to your destination. So in a way I can connect with that. And maybe once you get to that flat area in the centre [the area of the plaza], maybe that is when you get to the promised land.²²⁵

The openness of the Square and the surface, which is uneven and not entirely flat, permits for the changing state of the mind and the boundaries and different stories of people of different cultural backgrounds that are formed there.

²²⁵ Interview, no. 12, 2 July, 2009, personal archive.

The 'promised land' is there in the centre of the centre, and it is surrounded by uneven and various surfaces where different people find their own interpretations. In terms of multiculturalism at the Square, the centre of the centre, the 'promised' land is the one that provokes and forms the multicultural society as a kind of a 'promised society'. The surfaces surrounding the central part and the central discourse tend to not change the dynamics of the central plaza part of the Square yet, but as the inhabiting of the Square progresses and changes, the central plaza part of the Square as a central authorial multicultural discourse might soon be challenged more significantly.

7 TRAMS AND BRIDGING THE MULTICULTURAL GAP

This chapter delves into the logic of the third and the last space examined within this thesis, the space of the tram no. 19 in Melbourne. This is the moving space that is conflicting yet harmonious. It connects previous spaces with theoretical concerns permeating this work. The tram space has the ability to bring us, through some detours, back to the opening lines of this thesis.

In this chapter we focus on the mobile space as a space of contact and encounter that also pushes the boundaries of political multicultural discourse. We discuss one way to address the meaning of community, seen from the perspective of a mobile space, the role of the ‘stranger’ and ‘strangeness’, ‘foreigner’ and foreignness’, the migrant and its language, accent and voice. We address the meaning of sounds, silences, relations and translations and we also talk about the conditions under which this moving space has been initiated. In particular, we look into the possibilities to transgress the borders of tramscapes²²⁶ and within tramscapes, to extend the boundaries of our ‘commonality’ to search for the individuality and the possibilities to transpose the place of movement and of otherness.

A tram is a representation of the repetition in space (Lefebvre 2004) and it is also a representational space, but not in the context it has been discussed in the chapter on Federation Square, which is the central and national space (the representation of a multicultural nation). The tram is a representational space of the city, in our case the city of Melbourne. By binding the suburbs with the city, Melbourne trams are more engrained into the materiality of the city and their iconography is attached to their movement. The fact that they are still moving according to the planned grid, the establishment of which stretches back to the colonial times, makes the reference to the ‘icon of Melbourne’ possible. If there was no grid, if there was no plan according to

²²⁶ With ‘tramscapes’ I describe places within a city which are defined by the tramway: its grid, materiality and the people that connect to this materiality.

the 'other spaces' within the space of a tram which are appropriated by the difference that struggles for being felt as different, but not as socially hierarchically positioned. All of this has to do with spatial organisation now and as it has been influenced by 'then' and 'before', which brings us to the notion of the time-space (Massey 2005) where movement is not only movement in space but also movement in time. In this way, the trams can also pose one of the alternatives to the policy of multiculturalism; the alternative that is dialectical and 'relation-like' and that in fact forms the bridge across the multicultural gap that is being felt in the political organisation of multiculturalism. This is the main question that will be discussed in this chapter through the experiences and opinions of those who ride and those who drive the Melbourne tram no. 19.

7.1 Melbourne trams and the colonial

Trams in Melbourne have quite a long history. In 2006, electric Melbourne trams were celebrating their one hundred year anniversary of continuous operation. Before the electrical trams were introduced, cable trams had operated since 1885 and were replaced by the electric tram system in 1906. The element of colonialism never entirely vanished from the image and the feel of the trams in Melbourne. Today, one can still - although in a bit different, chic manner - dine on board of the so called 'Colonial Tramcar Restaurant', where they guarantee you that the 'atmosphere is cosy, the service friendly and the decor as inviting as the colonial period these trams reflect' (Colonial Tramcar Restaurant, *On board Colonial Tramcar restaurant*). They also tell you that 'dining aboard the Colonial Tramcar Restaurant is not only a culinary delight, but also a trip into a little piece of Victoria's history' (ibid.).

When talking about trams in Melbourne, one has to talk about the history of colonialism. Trams are a part of or, to go a step further, a product of the colonial history of Australia. Trams came to Victoria with British settlers after the gold rush, in the time of sudden demise that followed a rapid expansion of Melbourne as a city.

The cable tram system of Melbourne was impressive; it was apparently the largest in the world. In Australia, it was not only Melbourne that introduced trams towards the end of the century to cater to its growing population. Many other Australian cities had trams at the time, including all the largest cities (Sydney, Brisbane, Adelaide, Perth and Hobart)

as well as some smaller towns with growing industries.²²⁸ Hobart had a tramway system that almost entirely attempted to adopt the British feel. It had, for instance, double-decker trams that were characteristic for London. By the 1960s, however, Melbourne was the only Australian city to retain the full sparkle of a colonial city, retaining its trams.

Worldwide, almost all British and French colonies were exposed to the establishment of wide transportation systems that brought changes in the urban make-up as well as day-to-day life of the colonised world. There were trams in such important colonial cities as New Delhi, Rabat, Hanoi, Hong Kong, Lagos, and Johannesburg. Even though much could be said about selection, discrimination and segregation in the space of trams and also in the context of their instalment into the urban life of colonies, nowadays they almost universally expose nostalgic sentiments. For instance, when Hong Kong trams were celebrating their 100th anniversary, the director of the Hong Kong Tramways said: 'Passengers almost develop feelings for them, there is something sentimental and nostalgic about them' (Steger 2004). The website of The Calcutta Tramways Company (Calcutta Tramways Limited, *Witnessing the history on wheels*) reveals feelings of romanticism, slowness in motion and nostalgia in a full scope: 'Really indeed, Tram lends Kolkata an old world charm and add to the romantic element to the city. This slow moving, electrical reptile in narrow and crowded streets completes the ultimate attraction of the city'. And also: 'Tramcars evoke poetry which often remains incomprehensible in words.' We can often find a feeling or an emotion connected to the movement of the old and utterly 'inhuman' that relates back to colonial times in these current day descriptions.

The system of transportation that the colonists brought with them was in many cases understood as a way to help 'poor native masses of uncivilised people,' and to import the sophistication and advancement that existed in the lands afar. Tramways were a sign of industrial capitalism in the colonial cities.²²⁹ When the Exposition Française et

²²⁸ In Victoria, this included Bendigo and Ballarat, both centres of gold mining at the time, where there are still some trams operating.

²²⁹ That was perhaps more difficult to grasp in Calcutta, for instance, than it was in Melbourne. By the end of the 19th century and the beginning of British rule, the social organisation of India has already developed its own ways of social (economical, political) organisation. This is not to say that nothing of the sort existed in Australia, but that the context of the colonisation of Australia was and remains different to the colonisation context in India.

Internationale opened in Hanoi in 1902, the prospective French visitors were assured that in a land ‘completely pacified’ the inhabitants ‘easily assimilate to our civilization, welcome with confidence our methods, our processes, our tools, as well as the improvements and industrial application of modern science (Burgeois and Sandoz 1904 in Blue, Bunton & Croizier 2002, p. 225).

This was not entirely the case in Australia. The indigenous population was not seen at all, not in the land, and not in the public transport; the indigenous population tried to be erased out of memory by the colonisers even though, of course, in everyday life there were encounters between white settlers and different indigenous peoples and we cannot understand these encounters in some universal and homogeneously identical way (Healy 2008). Nonetheless, trams in Australia were still a ‘colonial invention’ and the Melbourne colonial tramcar is a material remnant of the history that wiped out Aboriginal life from Australia and placed it within the museum-like history that is still not really properly revisited.

In a short essay written by a Melbourne-based writer and academic Tony Birch, titled ‘Returning to Country’, Birch rides a number 55 tram from West Brunswick to the City. His ride in an almost forty degree heat provides a two-sided background of the paradoxes of Australia as they get actualised in the way Aboriginal life has been appropriated, consumed, digested and expressed (or spit out).²³⁰ While Birch journeys along the Melbourne Zoo, he writes:

I doubt if many of my fellow commuters on this hot February morning would be aware that in the nineteenth century the Zoo had ‘exhibited’ living Victorian Aboriginal people as the curious remnant of a dying race. Such was the expectation of the time, which although confidently predicted, was tinged with anxiety when confronted with the reality of a people who had refused to give up their country and identity, despite all the invasiveness of colonialism.

(Birch 2001, p. 397)

²³⁰ Tony Birch refers to the story of a woman named Margaret Nelson, who in the beginning of the 20th century was removed from her family and sent to the Cootamundra Home for Aboriginal Girls in New South Wales. Margaret Nelson was a member of the ‘stolen generations’. The girls in the Cootamundra Home were removed from their families and the intention was to train them for domestic work. One day Margaret’s family was notified that Margaret Nelson was coming home, but when waiting for Margaret at the train station all the family could find was a suitcase with her belongings. The family later found out that Margaret Nelson died in a Sydney hospital. The authorities did not even bother to notify them of her death. Only the suitcase arrived, as suitcases are/were delivered daily to train stops in Australia.

Ien Ang, in another short paper titled 'Passengers on train Australia', explores the new developments present within a new government that offer opportunities for society to engage in conversation, where 'the task for the passengers is to reach out and talk to each other' (Ang 2008, p. 239). She promotes the idea of 'cosmopolitan multiculturalism', 'an ethos that starts with the knowledge that people are different, but also recognises that there is much to learn from our differences' (Ang 2008, p. 230). Ang might sound a bit naïve in promoting something like that because she has already started to value cultural difference as something positive and necessary for the way of life of the modern human before she determined what this difference means and what it encompasses. Nevertheless, her conclusion that it is the communication - or better, dialogue, which needs to be promoted on the level of the everyday humanity and ethos of an individual, that is also valuable for our case even though the sole communication in words often lacks the everyday humanity (Žižek 2008; Glissant 2006).

But where does the communication, or dialogue, begin? Where do the 'common spaces' or 'contact zones'²³¹ originate? In equal rights, in different rights, in rights for social and economic independence? Is it in silence or in already developed Roar (let's again remember Glissant here)?

Let us consider the Roar in the story of the Melbourne trams. In 1975 Joyce Barry became the first female tram driver in Melbourne. This happened because the moment in time was right (it happened in the time of the Whitlam government), but also because she stood up at one of the union meetings and uttered the immortal line: 'I don't need a penis to drive a bloody tram!'

²³¹ According to Mary Louise Pratt, a 'contact zone' includes the relations, which do not mark some special beginning and end, but are in a process – they are ongoing and changing. As she argues, 'a "contact" perspective emphasizes how subjects are constituted in and by their relations to each other. [It stresses] copresence, interaction, interlocking understandings and practices, often within radically asymmetrical relations of power' (Mary Louise Pratt in Healey 2008, p. 8). Some captured moments in time, such as remembering the 'first' contacts of white colonizers and indigenous people in Australia are valuable, because they do offer us historical facts as well as show how the memory is/was constructed around these definite (closed-up, finished) events. However, they often do not offer a view that would be wide enough for these moments of first encounter to be put into the context and to see them as a relation that would be travelling from that first point into some every-day historical context of the present (Healy 2008).

7.2 Locating Melbourne trams

With its 249 kilometres of double track tram network and 27 regular tram routes, Melbourne tram network is considered one of the largest in the world today.²³² Melbourne trams run on electricity supplied by overhead cables and around 80% of Melbourne's tram network shares road space with other vehicles. Trams are not a fast means of transport for Melbournians. The average speed for a tram is 16 km/h and this drops to around 10 km/h within the central business district. Trams are not the first transport choice for Melbournians either and this is not only because of the trams' poor speed. There is a plan to increase percentages of public transport patronage to 20% of all trips by 2020, but this is very unlikely to become true.

The state of public transport in Melbourne is not really encouraging. The service was privatised in 1999, and since 2004 the whole tram system has been under the corporation of Yarra Trams. The service is slow, rather unreliable and not really cheap. Ticket conductors were replaced with ticket machines under the government of Jeff Kennett in 1998, de-personalising the service. This caused a lot of dissatisfaction among many people who rode the trams regularly, and who liked the interaction with the tram conductors (affectionately called the 'connies') and the way they individualised the space.

²³² The information on how big Melbourne tram system actually is in comparison with other cities in the world, are quite confusing. Sometimes it is claimed, Melbourne's tram system is the largest in the world, then that it is the second (Australian Government, *Trains and trams for Melbourne: strengthening Australian industry participation in Victoria's transport system*, p. 1) or the third largest, that it is the largest in the Southern hemisphere or the largest in the 'English speaking world'. There are also claims out there that it is eleventh largest in the world. It is also the fact that the figures are difficult to record, because they depend on various different factors: route kilometres, passenger kilometres, number of trams in service etc.



Figure 31: Tram in Melbourne

Compared also with the better conditions for car usage in Melbourne, not many trips are really made by public transport; Melbourne could be termed more as the most drivable city rather than the most liveable city. An additional issue is that the car may be used by those who are better off (and own it) while public transport is often used by younger people, high school and university students, older people and those on a lower socio-economic scale, which often includes migrants as well. In some instances, tram tickets are available to more vulnerable groups of people free of charge (for instance in some cases to asylum seekers with limited working rights; although this is usually catered for only by certain NGOs). However, it is possible to say that trams in Melbourne are a popular way of transportation for the inner suburban residents who form only one part of the population of Melbourne, but are those who formed also a base for this research.

People of Melbourne in general still seem to like their tram or the idea and the image of the tram, which is in many respects not (only) a space of the public transport. For many, the tram is a lifestyle. It was not only colonial though that contributed to the nostalgia surrounding the tram. Also changes in the social and cultural make-up within the trams (or their social and cultural inner appearance), which are enabled and promoted by migration processes, invoke the nostalgic sentiments surrounding the tram.

A migrant-as-a-passenger and a migrant-as-a-driver are today constitutive parts of at least some tramlines in Melbourne, including the tram number 19. The migrancy (and

sometimes the foreignness) of the tram driver is audible particularly because of what the tram driver says while driving the tram. Announcing the stops is a part of the job of the tram driver in Melbourne and according to one of the drivers on the no. 19 tram, ‘it is a sort of thing you get into.’²³³

7.2.1 Locating tram no. 19

The area [of Sydney Road] is so cosmopolitan. You cannot remain apathetic about it. You see the whole world in Sydney Road.²³⁴

No. 19 tram could be termed as one of those lines that directly connects the feeling of migrancy (movement and changing) with public transport. It hosts many temporary and permanent migrants, among other passengers, since the suburb in which this tram commences is termed as one of the most ‘culturally diverse’ suburbs in Melbourne.

No. 19 tram (North Coburg to Elizabeth Street line) is a route that commences at one end of the northern Melbourne suburb of Coburg and runs along Sydney Road in Brunswick, Royal Parade and Elizabeth Street to terminate near Flinders Street. Coburg is a suburb that is approximately seven kilometres away from the city centre of Melbourne. Until 1915, there were horse-drawn tram cars running along Sydney Road and in 1916 trams along this route were already electric. The North Coburg to Elizabeth Street line is today one of Melbourne’s main tram routes. This tramline is also one of those that pass another locality observed within this thesis, the Queen Victoria Market.

The suburbs of Coburg and Brunswick, which are ‘governed’ by the Moreland City Council, have themselves a history that is quite specific to Melbourne. Throughout time, they have been characterised by the Melbourne working class, but since the area has begun to be progressively gentrified in the last decade, the Brunswick and to a certain degree also the Coburg area have become hubs for younger generations, students as well as artists and different kinds of professionals working in or near the Central Business District. Both suburbs are connected by Sydney Road, along which the number 19 tram runs.

²³³ Interview, no. 22, 28 June, 2009, personal archive.

²³⁴ Quoted in Donati (2005, p. 180).

Sydney Road today is one of the main thoroughfares in Melbourne. Originally, however, the road was not seen as such. Soon after the new colonial settlement was initiated, Coburg area was first called Pentridge and Sydney Road was partly formed by convict labour. The Pentridge Stockade was built in 1850 at the top of Coburg for these prisoners. Later, traders, hawkers and business people flocked to the road. In the beginning of the 20th century it was also a site of strong sectarianism, which was deeply ingrained in the Australian society. Later, many residents of the two suburbs were actively involved in the world wars, and the suburbs also strongly felt the depression years of the late 1920s and early 1930s. This was also the time when radicals became much more present and vocal at and around Sydney Road and in 1932 the Brunswick Free Speech committee was established. This radicalism left its traces around Sydney Road until the present day.

In the 1990s, another form of radical politics was played out in Sydney Road in Brunswick. The presence of ultra-right group Australian National Action became evident in Sydney Road as the area developed into quite a large and active migration hub over the years; Australian National Action was directly opposed to Melbourne becoming a place for migrants. But even prior to the development of Sydney Road as a hub of migration and migrants, many Chinese gold-diggers lived in the area during the gold rush era. Their numbers became heavily reduced after the implementation of the Immigration Restriction Act of 1901. From 1933, more Polish and German Jewish refugees and immigrants settled in Brunswick. Later, after the WW2, larger numbers of Maltese settled in the area; they were followed by Italians and Greeks in the 1950s, Turks and Lebanese in the late 1960s and 1970s, Asians in the 1970s and 1980s, and Africans in the last two decades. Sydney Road, along which the tram no. 19 runs today, is thus considered as one of the most multicultural places (suburbs) of Melbourne.

Laura Donati in her book ‘Almost Pretty: A History of Sydney Road’ describes Sydney Road in the following manner:

Today, Sydney Road is portrayed as the contented and harmonious face of multiculturalism. The road, positioned within the ethnically diverse Melbourne suburbs of Brunswick and Coburg, is “one of the finest places in Melbourne to engage with interesting people and lifestyles from all over the world.” Middle Eastern restaurants and bakeries

share the streetscape with Asian grocers, Greek cake shops and Italian bomboniere [sic] sops, halal butchers, bridal boutiques and retro cafes, Islamic clothing shops and African hairdressers. (...) The clatter of trams and the noise of cars, together with a cornucopia of languages, provide an audible expression to the visual chaos that is Sydney Road.

(Donati 2005, p. 1)

This is the suburb (and the road) to which no. 19 tram takes the most people on board. The no. 19 tram carries along the Sydney Road around three hundred thousand people a week.²³⁵ The road is certainly important in terms of the composition of people it carries. Today, there are different retailers, cafes, coffee shops and bookstores along the road. Different university students use the no. 19 tramline a bit further down towards the city centre too, as the tram stops along the western side of the University of Melbourne on its way towards the city. The tram line is therefore diverse and often full of people, especially in the afternoon in both directions, when people are returning back home to Brunswick and Coburg from other parts of Melbourne and then there are many students using the line in the other direction towards the city centre, where they board other tram or train lines.

7.3 Tram community or community of normativity

One can often hear in Melbourne that tramways bind together Melbourne as a city and also the people of Melbourne. Incorporated into the daily routine, people often start and finish their days in/on public transport, and trams are seen as a part of the routine of an individual within the ‘tram community’ even though – at least if we are looking at the trams from the inside-out – there are many possibilities for the trams and the public transport in general to contribute to the state of chaos or perhaps malfunction of the system - to a sort of ‘abnormality’. A news report after two trams and a car collided at Melbourne’s St Kilda Road in 2007 noted the response of Colin Tyrus from Yarra Trams: ‘It will take some hours before tram services can get back to anywhere near normality’ (Farnsworth 2007).

It is interesting how often we use the word ‘normal’ and ‘normality’ to refer to the system of public transport. If there is some kind of unpredictable occurrence, services

²³⁵ The figure was quoted by the driver of the no. 19 tram in an interview, 20 June, 2009.

must be restored and lives of people must be ‘put back to normal’.²³⁶ We have ‘normal timetables’, ‘normal schedules’, ‘normal operating hours’, ‘normal services’ – all of this to assure us that our intentions and expectations throughout the day will be met. The occurrences of deviation all refer to this normality. ‘Normal timetable’ and ‘normal service’ presuppose also that the majority of people using this timetable or this service are ‘normal’ and behave according to ‘normality’ as ‘normativity’.²³⁷ Yet, when our day-to-day reality is ‘normal’, we often wish that something would disrupt it. Nevertheless, it can be said that the feeling of normality is based on the regularity of events as well as social behaviours and social organisation and consequently, the predictability, reliability, and legibility of social order can be seen as synthetic criteria of normality. Trust, as an outcome of situational normality, ‘reduces the complexity of a situation and increases the probability of cooperation’ (Miztal 2001, p. 314). There is a sense of predictability, which according to Miztal follows trust. We could perhaps reverse this argument and say that trust is rather born out of predictability.²³⁸ Does ‘normality’ have anything to do with ‘migrancy’ or with being linguistically different?

The idea of ‘normality’ has at least some things in common with the notions of ‘migrancy’. On the Melbourne tram, one who speaks, looks or acts different is not termed as ‘regular’, ‘common’ or entirely ‘trusted’. The migrant disrupts the space of the socio-cultural order. The presence of the foreign element can be disturbing. The migrant, especially the one who speaks differently, is perceived as a foreigner within the space of the tram. However, there are considerable differences between the categories of migrants perceived (students as temporary migrants are not seen so much as migrants, but more as foreigners; long-term migrants are seen as ‘ethnic’).

One of the participants in the study who used to live and work along the Sydney Road, and who moved to Melbourne herself from Singapore when she was a child, identified

²³⁶ After the London bombings in 2005, there were numerous claims made along these lines. It is possible to trace many stories that alleged that ‘It was time London returned to normal’. (BBC News, ‘London blasts cause chaos on Tube’, 21 July 2005). Another example of a title reads: ‘London almost back to normal one year after July 7 transit bombings’ (Fox News, 6 July, 2006). Similarly, ten days after the incident a New York Times reporter was struck at how oddly normal the city seemed (Emmrich 2005).

²³⁷ The concept of ‘normality’ is a concept of ‘normativity’ and as such it is a social construct (Dupre 1998).

²³⁸ It is interesting to think about how a dialogue between predictability and surprise or unpredictability works when talking about people who we term as ‘normal’ in the common moving space such as the tram.

several linguistic groups or kinds of people in the space of the tram. As she said, there were a lot of Indian and Chinese people and also Italian and Greek, ‘even though they speak in English.’ When asked about what would make her think that these people are Italian or Greek, she referred to noticing their ‘visibility’ and skin complexion. On another occasion, she referred to an interesting occurrence that happened on the no. 19 tram on the route towards the city centre. While being a space that is very mixed and very diverse during the day, the space of the no. 19 tram can be quite monocultural during the night-time. She described the following event:

There was a bunch of Chinese people speaking in Chinese and in front of them this very kind of bogan²³⁹ girl went: ‘Oh, I really hate Chinks²⁴⁰, I can’t stand them, why do they have to talk in their own language?’ So, it was a bit kind of confronting, because I didn’t really expect that. I mean, she was drunk and with a group of friends and I don’t know if she would say that if she was sober and by herself. And I was travelling on that tram with my friends who are more from an Australian background, so I think I wasn’t a Chink she was looking at. What was more visible to her was Chinese people hanging out with other Chinese people whereas I was sort of invisible to her. I didn’t really register as a Chinese person, because I was with a bunch of Australians and we were speaking in English.²⁴¹

The linguistic factor within the tramscape is noticeable and considerable when discussing the space of the tram with people travelling on the trams, as well as with the drivers of the tram. As will be discussed later in this chapter, the general communication factor is something that at least some tram drivers also find very important in the space of the tram. Another participant, a regular traveller on the tram no. 19 of Anglo-Saxon background, also living in the area of Sydney Road, noticed the older Italian women, ‘always travelling in groups’ on the tram. To the question of how she recognises the Italian women, she replied:

²³⁹ ‘Bogan’ is a term used primarily in Australia to describe a particular section of the working class demographic. This derogatory slang word is a gender-neutral noun; this being important as many ‘bogans’ tend to gravitate towards one another forming relationships and extended families. A ‘bogan’ typically resides in either a low-cost housing estate, government housing or in the outlying regional areas of continental Australia (*Bogan.com.au*).

Generally the ‘bogan’ fits a particular stereotypical image. The perception of what actually constitutes a ‘bogan’ has been shaped over the years primarily by the media. It is a word that is used for white Australians of lower socio-economic class, poorly educated, with other features, such as the choice of certain type of music, dress and language used (*Bogan.com.au*).

²⁴⁰ Chink is an offensive term for a person of most commonly Chinese descent. The word originates in the word ‘chink’, which originally means a narrow opening as for instance between the planks in the wall. It is an offensive word and a racial slur towards people of Asian origin.

²⁴¹ Interview, no. 21, 29 June, 2009, personal archive.

You have the older people with their trolleys with fruit and veg from the Victoria Market, old Italian women, the wog²⁴² women... yeah... You can tell they have been around for a long time. Just going to the Vic Market, getting their veggies and going home.²⁴³

The migrant, as someone who is present in the space of a tram and thus also in the city space, is essentialised and othered. The groups of people identified by individual tram travellers attest to that. The migrant or the group of migrants are not those whose expression seems ‘different’ for the ‘common’ inhabitant of Melbourne inner suburbs and they would not be excluded from the ‘tram community’, but their cultural and often their linguistic (and vocal) difference would still be noticed. We are talking here about the location of the linguistically different migrant as a ‘foreigner’, as someone who has not ‘adapted’ to the environment quite yet and is thus formed as ‘outside’ of the national consciousness; as someone against whom the other part of the ‘normal community’ can be identified.

On the other hand, we also observe people who appropriate the space of a tram according to their own needs and they do this by using their voices. The tram does offer a space for transgressions of this kind. While the person moves, the significance could alternatively be put more on the ‘I’ in space or the so-called topomnestic orientation (Bühler 1990, p. 147), or the ‘self’ in relation to the ‘other’ (Bakhtin 1990). However, in my interviews the notion of the ‘community’ was often highlighted while referring to the appropriation of the space of a tram (except of the community of normativity).

The language of the community can be hardly termed as the language-in-action, because an utterance expressed in the tramscape is more the action of the individual rather than an expression by/from the community. The individual then has more possibilities to disturb this space, to challenge it. The further question here is still whether this would

²⁴² ‘Wog’ is another often offensive and derogatory word, even though it can be nowadays termed also as a slang word. In Australian English, ‘wog’ is an ethnic slur to denote immigrants principally of Southern European, Eastern European, and Middle Eastern origins and their descendants. The ethnic usage of the term ‘wog’ became prominent in the time after the WW2 immigration of people from these parts of Europe and the Middle East. In some respects, the meaning and significance of the word has changed, and it has been reclaimed by the second and third generations of Italian and Greek Australians, although some of the more recently arrived groups might still understand it in its original usage. The reclamation of the term came about in the 1980s and 1990s, and is generally attributed to the ‘Wogs Out of Work’ and ‘Wogarama’ stage shows (starring Nick Giannopoulos, George Kapinaris and some others), which later developed into the television show ‘Acropolis Now’.

²⁴³ Interview, no. 20, 9 June, 2009, personal archive.

happen while the individual would stay silent or while he or she would be vocal or audible (which would mean he or she would be also heard).

7.3.1 Strangers and neighbours on a tram

To move through spaces is a state of being. Being mobile in a confined, but on the other hand a fairly open space of public transport is something people are compelled to do on a regular, everyday basis. Cars, trains, trams and buses move through spaces, they move people and they also ‘move spaces’. They move people’s performative bodies, putting them in all sorts of situations that invoke a range of people’s perceptions. Naturally or culturally they produce fault lines, the lines between the outside and the inside, and the lines between the outsiders and the insiders. The terms ‘insider’ and ‘outsider’, as Ghassan Hage asserts, ‘generally refer to people’s relation to particular socio-cultural spaces’ (Hage 2006, p. 342). Outside can exist only when there is inside. Nevertheless, there is a division that makes them counterparts on their common journey. The insider belongs to the space naturally, he or she is born into the space he or she inhabits and the outsider does not belong to the same space, even though he/she can inhabit it together with an outsider. When the outsider crosses the fault line (which is, of course never that clear and straightforward as the word could proclaim) of its own inside to the inside of us, this is when a problem is created. The most important aspect of the category outsider in terms of space, according to Hage, is that it ‘defines a state of being on the inside rather than a state of being on the outside: outsider is a specific mode of being an insider’ (ibid., p. 343). This is also a condition that strangers and/or foreigners find themselves in, and migrants among them, because the stranger becomes a stranger only when he or she enters *our* space, the space of the majority and the space of the authorial discourse.²⁴⁴

So, is the space of a tram a variety of a city space that belongs to the ‘white multiculturalist’ field of engagement? How do we negotiate difference and how do we construct otherness when it comes to sharing the mobile space with the different, the foreigner, or with the stranger, with the other? Are migrants (that are linguistically

²⁴⁴ As Hage argues, ‘we do not identify people who live outside our spaces as strangers even if they are culturally very different from ourselves. It is only when they have entered our own “inside” that they become strangers’ (Hage 2006, p. 343).

different) seen as foreigners or strangers (outsiders) belonging to ‘our space’? And how does the (linguistically different) migrant feel in the mobile space? Is it as an outsider (that belongs to the inside space) or the foreigner (absolute outsider)? It is a difficult question to answer, especially because, as sound artist Sonia Leber said in one of my interviews:

*I mean, Australia is quite an amazing place for cultural diversity. You’ve got to recognise that. But then again not everybody really sees and listens in the same way or thinks in the same way in terms of recognising the diversity.*²⁴⁵

Consequently, in the case of the no. 19 tram I was first of all interested in how people perceive the cultural and social diversity formed within it (if it exists at all for them) on the individual basis, then how this diversity is interpreted by people riding the tram, again from the point of view of the individual. Trams are an icon that goes across different affiliations (and is thus a communal icon) and, as I have mentioned previously, they are nostalgic remnants of the colonial times. They are also a symbol of present claims for the cosmopolitan city built out of colonial pursuits. They are highly promoted by the Melbourne City Council and the State of Victoria, and they reflect the globalising power of the capital very well. Trams have always been running alongside the economic changes and aspirations. Their outside as well as their inside have and continue to change throughout the time. The removal of conductors and conductresses in 1990s has contributed a lot to this changing image, especially in regards to changing relations and relationships within the tramcar. As a driver of the no. 19 tram said in one of the interviews, the communicational factor within the tram has gone down considerably with the removal of conductors within the Victorian government of Jeff Kennett:

Because from when we used to have conductors, ‘Oh, Mister Connie, listen, I need a ticket,’ ‘Yeah, no worries, here is your ticket. How are you today?’ There was communication. Communication in public transport is what? 10%, 20%? It’s not a 100%. Our customer service representatives that are out there, not all of them talk to you. Have you noticed that?’²⁴⁶

The only communicational factor or something that we can term as functioning according to a form of address (Sakai 1997, Sakai & Solomon 2006) is now left to the position of the tram driver. Furthermore, the only working space to be populated by

²⁴⁵ Interview, 5 September 2006.

²⁴⁶ Interview, no. 22, 28 June, 2009, personal archive.

women and men in a tram after that removal of conductors and conductresses is the tram driver's seat along with the ticket inspector's job that is now on board as well, albeit sporadically. In an article titled 'Melbourne's trams are a hostile place' Louisa Deasey, a freelance writer and commentator for the *Age*, remarked that removing the conductors from the trams in Melbourne:

had a sinister effect on the cultural feel of Melbourne. Instead of conductors, we now have inspectors. What does this say? It seems that as a city, we would rather fine you for being wrong than help you to be right. If the machines don't work, or you can't read English, or you don't have enough coins - bad luck. Questions about where to go? Fend for yourself. Find a willing stranger (thankfully, there are a few), but we will not pay anyone to help you. Instead, we will spend that money on making you work harder.

(Deasey 2008)

Even though 'connies' who 'loved having a chat with locals and visitors' and who 'cross-pollinated people and could bring people who didn't know each other together in conversation' (*Bring Em Back! Returning tram conductors in 2010*) – and therefore contributed to the feeling or the condition of the 'talking trams' (and connecting individual with the sense of the community) – trams are still an important ingredient of the city broth and they communicate with the city, especially with what is perceived as the core of the city.²⁴⁷ And the passengers seem to communicate back. They form a space that dwells between the mobile and static, between the political and everyday and the everyday as political, creating a voice, a tone and a tune of uniqueness and particularity. At the same time, they quest for a form of universalism. They correspond to the ideas of managerial multiculturalism in the sense of 'Just Like You' campaigns, but they also host unique voices that do not match the picture. Trams do not fit the space of the multicultural policy entirely – their outside seems to correspond to this picture, which is static, while their inside still *talks* its own version of multiculturalism following relations and connections.

Everyone participating in the study saw the space of a tram as 'multicultural'. Their tram-like version of multiculturalism had, in almost all instances (except in the instance of the user of the tram with the Anglo-Saxon background), something to do with

²⁴⁷ By the core of the city I refer to the Central Business District and inner suburbia. Inner suburbia in Melbourne (both physically and symbolically) ends where the tram tracks stop. And inner suburbia, along with the CBD, is also the point to where promotionalism reaches.

relations and connections. Interestingly, the driver of the no. 19 tram was of the opinion that he as a driver also has an important role in implementing this multicultural society. His role was thus an active role, and a constitutional role. This role for the driver of the no. 19 tram was especially seen as being a constitutive part that establishes a communicational space within the tramscape:

Some of them [the passengers] find it a little bit difficult to speak, but also if they actually see or witness the driver speaking with other people and being nice, being respectful to people travelling on public transport, then they start to click. Oh, I can trust this man, I can ask him a question. He will certainly help me out. Implementing multicultural society. What I can't stand is racism, because it's horrible. Being judgemental towards multicultural society doesn't fit, especially for myself, because everyone that comes on a tram, I'll say good morning, I'll say thank you, I'll say hello and these sorts of things. It doesn't matter where you come from in the world. I always try to be as helpful as possible.²⁴⁸

Tramsapes are changing; there are no conductors any more to help people out with their everyday concerns, to help them out of the linguistic incapacities or cacophonies with which the city presents them. There is, however, a stranger but this has to be a 'willing stranger', which is in our case and in our sample represented by the driver of the tram. But, who is this driving willing stranger really? Is it a foreigner who reminds us that there is always 'something on the other side'?

As someone who feels emplaced in the city, including in its transportation system, Deasey (2008) says:

I've seen new arrivals in our state - including other Australians - beg strangers for the right change and I've seen recent immigrants ask for a translation of how the hell to use the ticket machine and seen them look with fear and confusion at the arrival of inspectors flashing badges to "arrest" someone for not knowing. It all makes me wonder about the conversation at which it was decided to replace a walking, talking, friendly face with a machine.

Can a machine give directions? Help you up the stairs if you have lots of bags, a pram, a disability? Can a machine welcome you to the city? Bring those travelling on the tram into a feeling of camaraderie over a situation that just occurred on the corner of Collins and Spring with a street performer on stilts?

²⁴⁸ Interview, no. 22, 28 June, 2009, personal archive.

Aside from these romantic examples, can a machine stop the drunk guys sitting next to me from swearing loudly and throwing a football down the tram aisle or, worse, cans of Coke at each other, splashing me in the process?

I no longer get dressed up if I know I'm going to catch a tram. I need back-up sneakers in case I need to make a last-minute dash from a weirdo.

A weirdo is an ultimate stranger. It is close to our 'neighbour' perhaps - too similar in the sense that he/she speaks language that feels the same to our language and is thus repulsed and rejected (Kilito 2008). Drunken people occupy this space; Aboriginal Australians can occupy this space as well. Because a line has to exist between 'Me' and 'me'. Interestingly, in terms of spatial organisation of the space of the tram, someone like a weirdo or someone 'from the margins of the society'²⁴⁹ would often be talked about as occupying the space at the back of the tram.²⁵⁰ One who is vocally different does not really transgress the boundaries, but fits in. Attempts to transgress the boundaries and the ability to push the entire mobile community into the threshold belong to the similar 'other'.

*Yeah, you can find some unsavoury types usually at the back of the trams, but also the people at the margins of society. Homeless people would be riding at the back or someone who is sort of glue sniffing or drinking alcohol all by themselves, they would ride at the back. During the peak hour it would be very mixed. During the quieter hours you get that.*²⁵¹

It is a sort of insufficient community that is formed on a tram; it lacks the feeling of *love*. People are strangers to each other and how could we possibly 'love strangers' or better, as Freud would ask: Why would we do it? What good will it do us? (Freud 1989, p. 66).²⁵² This is not to say, of course, that the moving tram could or should be perceived as a 'community of sentiment' where we could or should find ourselves in the other. However, there is some connection or some kind of relationship formed between people because they do (need to) share the same space, for which they are all aware

²⁴⁹ From an Interview, no. 21, 29 June, 2009, personal archive.

²⁵⁰ Although, we could argue, the back of the tram is the 'back' only for one direction of the journey. When a tram journeys back, the initial back is the front, so we could say that a reversal of the social order is always possible.

²⁵¹ Interview, no. 21, 29 June, 2009, personal archive.

²⁵² 'But, above all, how shall we achieve it? How can it be possible? My love is something valuable to me which I ought not to throw away without reflection (...). If I love someone, he must deserve it in some way (...). He deserves it if he is so like me in important ways that I can love myself in him; and he deserves it if he is so much more perfect than myself that I can love my ideal of my own self in him' (Freud 1989, p. 66).

where it starts and where it ends. The finiteness of the actual journey makes people connected to each other within a tramscape. If there was no real finishing line to see, if the line was not there, there would be nothing that would bind them together as passengers. The space, in this way, needs also its complementary, timely part. The space of a tram also necessarily extends out, to where the common journey begins or ends, to the street, and in this way the tram really becomes a tramscape by transgressing its confinement.

The tram is the reflection of the street; it is the reflection of the suburb. This was also continuously pointed out in the interviews:

A tram is sort of like a sidewalk. So it's a bit of an extension of a sidewalk. It's a bit of the extension of the road and the multicultural interactions that I see on a tram are not so dissimilar to what happens on a sidewalk.

(...)

*The interactions you see on the tram are pretty much the same as to what you see on the sidewalk. Except it is up front and personal. It's very visible, it's very audible as well and people use the tram to assist that.*²⁵³

While travelling on the no. 19 tram, the participants in the study would make this connection, regardless of their background. They would not necessarily connect the tram to the suburb, but to Sydney Road in particular. Sydney Road is thus the place where they would feel the connection to the other people regardless of the fact that ethnic composition also changes depending on which part of Sydney Road you are at.

7.4 Grids of hospitality

While being involved in the project entitled Tramjatra,²⁵⁴ a transdisciplinary research project that brought together artists, designers and the tramway communities of Melbourne and Kolkata to explore their cities through the medium of tramways, Suzie Attiwill stated that there was 'something uneasy about taking a passage composed of points and positions - moving from one point to the next. It produced an underlining of colonialism that could be felt while seated, which in the context of tramjatra and the

²⁵³ Interview, no. 21, 29 June, 2009, personal archive.

²⁵⁴ Jātrā means 'trip'. Otherwise the word is specifically associated with regional rural fairs on the occasion of the celestial chariot (Spivak 2005, p. 204).

colonialist history of both cities meant this seat was well worn by people intent on getting from A to B' (Attiwill 2005, p. 144).

During the 'Tramjatra project' the 'Karachi to Melbourne tram' was also constructed (Figure 32). This was the main project (later culminating also in the publication of the 'Tramjatra' book) that brought the culture and the 'feeling' of Pakistani culture and vividness into Melbourne. The Karachi tram in Melbourne was first commissioned as a part of the Commonwealth Games Cultural Festival and a team of Karachi truck decorators were invited to come and work on the decoration of the tram. The decorated tram was an important gesture in the time of the Commonwealth Games in Melbourne in 2006. These were the games (in which former colonial states and dominions of the British Commonwealth compete) that clearly invoked the colonial nostalgia. Trams and Commonwealth Games were thus made out of the same base and they complemented each other.²⁵⁵ As the Commonwealth Games' message nowadays points out, cultural coexistence is what is important. The exoticized Pakistani colourfulness was also an almost ideal product of the base on which multiculturalism as a policy (that corresponds to this same sentiment) is based; the net of cultures as a mosaic, but with no connection or relation lines between different parts of the mosaic. Also in terms of audibility, the tram announced the 'strangeness' of the tram, which represented the Pakistani 'culture' in this case. It was loud; there was music and singing on the inside of the tram, which is something that is not characteristic for a regular Melbourne tram. Even though W-11 tram came out of a collaborative art project exploring dialogue, performance and hospitality and worked on the idea of 'connections', the performative eventually took a major role and actually erased the possibilities for a true dialogue. In this way, we were presented with the performance of cultural diversity built upon the idea of a framed and packaged cultural difference.

²⁵⁵ This is also why the 'flying tram' presented at the opening ceremony of the Commonwealth games fit into the presentation so well.



Figure 32: W-11 'Karachi to Melbourne' tram

Colonialism and globalisation both built their existence based on ideological foundations that neglected humanity. They reduced the human being to a resource²⁵⁶ (getting from A to B), which contributed to some kind of economic super-plan. There is not a lot of room for empathy or feelings of responsibility here. However, in the urban environment of Melbourne, I argue that trams still display a certain degree of hope. The idea of a tram travel might be seen as nostalgic or as an act of (post)colonialism. We may always ask who actually drives this tram, and we will see that the one who drives the tram is often the migrant who is again fitted into the picture of a strong or mosaic multiculturalism (Benhabib 2002, p. 8).²⁵⁷ Driving the tram is therefore also a multicultural performance, where the language and the accent play a major role.

Nonetheless, this argument based on my observations was not exactly reflected in the interviews. What the interviews revealed was that the communication of the tram driver acted in the sense of 'address' more than the sole communication. For the driver of the tram no. 19, the address that the driver does, and is also supposed to do on a regular basis, over the loud speaker is not only about announcing the stops, but it is about 'making people feel at home':

I would like to make them feel at home, because... we have to get places. Some of us don't drive. So, I say, 'Good morning ladies and gentleman, the next stop coming up is Collins Street. There's a couple of trams

²⁵⁶ According to Heidegger and scholars using his idea later on, everything is a resource - culture is also a resource as much as everything else; and human beings are a resource too.

²⁵⁷ By strong or mosaic multiculturalism Seyla Benhabib means the view that human groups and cultures are 'clearly delineated and identifiable entities that coexist, while maintaining firm boundaries, as would pieces of mosaic' (Benhabib 2002, p. 8).

there. You can go to this place or you can go to this place.’ And the people come up to you and ask you, ‘Look, I need to get to this particular place, how do I get there?’ ‘Yeah, no worries, this is how you do it, this is the easiest way.’ And that’s it. You make them feel at home. It doesn’t matter even if they live here. Some of them don’t know where places are... ‘Oh, thank you driver, that was most appreciated, have a nice day.’ That’s it. Put a smile on a person’s face.²⁵⁸

Tram and tram travel in this respect still has the capacity to break down some barriers and consequently open up new possibilities. The address rather than the communication of the tram driver provokes connection or relation between people, which can be in many cases also of a non-verbal nature. As the tram driver said:

And when I say something nice to someone, people start talking. Just like the middle word that I said... communication. Communication in this world of today is an art. Not a lot of people want to talk. They will walk around everywhere and they won’t talk. What about if someone is walking down the street and you think they need help, but you’re hesitant to ask? Because you don’t know their situation. So, if someone comes up to you and communicates to you and says, ‘Listen, I’ve got this little situation, I’ve got this little problem. How do I go about fixing it up?’ That’s communication.

(...)

And around here [around the Sydney Road], with the amount of people that have come into Australia from overseas, Indians, Sri Lankan, Pakistani people, Iranian, Iraqi, African and everything else... It has changed a little bit and because we have actually lost our conductors on the tram, that’s where the loss of communication has been. The driver can’t do everything, but what I’m trying implement, is that I can. If I can do it, I will certainly try to do it.²⁵⁹

The tram does have the ability to open up the doors for those who wish to enter.²⁶⁰ The tramscape is not really unconditional, but it does not impose conditions based on commonality or shared values. As such, the tramscape has something in common with the notion of hospitality as understood by Jacques Derrida (2005, p. 67).²⁶¹ Following Derrida’s idea, we could say that ‘everyday cosmopolitanism’ may be important in the space of a tram, because the cosmopolitan right is the right to asylum and is always in

²⁵⁸ Interview, no. 22, 28 June, 2009, personal archive.

²⁵⁹ Interview, no. 22, 28 June, 2009, personal archive.

²⁶⁰ This is still thought in the sense of the system and order that has to be ensured before the ‘doors actually open’. I think about this ‘opening’ in a symbolic sense as well.

²⁶¹ ‘Pure hospitality consists in welcoming the new arrival before imposing conditions on them, before knowing and asking for anything at all, be it a name or an identity “paper”. But it also assumes that you address them, individually, and thus that you call them something, and grant them a proper name... Hospitality consists in doing everything possible to address the other, to grant or ask them their name, while avoiding this question becoming a “condition,” a police inquisition, a registration of information or a straightforward frontier control’ (Derrida 2005, p. 67).

relationship with ambiguous hospitality/hostility.²⁶² ‘Everyday cosmopolitanism’ has in fact a lot in common to what participants in the study referred to as ‘everyday multiculturalism’, but not to what the mosaic multiculturalist pursuits would identify as multicultural. For those riding the tram no. 19 the space corresponds more to the ‘everyday multicultural’ pursuits that we could translate into the ideas of ‘everyday cosmopolitanism’ and can thus be seen also as hospitable.

Even though the participants in the study would not necessarily describe the tramscapes as a cosmopolitan space, there would still be a lot of references to the hospitality present within the space. Hospitality does not relate to a particularly or overwhelmingly welcoming space, but to the neutrality that the space of the tram no. 19 offers. One participant in the study who has lived in Melbourne for fifteen years, but who migrated to the city with her parents, highlighted this opinion specifically:

The space of the tram for me is sort of neutral. Not particularly welcoming, but it's not particularly inhospitable. It's neither. You know, you just walk in! It's not an exclusive space. It doesn't like embrace you, but anyone would feel quite comfortable walking on to a tram, I think. It's not like you need to be white Australian in order to ride a tram, you can feel quite comfortable of being of any different ethnicity and even if you don't have English as your first language or you can't even speak it, you would still know how to negotiate your way on a tram. You know to pull the cord because you see other people doing it. You know where to get the ticket, how to validate it and people are quite friendly sometimes. They would say, 'Oh, that validating machine is not working or that coin machine is not working'. They do say things like that and you often see ... It's unusually if it doesn't happen.²⁶³

Also a more recent migrant to Melbourne felt like he does not need to lose any of his confidence while being in the space of the no. 19 tram:

From my background, I love to make eye contact with people. Not looking them in an intimidating manner, but you don't try to lower your gaze. Don't get me wrong. There are cultures where people don't

²⁶² As such, cosmopolitan right is not ‘fantastic and overstrained’ but is ‘a necessary complement to the unwritten code of political and international right, transforming it into a universal right of humanity’. According to Derrida, although we do not know what hospitality is, this is not something that presents us with lack or incompleteness. Hospitality is not an object of knowledge nor is it in the position to actually be present. We may ‘not yet know what hospitality is’ but Derrida’s clue helps, ‘hospitality can only take place beyond hospitality, in deciding to let it come, overcoming the hospitality that paralyses itself on the threshold which it is’ (Derrida 2000, p. 14).

²⁶³ Interview, no. 21, 29 June, 2009, personal archive.

*like to look into each other's eyes. But personally I like to look around, just to be conscious of my environment, you know. Who is sitting next to me, who is facing me.*²⁶⁴

Therefore, in regard to the cross-cultural relation, the space of the tram observed can actually work in a bridge-like sense. It is a way where a part of multiculturalism that often seems to be lost within the official multicultural story – as it was observed also with the Melbourne-Karachi tram – becomes invoked again. As such, the tram can help to bridge the ‘multicultural gap’ – the bridge that got pronounced in the neutrality of the travelling space. As one of the participants said:

*But if they are just facing each other, you know, the occasional smile or something, it does help cross... brake down these barriers that people see people from different races not as the other, but you know, as some human. You know, it puts a human face on people of different backgrounds.*²⁶⁵

As much as the tram works as the bridge across the multicultural gap in case of conceived space of multiculturalism, we still need to see it as a political space. The political space becomes apparently political when we turn to the question of postcoloniality. Here, the tram still does not work in favour of bringing hope and, again, it brings back the idea of a space that might not be as neutral as it wishes us to think.

7.5 Tram as a political space

Every space within the nation-state is political and the tramscape is not exempt. Before we can talk about its neutrality (which is also political), we have to see it and understand it as structurally organised. As Giorgio Agamben (1995) states, ‘there is no autonomous space within the political order of the nation-state for something like the pure man in himself’. But by being political and structured, tram travel also unlocks the doors to thought. Thought is here connected to the way we relate to each other; it is thought in relation and thought in translation. Riding Melbourne trams often made me think about how I, as a stranger and a foreigner to the city, contribute to the ambiguity of this space in relation to those whom I ride with. What do I hear and how do I listen, how do I engage in translation that happens between us?

²⁶⁴ Interview, no. 19, 2 July, 2009, personal archive.

²⁶⁵ Interview, no. 21, 29 June, 2009, personal archive.

In Melbourne, this question led me to explore also traits of the ‘postcolonial encounters’ in the space of a tram, and in order to examine that I had to temporarily shift my focus from the case of the no. 19 tram because of the fact that indigenous Australians are not visibly present or represented on the no. 19. For the issues of post-colonialism to be brought out, I had to ride (and include the short example of) the tram no. 112. I only include one event in this thesis and the exploration of it (as well as the explanation and further transposition of the event) is purely and exclusively personal and hypothetical; its meaning and explanation remains open. Exploring this event and questions relating to it further might bring out different findings.

While riding a number 112 tram from Brunswick Street in Fitzroy towards the city²⁶⁶ one weekday afternoon, two young people of indigenous background were riding in the back of the same tram. As we have noted above, those riding in the back were often identified by the participants in the study as ‘being on the margins of society’. They were loud and they disturbed the place to an extent when the tram driver stopped the tram, got off his driver’s seat, abused the two people, told them they were ‘bloody junkies’ and threw them off the tram. In relation to the topic of this thesis, the following set of questions might be posed: what kind of space has just been created on the leg of this journey? How has the dialogue between the two ‘parties’ been formed? Who directed it, who authored it and who understood it at all? Our little ‘tram community’ that afternoon was a diverse one. It was linguistically and culturally diverse. We did not speak the same language. We were not the same; we were different. We were strangers to each other. We were not talking to each other; we were silent.

Silence is significant here, because we can say that the silence was the starting point in the whole story of the Melbourne trams. In the beginning, there were no trams and there was also no Melbourne, there was no Federal Australia under the crown of a British Queen.²⁶⁷ Trams, especially relating to the conditions of colonialism and postcolonialism, are able to invoke the history of voices forgotten or silences pushed away. Nonetheless, these forgotten silences and voices always stay present and in the

²⁶⁶ Collingwood and Fitzroy are two suburbs of Melbourne that have ‘traditionally’ been characterised by the presence of indigenous Australians.

²⁶⁷ Along the lines of this chapter, I attempted to look in the mirror to see a reflection of this silence which is to be found in the ‘murmur of words’, voices and other sounds. Words, voices, and sounds produce though a mirror stage for silence (Foucault 1970).

space of the tram, it is difficult to really push them aside. Silence is often understood as the opposite of vocality, but the silence and the voice have to be examined along the same observational level. Is the silence the absence of voice or is it something 'more' that the people riding the tram read in the atmosphere of silence?

Silence, I argue, is a symbolic utterance; the words and the strength of the words disturb the place, but in the dialogical perspective they are followed by an utterance from the other side that belongs to the silence. It is vocality in context that disrupts the established rhythm of the transportation and its intersections with the urban. The space that changes the rhythm though belongs to the silence.

On the board of the tram no. 112, it seemed like we perfectly understood each other. Through our silence we formed a sort of community. The young man and woman were excluded from our 'community', our 'community of normativity'. They were excluded from the movement we took part in, they were denied the possibility to move together with us. They understood the tram driver perfectly. Shame did not accompany them while they disembarked. They left shame sitting on the seats they occupied. Shame was a feeling that we who stayed had to share among each other after they left. We inhabited the space that was open for translation between the driver and the two young people. We took this space, we accepted the shame, we welcomed the discomfort. We were mediators in this exchange of dissatisfactions; we were translators of their 'conversation'. We translated it to ourselves and we translated it to each other. In fact, we were translating them beforehand already, before two young people were excluded from our migrating community. We translated their chatter and roar into silence. Our silence flew from the Symbolic silence into the Real silence (Dolar 2006) the moment two people had left us and 'our' space. It was a pressing silence that could not offer anyone anything anymore. It was the silence that was final; it was the dead silence. The space of conversation, of exchange was practically erased and the new language – language of truth perhaps - was invented.²⁶⁸

²⁶⁸ Truth is for Derrida beyond any kind of translation.

7.6 Final remarks on the tram

The space of a tram is never entirely predictable. The tram is never entirely predictable on the inside. On the outside, however, the grids that the tram follows always try to pack it into a predictable system. Hence, the tensions between two opposing sides, also two opposing sides of multiculturalism (as a political discourse and as an everyday practice), often end in frustration because of their incomprehensibility. The grids and connections set the route that the tramway is supposed to follow as different to the bus. A bus follows the grid, but its grid can always be changed – it is debatable, ambiguous. But not with the tram.

Mick Douglas argues that ‘tramways can also be seen to play a role in threading complex networks of relationships that exceed the dominant power relationship of the colonial’ (Douglas 2005, p. 6). I am hesitant about whether this is exactly true. The colonial is present in the very grids and no matter how we move along the grids, whether we travel here and there and back or around with whatever colour or whatever idea accompanying us on our fellow seat, the colonial is present. We are seen by it. But are we heard as well? ‘The tram transports dialogue,’ Douglas (2005, p. 8) asserts.

A familiar face fleetingly appears in the window of a tram of strangers moving in an alternative direction. Opportunities for movement spring from encountering such arrangements of difference. Rather than erasing differences, moving back and forth, working with difference, has us move forward in ways that make new differences.

(Douglas 2005, p. 8)

Mick Douglas’ observation is correct, especially if we look it in the context of the comparison between two cities that he and his crew observed and researched, Melbourne and Kolkata. These engage in different ways in creating such mobile connections towards difference. But I would ask here: What do encounters actually mean to us? How important is it to produce new differences, who produces them, using what, why does a cultural and social difference get pronounced and how is it dealt with? Do we encounter these differences in silence or does the sound actually contribute to them? Do translations produce differences? And why did the voices of two indigenous people, as well as their general *performance* on a tram in central Melbourne in 2006 lead the tram driver to stop the tram in the middle of the tram tracks, what made him

shout and verbally abuse them and eventually kick them off the tram? This occurrence did not appear in any newspaper nor on websites nostalgically reinvoking the spirits of trams in Melbourne. This occurrence was something unpredictable, something that was beyond perception of 'normality' for us, 'normals', riding the same tram. We did not react to this 'abnormality', we silently looked forward, we did not want to look back, because the tramway was there to move forward. And who did the tram driver actually represent in this instance? The law, the city, the state, the culture, the identity, himself? Or did he represent all of us?

The occurrence, I argue, was also a form of a dialogue. This dialogue did not start nor stop with the tram driver expelling two indigenous people from his 'world'. The dialogue started at that exact point. The dialogue started in a moment where there was a lack of words. It started in the action, in the bodily movement, in the performance, in the silence of all passengers. This is the dynamics that trams or in fact every public transport everywhere in the world can give us. It is, however, the wrong place to look for it in the style and colours of trams. It is also not highly useful to search for it while looking out of the window, looking at other faces of fellow tram riders on a different route or a different direction to ours. The place to look for it is on the inside. On its green seats, scratched windows, among the voices heard, people seen, newspapers read, squeaky sounds, ding-dings and dong-dongs and ding-dongs. And who's there? It is me and it is you, he and she. All of us are on this 'bloody tram'. There is 'this big community I belong to,' as one of the participants said. This big community is (and it was also for the participant) a social construct.

*We are all part of the society. Any contrary behaviour might be seen as creating some kind of segregation, so I guess we are all the members of this big community, but people for whichever reason still get a bit more comfortable being within a group.*²⁶⁹

The driver of a tram no. 19 preferred looking at people as individuals, which is promising and it announces some kind of change again:

World turns, we turn. Every single day of our lives. Now, there is quite a lot of words, but there is a very very few words that will make your life and my life different. Now, there is such word as courage, is there such word as communication, is there such word as compassion. Three words. That's how you roll along

²⁶⁹ Interview, no. 19, 2 July, 2009, personal archive.

*every single day. You communicate with people, you have the courage to go and do something and you are compassionate towards your fellow individual. Not a man, not a woman... They are individual.*²⁷⁰

We are present in the time of change within the tram. ‘We don’t need a penis to drive this bloody tram’ anymore and I hope we don’t need a penis to ride it either. Who does this question relate to though? Who decides whether we need a penis to drive or ride a tram? A tram drivers’ union, the city, the state, the nation, society, a tram driver, global implications of fallen democracies? What is a tramway to the city? The issue here is that the tram is not something to the city, it is a city. ‘When the Melbourne trams started plying the streets again after a four-week service strike in 1990, it dawned on me that this city was not itself without its tramways flowing,’ writes Douglas (2005, p. 26). The city stopped in the time between. It was not the city becoming, the city that moved and went somewhere in this time between. It was not the city connected to its inhabitants. It was only the city that was (not). Therefore, the tram has the ability to put the city as a whole in a state of becoming. Among the spaces observed, examined and talked about in this thesis, it is the space that challenges the state of the city of Melbourne the most. It works on a regular everyday basis and it is dependent on the ‘community of normativity’. But it is a part of the city; it is not only a space where cross-cultural encounters are happening, but it works as an encounter itself. The tram is able to dwell on the boundaries, to surprise, to exist within the threshold. It permits the language in action and it still offers space of neutrality and of silence.

²⁷⁰ Interview, no. 22, 28 July, 2009, personal archive.

8 CONCLUSION: Connections across boundaries and the future of multiculturalism

You leave behind sober faces, a bungled attempt at friendship and an unclear, cloudy suspicion. Nobody knows, or should know, that you just wanted to return to a familiar world. Unknown places, new people, strange cities are interesting until you see how empty they are.

Miljenko Jergović²⁷¹

In the heart of investigation for this dissertation was the city of Melbourne, its changeability over time, its connection to the idea of a multicultural city and to the political multicultural agenda. The main idea was to test the politics of multiculturalism, concepts of cultural diversity and urban cosmopolitanism in spatial practice, in the everyday life. Considering Melbourne's present pursuit for a culturally diverse and cosmopolitan city together with its history of colonialism, immigration and multiculturalism, this thesis examined the ways, influences and processes through which the city manages its multicultural make-up. For this purpose, three empirical chapters identified four localities within Melbourne that are characterised by transformation and migrancy: two marketplaces in comparison, central Queen Victoria Market and suburban Footscray Market; Federation Square in central Melbourne; and the tramline number 19, which is a mobile space that connects different suburbs along the way, most notably the suburbs of Brunswick and Coburg in the northern side of the city of Melbourne. These localities served as observational terrains through which multiculturalism, diversity and cosmopolitanism were tested.

The dissertation was focused on the state and features of Australian (and more specifically Victorian) multiculturalism and its practice. Since the contextual examination is crucial for discussing management of and living with (cultural) diversity, and because each particular context provides us with different conditions in which the policies and legal frameworks related to this diversity are developed, a substantial part of the thesis was dedicated to the description of the conditions in which Australian

²⁷¹ M Jergović, 'Journey', *Sarajevo Marlboro* (1997, p. 126).

politics of multiculturalism was initiated and in which it has progressed over time. This wider frame of examination then led to more particular areas of consideration; first to the description of the city of Melbourne and the main features of its planning history and then to three chapters investigating four specific sites in Melbourne.

One of the goals of this thesis was to broaden and open up the research in migration studies that is regularly characterised by systematic organisation, placing different people into neat and clear categories or groupings, essentialising their ethnicity or homogenising (or unifying) their language, culture, religion. It would be hard to put forward any comprehensible criticism of the politics of multiculturalism in Australia while working through these categories since the political rhetoric most often equips itself with similar categories in its wish to retain differences in place and keep the position of authority. Studies of migration are often exclusivist, affirmative and even paradoxical in emphasising these divisions. In many of them, migration is seen as an outcome, not as a process. Understanding and examining migration, settlement and changing places characterised by migration as a process needs an individualistic perspective on migration. This thesis has brought this perspective to the fore. Furthermore, the thesis sought, in its scope and approach, to address this need to broaden the studies of migration and to look for the competences as well as agencies of individual migrants across 'their' differences in relation to 'our' differences that go beyond the sole talk on culture. Diversity as a concept was seen as an alternative way to incorporate migrants within this thesis because the primary aim of the thesis was not presenting the nicely packaged culture. The concept of diversity as discussed by Thomas Faist (2009a, pp. 173-177) spans differences while addressing the competences; it encompasses cultural diversity, but also the socio-economic aspects of diversity.

As one of the central considerations of critical multiculturalism is its relation to the meanings that the level of language brings into discussion, special attention within this thesis was given to the language in action (Lefebvre 2003, pp. 51-53) or language as utterance (Bakhtin 1981, 1986; Voloshinov/Bakhtin 1986) and, even more importantly, to the dialogism as a process stirring through languages and utterances. Language was therefore observed in its embodied nature within space. It was seen as 'material' and as

actualising in a specific social space. Counter-positing to the language in action was a so-called 'unified language' (Bakhtin 1981), which is always ideologically posited and positioned and cannot be understood as something given. All utterances or languages in action structured within the space of the multicultural narrative were examined along the lines of their socio-ideological character because even marginal utterances that provide us with the oppositional narrative, operate from a specific socio-ideological, national space.

The discussion on language within this thesis was not concerned or centred on the general linguistic preoccupations. Languages were explored as acts and as embodied languages, actualised in space. The thesis sought to uncover dialogical boundaries, and their meanings were explored through different events occurring in the researched localities. It also addressed the ways in which spatial and social organisations within these localities function. Language in action was not seen only as a sonorous material that always 'speaks'; its meaning was explored also when it was silent (which does not mean it was voiceless). The role of silence in place thus followed the cacophony of utterances and was seen as an active agent, especially when potentialities for dialogical relations between people were explored.

8.1 Connections

A central/major concern for this thesis was the question of the prospects for locational multiculturalism in Melbourne to be dialogical. The localities observed revealed different degrees of likeness to build relations across cultural and linguistic differences. Two of four spaces examined, namely Federation Square and Queen Victoria Market, represented the issues of managerial multiculturalism to a greater extent than the other two spaces observed, Footscray Market and the tram no. 19. In general, Federation Square and the Queen Victoria Market acted as national spaces and they inhabited the position of multiculturalism as expressed within the national multicultural agenda. It became clear that they act as spaces 'on their own'; they do not really engage in a dialogue with the wider surroundings within which they are placed. Their boundaries may be less emplaced (and also less visible), and the level of everyday multicultural negotiation across boundaries is reduced. The other two places that belong to a less

managed conception of multicultural space, the Footscray Market and the tram no. 19, have more possibilities to negotiate their multiculturalism across differences and to deal with it in their own ways.

The Footscray Market and the tram no. 19 therefore exposed spaces that are more contested and shared and that combine cultural and social diversity in their own ways. Their examples offered alternative ways to think about multiculturalism as diversity in practice, where differences are not packaged and preserved, but are also not really 'noticed'. One of the findings at the Footscray Market, for instance, was that people are not engaging in transactional relationships there because this would give them some kind of a multicultural experience (as it was noticeable at the central Queen Victoria Market). They do feel connected to other people there, but the connection transgresses the boundaries of the actual marketplace. In a similar way, the tram no. 19 was also seen as a space that transgresses the boundaries and 'spills over' to the street and the suburb through which it runs. The tram and the Footscray Market were not really enclosed spaces. They were in constant dialogue with the wider environment which also means they were in connection to the wider multicultural space. In this way, the tram and the Footscray Market make the space for the minor languages that are always in becoming (Deleuze, Guattari 1986, 2004, pp. 111-118), while Federation Square and the Queen Victoria Market are more fixed and stagnant; they are there to *be*, not to *become*. The tram and the Footscray Market point in this way to new possibilities and, again, alternative ways to think about multicultural practices through the notions of diversity and hospitality (that are connected to the notion of urban cosmopolitanism) and are closer to the concept of critical multiculturalism (McLaren 1994) while Federation Square and Queen Victoria Market present us with the authoritative multicultural discourse that follows the political managerial multicultural thinking that is often monological and does not go far beyond the liberal or left-liberal multiculturalism (ibid.) by which Australian politics of multiculturalism is characterised.

Importantly, this thesis found that all spaces observed must still be seen as dwelling within the national multicultural setting and that oppositional multicultural spaces (or spaces of a *real* diversity) are formed from within the political multicultural discourse. Nonetheless, the different positions of the spaces, in spatial terms as well as in terms of

accessibility and acceptability of cultural difference, provide the spaces with different possibilities. The Footscray Market is especially characterised by the boundaries between the inner and the outer city, between social and cultural acceptability and marginalisation, so that this possibility that living close to the boundaries facilitates makes it easier for the Footscray Market to offer an alternative, critical way to think about the political organisation of multiculturalism. The situation of the tram is different, because the tram is a mobile space that is in its character unfixed and cannot really be seen as belonging to any particular place (any particular suburb) even though it builds strong connections to a specific place (a particular suburb). This possibility facilitated by boundary dwelling for a tram stems thus from its mobility (its activity) rather than its condition. The tram is not transgressing the boundaries of the actual political multicultural discourse but, rather, the boundaries of the nature of the political multicultural discourse, which is defined by fixity. In this respect, the tram is the only space among the researched spaces that makes us re-think the ways the multicultural discourse is set and managed (the *how*), not only *what* its meaning is or is supposed to be. In this way, the tram connects us to the postulates of the non-representational approach (Thrift 2000, 2008).

The research material revealed that in terms of multiculturalism in practice, Melbourne is a multicultural city. All participants in the study confirmed this premise. However, as they often concluded, it makes a difference how multiculturalism is envisaged and how it actually works in terms of relations, connections and dialogues between people. A relation between individuals that would, according to Édouard Glissant (1997, pp. 5-8), need to be there before the exchange could take place is thus a crucial element in whether multiculturalism in place is seen by the participants in the study as an 'honest multiculturalism' or as a 'showing multiculturalism'. A surface (or 'showing' as it was referred to in one of the interviews) multiculturalism is still regarded as multiculturalism, but usually it is not seen as relational one. Daily multicultural negotiations in the researched spaces, such as at the Queen Victoria Market or Federation Square, are not considered to bring out a level of surprise or unintended connections.

My second research question asked whether Melbourne is multicultural or cosmopolitan, and it can certainly be said that Melbourne is considered as both, multicultural and cosmopolitan, which was also predictable as the two terms often depend on each other. Cosmopolitanism, especially if we see it as a notion that relates to what the city administration says cosmopolitanism is, needs a cultural difference as its basis but it transforms it into a chic, urban difference that does not have much in common with the negotiated diversity. Nonetheless, we can say that there are considerable differences between notions of multiculturalism and cosmopolitanism when it comes to whether a place is considered as cosmopolitan or not in terms of the degree of neutrality the place can actually hold. As discussed in this thesis, neutrality (and the possibility to permit silence or make space for silence) relates to the notion of the cosmopolitan practice where ‘welcoming’ actually means that the space is also reconciled, which also means that the experience of it may be ‘not nice’ and ‘not particularly comfortable’. The potential to be cosmopolitan when we talk about the cosmopolitan practice again thus lies in the spaces that are constantly negotiated, changing and where the boundaries are transgressed, which was manifested in the case of the Footscray Market. The way cosmopolitanism at the Footscray Market is carried out, however, is in opposition to how cosmopolitanism is promoted by the Melbourne City Council or the state of Victoria, which sees cosmopolitanism as belonging to the urban centre and as having almost nothing to do with the boundary experience.

The role of language in action is again connected to relations within the multicultural space. Languages used within spaces that are promoted as multicultural are engulfed by the fixed and static discourse, and they are not languages that would be holding agency or promise of potentiality. The agency of languages within promoted multicultural spaces, such as Federation Square and Queen Victoria Market, is limited, and utterances are also bounded and located in terms of spatiality. They exist because they are made to exist and they point to what these spaces should hold according to multicultural policy. Therefore, languages that gesture towards the political multicultural rhetoric do not hold agency, but are there to represent. This does not mean, however, that there is no place for oppositional utterances within the managed multicultural spaces, but they are pushed out of these spaces and are therefore seen as events that do not really belong there,

which gives these events and utterances formed there a prospect of initiating the boundaries and challenging affirmed managed multicultural spaces in the future.

In the case of Federation Square, these languages in action get actualised in the form of protests, which happen on the margins of the Square, at its boundaries, but which also often ‘spill over’ and appropriate the space of the Square, which is a national space, according to their own needs. In the comparison of the two markets, the languages in action that address rather than communicate (Sakai & Solomon 2006, pp. 5-16) again exist at the Footscray Market while at the Queen Victoria Market languages are mainly in the function of solely representative. In the case of the tram no. 19, which runs through the suburb that is considered as one of the most multicultural suburbs in Melbourne to the city centre, the languages there can also appropriate the space of a tram and they can hold agency (even though observation showed that sometimes languages within the tram cannot be put into a dialogue or into relation and references to that were made also in the interviews). This, in this context, again brings us to the argument that because this is made possible within the mobile space that connects the city space (which is a national space) to the suburb that belongs to the everyday multiculturalism, there is still a chance for a form of critical multiculturalism and dialogical multiculturalism to exist in the space between the national and multicultural. The national and the multicultural are in this respect two interchangeable entities (we could talk about the national as multicultural) that are put into a dialogue. The tram presents us with the condition of ‘opening up the threshold’ (Irigaray 2008, pp. 1-8) and the condition which bridges up a ‘multicultural gap’. The tram can thus be a boundary effect in itself, in its nature and its character, which allows for the languages to become active and forms bridges between the everyday (plain or honest) multiculturalism and the policy-enacted multiculturalism.

As for the question of the social/cultural relation and the strategy of multiculturalism, what this thesis illuminated is that the exchange imposed by the policy multiculturalism on people within spaces is artificially structured (it is strategically constructed). The political multicultural discourse thus facilitates exchanges without first making the relations possible. This kind of approach was particularly visible at Federation Square, which is a representational national space, where people were not genuinely concerned

in what multiculturalism is but more in what it ought to be. The cultural and multicultural aspects at Federation Square and at the Queen Victoria Market were in the centre of people's description of these places, whereas at the Footscray Market and the space of a tram these elements were not really proclaimed. The Footscray Market especially was seen as a place that keeps the space open for relations to be formed even though it does not promote the relations as such. Similarly to the tram space, the space of the Footscray Market is open to acceptance along cultural but also along social lines as this marketplace appears to be adaptable in light of the changeable socio-economic composition of people visiting it.

Consequently, this thesis's contribution to the discussion on multicultural cities and cities that are characterised by migration is predominantly the dialogical and relational aspect that is regularly forgotten in multicultural policies, especially in multicultural planning policies. In relation to the multicultural spaces and multicultural spatial practices, this means that the designs of the spaces planned to be multicultural forget about leaving the spaces 'blank' or 'silent'; they forget to let the silence (that would not be symbolic, but real) allow for the translation between old and new, colonized and colonizers, settlers and migrants. Exchange between people cannot be formed on the pre-packaged logic that multicultural policies in Australia work upon. The exchanges cannot be formed without relations and they cannot be formed in the space, where historical meanings were cleared away without being contested. They cannot be formed without authorial presence or authorial voice that would not be the authoritative presence or authoritative voice. This is also where the postcolonial element entered the discussion in this dissertation because there is still a lot of political practice in Australia that sees the authorial and authoritative as interchangeable concepts when it comes to the debate around indigenous issues. Multicultural policies that ground their presence on 'sweeping away' the indigenous presence in Australia cannot be truly successful.

Nonetheless, the official multicultural discourse can be at least partly challenged in the everyday spatial practices observed in the spaces examined as well as within the central national space, which holds promises for the future. The way that national space functions according to the 'lived experience' challenges the representational character of the political narrative. Together with its openness to different people, the apparent

openness of the national space, such as the space of Federation Square, might seem a good thing for people using the space, but it is important to note that boundaries are in fact important in facilitating the formation of dialogues formed by people using the space (and not by the authoritative voice). Oppositional spaces, spaces that belong to the critical multiculturalists, belong to the boundaries. It is important that the multicultural space becomes an oppositional space and a space of different languages in action that also have the power to destabilise the notion of a unified language. The Footscray Market can be successful in its cultural and social diversity because it knows its boundaries and values the negotiation across them; the tram no. 19 can be successful because it knows what its destination is and that its inside depends on its outside (that the outside is reflected in the inside). The Queen Victoria Market, on the other hand, knows only its inner boundaries and in general it does not traverse them (the sections are kept apart); and Federation Square appears to be open but localises the difference. Dialogue that would facilitate forms of address (Sakai, Solomon 2006: 5-16) would be necessary between places across boundaries. This kind of connection between multicultural spaces in Melbourne is most often still not visible, and it is certainly still not heard.

8.2 The future of multiculturalism in Melbourne

On the policy level multiculturalism in Australia began as a social strategy in 1970s; it moved through a phase of 'liberal' multiculturalism and ended up at the version of 'managerial multiculturalism', which also bears remnants to the liberal and left-liberal multiculturalisms. Versions of 'managerial multiculturalism' as a cultural policy link up with city planning policies that pledge to develop and maintain Melbourne as a cosmopolitan city. Both the politics of multiculturalism and city planning initiatives need cultural diversity. They use it, they promote it and most of all, they trade it. Diversity as an idea that would encompass rights and competencies of everyone on the socio-cultural and socio-economical level cannot survive in this system since the cultures are promoted to the point where they do enrich society, but society as a whole does not really (want to) make any significant changes in the operation of its institutional structure. Rather than being a field of negotiation for the whole of Australian society, something promised in the time of its initiation, multiculturalism has

been adopted as a set of relatively rigid concepts based on cultural differences and segmentation.

With the dubiousness of political multiculturalism, its dependency on the economic pursues and its reliance on the set of (economic) inequalities and disturbances in communication between recognition and distribution, multiculturalism as a social policy has few prospects to become invigorated. For this to happen, the very concept itself needs to be rethought on the worldwide plain, where the concepts of redistribution and recognition would run in line with each other and where culture would not work as a means of group separateness, but would provide an individual as well as a society as a whole a certain kind of positive competence. This re-envisioned multiculturalism would come closer to the critical talk on cultural diversity where cultural pluralism would be a way of functioning of social organisations. Multiculturalism would not be only a right, but a social obligation of a multicultural society.

On a more general scale, this dissertation does not argue to diminish the role of the nation-state in debates around diversity issues; rather, it argues that the nation-state and people's identification with it needs to exist in order for the diversity programmes to exist. In line with the empirical examples given, we can say that the boundaries need to exist, but they also need to be certain about what they mean in order to be able to offer spaces for negotiation across diversity issues. An affirmation of social rights needs state intervention, and political rights in democracies are necessary in order to create social rights (Faist 2009b, p. 13).

When thinking about multicultural policies as diversity policies in this respect, we can say that they should not be there only to accommodate cultural pluralism, which is the present way they predominantly operate in the Australian context. They should also cater more for the organisations of the mainstream society to adapt their practices according to cultural heterogeneity and for the individuals to use their intercultural competences in forms such as multilingualism (Faist 2009a, p. 174).

Multiculturalism as a basis, or at least as an element of national identity in Australia has been stirring between the talk on citizenship and the talk on national identity, where being a citizen has not been interchangeable with having an Australian identity.

Immigration debates in Australia have, in the last decade, persisted within the frame of citizenship, and have occurred mainly on the premises of inclusion (following recognition), without addressing the two-way process between cultural diversity and the social obligation upon which diversity as an alternative mode for the incorporation of migrants should be based. In this respect, migrants who wish to become Australian citizens today need to undergo a citizenship test, which besides compulsory questions about civic participation tests also the knowledge of Australian history and the basic English skills of potential new Australians. The very existence of the test already takes away the initial competences for negotiation from the side of migrants. Good citizens now are not only those who support themselves economically and have no criminal record, but they must also prove that they speak the national language (Spencer and di Mattia 2004). Citizenship is not only something to be acquired, but has to be earned. Additionally, the citizenship test still means that on the level of the national identity, migrants are faced with a difficulty of persistent non-belonging. In this sense, the second and the third level of diversity as a political programme that Faist (2009a) proposes (adaptation of organisations of the mainstream society and a possibility for the individuals to use their intercultural competences) are not really applicable.

While examining the policy level multiculturalism as a way of managing diversity, this thesis questioned whether multiculturalism has in any way been or become a way of thinking for society as a whole, which would contribute to advancing fluid exchanges between migrants and 'non-migrants'. It has certainly become a way of living, especially within certain parts of Melbourne that are exposed to the cosmopolitan promotion of a culturally diverse city. An exploration of the case studies in Melbourne demonstrates that on the level of everyday life, multiculturalism in Melbourne certainly exists but is overshadowed by a structural non-compliance to the real diversity. Real diversity would mean that cultural pluralism would be a *modus operandi* of private and public organisations, which would mean that organisations would change from culturally indifferent to culturally plural. Culture in this way would become a resource and the elements that have previously belonged almost exclusively to the private, personal realm (such as ethnicity) would be brought to the public eye, not only with a wish to represent a difference within the mainstream society, but to change the dynamics and competences of organisations and the society as a whole.

The effort to manage and purport diversity in the cultural as well as socio-economic manner lies in the hands of individual migrants as well as organisations of the mainstream society. Cosmopolitanism promoted in line with multiculturalism cannot be successful in its present form, where cosmopolitanism relates to a group of people with a specific socio-economic status who have the resources to accept cultural difference. Diversity programmes have the ability to delve into the intersection between the recognition and distribution along cultural and socio-economic lines in the future and to bring out the social recognition in the first instance. For this to happen, however, social status has to come into the forefront of the discussion within the public realm. At present, in the public eye of Melbourne, we still cannot talk about this kind of development. In the design of diverse spaces in Melbourne and the promotion and management of the interactions between people, the idea of localised cultures persists. Those termed as culturally different are still not seen as equal partners in the social interaction, but are rather pushed into the zone of social subordination. Yet hope resides in different social movements, which for the moment still dwell at the boundaries of a multicultural national space but have the resources and motivation to challenge the national space and set-up a dialogue with it.

This is also where the biggest symbolic potential of the tram as a mobile space lies: in its ability to travel from one stop to another; in its capacity to exist in relation to the street outside and to contest its set-out grid in this way because, as one of the participants in the study said, 'life is not a straight journey, but is full of uneven surfaces'; to take people as individuals on board, to address them not necessarily in their own language, but in a hospitable, *neutral* way. And, in fact, Melbourne as the multicultural city is fortunate to feature its central Square, which is a representational national space full of uneven surfaces: the *grounds* of the Federation (Square) thus still belong to the possibility.

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Povzetek (Summary)

V središču raziskave doktorske disertacije 'Sledi različnosti: multikulturalizem v socio-političnih praksah v Melbournu' je mesto Melbourne in politika multikulturalizma, postavljena v dialog z vsakdanjimi multikulturalnimi prostorskimi praksami. Politiko multikulturalizma preiskujem v perspektivi koncepta razlike in v povezavi s pojmom raznolikosti in kozmopolitizma kot urbane prakse. Posebno pozornost namenjam vprašanju dialoščnosti in potencialnim možnostim zanjo ter relacijam med posamezniki v določenih prostorih/lokacijah, predvsem med različnimi kategorijami priseljencev, tistimi, ki se ne čutijo za priseljence, in tistimi, ki ustvarjajo politiko multikulturalizma. Pri tem se disertacija obrača k vprašanju dialoščnosti in jezikovne politike v okviru multikulturalne politike, k principom, ki so sledili jezikovni regulaciji znotraj te politike in k načinom njenega udejanjanja. Glavni cilj raziskave je bil testirati in analizirati politiko multikulturalizma, njeno naravo in debate o kozmopolitstvu in raznolikosti v praksi.

Disertacija raziskuje mesto Melbourne in njegove prostorske prakse skozi kontekst in analizo prostora širše Avstralije, njene imigracijske politike, povezav z njeno kolonialno preteklostjo, pogojev, v katerih se je politika multikulturalizma izoblikovala v sedemdesetih letih dvajsetega stoletja in skozi značilnosti multikulturalizma danes.

Prvo poglavje disertacije identificira tematiko raziskave, glavna raziskovalna vprašanja, cilje, osrednje raziskovalne kategorije, strukturo naloge in opiše teren, faze raziskovanja in metodološke prijeme. Raziskovalna vprašanja doktorske disertacije se dotikajo konceptov multikulturalizma, kulturne raznolikosti in multilingvizma, kar pomeni družbeno večjezičnost (in se nanaša na kulturno raznolik prostor). Poglavitna, široko zastavljena raziskovalna vprašanja te disertacije so naslednja:

- Kakšen je pomen multikulturalizma in multikulturalnega mesta v praksi? Kako se multikulturalizem (politika multikulturalizma) udejanja v družbeno-kulturnih praksah?
- Je Melbourne multikulturalno (in/ali kozmopolitsko) mesto? Kaj ti pojmi pomenijo v smislu vključevanja/izključevanja 'jezikovnih drugih' v Avstraliji in v kontekstu postkolonialnega diskurza?

- Kakšna je vloga jezika v procesu (ali aktivnega jezika) v urbanih prostorih in kako ga lahko razložimo skozi koncepte multikulturalizma (kozmpolitizma)?
- Na kakšne načine koncept multikulturalizma vključuje koncept kulturne/družbene relacije in dialošnosti?

Poleg široko zastavljenih raziskovalnih vprašanj se raziskava za to disertacijo navezuje še na nekatere ožje in pomensko bolj določene problemske sklope, ki so povezani s posameznimi lokacijami v Melbournu. Ti problemski sklopi se navezujejo na naslednja vprašanja:

- Kako se manifestirajo oblike vsakdanjih povezav in pogajanj v prostorih, ki jih označuje multikulturni stik? Ali ta stik v kulturno/družbeno raznolikih krajih sploh obstaja?
- Kako se izraža razlika v teh prostorih skozi vizualne in vokalne vidike? Kakšen je pomen jezikov, ki niso (avstralska) angleščina v teh prostorih?
- Ali so ideje multikulturalizma in kozmpolitizma pomembne v teh prostorih in če so, kako jih je mogoče zaznati?
- Ali lahko multikulturni prostor vsebuje tudi prostor(e) opozicije? Kje se ustvarjajo meje med afirmativnim prostorom in prostorom opozicije (med afirmativnimi izjavami in izjavami opozicije), kje se oblikuje opozicija in kako je meje mogoče preseči?

Za analizo raziskovalnih vprašanj sem za disertacijo izbrala štiri lokacije, ki jih raziskujem v treh poglavjih: primerjalno dve tržnici (Tržnica kraljice Viktorije ali *Queen Victoria Market* in Tržnica Footscray ali *Footscray Market*), osrednji trg v Melbournu (Trg Federacije ali *Federation Square*) in tramvaj številka 19. Posamezne lokacije so neposredno povezane z multikulturno realnostjo ali z avstralsko politiko multikulturalizma, kot javni prostori lahko potencialno vključujejo ljudi ne glede na njihovo etnično/kulturno ali jezikovno pripadnost ter so različne v načinih svoje prostorske organizacije.

Znotraj teh prostorov raziskujem sledi multikulturne politike in načine, na katere se ta politika manifestira, spreminja, na katere se jo prestopa, krši in izziva. Obenem preučujem možnosti dialogov in povezav (ter relacij) znotraj štirih izbranih lokacij ter možnosti za oblikovanje dialoških in relacijskih mikroprostorov v prihodnosti. Preiskujem tudi, kje so dejanske (fizične) in simbolne meje teh prostorov, kako se ti dve kategoriji meja razlikujeta in kaj meje sploh pomenijo, ko govorimo o možnostih

pogajanj preko meja, preko kulturnih, etničnih, jezikovnih razlik. Posebno vlogo pripisujem ideji tišine, ki jo presojam v povezavi s pojmom glasu in glasovnosti (Dolar 2006, str. 15), ki je aktivna tišina in ne izraža utišane glasovnosti in tudi ne nakazuje nemoči njenega obstoja, ampak opredeljuje nevtralen pogajalski prostor. Logiko multikulturalizma znotraj vseh omenjenih lokacij pripeljem do razmišljanja o kolonializmu in postkolonializmu, s pomočjo katerih v nalogi raziskujem tudi meje multikulturalizma. Struktura disertacije sledi liniji od bolj splošnega (univerzalnega) k vse bolj konkretnemu (partikularnemu). Temu loku sledijo tudi posamezna poglavja.

Metoda opazovanja z udeležbo je služila kot poglobljena etnografska metoda tega dela. Ta metoda, ki izraža izrazito kvalitativno naravo naloge (kvantitativni številčni podatki so uporabljeni le v opisnem delu posameznih lokacij in delov mest), je bila nadgrajena z drugim korakom metodološkega pristopa, s tehniko polstrukturiranih intervjujev. V grobem je raziskava tekla v dveh korakih in v treh raziskovalnih obiskih Melbournu, ki so vsega skupaj trajali približno dve leti.²⁷² V letu 2006 sem kot gostujoča raziskovalka in podiplomska študentka sodelovala z Oddelkom za antropologijo Šole za antropologijo, geografijo in okoljske študije Univerze v Melbournu in v letu 2008 s profesorji, raziskovalci in s podiplomskimi študenti na Avstralskem Centru Univerze v Melbournu. Obenem sem izvajala tudi etnografsko raziskavo, ki se je v letih 2006 in 2007 osredotočala predvsem na študij avstralske različice multikulturalizma in politike multikulturalizma, študije mesta in njegovih delov ter identificiranju potencialnih raziskovalnih področij v prostorskem in konceptualnem smislu. Med prvim obiskom sem izvedla tri splošne intervjuje, ki so se dotikali bolj obćih tem, povezanih s politiko multikulturalizma, in eno skupinsko diskusijo s šestimi člani Migrantskega mladinskega sveta, ki delujejo v enem od severnih predelov Melbournu in živijo v različnih delih mesta. Ta skupinski pogovor se je osredotočal na zamejenost posameznih delov Melbournu in na individualno percepcijo mesta kot priseljskega mesta. Ob drugem obisku leta 2008 sem uvedla v raziskavo še alternativno metodo 'multi-senzoričnih

²⁷² To niso bile moje prve poti v Avstralijo. Tam sem že leta 2002 izvedla samostojno študijo o potomcih slovenskih priseljencev v Melbournu in skupnostnih medijih, katere izsledki so bili objavljeni v znanstveni monografiji 'Živeti med kulturami: Od avstralskih Slovencev do slovenskih Avstralcev' leta 2005.

sprehodov',²⁷³ ki so se izkazali za zanimivo in tudi pomembno raziskovalno tehniko v preiskovanju urbanih prostorov in urbanosti kot načina življenja, ki pa kasneje ni bila uporabljena v analizi. Poglavitno nadgradnjo izvorne opazovalne raziskave je predstavljalo dvaindvajset polstrukturiranih kvalitativnih intervjujev, ki sem jih izvedla ob tretjem obisku leta 2009 in so se navezovali na izbrana raziskovalna mesta in na ugotovitve, ki sem jih do takrat že zbrala z metodo opazovanja z udeležbo. Intervjuji so vstopili v raziskavo torej šele v zaključnem koraku, ko so prejšnje raziskovalne faze že bile izoblikovane ali celo izdelane, ko so prostori že bili izbrani, ko sem v njih že izvedla raziskavo z metodo opazovanja z udeležbo in ko sem individualne ugotovitve že izoblikovala ter zapisala. Intervjuji so tako služili za preverjanje ugotovitev, ki so nastale na podlagi opazovanja, krajših pogovorov z ljudmi na posameznih krajih, fotografij, multisenzoričnih digitalnih avdio posnetkov in raziskovalno dnevniških zapisov.

Udeleženci v raziskavi so bili izbrani naključno in selektivno. Poglavitni pogoj za izbor je bil, da so prebivalci Melbourn in da so redni uporabniki raziskovanih prostorov. Sprva sem kot kriterij izbora izpostavila tudi različno jezikovno pripadnost udeležencev v pogovorih, ker sem poskušala ugotovljati, ali so kakršnekoli razlike med odgovori tistih, ki se čutijo Avstralce in tistih, ki se čutijo priseljence, vendar se je to razlikovanje kmalu pokazalo za neučinkovito in tudi v nasprotju s tem, kar je ta raziskava dejansko želela doseči. Ena izmed premis te disertacije je namreč bila, da bi razširila polje migracijskih študij, ki so pogosto ekskluzivistične, afirmativne in celo paradoksalne v svoji nameri vzpostavitve kritike političnih tehnik in političnega migracijskega diskurza, saj mu s tehniko 'ukalupljanja' same sistematično sledijo. Študije migracij pogosto še vedno delujejo na temelju skupinskosti, kjer raziskovalci posamezne skupine ljudi postavljajo v posamezne kategorije, ki jih predstavljajo kot homogene celote. Moje mnenje je, da je skupinskost v migracijskih procesih težko definirati, saj je selitev zelo pogosto individualni proces. V tem smislu je v migracijskih študijah nujen individualni pristop, saj lahko šele na podlagi takšnega pristopa začnemo sprejemati in razumevati migracije kot proces in ne kot določeno stanje. Sodelujoči v raziskavi so tudi zaradi tega

²⁷³ Ta metoda je podobna metodi 'zvokovnih sprehodov' (*soundwalks*), ki so jih v svoje raziskave in v svoje metodološko delo uvedli Murray Shaffer in ostali člani Svetovnega foruma za akustično ekologijo (*World Forum for Acoustic Ecology*) v začetku sedemdesetih let dvajsetega stoletja, da bi se bolj približali multisenzorični izkušnji in okoljskim značilnostim urbanih prostorov.

bili izbrani naključno. V nalogi se sicer pojavljajo podatki o njihovem ozadju, vendar so ti podatki vključeni izključno zaradi narave odgovorov posameznih intervjuvancev, ki so recimo menili, da je dejstvo, da prihajajo od nekod drugod in/ali da njihov prvi jezik ni avstralska angleščina, ključen za sporočilo v njihovih odgovorih.

Pogovore sem izvajala tako s tistimi, ki ta prostor 'uporabljajo' (kupci na tržnici, obiskovalci trga ali potniki v tramvaju) kot tudi s tistimi, ki sem jih označila za konstitutivni del teh lokacij, ker so z njimi povezani na profesionalni ravni (prodajalci na obeh tržnicah, uslužbenci javne radijske multilingvalne postaje SBS, ki deluje na Trgu Federacije, voznik tramvaja številka 19). Posamezne ugotovitve sem že v času opazovanja z udeležbo, pa tudi kasneje v analizi intervjujev, povezovala z obema kategorijama uporabnikov, tako z uporabniki prostorov kot s tistimi, ki profesionalno in aktivno sooblikujejo te prostore.

Dodatno, sekundarno gradivo sem zbirala v vseh korakih raziskave in vsebuje medijska poročila, časopisne reportaže, pisma bralcev, vizualno gradivo, predvsem iz časopisnih virov dveh dnevnih časopisov v Melbournu, ki veljata za bolj 'resen' tisk (*Age in Australian*) uradne dokumente, ki se nanašajo na politiko multikulturalizma ali na načrtovanje mesta Melbourne, letake, promocijsko gradivo, povezano s tematiko disertacije in nekatera literarna dela. Sekundarno gradivo vključujem posebej v prvi del naloge in še posebej v del, ki opisuje in analizira različne korake v razvoju politike multikulturalizma v Avstraliji.

Vse izbrane lokacije so tako ali drugače povezane s politiko multikulturalizma. Tri glavne lokacije ležijo tudi v središču mesta, kar je za disertacijo ključno predvsem zaradi tega, ker me zanima, kako se multikulturalizem kaže v pomensko nacionalnem ali državnem prostoru, ki je tudi 'središčen' prostor. Poimovanje avstralske središčnosti in nacionalnega centra, posebej predvsem Trg Federacije, ki je bil celo zgrajen na premisi avstralske multikulturalnosti, heterogenosti, fragmentarnosti in spremenljivosti. Središčni Tržnici kraljice Viktorije dela v nalogi družbo Tržnica Footscray. Teh dveh tržnic navadno ljudje ne povezujejo, pa tudi ni veliko ljudi, ki bi obiskovali obe. Kljub temu je bila primerjava med dvema različnima multikulturalnima vizijama, ki ju tržnici predstavljata, pomembna ponovno zaradi lažjega argumentiranja središčnosti in mejnosti. Tržnica kraljice Viktorije leži v središču mesta, na njegovem severnem

obrobju, Tržnica Footscray pa v zahodnem delu Melbourn, v četrti, ki ni ne notranja in ne prav zunanja in ki jo opredeljujejo različni tokovi priseljevanja. Footscray so v petdesetih in šestdesetih letih minulega stoletja zaznamovali predvsem prihodi priseljencev iz južne in jugovzhodne Evrope, iz Italije, Grčije, Makedonije, Bosne in Hrvaške, v sedemdesetih in osemdesetih letih priseljenci iz Vietnama in potem iz Filipinov, v zadnjem desetletju pa priseljenci iz vzhodne Afrike. Tramvaj številka 19 pa je mobilen prostor, ki povezuje dva predela Melbourn, Brunswick in Coburg (ki sta ali ki naj bi bila dva izmed najbolj multikulturnih delov Melbourn in sta povezana s cesto Sydney Road) s središčem mesta. Brunswick in Coburg sta dela, zaznamovana s priseljevanjem ljudi v petdesetih in šestdesetih letih dvajsetega stoletja predvsem iz Italije in Grčije in kasneje iz Turčije in iz Libanona v sedemdesetih in osemdesetih letih istega stoletja. Preteklost teh dveh predelov se povezuje z delavskimi, radikalnimi in tudi z nacionalističnimi težnjami. Ker tramvaj ta dva dela povezuje s središčem mesta, je njegova vloga tudi simbolna. Tramvaj torej ni samo fizični prostor, ampak je simbolno mobilni prostor, ki je tudi relacijski in je v nenehnem dialogu z nacionalnim (multikulturnim) središčnim diskurzom.

Drugo poglavje disertacije ponuja pregled poglavitnih teoretskih pojmov in konceptov: multikulturalizma, raznolikosti in razlike, meja, dialoškosti, relacije, manjšinskega in večinskega jezika. Naloga gradi na temelju nerepresentacijskega pristopa, ki toliko ne sprašuje o sami pojavnosti tega, kar nastaja (ne sprašuje *kaj*) ampak bolj o načinu nastanka pojavov (sprašuje *kako*). Pri tem pristopu ne gre toliko za reprezentativnost, ampak bolj za 'efektivnost' (Thrift 2000, 2008). Različni izrazi, tudi jezikovni, tako ne le obstajajo, ampak dogajanje vselej aktivno izvršujejo.

Naloga postavlja ob bok multikulturalizma pojma (kulturne) raznolikosti in kozmopolitizma. Razlika kot diferenca in raznolikost sta vsaj v nekaterih pogledih nasprotujoča si pojma. Pojem raznolikosti je namreč v kontekstu te disertacije bolj alternativna možnost za vključevanje priseljencev in obsega tako obveznosti kot kompetence na individualnih ravneh kot tudi na ravni organizacij. Raznolikost ne vključuje le potencialnih možnosti za dialoškost in relacije med kulturno različnimi ljudmi, ampak vključuje tudi pojme socialne različnosti. Ta koncept pojma raznolikosti disertacija povzema po nedavnem delu Thomasa Faista (2009a, str. 171-190), ki

potencial programov za raznolikost vidi v kontekstu civilne sfere in njeno prihodnost v večji socialni pravičnosti. Po Faistovem modelu bi lahko rekli, da politični multikulturalizem, ki je v avstralskem primeru pogosto naslavljal vse od osemdesetih let dvajsetega stoletja raznolikost (vendar pretežno le kulturno raznolikost), še ni na točki, ko bi raznolikost kot politični program vpeljal v diskusijo o multikulturalizmu. Politični multikulturalizem v Avstraliji še vedno gradi pretežno na konceptu razlike kot difference, čeprav je v tem času zaradi zdaj že multikulture tradicije, v fazi 'podrobnejšega uglaševanja' (Ling 2000, str. 214). Raznolikost, kot jo predlaga Faist, je blizu pojmu kritičnega ali 'uporniškega' multikulturalizma (*resistance multiculturalism*), o katerem govori Peter McLaren (1994, str. 53), ki v svojo teorijo prav tako vključuje pojem socialne pravičnosti.

Čeprav je multikulturalizem v svojem konceptualnem in teoretsko-idejnem smislu vključen v disertacijo na posameznih mestih, se v tej nalogi s tem pojmom ukvarjam pretežno v političnem smislu. Takrat, ko govorim o multikulturalizmu, mislim predvsem na politiko multikulturalizma in na prakso, ki iz te politike izhaja. O njej govorim predvsem v okviru različnih programov, ki služijo priseljski politiki in strategijam za integracijo (in uglaševanju novega življenja) priseljencev v Avstraliji. Kasneje, na ravni posameznih prostorov, ki oblikujejo empirični del te disertacije, možnosti za koncept raznolikosti vključujem med možnosti za kritični multikulturalizem, ki ponuja alternativno vejo politike multikulturalizma in tudi alternativno razlago zanjo ter izhaja iz vsakdanje multikulture prostorske prakse.

O kozmopolitizmu v disertaciji prav tako govorim s stališča programov in promocij, ki promovirajo kulturno raznoliko mesto Melbourne kot kozmopolitsko mesto in ga povezujejo s specifičnimi produkcijsko naravnanimi urbanimi praksami. Obenem imam v mislih tudi možnosti za oblikovanje kozmopolitskih načinov, ki se jih dotaknem v empiričnih poglavjih in v zaključku naloge. V končnem dejanju kozmopolitizem vidim in sprejemam v dialektiki med tujostjo in rigidnostjo ali spreminjanjem in birokratsko racionalizacijo. Najpomembnejši predstavnik takšne kozmopolitske veje je Richard Sennett (2002, 2007), ki ga zanima bolj, kaj pomeni biti kozmopolitski, kot kaj kozmopolitizem je med univerzalnostjo in partikularnostjo.

Vsi omenjeni koncepti se povezujejo s konceptom razlike, katero v tem delu opazujem predvsem skozi jezikovno razliko in v kontekstu pogojev, ki jih, ponovno, postavlja politika multikulturalizma. Kot že rečeno, razlika kot diferenca vzpostavlja tudi politiko multikulturalizma, cilj multikulturalizma pa je velikokrat (vsaj navidezna) raznolikost. Raznolikost in razlika sicer nista zamenljiva pojma, vendar ju politična stran načeloma sprejema kot takšna. Razlika je tako eden izmed najpomembnejših elementov, na katerem gradi politika multikulturalizma. V smislu retorike, ki kulturno različne ljudi povezuje nazaj v umetno celoto, pridemo tudi do pojma 'srečne skupnosti' (Ahmed 2007), katera v resnici raznolikost potlači in jo spravi pod skupni, homogeni dežnik skupinske identitete.

Dialoškost in relacijo v tej disertaciji raziskujem v prostoru. Jezik, ki velikokrat (še posebej v Avstraliji) prav tako gradi na konceptu različnosti, to je jezikovne različnosti, v tem delu razumem kot aktivni, utelešeni jezik, ki ima vselej svojo izjavljalno funkcijo (Bahtin/Vološinov 1981, 1986, Vološinov 1986). Jezik zato še posebej znotraj posameznih prostorov postavljam v družbeni prostor, ga lociram in razumem kot nekaj, kar pripada posamezniku. Jezik - izjava posameznika tako nima samo reprezentativne funkcije, ampak zmeraj nosi dodatne pomene, prav tako pa tudi jezik državnega multikulturalnega aparata, ki ob dejanskemu sporočilu nakazuje tudi njegove meje. Na tem mestu vstopi v razpravo tudi ideja majhnega jezika (*minor language*) (Delueuze, Guattari 2004, str. 111-118); ta ni povezana s konceptom manjšine, ki bi stala nasproti večini, ampak z možnostjo, da je v odnosu z velikim jezikom (*major language*), se z njim pogovarja in je vselej v funkciji postajanja. 'Majhen jezik' tako nikoli ne stoji na mestu, ampak se zmeraj spreminja in zmeraj potuje. 'Velik jezik' je v nasprotju z majhnim statičen in se ne premika. V našem primeru se udejanja v okviru 'zedinjenega, enotnega jezika' (Bahtin 1981), ki ga v tem delu predstavlja diskurz nacionalnosti.

Relacija, ki je v tandemu z dialoškostjo pomemben koncept disertacije, kaže na obstoj novega, tretjega prostora. Ta prostor, ki ga lahko imenujemo tudi prostor prevoda ali 'nenačrtnega poslušanja' (Carter 2002, 2004), je v središču naloge. Tudi to je prostor alternativnega multikulturalizma ali alternativnega razmišljanja o multikulturalizmu, ki omogoča, da se znotraj njegovega okvira oblikuje relacija med posameznimi majhnimi jeziki in tudi med velikim in majhnim jezikom (ali več majhnimi jeziki). Še posebej je

ta prostor pomemben takrat, ko govorimo o prostoru tišine (in ne o prostoru zvokovnosti in glasovnosti), kar ne pomeni, da so glasovi utišani, ampak da je njihov položaj jasen in znan. Posamezna izjava zmeraj pripravlja tako že prostor za odgovor in tudi za relacijo. Da bi to bilo mogoče, morajo meje med kulturami in meje med izjavami biti znane. Meja, ki jo razumem kot neke vrste prag, je naslednji koncept, ki je pomemben za tematiko disertacije. Njen pomen povzemam po opredelitvi meje kot 'praga' (*threshold*) Luce Irigaray (2008, str. 1-8); ta je nujno tudi prag tišine, ki dopusti oblikovanje relacije. V središču disertacije je tako relacija, ki proizvaja pogoje za tako imenovano 'dialoškost' ali 'dialogizem' (povzeto po delu Bahtina).

Relacijo med ljudmi in njihovimi razlikami, poetiko relacije (Glissant 2006), pomen praga kot prostora tišine in dialoškosti nato preverjam v vsakem izmed empiričnih poglavij. Ti koncepti namreč ponujajo alternativo političnemu multikulturalizmu in izhajajo iz vsakdanjega multikulturalizma. Ta je navadno v primeru raziskovanih lokacij v Melbournu v opoziciji z večinskim, 'zedinjenim, enotnim' jezikom. Funkcijo političnega multikulturnega jezika razumem kot 'homološko' (Sakai, Solomon 2006, str. 5-16), ki opredeljuje jezik kot komunikacijsko orodje in je v nasprotju z alternativnim multikulturnim modelom v prostoru. Ta drugi proces, za katerega v tem delu iščem tudi nove možnosti, je 'heterološki' (ibid.). Relacija v multikulturnem prostoru postavlja v ospredje pojem 'naslavljanja' in ne gole 'komunikacije' (ibid.). Majhen jezik ima moč in proizvaja učinek, majhen jezik 'naslavlja' in velik jezik 'komunicira'. V okviru te disertacije imajo pomen meje predvsem takrat, ko proizvajajo učinek, kjer je 'naslavljanje' mogoče. Meje, s tako potencialno močjo, so ustvarjene skozi prostorsko prakso ljudi in vsebujejo element presenečenja; meje, ki jih postavlja politika multikulturalizma sama od sebe, brez dialoga, brez komunikacije, brez praga, kjer bi 'naslavljanje' bilo mogoče, imajo nasproten učinek. Ljudje preko politično zastavljenih multikulturnih meja lahko še vedno komunicirajo, vendar njihova vez ne odkriva pogajalske narave 'naslavljanja' (tej naravi niti ni dana možnost za izraznost), čeprav daje možnosti relacije. Prostori opozicije in alternativni prostori izražanja pa kljub vsemu obstajajo tudi znotraj prostora, kateremu vladajo sicer monološki in homološki procesi. Majhen in velik jezik tudi nista dva popolnoma različna materiala, ki bi pripadala dvema različnima svetovoma, ampak sta vselej v odnosu in obstajata tudi znotraj enega multikulturnega prostora.

Tretje poglavje je posvečeno orisu posameznih stopenj, ki so pripeljale do nastanka avstralske politike multikulturalizma. Prvotna namera disertacije, da bi gradila na primerjalni študiji, se je izkazala za preobširno in tudi neupravičeno; kontekstualna analiza je bila bolj legitimna, saj so značilnosti te politike različne za vsako posamezno državo. Čeprav so se deloma pojavile tudi kot posledica globalnega transnacionalnega korporativnega okolja, so politike multikulturalizma predvsem odvisne od lokalnih pogojev (ti so sicer lahko tudi odgovori na globalne težnje).

Ko govorimo o avstralskih imigracijskih politikah, moramo začeti pri kolonializmu in njegovih pogojih, pri sistematski diskriminaciji do domačinskega prebivalstva in načinih, s katerimi se je izoblikoval odnos do domačinskega prebivalstva. Zadeve, ki se nanašajo na domačinsko prebivalstvo v Avstraliji, nikoli niso bile stvar multikulturnih politik, kar je problematično predvsem zaradi tega, ker je avstralski multikulturalizem še posebej od osemdesetih let dvajsetega stoletja dalje vstopil v polje identitetne politike. Avstralska nacionalna identiteta je bila tako odvisna od možnosti za participacijo v multikulturnem prostoru, kar je bilo zaradi sistematičnega razlikovanja med tistimi, ki prispevajo k multikulturalnosti (etnično opredeljeni priseljenci) in domačini kategorično onemogočeno.

Avstralska politika multikulturalizma se je razvila iz očitnega rasizma in iz politike, ki se je imenovala Politika bele Avstralije, po kateri je vstop v Avstralijo bil omogočen izključno ljudem primerne, bele polti. Politika bele Avstralije je tako bila izključujoča rasistična politika, ki je pravzaprav delovala na temelju jezika, saj je poglavitni vstopni dokument za priseljence vse od začetka federacije do poznih petdesetih let dvajsetega stoletja predstavljal 'diktacijski test' (*Dictation test*). Tako je lahko politika, ki je bila v svojem bistvu izključujoča na podlagi barve kože, dobila svojo obliko skozi jezikovno politiko. Tudi prvi uradni dokument nove federativne Avstralije leta 1901 je bil 'Imigracijski restriksijski odlok,' (*Immigration Restriction Act*), ki je omejil priseljevanje v Avstralijo, poskrbel za to, da so bili 'nelegalni priseljenci' deportirani in oblikoval temelje za nadaljnjo Politiko bele Avstralije. Ta odlok je bil uveljavljen predvsem zaradi bojazni pred 'azijsko invazijo', paranoje, ki je skozi čas prišla na površje avstralske imigracijske politike večkrat in se je morda najbolj rigorozno ponovila v času zadnje bivše vlade Johna Howarda (leta 2007 ga je zamenjal Kevin

Rudd), ko so zelo podobne bojzani prevevale predsednico stranke 'Ene nacije' (*One Nation*), liberalko Pauline Hanson. V Restriktivnem imigracijskem odloku iz leta 1901 je torej jezik igral ključno vlogo, saj so potencialne nove priseljence uradniki zavračali na podlagi (zaradi neznanja) jezika v okviru diktacijskega testa, ki je včasih dobil tudi paradoksalne oblike.²⁷⁴ Diktacijski test je bil za vlado sicer način, na katerega je lahko (skozi jezik) še vedno naslavljal raso, ne da bi jo imenovala. Test iz znanja angleškega jezika se je ponovno pojavil leta 2006, ponovno v obdobju vlade Johna Howarda. Čeprav so bili avstralski predsedniki vlad ne glede na to, ali so pripadali liberalcem ali laburistom, vse do sprejetja avstralske multikulturene politike odkrito rasistični, se politika multikulturalizma ni pojavila kar tako, iz ničesar.

Poglavje o politiki multikulturalizma v Avstraliji pojasni, da prehod od rasistične Politike bele Avstralije do politike multikulturalizma ni bil tako enoznačen in neposreden, kot se morda zdi. Politika multikulturalizma v Avstraliji je nastala zaradi mnogih lokalnih vzgibov in tudi globalnih teženj, ki so opredeljevale globalno politično-ekonomsko stanje po svetu v začetku sedemdesetih let dvajsetega stoletja. Že v petdesetih in šestdesetih letih dvajsetega stoletja je Avstralija začela sprejemati nove priseljence; najprej v okviru humanitarnega programa begunce iz severne in vzhodne Evrope, kasneje še iz južne Evrope. V Avstraliji je takrat postalo jasno, da priseljencev iz Velike Britanije, ki si jih je Avstralija najbolj želela, ne bo dovolj za vzpostavitev trdne nacionalne in ekonomsko uspešne države. Biti bele polti v Avstraliji nikoli ni bilo tako enoznačno, saj veliko priseljencev iz Velike Britanije že v času začetne kolonizacije ni uspelo doseči takšne vrste bele polti, kot ga je zahtevala takratna britanska aristokracija. 'Belost' je tako vselej delovala bolj kot označba za določen način življenja kot za dejansko barvo kože. Asimilacija je zato postala primeren način sprejemanja novih priseljencev in osnova za programe njihove vključitve v avstralsko družbo. Asimilacija je v času takoj po drugi svetovni vojni z vrsto novih 'nebelih' priseljencev že posredno govorila o tem, kdo so tisti 'nebelci', ki so se zmožni asimilirati in kdo so oni, ki tega niso sposobni. Ta poglobljena 'sprememba poudarka od

²⁷⁴ Jezik, ki bi ga priseljenci morali obvladati, je bil katerikoli evropski jezik, vendar so uradniki sami izbirali, kateri jezik to bo. Večinoma je bila to angleščina, včasih pa se je pojavila tudi kakšna druga, lahko bi rekli tudi nesmiselna oblika. Češkega novinarja, ki je želel v Avstralijo za to, da bi se udeležil mirovne konference v Melbournu leta 1934, je na primer nek uradnik zavrnil, češ da ne zna galščine. Test je izvajal policijski nadzornik brez znanja galščine (Clyne 2003, str. ix-x).

rase h kulturi,' je ' asimilacijo in Politiko bele Avstralije naredila kompatibilno s tem, o čemer so govorili vladni krogi in tisti, ki so Politiko bele Avstralije zagovarjali' (Hage 2003, str. 56).

Do politike multikulturalizma je v Avstraliji prišlo iz več razlogov. Na lokalni in nacionalni ravni so jo zagovarjali že kar nekaj časa pred sedemdesetimi leti dvajsetega stoletja tisti, ki so lobirali zanjo. To so navadno bili isti ljudje, ki so se zavzemali za taka vprašanja, ki so se dotikala avstralskih domačinov. Gibanja so postala vse glasnejša v okviru nekaterih univerz. Tudi realnost življenjskega okolja je bila konec šestdesetih let dvajsetega stoletja v Avstraliji progresivno multikulturalna. Obenem so tudi druga svetovna gibanja, ki so se dotikala na primer vojne v Vietnamu v šestdesetih letih 20. stoletja pustila svojo sled, pa tudi najglasnejši glasniki Politike bele Avstralije so se počasi umikali s političnega prizorišča. V novi federativni vladi Gougha Whitlama v začetku sedemdesetih let minulega stoletja so tako počasi, s pomočjo multikulturalnih lobijev, multikulturalne ideje v obliki predpisov in uradnih listin začele pronicati v politiko. Takratni minister za imigracijo, Al Grassby, je 11. avgusta 1973 imel odločilen govor z naslovom 'Multikulturalna družba prihodnosti,' ki velja za začetek politike multikulturalizma v Avstraliji. V uradno politiko pa je multikulturalizem prešel v času liberalne vlade Malcoma Fraserja (1975 - 1983).

Politika multikulturalizma, ki je nastala v sedemdesetih letih minulega stoletja, je bila bolj socialno naravnana in je promovirala socialno demokracijo, kljub temu da je v Avstraliji ta politika vselej gradila na močnem konceptu bele polti, kar je vplivalo na konstituiranje nacionalne identitete, in na ne-dialog z domačinsko problematiko. Kljub temu je treba poudariti, da se je ideja multikulturalne politike v Avstraliji (z Whitlamom) sprva začela kot socialna politika in je šele kasneje prešla v kulturno politiko, ki je multikulturalizem sprejemala kot del nacionalne identitete. Kulturna različica multikulturalizma je po anglokeltskem temelju na nek način zagotavljala vzpon po hierarhični lestvici, ker je gradila na novi koncepciji Avstralije, ki je zahtevala tudi novo vrsto civilizacije (Hage 2003, str. 60-61). Obenem pa je anglo-keltsko središče bilo zmeraj zaskrbljeno, da bo z multikulturalizmom nekaj izgubilo. Beli multikulturalizem, o katerem govori Ghassan Hage (2003), tako nikoli ni izginil iz središča avstralske politike multikulturalizma. Kot pravi Hage (2003, str. 54-58), se je politika

multikulturalizma v začetku sedemdesetih let dvajsetega stoletja, pojavila celo kot sredstvo za omejitev 'kolonialne paranoje' in še danes lahko govorimo, da je ta način razmišljanja v avstralski politiki ključen. Politika multikulturalizma v Avstraliji pa je kljub vsemu vselej bila tudi vsaj do določene mere ločena od multikulture realnosti ali multikulturenega življenjskega stila, kar je ena izmed pomembnih ugotovitev disertacije.

Politika multikulturalizma v Avstraliji danes označuje bela menedžerska logika (*managerial multiculturalism*; Hage 2000, str. 116-140), ki deluje po principu 'mozaičnega multikulturalizma' (Benhabib 2002, str. 8). V središču viktorijskega glavnega mesta je to politiko mogoče jasno spremljati v kulturno-prostorskih praksah. Označujejo jo posamezne kampanje, tako na primer 'Just Like You' ali 'Takšen kot ti', promocijska kampanja viktorijske vlade, ki zagotavlja enakost skozi različnost in trdi, da so priseljenci prav takšni kot Avstralci, in da lahko delajo v pisarnah, igrajo kriket in tako naprej. S tem vlada pravzaprav postavlja neposredno in zakrito mejo med 'nami' in 'njimi', ki nikoli ne bodo 'takšni kot mi', čeprav lahko pripadajo našemu nacionalnemu prostoru.

Tudi jezikovna politika v Avstraliji, ki sledi smernicam, katere postavlja prostor med konservativnim in liberalnim ali levoliberalnim razmišljanjem o multikulturalizmu (McLaren 1994), sledi tej vrsti ukalupljanja in lociranja posameznih etničnih/kulturnih/jezikovnih skupin v posebne kategorije. Razprava o jezikovni politiki znotraj politike multikulturalizma zaseda posebno mesto v tretjem poglavju. Skladno s politiko multikulturalizma skozi čas so izginjali tudi jeziki domačinov, tako da jih je danes od približno dvesto petdesetih aboridžinskih jezikov in šeststo različnih dialektov ostalo le še okoli dvajset. Tudi ob začetkih politike multikulturalizma je promoviranje angleščine in angleške 'pismenosti' ostajalo visoko na prioritetni lestvici, čeprav so v nekaterih primerih že začeli razpravljati o nekaterih pozitivnih učinkih bilingvalizma. Lo Bianco (2003) govori o štirih fazah jezikovne politike v Avstraliji: o fazi nacionalizma, multikultureni fazi, fazi azianizma in fazi pismenosti. Faza nacionalizma je sledila premisam, ki so poskušale krepiti nacionalno identiteto z začetki v obdobju formiranja federacije v začetku dvajsetega stoletja. Ta faza je trajala praktično vso prvo polovico dvajsetega stoletja. Izrazi, ki so bili značilno avstralski, so dobili poseben

pomen in v obdobju Politike bele Avstralije so predvidevali, da se bodo tako imenovani 'novi Avstralci' čim prej prilagodili okolju tako kulturno kot jezikovno.

Z multikulturno fazo, ki se je začela v začetku sedemdesetih let minulega stoletja, se je tudi jezikovna politika nekoliko spremenila. Jezikovna vprašanja so se takrat začela bolj dotikati razlikovanja med različnimi kategorijami manjšinskih skupnostnih jezikov in tujih jezikov. Skupnostni jeziki so se nanašali na obstoj različnih etničnih skupnosti in šol, v katerih so poučevali etnične ali skupnostne jezike. Pomembna je bila lokalna raven, šole so odsevale lokalne situacije. Nuja po učenju skupnostnih jezikov v šolah je bila prisotna že v prvem 'multikulturnem manifestu' leta 1973 in tudi tukaj je bilo govora o nujnosti ohranjanja jezikov v skupnostih. Dialoga z 'večino' ni bilo. Otroci iz avstralskih družin so se le redko učili jezikov, ki so bili označeni kot 'skupnostni' ali kot 'etnični' jeziki. Skupnostni jeziki so tako skoraj izključno pripadali le etničnim skupnostim.

Sredi osemdesetih let minulega stoletja je jezikovni momentum izgubil nekoliko na svoji moči in jezik so politični krogi začeli videti ne več toliko kot 'pravico', ampak kot 'vir'. Tako so se tudi oblikovali pogoji za fazo 'azianizma', ki se je povezovala z novim zavedanjem o geografski bližini azijskih držav, novega ekonomskega interesa Avstralije in nacionalne varnosti. Pojavila se je potreba po učenju različnih azijskih jezikov in posamezne bilateralne pogodbe so bile podpisane z nekaterimi azijskimi državami (na primer z Japonsko, Indonezijo in s Kitajsko). Ta faza traja tudi še v novem tisočletju, čeprav se ji je v devetdesetih letih dvajsetega stoletja že pridružila faza 'pismenosti', ki je ponovno angleški jezik postavila v središče svojega govora, čeprav so vzgibi za to bili drugačni kot v začetku stoletja in so se bolj dotikali želje po novi, globalni kompetitivnosti.

Danes jezikovna politika v Avstraliji odseva vse omenjene faze. Znanje angleškega jezika je sicer bilo ponovno jasno izpostavljeno v okviru priseljske politike proti koncu obdobja vlade Johna Howarda, ko je postal opravljeni jezikovni test tudi obvezen pogoj za pridobitev avstralskega državljanstva. Kot pravi Michael Clyne (2003, str. ix), je avstralski multikulturalizem zmeraj deloval po principu monolingvalnega razmišljanja, ki je zrcalilo tudi imigracijske postopke. Posebna kategorija 'NESB

migrant' (*non-English speaking background* ali priseljenc neangleško govorečega ozadja) je v Avstraliji že zgodaj postala posebna kategorija, ki se je v skrbnem beleženju predvsem v nacionalnih statistikah, obdržala vse do danes. Dialoškost in prevodljivost tako nista pravi odliki avstralske jezikovne politike. Nedialoškost se ohranja in zrcali tudi v posameznih mestih.

Vprašanje je, ali bosta politika in ekonomija v Avstraliji dovolili razvoj jezikovnih politik v smer novih vrst družbene solidarnosti. To se tudi povezuje z vprašanjem odvisnosti ideje redistribucije od (kulturnega/jezikovnega) priznavanja (*recognition*). Jezikovna raznolikost je skozi čas avstralske multikulturne politike pogosto postavljala posameznike, ki so 'pripadali' določenim skupnostim v manjvreden položaj na več ravneh, še posebej na zaposlitvenem trgu. Koncept priznavanja je tako ostal na kulturnem in jezikovnem temelju in povezav med kulturnim in družbenosocialnim položajem ni bilo. Kot pravi Nancy Fraser (2000) in kot zaključuje tudi disertacija, bi rešitev bila v premiku fokusa iz priznavanja kulturnega statusa na priznavanje socialnega statusa.

Četrto poglavje disertacije se dotakne ravni mesta Melbourne. Govori o nastanku mesta, razvoju in njegovih sodobnih težnjah. Raziskava za disertacijo je nastala iz razmišljanja o mestih kot o skupkih urbanih praks in socio-ideoloških pomenov. Avstralija je danes ena izmed najbolj urbaniziranih družb na svetu in njena preteklost je v veliki meri označena, njena sedanost pa odvisna od priseljevanja. Urbani prostor odseva te procese, prav tako pa tudi tiste, ki so povezani s kolonializmom in z različnimi načini družbene vključenosti, še posebej ko govorimo o uporabljanju, spreminjanju in prisvajanju urbanega prostora. Melbourne je mesto, ki ga označuje nalaganje vselej novih pomenov, še posebej če govorimo o urbanosti in prostorskosti. To je vidno tudi v mestnem načrtovanju in v mestnih politikah, ki načrtujejo prostore za kulturno, jezikovno in politično raznoliko avstralsko mestno družbo. Načrtovalske prakse so se v primeru Melbourne spreminjale skozi čas: od prvih začetkov značilnega kolonialnega mesta v devetnajstem stoletju do progresivno industrializiranega mesta v začetku dvajsetega stoletja, od mesta imigracije sredi dvajsetega stoletja do današnjega visoko produkcijsko naravnane in kozmopolitskega mesta. Želja, da bi mesto izražalo to, kar si družba želi biti ali želi postati, je bila v Melbournu vselej prisotna. Povezava

urbanih praks s priseljevanjem je v primeru Melbournu morda podobna nekaterim drugim praksam po svetu; predvsem v državah, ki so značilne družbe priseljevanja (na primer Kanada ali Združene države Amerike). Primer Melbournu pa je posebej zanimiv zaradi tega, ker so te prakse velikokrat vidne tako v arhitekturi kot v proizvodnji diskurza 'zavezanosti' k urbanosti (Dovey, Sandercock 2004, str. 29). Ta 'zavezanost' ustvarja tudi značilen značaj Melbournu, ki izhaja bolj iz poudarjanja njegovih urbanih praks kot iz dejanske fizičnosti prostora. Tako lahko rečemo, da je Melbourne nastajal plast za plastjo in te plasti, ki začenjajo z mestom kolonizacije in preidejo h kasnejšim udejanjanjem mesta imigracije, so dobro vidne v mestu, njenih arhitekturnih dosežkih in njenih družbenih povezavah. Mesto imigracije se danes povezuje s konceptom kozmopolitskega mesta, ki temelji in gradi na kulturnem razlikovanju in iz tega razlikovanja ustvarja neke vrste spektakel (tako je to tudi mesto spektakla). Kot tako je povezano s središčnostjo lokalizirane kulture, ki se vključuje v življenjski stil predvsem osrednjega dela mesta.

Nastanki Melbournu so nekoliko drugačni od drugih avstralskih mest, predvsem od Sydneyja, ki je nastal s prihodom britanskih kaznjencev že na prvi in drugi floti, ki sta potovali v Avstralijo konec 18. stoletja. Melbourne je bil ustanovljen leta 1835 in se je razvil predvsem takrat, ko so v Viktoriji našli zlato. Ta je v Viktorijo in Melbourne pripeljala veliko novih ljudi, predvsem moških z zelo raznolikimi kulturnimi in jezikovnimi ozadji. Samo leta 1852 je na primer v Viktorijo pripotovalo 370 tisoč novih priseljencev in število prebivalcev države se je povzpelo iz 77 tisoč na 540 tisoč. Leta 1971 je država imela že 1,7 milijona priseljencev, od katerih jih je večina vsaj nekaj časa prebivala tudi v Melbournu, predvsem v času, ko so končali s svojim delom na zlatih poljih. Na zlatih poljih je sicer bilo veliko Britancev, vendar ti še zdaleč niso bili edini; družbo so jim delali tudi Američani, Francozi, Italijani, Nemci, Poljaki, Madžari in precej Kitajcev. Tako je bila tudi izkušnja Melbournu že od samih začetkov mesta multikulturna. Melbourne je zaradi produkcijskega načina življenja in mišljenja zrastel zelo hitro. Mesto v pravem pomenu besede je postal v obdobju petdesetih let.

Melbourne je že tudi v času zlate mrzlice bil večkrat označen za 'kozmpolitsko mesto'. Mesto ni bilo samo kulturno, družbeno in ekonomsko zelo raznoliko, ampak je za veliko ljudi predstavljalo tudi neke vrste nezmožnost pripadanja, kar je sestavni del

kozmpolitskosti. Kljub svoji multikulturalnosti in kozmpolitskosti pa je Melbourne še vedno krepil predvsem svojo idejo velikega evropskega mesta na južni polobli. Ko je bila leta 1901 oblikovana federativna Avstralija, je Melbourne začasno zasedel mesto prestolnice in čeprav je bila ta vloga za mesto Melbourne samo začasna, ga je mesto zadržalo vse do leta 1927.

Kasneje, med prvo in drugo svetovno vojno, so v Melbourne začeli prihajati novi priseljenci in mesto je nov ekonomski zagon, ki je pomenil tudi več delovnih mest, začutilo v petdesetih in šestdesetih letih minulega stoletja. Veliko novih priseljencev se je takrat naselilo v notranjih delih mesta, ki so se držali mestnega središča. Mesto se je v tem času začelo ponovno naglo spreminjati in v šestdesetih letih 20. stoletja je dalo močen zagon ideji primestnega načina življenja. Predvsem tisti priseljenci, ki se več niso čutili kot priseljenci, so si želeli selitve v primestne dele mesta, kjer je bilo več prostora za družino in hišo na četrto jutro zemlje.

V devetdesetih letih dvajsetega stoletja je Melbourne iz primestja ponovno odromal v središče, spremenil svoj fokus in urbani center je spet stopil v polje načrtovalnega menedžmenta. Osrednji del Melbournu je tako najprej bil pozabljen, nato pa spet najden, kar je spremenilo tudi mobilnost in konstitucijo prebivalstva znotraj mestnega središča. Danes je središče Melbournu še vedno polje številnih procesov reurbanizacije, gentrifikacije in revitalizacije ter novih gradenj in novih zamislic. Središčno mesto je danes tako še posebej stvar menedžerskega odnosa do življenjskega okolja in tudi do povezav, ki nastajajo znotraj tega dela mesta.

Notranje četrti, ki obkrožajo središče Melbournu, so skladno s konceptom oživljanja središča bile podvržene številnim spremembam, tako v arhitekturnem smislu kot v smislu kompozicije prebivalstva. V času po drugi svetovni vojni so notranje četrti bile značilni predeli priseljencev, ki jih je Avstralija sprejemala najprej v okviru svojega humanitarnega programa in kasneje v razponu svojega velikega ekonomskega plana. Notranje četrti, ki so jih starejši britanski priseljenci začeli zapuščati v okviru povečane popularnosti primestja, so tako bile značilne kulturno pisane četrti. Kasneje so se tudi ti prvi povojni priseljenci začeli seliti proti obronkom mesta in njihove prostore so zasedali novejši priseljenci. V skladu z regeneracijo mestnega središča in povečanjem produktivnega prirastka so potem tudi cene nepremičnin v notranjih mestnih četrtih

začele naraščati in priseljenci, ki so velikokrat zasedali nižje družbeno-ekonomske položaje, so bili prisiljeni v selitev na rob mesta, kjer so nepremičnine postajale cenejše. Njihova mesta so v veliki večini začeli zasedati mlajši, študentje, korporativni delavci, ki so velikokrat odraščali v primestjih. Ti so si te dele mest, v katere so se ponovno priselili, začeli deliti z nekaterimi priseljenjskimi družinami, ki so ostale v notranjih četrtih in z novimi, predvsem mladimi priseljenci, velikokrat študenti.

Danes je Melbourne mesto približno s štirimi milijoni prebivalcev, kjer je bilo glede na uradne podatke izven Avstralije rojenih 21,9 odstotkov prebivalstva. 15,7 odstotkov jih doma govori drug jezik kot angleščino (Department of Immigration and Citizenship 2008). Prebivalci Viktorije prihajajo iz dvesto tridesetih različnih držav in govorijo več kot dvesto različnih jezikov in dialektov. Predvsem v središču mesta je sprememba vidna predvsem zaradi promocije priseljavanja začasnih priseljencev, še posebej mednarodnih študentov. V Viktoriji je leta 2003 študiralo kar šestdeset tisoč mednarodnih študentov, od tega večina v Melbournu (DIAC 2008), in mednarodno izobraževanje je postalo eden izmed najpomembnejših avstralskih izvoznih produktov.

Izvor priseljencev se je v zadnjem desetletju začel precej spreminjati. Med letoma 2001 in 2006 je največ ljudi v Avstralijo prispelo iz Indije (24.420), iz Kitajske (21.553), iz Nove Zelandije (15.846) in iz Anglije (15.129) (DIAC 2008). Glede na jezikovno raznolikost, ki jo avstralske statistike skrbno beležijo, je najvišje naraščanje bilo vidno v kategoriji mandarinščine, arabščine in hindujščine. Jeziki, ki so tradicionalno bili tako imenovani migrantski jeziki (na primer italijanščina in grščina) še vedno obstajajo, vendar se število njihovih govorcev številčno zmanjšuje (DIAC 2008).

Dve lokaciji, ki jih v disertaciji raziskujem, ležita v središču Melbournu (Trg Federacije in Tržnica kraljice Viktorije), ena lokacija (tržnica Footscray) je v zahodni četrti Footscray, ki spada pod mestni svet Maribyrnong in četrt lokacija (tramvaj številka 19) je mobilen prostor, ki se premika skozi dva predela (Brunswick in Coburg) na notranjem severu Melbournu, ki spadata pod mestni svet Moreland. Po številčnosti govorcev jezika, ki ni angleški, je mestna četrt Maribyrnong na četrtem mestu v okviru metropolitanskega Melbournu (ima 42,8 odstotkov ljudi, ki govorijo drug jezik kot angleščino), Moreland pa je na tej isti lestvici peti (39,5 odstotkov) (DIAC 2008). Mesto Melbourne, ki označuje mestni svet, ki vlada središču Melbournu, je leta 2006

imelo 33,1 odstotkov takšnih govorcev. Glede na takšno raznolikost in glede na to, da je ideja multikulturnega mesta v Melbournu močno prisotna ter da se velikokrat govori o tem, kako raznoliko prebivalstvo živi v Melbournu bok ob boku, se lahko vprašamo, v kolikšni meri to življenje 'bok ob boku' tudi vključuje ali promovira ideje relacij in povezav med ljudmi.

Raziskava se osredotoči predvsem na središče Melbournu in na posamezne lokacije znotraj mestnega središča, in ne razpravlja o tem, kako razlikovanje med urbanim in primestnim vpliva na to vprašanje. Dejstvo je, da se raznolikost, kot ga promovira država, ne kaže v arhitekturni raznolikosti, še posebej ne v središču mesta. Revitalizacija kulturnih predelov tako nima kaj dosti skupnega s poudarjanjem kulturnih razlik, ampak bolj s prilagajanjem teh razlik središču skozi proces njene lokalizacije. Lokalizacija razlike prilagodi okolju.

Peto, šesto in sedmo poglavje disertacije pripadajo posameznim raziskovanim prostorom: tržnicam, trgu in tramvaju. Ta tri poglavja strnejo glavni empirični in izvorni del disertacije, v katerem teoretske koncepte in kategorije povežem z multikulturno avstralsko politiko in z multikulturnostjo mesta Melbourne. V ta poglavja pripeljem tudi kvalitativno analizo in pol-strukturirane intervjuje.

V vsakem izmed teh treh poglavij sledim podobnemu loku raziskovanja in zapisovanja. V začetku na kratko navedem posamezna pretekla dogajanja, v okviru katerih so ti prostori nastali (njihovo zgodovino), ki prispevajo k prostorski, strukturni in idejni umestitvi teh prostorov, v nadaljevanju spregovorim o strategiji njihovega sodobnega delovanja in v tretjem delu navajam različna spoznanja, specifična za vsak posamezni prostor.

V poglavju o *tržnicah* izpostavim vprašanje meja in dialektike med notranjostjo in zunanostjo, ki jo raziskujem skozi idejo povezanosti s širšim okoljem in s podobo skupnosti. Ugotavljam, da fizične meje niso izenačene z mejami percepcije in da dejstvo, da je ena izmed tržnic bolj 'zaprta' kot druga, vpliva tudi na njeno lažje vzpostavljanje dialoga čez meje. Dialog z delom mesta, v katerem tržnica leži, je tako ključen pri vzpostavljanju meje tudi med političnim multikulturnim diskurzom in vsakdanjim, 'resničnim' multikulturalizmom. Politični multikulturalizem bolj poudarja

samo komuniciranje in multikulturno izkušnjo (Tržnica kraljice Viktorije), medtem ko vsakdanji multikulturalizem bolj 'naslavlja' svoje kupce (Tržnica Footscray). Razlika je na Tržnici kraljice Viktorije v funkciji reprezentacije, na tržnici Footscray pa deluje kot podlaga za relacije. Tržnica Footscray je krožni prostor in prostorska organizacija ter prostorske prakse odsevajo njeno krožnost. Ta posledično vodi tudi v nenehno spreminjanje in dialoškost, medtem ko je Tržnica kraljice Viktorije veliko bolj linearna, tudi neposredna in enoznačna.

Poglavje o *Trgu Federacije* nas popelje v pravo središče ali v neke vrste nacionalno multikulturno srž, saj ne označuje le nacionalnega prostora, ki pomeni nekaj določenega, ampak nacionalnega prostora, ki si želi nekaj določenega postati. Trg Federacije je v Melbournu nastal leta 2002 po kar nekaj poskusih vzpostavitve osrednjega trga v mestu. Bil je vse od objave načrta in njegove konstrukcije polje številnih polemik, argumentov za in proti, in to ostaja še danes. Trg Federacije proizvaja politiko multikulturalizma in obenem je njen proizvod. V njegovo središče, v 'srce', je postavljena stavba multilingvalne radijske in televizijske postaje SBS (*Special Broadcasting Service*), ki signalizira pomen multikulturalnosti v kontekstu nacionalne identitete. Da bi Trg Federacije lahko deloval kot skupen nacionalen prostor, mora biti obdan z eno 'kožo'. Ta 'koža' pokriva sicer diferencirano telo, vendar je jasno, kaj si Trg Federacije želi pokazati navzven; to je en pogled, enotnost v različnosti. Prava razlika, ki ni avtorizirana s strani nacionalne avtoritete, je izrinjena s trga, čeprav je navidezno trg odprt različnim ljudem, zgodbam, preteklostim. Za dve različni interpretaciji vključenosti in izključenosti na Trgu Federacije izpostavim dva različna dogodka: multikulturni festival in protest. Skozi primera dveh različnih aktivnosti na trgu ponovno govorim o pomenu meja, majhnih jezikov in vpetosti prostora v širše okolje.

Tramvaj v zadnjem empiričnem poglavju pripelje v disertacijo razmišljanje o premagovanju multikulture vrzeli in predstavlja v splošnem predvsem nove možnosti. Tudi v tem poglavju je prisotna ideja skupnosti in meja med notranjim in zunanjim ter povezanosti tega mobilnega prostora z značilno multikulturno cesto v Melbournu, katere del je tudi tramvaj. Čeprav v tem poglavju pojasnim, da tramvaja v Melbournu ni mogoče preiskovati brez kolonialnega in postkolonialnega konteksta, je tramvaj še

vedno izraz alternativnega, upirajočega se multikulturalizma, ki nasprotuje statičnemu načinu političnega kulturnega ukalupljanja. Tramvaj izraža idejo 'postajanja' in ne 'stanja' (Deleuze in Guattari 1986, 2004).

Ključno polje raziskovanja v vseh treh prostorih privede do vprašanja, do kolikšne mere je lahko lokalizirana razlika in lokaliziran multikulturalizem v dialogu s politiko multikulturalizma in v dejanskem dialogu s širšim prostorom. Vse tri raziskovane prostore, teoretske premisleke, pretekla dogajanja in strateške odločitve v tem smislu povezujem v **zaključku** disertacije.

Lokacije, ki sem jih raziskovala, so odkrile različne stopnje možnosti za dialoškost. Dve od štirih lokacij sta v večji meri padli v kategorijo menedžerskega multikulturalizma (Trg Federacije in Tržnica kraljice Viktorije) kot druga dva prostora. Tržnica kraljice Viktorije in Trg Federacije sta se pokazala kot nacionalna prostora in njun multikulturalizem se je v ključnih točkah povezoval z nacionalno multikulturno agendo. Ti dve lokaciji sta delovali bolj 'lokalizirano' v smislu sebi lastnih (in sebi namenjenih) prostorov. To, kar se dogaja zunaj teh dveh prostorov, ne vpliva na sliko in dinamiko znotraj teh prostorov. Ti dve lokaciji ne vzpostavljata dialoga s širšim okoljem, čeprav meje teh dveh prostorov v fizičnem smislu niso natančno določene in si obe lokaciji prizadevata za promocijo koncepta 'odprtega prostora'. V nasprotju s tem sta Tržnica Footscray in tramvaj številka 19 bolj fizično določena, njune meje so vidnejše, vendar je dialoškost med 'znotraj' in 'zunaj' v teh dveh prostorih mogoče zaznati.

Razlika med dvema kategorijama štirih prostorov je vidna tudi v njihovih poimenovanjih. Trg Federacije in Tržnica kraljice Viktorije jasno signalizirata povezavo z avstralsko kolonialno logiko in z mestno preteklostjo, medtem ko ime za Tržnico Footscray še vedno izhaja iz Velike Britanije, vendar je bolj odprto interpretaciji in možnosti spreminjanja. Ljudje spreminjajočo naravo samega imena četrti Footscray izražajo z občasno transformacijo imena na primer na prometni označbi, ki že dolga leta znak za Footscray spreminja v znak za 'Footscrazy'. Tramvaj kot objekt, ki je neposredno povezan s kolonialno naracijo (tramvaj so Britanci uvedli v veliko bivših kolonijah), ostaja na nek način 'nevtralen' prostor, tudi ko govorimo o njegovem imenu. Meje dveh lokacij, ki manj pripadata menedžerskemu konceptu multikulturalizma, tramvaja in Tržnice Footscray, so torej vidnejše, vendar sta po mnenju uporabnikov in

tudi zaposlenih ti dejansko manj zaprti. Ker imata jasno začrtane meje, so dialoškost in relacije preko meja v večji meri mogoči.

Tržnica Footscray in tramvaj številka 19 ponujata možnost alternativnega razmišljanja o multikulturalizmu kot o raznolikosti v praksi, kjer razlike niso niti zapakirane niti ni pretirane želje po njihovem ohranjevanju (ali izražanju). Razlike so zato tudi manj opazne. Ena izmed ugotovitev na tržnici v Footscrayju je na primer bila, da tam ljudje ne vstopajo v transakcijske odnose zaradi tega, ker bi jim to ponudilo neke vrste multikulturno izkušnjo (kar je bilo zabeleženo na Tržnici kraljice Viktorije), kljub temu pa se čutijo povezane z drugimi ljudmi, drugimi kupci in tudi s prodajalci. V tem smislu tramvaj in Tržnica Footscray nista zaprta prostora, čeprav dejansko to sta v fizičnem smislu; povezana sta s širšim okoljem okoli sebe, kar proizvaja tudi nenehen dialog med notranjostjo in zunanostjo. Ta dva prostora sta tudi prostora majhnih jezikov, ki so mobilni ter na nek način izzivajo velik jezik (jezik večine). Trg Federacije in Tržnica kraljice Viktorije sta veliko bolj fiksirana, pripadata večinskemu jeziku in sta tam zato, da *sta*, ne zato, da *postajata* (Deleuze, Guattari 1986; 2004, str. 111-118). Tramvaj številka 19 in Tržnica Footscray kažeta na nove možnosti, ker je njun značaj spreminjajoč in tudi na alternativne načine razumevanja multikulturalizma in multikulturnih praks skozi pojme raznolikosti in gostoljubja, ki so povezani z idejo urbanih kozmopolitskih praks. Tramvaj in tržnica v Footscrayju sta bližje pojmu kritičnega multikulturalizma (McLaren 1994). Trg Federacije in Tržnica kraljice Viktorije nam predstavita avtorski diskurz kot avtoritativen diskurz, kateri kaže na menedžersko multikulturno razmišljanje, ki se pravzaprav ne odmakne od liberalnega ali levoliberalnega mišljenja (ibid.), ki ju kaže avstralska politika multikulturalizma.

Kljub temu pa vsi raziskovani prostori še vedno delujejo znotraj nacionalnega multikulturalnega prostora. Prostori multikulture opozicije se oblikujejo znotraj nacionalnega prostora. Različne pa so pozicije raziskovanih prostorov, iz katerih govorijo o multikulturalizmu. Različne so tudi dostopnosti in sprejemljivosti kulturnih in jezikovnih razlik. Pomen pozicije kot lokacije se kaže predvsem v primeru Tržnice Footscray, ki leži na robu mesta. Njena lokacija biva med notranjostjo in zunanostjo mesta, med kulturno in socialno marginalnostjo ter kulturno in socialno vključenostjo. Ta pozicija tržnice Footscray ustvarja lažje pogoje za to, da tržnica ponudi alternativne,

kritične načine za kulturno in politično organizacijo. Situacija in pozicija tramvaja je drugačna, ker je tramvaj mobilni prostor, ki v svojem značaju ni določen in ki ga v resnici ne moremo povezovati z nobenim specifičnim prostorom, čeprav smo ugotovili, da je v veliki meri odvisen od dveh mestnih četrti. Nove možnosti ponuja tramvaj zaradi svoje mobilnosti (svoje dejavnosti) bolj kot zaradi svojega položaja. Tramvaj tako pravzaprav ne prestopa meja političnega multikulturnega diskurza (torej tega, kar ta diskurz *je*), ampak prestopa meje tega, *kako* je ta diskurz vzpostavljen in kako se aktualizira. S tega vidika nas prav tramvaj pripelje do ozadja te disertacije in razmišljanja o načinu raziskovanja, ki naj bi se približal ne-reprezentacijskemu pristopu (Thrift 1996, 1997, 2000, 2008).

Raziskovalni postopek in pridobljeni material sta nakazala odgovore na glavna raziskovalna vprašanja. Glede na vprašanje o multikulturalizmu v praksi lahko rečemo, da je Melbourne multikulturno mesto. Vsi udeleženci v raziskavi so potrdili to ugotovitev. Kljub temu pa so se tudi strinjali, da takrat ko začnemo razmišljati o povezavi preko kulturnih razlik in njihovih meja, pridemo do različnih ugotovitev o tem, kaj multikulturalizem in multikulturno mesto pravzaprav pomenita. Relacija naj bi, po besedah Eduarda Glissanta (1997, str. 5-8), morala biti zagotovljena za to, da bi se izmenjava lahko začela. V razmišljanju o relaciji, ki bi pripeljala do izmenjave, se je pokazala ključna razlika v tem, ali so udeleženci v raziskavi multikulturalizem sprejemali kot 'odkrit multikulturalizem' ali kot 'bahat, predstavniki multikulturalizem'. Ta drugi multikulturalizem so še vedno pojmovali kot multikulturalizem, vendar pa ga niso sprejemali kot povezanega ali relacijskega. Vsakdanji multikulturalizem na Trgu Federacije in na Tržnici kraljice Viktorije so opisali kot multikulturalizem, ki ni sposoben ustvariti prostora presenečenja in nenačrtovanih povezav.

V okviru drugega raziskovalnega vprašanja, ki je spraševalo, ali je Melbourne multikulturno ali kozmopolitsko, lahko rečemo, da je Melbourne lahko oboje, še posebej, če govorimo o njegovem središču. Ta ugotovitev je bila tudi predvidljiva glede na to, da se tudi v uradni mestni retoriki ta dva pojma ne izključujeta. Kozmopolitizem v smislu uradne retorike mestnega sveta tako potrebuje kulturno razliko, ki jo potem preoblikuje v trendovsko urbano razliko, ki nima več kaj dosti skupnega s pogajalsko naravo raznolikosti. Kljub temu pa lahko rečemo, da so vidne precejšnje razlike med

tem, kako sta multikulturalizem in kozmopolitizem razumljena v raziskovanih lokacijah, kjer se kozmopolitizem tudi povezuje z idejo nevtralnosti, in z možnostjo, da je to prostor tišine (ne utišanosti). Takšen, nevtralen prostor, ki je spravljen s svojo preteklostjo, lahko nekomu ponudi pravo 'dobrodošlico', kar pa tudi pomeni, da takšen prostor morda ni najbolj prijeten ali udoben. Potencial za kozmopolitizem in kozmopolitske prakse tako leži v možnosti, da se mnenja križajo in se izpodbijajo ter da meje prehajajo. Potencial za to je bil ponovno opažen v primeru Tržnice Footscray. Način, na katerega bi lahko kozmopolitizem živel v tem prostoru, je drugačen od kozmopolitizma, ki ga promovira država ali mesto Melbourne, ki kozmopolitizem vidita kot nekaj, kar pripada urbanemu centru in nima nič skupnega z izkušnjo mejnosti.

Vloga aktivnih jezikov (odgovor na tretje raziskovalno vprašanje) je ponovno povezana z relacijami med ljudmi/jeziki/kulturami znotraj multikulturnega prostora. Jeziki, ki jih ljudje uporabljajo v dveh prostorih, ki sta promovirana kot multikulturna, so obkroženi s fiksnim in statičnim diskurzom in niso jeziki, ki bi izkazovali delovanje ali neke vrste zastopstvo. Ti jeziki tudi ne kažejo na nove možnosti. Delovanje jezikov v prostorih Trga Federacije in Tržnice kraljice Viktorije je omejeno in izjave so prostorsko določene. Tam obstajajo zaradi tega, ker jih je tja pripeljal uradni politični multikulturni diskurz. Tako ti jeziki ne delujejo sami zase, ampak imajo reprezentativno funkcijo, ki predstavlja politično multikulturno retoriko. Kljub temu pa ni mogoče reči, da ni nobene možnosti za razvoj opozicijskih jezikov in opozicijskih prostorov na teh dveh lokacijah, ki jih označuje menedžerska multikulturna logika. Opozicijski jeziki so potisnjeni iz dejanskih zamišljenih prostorov in zanje lahko rečemo, da so tam in obenem niso tam in niso vidni tako, kot da zares pripadajo tem prostorom. Tudi ta ambivalentnost kaže na določeno možnost, da v prihodnosti ti utelešeni jeziki postavijo svoje meje in alternativo velikemu jeziku. Protesti so navadno na robovih trga, vendar pa kljub temu iz teh robov tu in tam pritekajo v središče trga. Glede primerjave med dvema tržnicama, lahko rečemo, da ponovno jeziki, ki bolj 'naslavlajo' kot 'komunicirajo' obstajajo v prostoru tržnice Footscray, medtem ko jeziki na Tržnici kraljice Viktorije bolj 'komunicirajo' in so obenem v vlogi reprezentacije kulturne razlike. Jeziki v primeru tramvaja številka 19 so slišni kot dejavni jeziki, kljub temu da se je v intervjujih pojavilo mnenje, da ti jeziki niso zmožni vstopiti v polje dialoščnosti. Kljub temu lahko na splošno rečemo, da nas dejavnost jezikov v tramvaju, v mobilnem prostoru, ki povezuje središče mesta s tem,

kar je zunaj središča in kar je pojmovano kot vsakdanji multikulturalizem, pripelje do ugotovitve, da je znotraj tramvaja še vedno mogoče razmišljati o pojmu kritičnega multikulturalizma ali raznolikosti, ki se pogovarja z nacionalnim multikulturnim prostorom. Tramvaj nam tako predstavi možnost za 'odpiranje praga' (Irigaray 2008, str. 1-8) in z učinkom povezovanja multikulture vrzeli. Tramvaj je torej sam po sebi mejni učinek, ki dopušča majhnim jezikom njihovo dejavnost in ki ustvarja mostove med vsakdanjim ali navadnim multikulturalizmom in političnim multikulturalizmom.

V okviru četrtega vprašanja o družbeni/kulturni relaciji in vlogi multikulturalizma v tem procesu, je ugotovitev raziskave ta, da politični multikulturni diskurz poskuša krepiti izmenjave brez da bi najprej ustvarjal relacije (Glissant 1997, str. 8) med ljudmi. Ta način je bil opažen na Trgu Federacije in tudi na Tržnici kraljice Viktorije. Ljudje na Trgu Federacije se bolj ukvarjajo z vprašanjem o tem, kaj multikulturalizem naj bi bil ali kaj bi moral biti in ne toliko s tem, kaj dejansko je. Podobno je bilo v primeru Tržnice kraljice Viktorije. V teh dveh prostorih so udeleženci v raziskavi govorili o pojmu multikulturalizma v večji meri kot v drugih dveh prostorih. Tržnico Footscray lahko še posebej označimo kot prostor, ki pušča dovolj prostora za (nenačrtovane) relacije, ne samo za izmenjave. Podobno kot v primeru tramvaja je tudi tržnica Footscray odprta za sprejemanje in spreminjanje ter se prilagaja spremembi kompozicije kupcev.

Disertacija v diskusijo o multikulturnih mestih in mestih, ki jih označuje priseljevanje, vnaša predvsem dialoški in relacijski aspekt, ki ga politični akterji in načrtovalci pogosto pozabljajo v multikulturnih politikah in še posebej v multikulturnih načrtovalnih politikah. Glede na multikulture prostore in multikulture prostorske prakse, lahko rečemo, da dizajn načrtovanih multikulturnih prostorov pogosto pozablja pustiti vsaj dele teh prostorov prazne ali tihe, tako da bi tišina (ki ne bi bila simbolna, ampak realna) omogočila prevajanje med starim in novim, koloniziranim in konolizatorjem, med naseljencem in priseljencem. Izmenjava med ljudmi se ne more začeti na osnovi zapakirane kulturne logike, ki jo uporablja avstralska politika multikulturalizma. Izmenjave se ne morejo začeti brez predhodne relacije in tudi ne v prostoru, v katerem je zgodovina bila pometena pod preprogo, brez da bi se o njej govorilo. Izmenjave se ne morejo zgoditi tudi brez avtorjevega glasu, ki ne bi bil

avtoritaren glas. To je točka, kjer ponovno pridemo do neprelete (post)kolonialne debate. V avstralski politični praksi lahko še vedno sledimo logiki, ki vidi avtorstvo in avtoritarnost kot zamenljiva koncepta, še posebej, ko govori o domačinskem vprašanju. Multikulturene politike, ki temeljijo na pometanju domačinov in njihovih zgodb pod preprogo, ne morejo biti zares uspešne.

Kljub temu pa lahko povzamemo, da je lahko uradna multikulturena politika vsaj do določene mere in na nekaterih mestih izzvana v vsakdanjih praksah ljudi. To je mogoče tudi znotraj središčnega, nacionalnega in multikulturenega prostora, kar smo ugotovili v primeru raziskovanih mest. Ta ugotovitev je dobrodošla in daje upanje za prihodnost. Obstoj meja, ki jih ustvarjajo ljudje sami na 'nevtralnem' prostoru, je pomemben. Navidezno odprtost prostora, kot je na primer Trg Federacije, tudi odprtost, ki dopušča tam obstoj različnih ljudi, lahko pojmuje kot pozitivno, kar se je pokazalo tudi v pogovorih. Vendar pa je pomembno poudariti, da so meje pomembne pri ustvarjanju dialogov med ljudmi takrat, ko so ustvarjene s strani uporabnikov prostora. Pomembno je, da multikultureni prostor postane prostor opozicije, prostor različnih aktivnih jezikov, ki destabilizirajo pojem zedinjenega, enotnega jezika. Tržnica Footscray je pri povezovanju svoje kulturne in socialne raznolikosti uspešna, ker ve, kje so njene meje in ker ceni prehode med temi mejami. Tramvaj številka 19 je lahko uspešen, ker ve, kakšen je njegov cilj in to, da je njegova notranost odvisna od njegove zunanosti. Tržnica kraljice Viktorije po drugi strani pozna le svoje notranje meje in jih v splošnem ne prehaja. Trg Federacije je navidezno odprt, vendar lokalizira svoje razlike. Dialog v funkciji 'naslavljanja' bi bil nujen med prostori in čez meje teh prostorov ter v mejah prostorov samih. Povezava te vrste pa v Melbournu še vedno ni vidna in skoraj gotovo je ni mogoče slišati.

Nejasnost političnega multikulturalizma in njegova odvisnost od ekonomskih dejavnikov ter izgradnja koncepta na nizu (ekonomskih) neenakosti ter prelomov med priznavanjem (*recognition*) in distribucijo, vodi do spoznanja, da ima multikulturalizem v Avstraliji le malo možnosti za to, da bi postal ali obstal kot vrsta socialne politike. Za to bi bilo potrebno razmišljanje o multikulturalizmu kot načinu organizacije na širši ravni, kjer bi koncepta redistribucije in priznavanja tekla eden ob drugem in kjer kultura ne bi delovala po principu skupinskega ločevanja, ampak bi tako posamezniku kot tudi

družbi ponujala vrsto pozitivnih kompetenc. Multikulturalizem bi se le tako lahko približal kritičnemu razmišljanju o kulturni in družbeni raznovrstnosti, kjer bi kulturni pluralizem bil način delovanja družbenih organizacij in ne bi bil le pravica, ampak dolžnost multikulture družbe. Politični multikulturalizem bi postal način upravljanja raznolikosti in način razmišljanja družbe kot celote, kar bi prispevalo k razvoju fluidnih izmenjav med migranti in 'nemigranti'.

Kot ugotavljamo, je multikulturalizem v Melbournu vsekakor postal način življenja, še posebej v določenih delih mesta, ki so bolj izpostavljeni kozmopolitski promociji in trženju kulturno raznolikega mesta. Raziskava v določenih delih Melbournu je pokazala, da na ravni vsakdanjega življenja multikulturalizem v Melbournu nedvomno živi, vendar pa ga ne spremlja strukturna zaveza po pravi enoviti raznolikosti. Prava raznolikost bi pomenila, da bi kulturni pluralizem zaživel kot način delovanja zasebnih in javnih organizacij, kar bi pomenilo, da delovanje organizacij ne bi bilo več toliko kulturno indiferentno, ampak kulturno pluralno. Kultura bi postala vir in elementi, ki so nekoč pripadali skoraj izključno zasebnemu, individualnemu sektorju (kot je recimo etničnost), bi postali stvar javnega življenja in javne debate. Ta ne bi smela pripeljati do reprezentacije razlik znotraj večinske družbe, ampak bi morala spremeniti dinamiko in kompetence organizacij ter družbe.

Zavezanost k raznolikosti v kulturnem in socio-ekonomskem smislu je tako v rokah posameznikov kot v rokah organizacij večinske družbe. Kozmopolitizem kot produkt multikulturalizma ne more biti uspešen v sedanji obliki, po kateri se nanaša le na skupino ljudi s specifičnim socio-ekonomskim statusom, ki imajo sredstva in vire za sprejemanje kulturne raznolikosti. Programi, ki bi promovirali raznolikost, bi lahko zarezali v spajanje prepoznavanja in distribucije tako v smislu kulturnega kot socio-ekonomskega stanja v prihodnosti in dali večji zagon socio-ekonomskemu priznavanju. Družbeni in socialni status morata zato vstopiti v središče javnih razprav.

Trenutno v Melbournu še ne moremo govoriti o takšnem dogajanju. V postavitvi in izvedbi raznolikih prostorov v Melbournu in upravljanju z njimi je še vedno najizrazitejša ideja lokalizirane kulture. Tisti, ki so izpostavljeni kot kulturno različni, še vedno niso enakovredni partnerji v družbeni interakciji, ampak so potisnjeni v območje družbene subordinacije. Lahko pa zaključimo, da je drugačen razvoj mogoč in da upanje

obstaja v delovanju družbenih gibanj, ki trenutno še vedno živijo in delujejo na obronkih in mejah multikulturnega nacionalnega prostora, vendar imajo sredstva in motivacijo za to, da nacionalen prostor izzovejo in z njim vstopijo v dialoški proces.

Tukaj tudi leži največji simbolni potencial tramvaja kot mobilnega prostora; v njegovi zmožnosti, da potuje od enega postajališča do drugega; v njegovi sposobnosti, da vzpostavi relacije s svojo zunanostjo, s cesto zunaj, in da na tak način prehaja svojo mrežo, ki je nekoč že bila vzpostavljena. Eden izmed udeležencev v raziskavi je v enem izmed intervjujev dejal: 'Življenje ni ravno potovanje, ampak je polno neravnih površin.' In Melbourne je pravzaprav lahko srečno mesto, ker je njegov središčni Trg Federacije poln neravnih površin in tako njegova tla še vedno pripadajo novim možnostim. O teh novih možnostih lahko govorimo tudi v okviru nacionalne države.

APPENDICES

Appendix 1

Music and more

Melbourne's jazz scene thrives with two dedicated jazzvenues in the central city. Both **Barnetts Lane (G3)** and **Manchester Lane (F5)** have hosted some of the world's biggest jazz acts, and plenty of local talent as well.

If you wanna rock, drop by **AJOC Lane (H6)** for a photo op and stumble upon the **Cherry Bar**, a venue that evokes authentic rock 'n roll in its attitude and aesthetics.

Dame Esca Place (F5) is another laneway worth a visit and a photo opportunity if you've a hank of that grand Game from **Moonasa Poets**.

The important stuff

Shopping followed by sustenance, it's an important rite of city passage. Start yours in one of these special city spots.

Manchester Lane (F5), home to the **Design A Space Retail Gallery** showcasing 70 independent Australian designers, plus **FRYDR** T-shirts and **Claude Matis**. **Egyptalia Place (E5)** really does have something for every one in the food stakes, with stand-outs **Rim Mabo (Indonesian)** and **Soul Food Vegetarian**. You'll also find menswear retailer **Billy and Ford** with their limited edition silk neckties, Melbourne-designed and made fragrances and unique cufflinks.

On The Causeway (F5) taste the delights from French-style patisseries **Laurens**, **Sushi Monger** where the lunch time queue cuts out the door and onto the street, as well as hole in the wall taste-test, **Little Big Harvest** for tasty organic fare.

Honey Place (F5) is a hard-core boutique laneway, featuring labels such as **A Bomba Hill**, **Condon**, **Bronco**, **Makko** and **FCUK**, while **Sooty Alley (E5)** caters to hip young things with **Bobby's Cuts**, **Some Go**, **Lady and Miss Lau**, plus **MT Gallery** where you can purchase photos of Melbourne laneways and **White Moss Flowers**.

Mystery Tour

For those with a sense of adventure, let your imagination guide you to some mystical destinations and lose yourself in laneway culture.

If you have a hanker for experimentation, wander down **Croft Alley (H4)** in the evening. Keep going, you'll find it.

Some might find this drinking hole on **Sprides Lane (E3)**, a little dark and dingy, while others will relish late evenings with like-minded souls.

Need a break from the mist therapy? Then wander past boutiques aplenty and head yourself in **Prusgawa Place (F5)**, **Saxsbury** is here.

For whimsical types, you will be happy in **Goldie Place (G4)**, knock once and tell them we sent you.

Understatement is the name of the game in **Warburton Lane (E5)** and you can hardly hear the name of this place. But name your liquid desire and it will be all yours.

Shining a red light on the past

Two city lanes formerly known as **Jaillet Terrace** and **Romeo Street**, both had a very colourful past. Rumour has it those two laneways obtained their own take on romance. Ladies of the night worked on **Jaillet Terrace** (now **Liverpool Street**), while their fellow gentlemen of the evening worked on **Romeo Street** (now **Crossley Street**).

Today, these streets are pedalling more wholesome wares. **Unwired Street (E3)** now hosts Asian eateries such as **Little Malaysia** and **Laksa M4**, the **Double Happiness** bar that serves fusion cocktails in Chinese socialist propaganda surrounds, and **Hearty Italian** at **Pellegrini's**.

On Crossley Street (E3) you'll find **Yor Haus**, a history-rich bar and eatery offering home-style European favours. Plus there's an array of shopping options including: **Silbarn**, **Blond Venus**, **Gallery Funkski**, **De Mila Vintage clothing**, plus the popular lunch/dinner spots, **Becco** and **Gingerboy**.

On Bank Place/Mine Lane (D6) you can visit Melbourne's oldest running pub, the **Mine Tavern** that opened its doors in 1857. Here you will also find **wineing and dining** institution **Synecase**, plus other dining options.

Off Bourke Street

You could well spend a decent amount of time in just one laneway, **Meyers Place (K4)**, and still claim to have a well-rounded knowledge of Melbourne's nightlife.

Visit the **Meyers Place Bar** and sip your preferred beverage in a sophisticated architecturally designed environment that welcomes all corners of age. There's also lounge/supercasual/brasserie buffets, regular screenings of **grit**, **film** and **obscure** art forms – plus great music.

Whiskey's on there, you may also want to visit the **Italian Whisker Club** for a no-nonsense pasta and drop into **3620s-style** speakeasy **Lily Backs** for a delicious night cap.

The art of the city

Melbourne's street art offers a feast of colour, ideas and energy. It enhances the ordinary and changes the way we view our city.

The City of Melbourne's annual art temporary **Laneway Commissions** transforms laneways into intriguing, captivating and sometimes challenging spaces for artistic exploration and expression. Laneway Commissions can be found in various laneways usually during the winter months.

Common street art forms in Melbourne include large and small spray painted works, stencilling, and papering.

Some of the best examples around town can be found in **Hoster Lane (H6)** (which needs to be seen to be believed), **Links Lane (F5)**. Featuring City of Melbourne-sponsored street art, **Cook's Alley (E6)** where you can see work by internationally acclaimed street artist, **Bankey and Collaboration Lane (F4)** (also home to the **St Jerome's bar** and annual **Laneway Weekend**), plus a cool-shirt store, **Rancho Nobobius**, **Rutledge Lane (H6)** and **Spink Lane (E5)** are also worth a look.

City Laneways Brochure (City of Melbourne)

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9

GRAND THEATRE 10 Paisley St

The Grand was Footscray's first purpose-built cinema, opening on 15 November 1911. By 1936, the poor 'old Grand', which had been silent for years during the depression, was resurrected as the 'new Grand'. It was gutted and refurbished with sand-blasted glass doors, a terrazzo foyer, a marble staircase, new seating encased in vermin-resistant Dunlopillo sponge rubber, British carpet in the aisles, acres of fancy plaster lilyb subbed lighting and a glorious golden stage curtain. The 'New Grand' was the Cinderella of Footscray's cinemas.

These were the years of tuffish pockets, bulging shopping bags and, if you were youngish, dashing out after the evening meal to the bright lights of the cinema or dance hall. Footscray shopping centre developed an entertainment precinct. Cinemas were the temples of popular culture and the cinematic entertainment was the opiate of working people. Adults could go to the pictures or a dance any night of the week except Sundays.

The Grand was screening films until 1987 but had before that given up its foyer and stalls for adaptation to ground level commercial areas.



1830-05/1845 Walter Bakeman, HVNG St.



10

MASONIC HALL 42A Leeds St

Footscray's friendly societies, trade unions and social clubs gave life to the business centre in the evenings and on weekends. Committees met in pubs and in lodge rooms. Annual balls, smoke nights, fetlowships, missions and breakfasts filled the four large public halls in Footscray – the Federal, Royal, Irene and Masonic.

Dances were held here in the ground level hall, upstairs was the Masons' meeting venue.

LASCALA 19 - 29 Leeds St

La Scala, the last picture theatre to open in Footscray, was built in five months during 1937.

By this time, general prosperity had transformed popular culture, producing highly specialised markets in dress, music, dance and film. The La Scala illustrated this new trend: it screened popular Italian films that appealed to Footscray's migrants.

The staircase to the projecting room and the upper level is still evident through the main entrance at street level now forms the interior of a shop.



12

TROCADERO THEATRE 119 Hopkins St

The Trocadero first opened as a theatre on 4 July 1914 and for many years played a role in the night life and glitter of Footscray.

During the early 1920s, the Trocadero Theatre was the hangout of a push called the 'Troc Eagles'. The local pushes roaming about were the thealining and they gave the place a bad name'. During 1920, long-standing Footscray-Yarraville animosities were expressed in pitched battles between the 'Troc Eagles' and the 'Checkers', with Charles Street as their boundary. But within these two territories there were sub-districts each with its mob, such as the 'Moore Street' push, the 'Royal', the 'Victoria Street' mob and 'Yarraville's' 'Ranch and Cut Throats'.

The 'pushes' were deplored by respectable citizens, who urged action by the police and the courts. Footscray believed in itself as the abode of clean-living, industrious, and self-respecting men and women.

In 1939, the Mitchell family and Hoyts completely remodelled the Trocadero as the 'acme of modernity in picture theatre construction'.



Trocadero Theatre, Hopkins St, c1924



13

FOOTSCRAY MARKET Hopkins, Leeds and Irving

The market was built by George Hecsu, a Romanian immigrant who arrived in Yarraville in 1950 and made money through a series of retail renovations. He also built several other shopping centres. The \$20 million, 220 stall, Footscray Market opened on 19 March 1981 and was soon attracting 70,000 shoppers per week. More than half of the local population of Footscray were overseas born, and many of these were already market-type people.

The market was previously the site of the Orama dance hall and the Victor dance hall (see the 1920s aerial view). The Victor offered 'Old Time' dance while the Orama offered 'Modern' – but the two were connected so a walk through was available and patrons could enjoy both for only one ticket price. Each of the dance halls had an academy attached to teach the new dances.

During WW2, the Department of Munitions took over the Victor Palais and other theatres despite the Council protests that people must have some pleasure. The war was feeling closer. By mid-1942 advice was being given as to 'What actually happens when a bomb drops'.



Market terminal in Leeds St



14

SHOPS AND RESIDENCES 141-147 Hopkins St

Three shops and residences were constructed 1889-90 for Hopkins Street storkeeper and boom-years councillor Hugh Morris. Morris was a baker with a sideline in land speculation. When the bottom fell out of the land market in the 1890s depression, Hugh Morris lost heavily and left for Western Australia.

This set of shops forms the most distinctive group of shops/residences in the centre. The stepped height emphasises the symmetry of the facade design. The cement finish is original.

One long term occupant was Norman Griffin the jeweller who made the first Footscray Mayoral Chain at these premises in 1936. It was used that year at the advent of the new Town Hall.

The street level shop fronts have been replaced and a cantilever canopy added where a post verandah would have been, but at first floor level, much is original.

The arched arcade design and ornamentation, such as swags, shell and fleur-de-lis motifs, are typical of its boom-era origin.



Women walking Nicholson St, c1930

Appendix 2



A strategic framework for Melbourne's cultural precincts (Ratio Consultants 2007, p. 28)



Activating Piazza Italia
Indicative Concept

A strategic framework for Melbourne's cultural precincts (Ratio Consultants 2007, p. 31)

Appendix 3



‘Just Like You’ campaign advertisements (Victorian Government 2006)

Appendix 4

Kulin Nations



= (forgotten) history?

Aboriginal people

Observing the City

I would be interested in a day of simple diary of your own observations around the city

Just try to write down your simple thoughts about the people around, public transport, buildings... They don't even need to be sentences. It can just be a couple of points, a picture... whatever you feel comfortable with. This would help me most.

Beginnings of Spring. Sunshine, blossoms, aroma of flowers... bees busy at work. I get off the train. An Indian man is sitting on the opposite platform, singing. Perhaps a traditional song. It is lovely and comforting, reassuring. The beautiful soft tune gets carried on the breeze as I walk towards my home. I smile to myself and feel the anticipation for new beginnings.

Observe and discover



Street Art



Fashion



Music Scene



MELBOURNE. The key to unlocking the secrets of the city is in your pocket!



Identity

A Lady waters her garden



Victoria Markets



Art and entertainment

tutu girl.



Wild life...

Love a duck.

Drought Crisis: Stage 3A water restrictions in place.

SOME OTHER "GUIDELINES"

Snapshots of the city

- Think about the visual aspect of the city. Do you notice the colours of the buildings? Is the city "cosy, comfortable?" What do the signs around the city tell you? The signs of the streets, and of the buildings... Do the signs on the shop

"fronts and buildings invite you to enter?"
The old, mixed in with the new. "European ambience, Victorian architecture, arcades and laneways filled with small treasures and hidden surprises. Bold, modern, eyesores of architecture like the Casino or Federation Square look out of place. The colours can be soft, or wild and vibrant. The alley ways are the most comfortable and accommodating, as they are hidden away, secretive. The city signs are encouraging... but you can easily miss them if your awareness is not open. Signs on shop windows and buildings can be inviting, but you must be willing and open to invitation! It is what's on display that is the ingredient, to coax you inside."

- How often do you travel around? Where do you usually go?

I travel daily by foot and with the use of public transport... trams, trains and buses. Although trams are a far more efficient and sustainable transport, I prefer buses because they go across town and are a more direct and reliable way to travel. I usually go to other inner city suburbs: Brunswick, Carlton, Fitzroy, South Melbourne, Albert Park. I usually only go into the city centre if I need to run errands or to meet a friend. Travelling by foot is an easy, quick and accessible way of getting around in Melbourne.

- Is there a place you like particularly? What do you like about it?

The Botanic Gardens. Strolling the garden paths, sitting by the lake, observing the rich array of plants, and animal life (swans, ducks, eels, possums, just to name a few). Spending time there is a way of escaping the noise and chaos of the city centre. It is a short walk from town where you can get some peace and quiet, and dissolve yourself in nature's surroundings. It is a way of still being in the city - the buildings still tower above the trees - but removing yourself, and not being consumed by it.

- Do you feel like Melbourne is interesting or different to other cities?
(How is it different? What marks its difference? Is it about the people, or voices, or language in general, smells, tastes, architecture...)

Melbourne is a coffee city. Its street scape has a structured grid plan, an order which is softened by the many parks and gardens which fringe it. Melbourne has a diverse and eclectic mix of people inhabiting it which makes for a colourful and exciting variety of Arts, music, fashion, culinary, and recreation. Off hand, Melbourne can appear conservative, slow paced and too relaxed, but in fact is progressive, exciting, with events happening all the time. You always hear different accents, or different languages being spoken. Melbourne is the city of "four seasons in one day." The weather is never consistent.

- Do you think Melbourne is multicultural? (In which way)? What makes it multicultural?

Melbourne's people, inhabitants and visitors are made up of many different nationalities. The cultural diversity is one of the integral points that makes the city so unique and so interesting. The wide variety of restaurants - everything from African to Greek, Italian, Japanese, French, Indian, Tibetan, Turkish. The list goes on. Much information is made available in different languages to accommodate individuals from different backgrounds, like telephone services, social services (Centrelink, telephone directory) large sections of the library etc. There is a lot of international music, cultural festivals throughout the year. Footscray and Victoria St. Richmond are two examples of cultural richness. Despite multiculturalism I feel there is still a failure to truly accept and be open to people from different cultures.

- Do you think Melbourne is cosmopolitan? (In which way)? What makes it cosmopolitan?

Melbourne offers an extended range of world events and opportunities which embrace the traditions of different countries. Art and entertainment, music, cuisine, literature, sport. Melbourne is the centre stage for international acts in Australia. We are fortunate to have the opportunity to experience such a range of different things in all ways of leisure, play and recreation.

Sounds

- Do the voices around you seem "familiar", do you feel comfortable within the sound environment (music, language, voices) of the city?

I ~~never~~ never find voices comforting. When I hear people speaking a foreign language, I find this reassuring for some reason. The street noise, cars, trams powered machinery etc. I find unsettling and distracting. A bicycle whizzing past is far more comforting! The sound of a coffee machine, street vendors ("The Issue") music, birds, these are familiar and reassuring.

Personal attachments

- What do you think your role in this place is or would be? How do you contribute to the identity of the city?

It is all too easy to get lost and get wrapped up in the city, or to allow the city to get wrapped up in you. To forget where you are in your life, where you've been or where you are going. As a person who grounds herself by her connection to nature and concern for the environment, I try to encourage others to cultivate compassion and awareness for these things by being more ~~clearly~~ responsible. You can't keep the nature out. More and more species are infiltrating the city every year and making these homes here.

Observing the City, sample of gathered written fragments (2006, personal archive)

Appendix 5



Footscray in the vicinity of the Footscray Market

Appendix 6



Around and in the vicinity of Queen Victoria Market



**BUDDHA'S
DAY** 

& MULTICULTURAL FESTIVAL
多元文化嘉年華
聯邦廣場慶佛誕
20-21MAY 06
FEDERATION SQUARE

ORGANISED BY:



SPONSORED BY:



Ausvest
Holding Pty Ltd.

佛誕節活動表

BUDDHA'S DAY ACTIVITIES PROGRAMME

20th May

鎮麟祈福法會
Baby Blessing
浴佛淨心
Bathing of the Buddha &
Purification of Our Minds
許願鐘
Wishing Bell
素食園遊會
Vegetarian Food Tasting
多元文化音樂舞蹈表演
Multicultural Performances
文化藝術小站
Arts and Crafts Demonstrations
獻燈祈福法會
Offering of Light & Prayer Ceremony
茶禪
Tea Ceremony

21st May

浴佛法會
Bathing of the Buddha Dharma Function
浴佛淨心
Bathing of the Buddha &
Purification of Our Minds
許願鐘
Wishing Bell
素食園遊會
Vegetarian Food Tasting
多元文化音樂舞蹈表演
Multicultural Performances
文化藝術小站
Arts and Crafts Demonstrations
獻燈祈福法會
Offering of Light & Prayer Ceremony
茶禪
Tea Ceremony

The Origin of Buddha's Day

Shakyamuni Buddha, the founder of Buddhism, was born around 600 BC in northern India as Prince Siddhartha. As a youth, he enjoyed a sheltered and carefree life, until the day he ventured outside his father's palace. Beyond the palace walls, he found human misery, suffering and unhappiness. Troubled by the human sufferings he encountered, he left his family and palace at the age of twenty-nine, in search of "the truth" and to gain an understanding of human suffering and unhappiness.

After six years of searching, self-cultivation and meditation, he finally attained enlightenment. After becoming a Buddha upon enlightenment, he travelled extensively around northern India for the next forty years until his death, spreading his teachings.

When we all come together to celebrate "Buddha's Birthday", we are all coming together to celebrate the timelessness and universality of Buddha's teachings. Teachings that extol compassion and joyfulness, encourage freedom of thought and recognise the dignity and potentiality of the human mind, are as relevant today as they were 2,500 years ago.

The timelessness and universality of Buddha's teachings have led one of the world's greatest scientists, Albert Einstein, to declare that "if there is any religion that could cope with modern scientific needs, it would be Buddhism".

A former Prime Minister of Australia, Robert J. Hawke, in his book "Simply Living" stated that, "I was never on the point of embracing Buddhism but I found, and still find, it infinitely more satisfying than Judaeo-Christian philosophy".

浴佛節的緣起

在紀元前544年的4月8日，佛教教主釋迦牟尼佛，在被稱為世界文明古國之一的印度藍毗尼園中誕生了。教主本名叫悉達多，是一位印度王子。

太子的降誕，有著種種殊勝稀有的瑞相，天空的太陽份外的光明，百花綻放著無比的美麗，百鳥唱著歡樂的歌聲，這一切都是慶賀太子誕生於人間。他在誕生不久時，自動行走七步，而且每走一步，腳下就開出一朵燦爛的蓮花。

他又一手指天，一手指地的說：「天上天下，唯我獨尊！」其意義是「這是我在人間最後的受生，我是為了成佛才生在人間。我是人中最偉大尊貴的覺者，我要廣度救濟一切眾生。」說完天空直瀉下兩條銀鏈似的淨水，一是溫暖的，一是清涼的，洗淨他的身體。這時天空中來了許多天王和梵神，以及無數的天人，他們都來讚美佛陀的誕生。

佛陀出生於人間，出家在人間，成道在人間，說法在人間。

浴佛的意義

為什麼要浴佛呢？佛本來就是清淨的，那裡需要讓凡夫洗滌呢？這只不過是一種象徵。

在浴佛時，有一段偈文「我今灌沐諸如來，淨智莊嚴功德海」，就是說我們用水灌浴佛時，要用虔誠的心，以清淨的佛心，用清淨香水來灌浴佛像。其實，這是藉著外在的浴佛來洗滌我們內心的自性佛，潔淨我們的心，讓我們身心能得到潔淨、輕安。

現代社會不斷進步，人們亦不斷追求名利，物質生活雖豐富，但精神壓力日增，致使心靈空虛。藉此浴佛節日，一同浴佛，洗滌煩心，亦可思維佛陀教誨。如能信仰皈依，更可開拓自我的明淨空間，建立健康正確的人生觀，致使個人生活更添幸福，社會風氣日趨祥和，世界和平則是指日可待。

Buddha's day & Multicultural festival, festival programme brochure (Buddha's Light International Association of Victoria & Fo Guang Shan Melbourne 2006, p. 1 & p. 5)

Appendix 8

A message from the Attorney-General

The Charter of Human Rights and Responsibilities, one simple but historic document that articulates our freedoms, rights and responsibilities, is now enshrined in Victorian law.

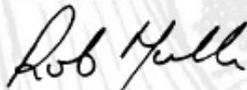
Freedom of speech, freedom of association, protection from cruel and degrading treatment – these and other basic human rights are almost universally recognised, yet not always practised.

At the heart of Victoria's Charter of Human Rights and Responsibilities is respect: the belief that everyone is entitled, as we say, to 'a fair go'. It's part of our national character. It's behind our willingness to help in times of disaster or distress. Yet the notion of 'a fair go' can be ignored, eroded, or corrupted and rights we take for granted diminished or removed.

Contrary to what many of us may assume, the Australian Constitution actually offers little protection for human rights. Other rights and responsibilities are haphazardly scattered across the Victorian statute books and common law while some have been entirely unprotected. This Charter collates and expresses our rights in a clear and commonsense way that can be understood by all.

The Charter is the result of consultation with a wide range of individuals and groups by an independent panel. The panel travelled the state over seven months in 2005 to hear the views of the Victorian community. The consultation resulted in an unprecedented 2500 responses from people and organisations, of which more than 90 percent supported the passage of new human rights legislation.

The Bracks Government places the highest value on protecting and promoting basic human rights for every Victorian. This landmark legislation ensures that future governments continue to value them and cement them at the heart of our community and civic life.



The Hon. Rob Hulls MP
Attorney-General
Victoria

Recognition and equality before the law

People have the right to recognition before the law.

People have the right to enjoy their human rights without discrimination.

People have the right to equality before the law and equal protection of the law without discrimination. Measures taken to assist people who are disadvantaged because of discrimination will not constitute unlawful discrimination under the Charter.

Right to life

Every person has the right to life and the right not to be arbitrarily deprived of life.

Protection from torture and cruel, inhuman or degrading treatment

A person must not be tortured, treated or punished in a cruel, inhuman or degrading way, or subjected to medical or scientific experimentation or treatment without his or her full, free and informed consent.

Freedom from forced work

A person must not be held in slavery or servitude.

A person must not be made to perform forced or compulsory labour other than work or service as a result of a court order; during emergency situations; or as part of normal civil obligations.

Freedom of movement

People have the right to enter and leave Victoria, to move freely within it and to freely choose their place of residence.

Privacy and reputation

A person has the right not to have his or her privacy, family, home or correspondence unlawfully or arbitrarily interfered with and the right not to have his or her reputation unlawfully attacked.

Freedom of thought, conscience, religion and belief

People have the right to freedom of thought, conscience and religion. This includes the freedom to choose a religion or belief, and the freedom to demonstrate the religion individually or as part of a community and in public or private.

A person must not be coerced or restrained in a way that limits his or her freedom to choose a religion or to demonstrate the religion.

Freedom of expression

People have the right to hold opinions without interference.

People have the right to freedom of expression which includes the right to seek, receive and impart information and ideas except when lawful restrictions are reasonably necessary to respect the rights and reputation of others or for the protection of national security, public order, public health or public morality.

Peaceful assembly and freedom of association

People have the right to assemble peacefully.

People have the right to freely associate with others and to form and join trade unions.

Protection of families and children

Families, as the fundamental group unit of society, are entitled to be protected by society and the State.

Children have the right to such protection as is in their best interests, without discrimination.

Taking part in public life

Every person has the right to take part in public affairs.

Every eligible person has the right to vote and be elected and to have access to the Victorian public service and public office.

Cultural rights

People with a particular cultural, religious, racial or linguistic background have the right to enjoy their culture, declare and practise their religion and use their language. Aboriginal people have the right to enjoy their identity and culture. They have the right to maintain their language, kinship ties and spiritual and material relationship with the land, waters and other resources to which they have a connection under traditional laws and customs.

Property rights

A person must not be deprived of his or her property except in accordance with law.

Right to liberty and security

Every person has the right to liberty and security.

A person must not be subjected to arbitrary arrest or detention.

A person must not be deprived of his or her liberty, except on grounds established by law, and in accordance with procedures established by law.

A person arrested or detained must be informed at the time of arrest or detention of the reason for the arrest or detention and promptly informed about any proceedings to be brought against him or her.

A person arrested or detained on a criminal charge must be promptly brought before a court and tried within a reasonable time after arrest or detention. If not, that person must be released.

A person awaiting trial must not be automatically detained in custody. His or her release may be subject to guarantees to appear for trial or for any other stage of the judicial proceeding.

Any person deprived of liberty by arrest or detention is entitled to apply to a court for a declaration or order regarding the lawfulness of the detention. The court must make a decision on the application without delay and order the release of the person if it finds that the detention is unlawful.

A person must not be imprisoned only because of his or her inability to perform a contractual obligation.

Humane treatment when deprived of liberty

Persons deprived of liberty must be treated with humanity and with respect for their inherent human dignity.

An accused person who has been detained must be segregated from those convicted of offences, except where reasonably necessary.

An accused person detained must be treated in a way appropriate for a person not convicted.

Children in the criminal process

An accused child detained or a child detained without charge must be segregated from all detained adults.

An accused child must be brought to trial as quickly as possible.

A child convicted of an offence must be treated in a way that is appropriate for his or her age.

Fair hearing

A person has the right to have criminal charges and rights and obligations recognised by law, decided by a competent, independent and impartial court or tribunal after a fair and public hearing.

A court or tribunal may exclude the media and the public from all or part of a hearing if permitted to do so by a law other than the Charter.

All judgments or decisions made by a court or tribunal in a criminal or civil proceeding must be made public unless this is not in the best interests of a child or is permitted by a law other than the Charter.

Rights in criminal proceeding

A person charged with a criminal offence has the right to be presumed innocent until proved guilty according to law.

A person charged with a criminal offence is entitled without discrimination to the following minimum guarantees:

- (a) to be informed promptly and in detail of the nature and reason for the charge in a language or, if necessary, a type of communication that he or she speaks or understands; and
- (b) to have adequate time and facilities to prepare his or her defence and to communicate with a lawyer or adviser chosen by him or her; and
- (c) to be tried without unreasonable delay; and
- (d) to be tried in person, and to defend himself or herself personally or through legal assistance chosen by him or her or, if eligible, through legal assistance provided by Victoria Legal Aid; and
- (e) to be told, if he or she does not have legal assistance, about the right, if eligible, to legal assistance; and
- (f) to have legal aid provided if the interests of justice require it, without any costs payable by the accused person if he or she does not have sufficient means to pay for the assistance; and
- (g) to examine, or have examined, witnesses against him or her, unless otherwise provided for by law; and

- (h) to obtain the attendance and examination of witnesses on his or her behalf under the same conditions as witnesses for the prosecution;
- (i) to have the free assistance of an interpreter if he or she cannot understand or speak English; and
- (j) to have the free assistance of assistants and specialised communication tools and technology if he or she has communication or speech difficulties that require such assistance; and
- (k) not to be compelled to testify against himself or herself or to confess guilt.

A child who is charged with a criminal offence has the right to a procedure that takes account of the child's age and the desirability of promoting the child's rehabilitation.

Any person convicted of a criminal offence has the right to have the conviction and sentence reviewed by a higher court in accordance with law.

Right not to be tried or punished more than once

A person must not be tried or punished again for an offence for which he or she has already been finally convicted or acquitted.

Retrospective criminal laws

A person must not be found guilty of a criminal offence because of conduct that was lawful at the time.

A penalty must not be imposed on any person for a criminal offence that is greater than the penalty that applied to the offence at the time it was committed.

If a penalty for an offence is reduced after a person committed the offence, that person must be eligible for the reduced penalty.

The trial and punishment of any person for any act or omission which was an offence under international law at the time it was committed, is not affected by the section.