Making people's stories matter: a reflective case study of a community arts project with a group of migrant women cleaners

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This research examines historical and contemporary approaches to community art and community cultural development (CACCD) practice. The inquiry uses values, beliefs, and principles of CACCD revealed in this study: self-expression, caring, solidarity, and hope to investigate an Australian community arts and cultural development (CACD) project. The author proposes an ethical collaborative basis as a corrective to what the research describes as the unstable and vulnerable government-funded CACCD artistic practice. The researcher deploys intrinsic qualitative case methodology to investigate social meanings and value of CACCD practice, applying a theoretical lens to the case from the perspective of an artist and practitioner, using a sample of my CACD work, "The Monologue".

The study applies anthropologist Ghassan Hage's writings to the case. Hage draws on migrant and refugee stories to reveal meaning, and challenge aspects of Australian life. Hage's focus on migrants and refugees as marginalised is salient as the case involves migrant women cleaners. The study design focusses on storytelling, a key element of CACD practice. An anthology and theatre production emerged from the women's stories within the *Invisible Work Invisible Pain* project (1996-1998) undertaken in a union setting. The case of the monologue *Fly* developed from the experience of Lora, injured during her work. Together with Hage's concepts of "gifts of social life" identified CACD principles are applied discursively to the case study.

The results reveal the significance of relationships, i.e., collaboration between artists, practitioners, and people, generating art works representing participants' experiences. A network of relations, including financial endowment and government policy supported the project, providing an essential power base for completion. The subsequent production/art work symbolises a set of agencies enabling otherwise unnoticed voices and stories to be known within society. However, dependence on shifting government policy/funding inhibits potential and misrecognises the value and ability of the work to address issues of social justice.
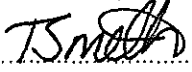
This study unlocks the potential of CACD, revealing, in the case of Lora, how Hage's gifts of social life are appropriate to CACD work. This research is significant to understanding overlooked dynamics of CACD practice essential for sustaining respect and reciprocity within civil society.

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ABBREVIATIONS & ACRONYMS

THE AUSTRALIA COUNCIL

AC   Australia Council for the Arts, the Federal Government's arts funding and advisory body, set up by the Australia Council Act in 1975

ACMAC   Australia Council Multicultural Arts Committee

A&WL   Art and Working Life program of the Australia Council, 1982—1996. A policy on Art and Working Life was adopted by the Australia Council on 3 September 1982 (Mills, 1983, p. 16 & Churchill, 1988). The last grants devolved to the ACTU under the CCDU funding program were on 30.12.1995 although it remained a Council policy. It stopped being expressed as a Council policy between 1996 and 1997 (Donovan, A. 2006).

CAB   Community Arts Board: the staff and the peer advisory body of the Australia Council's community arts funding program (1978 — 1987/88)

CAC   Community Arts Committee: the staff and the peer advisory body of the Australia Council's community arts funding program (1973 – 1977)

CADC   Community Arts and Development Committee (June 1973 – June 1974)

CCD   Community Cultural Development: the new name for community arts and the Australia Council's funding program; instigated from within the Australia Council from 1987

CCDB   Community Cultural Development Board: the staff, members and peer advisory body of the Australia Council's community arts and community cultural development arts funding program

CCDF   Community Cultural Development Fund: the Australia Council's community arts and community cultural development arts funding program

CCDU   Community Cultural Development Unit: the successor of the Community Arts Board in 1987/88, the Australia Council's community arts and community cultural development arts funding program and body

CP   Community Partnerships and Art Marketing: the Australia Council's renamed community arts and community cultural development funding program and body, 2006 - present

OTHER ABBREVIATIONS

ACDU   the Arts and Cultural Development Unit, the ACT Government's arts funding and advisory body and precursor of the current body artsACT

ACT   Australian Capital Territory

ACTU   Australian Council of Trade Unions

AiWLC   Art in Working Life Committee: the name the Committee of the Art and Working Life program at the ACTTLC

ALHMWU   Australian Liquor, Hospitality, and Miscellaneous Workers Union, now United Voice

AO   Arts Officer

APRA   Australian Performing Rights Association

CA   Community Arts

CACD   Community Arts and Cultural Development (see also Explanation of Terms, p. 217)

CANN   Community Arts National Network

CANSA   Community Arts Network, South Australia

CCDNET   A national online CA and CCD website hosted by the staff of the South Australian Community Arts Network and originally funded by the Australia Council. The website remains online

CCDNSW   Community Cultural Development New South Wales, the community arts and community cultural development network which succeeded the NSW Community Arts Association. State funding support from artsNSW ceased in

	2010 followed by Federal Government arts funding support through the Australia Council.
CD	Cultural development – my abbreviation of the long-winded term community cultural development
COFA	College of Fine Arts, University of New South Wales, Paddington
DDT	Death Defying Theatre
EBA	Enterprise Bargaining Award
FILEF	the Federazione Italiana Lavoratori Emigrati e Famiglie (Federation of Italian Migrant Workers and their families)
FTG	FILEF Theatre Group
IMF	International Monetary Fund
IWIP	*Invisible Work Invisible Pain* project, Trades and Labour Council of the ACT Ltd 1996 - 1998
LHMU	Whilst still retaining the original full name of the Australian Liquor, Hospitality, and Miscellaneous Workers Union, the ACT Branch of the union shortened their acronym by late 1996. The LHMU was renamed United Voice on March 1st, 2011
NACA	National Arts and Culture Alliance formed as a lobbying and advocacy group in 2005-2006 to campaign around the issues surrounding the decision by the Executive of the Australia Council to dismantle the CCDB funding program
NAMA	National Agenda for a Multicultural Australia, released by the Hawke Labor Government in 1989
NCWA	National Council of Women of Australia
NSW	New South Wales
NSWCAA	the New South Wales Community Arts Association, the community arts and community cultural development network dates and precursor of CCDNSW
OH&S	Occupational Health and Safety
TLC	Trades and Labour Council of the ACT Incorporated, the precursor of Unions ACT

UAO	Union Arts Officer. At the time of the Invisible Work Invisible Pain project there were UAOs based with peak union bodies and individual unions in Tasmania, Western Australia, the Northern Territory, Queensland, Newcastle
UV	United Voice, formerly the Australian Liquor, Hospitality, and Miscellaneous Workers Union (LHMU)
UMS	Union Media Services, a graphic and design business serving union media needs, owned by the late Ian Burn and based in Trades Hall, Sydney
WCAC	the Workers' Cultural Action Committee, a sub-committee of the Newcastle Trades Hall Council
WELL	the ACTTLCs Workplace English Language and Literacy program
WTG	the Womens Theatre Group formed in 1974 and initially based at the Pram Factory, Drummond Street, Carlton

This thesis is dedicated to

Jeanette and Harold Speed

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CHAPTER ONE
INTRODUCTION TO THE STUDY: METHOD AND DESIGN

Background to the study

My desire to investigate the reasons for my long term involvement as a community arts and community development (CACD) artist practitioner stemmed from a need to examine the meaning and value of my work and the worth of this government funded arts practice to society. In particular I wanted to focus on the value of the completed projects with people within communities that exist outside the main culture, people whose voices are rarely heard.

In order to uncover a social meaning for CACD practice, an investigation of social theory has been undertaken. Social scientist Ghassan Hage's concept of a hope that is "on the side of being" (Costelloe, 2001) has been pivotal in framing this inquiry. Hage's work on theories of the gifts of social life, caring and hope provides an interpretation of social meaning in relation to CACD, a government arts funding program, the well-established processes used by CACD artists and practitioners in their collaborations with participating people, and the important role played by the network of relations that forms to support CACD projects. The possibilities that might be generated through the CACD art works that result from the collaborations and are shown in the public domain are also examined using Hage's theories.

An art work drawn from my body of work has been selected which represents a "good enough" example of CACD practice. The art work is used as a case, as the evidence to test three principles underpinning CACD practice within the framework of Hage's three concepts. I selected the monologue *Fly* (Lora, 1998) as the subject of the case study. It is based on the story *I will fly again* by a woman who wrote under the pseudonym Lora. The story was created with writer Lizz Murphy and published in English

and Lora's first language, Serbian. Murphy worked with a group of more than twenty mainly migrant women cleaners who took part in the writing stage of the *Invisible Work Invisible Pain* project. She gathered and edited their stories, many of which were then translated into the women's first languages and were published in 1997 in the multilingual anthology *Everyone Needs Cleaners, Eh!*, by the Trades and Labour Council of the ACT Inc (TLC). I then re-worked Lora's story into a monologue which was threaded in sequences throughout the multilingual dance theatre production *Bring in the cleaners* (BITC) which was staged in Canberra over a five night season in 1998.

The *Invisible Work Invisible Pain* project was concerned with evidence of high rates of injury suffered by cleaners. At the time the workforce of cleaners was largely made up of migrant women from a range of diverse backgrounds. Hage's theories are also used to explain the situation of the migrant women cleaners in the wider socio-economic setting of globalisation and the effects this is having on nations and the people living within them.

The case

The case of the monologue forms the core of this investigation and is seen as a "good enough" (Winnicott, 1971, p. 83 & p. 95) representation of an art work created using CACD processes that were practised during the mid-1990s. The extant documentation surrounding the creation and reception of the monologue are artefacts that provide a trace of its existence. These artefacts are the data samples through which the problems addressed by this inquiry will be examined. The data samples include evidence surrounding the creation of the monologue and stories based on Murphy's and my own experiences as active participants in the project. The study deploys Robert Stake's intrinsic qualitative case study methodology to examine the case (Stake, 2000). The *Invisible Work Invisible Pain* project, within which Lora's story and the monologue were created, took place between 1996 and 1998 in Canberra within a trade union setting as at least one of the women

in the group belonged to the union that represents cleaners, the Australian Liquor, Hospitality and Miscellaneous Workers Union (LHMU), now Union Voice.

The monologue tells the story of Lora's exposure to harm in a sector of work where injury was a systemic problem. Working as a cleaner in the hospitality sector at the time did not involve receiving instruction in dealing with hazards associated with this kind of work. Lora told her story to Murphy in extensive detail and Murphy edited it into a written narrative. Lora's experience became widely known through its publication in the anthology and again when it was re-fashioned into the monologue and publicly performed. Both art works represent Lora's experience of a particular kind of violence that happens to cleaners. The data samples include stories from my experience as an active participant in the creation of the monologue. I had produced a body of work which reflected a multicultural arts practice from the 1970s and the projects I was involved in with migrant communities were characterised by issues concerning power and representation related to class and ethnicity as well as questions of ethnic and national identity. The director used reflective performance techniques based on the work of playwright and director Bertolt Brecht involving his notions of epic theatre (1978, p. 37) and the notion of *verfremdung*, meaning to change something familiar into something strange and distance it (Costelloe, 1985).

THE METHODOLOGY OF CASE STUDIES

Stake discusses the ability of different case study methodologies to illuminate both general and particular phenomena present in society (2000, pp. 435- 454). He sees it as unnecessary to find a one-size-fits-all principle to all academic investigations because case studies are specific, individual and localised and it is these factors, he claims, which distinguish case studies from anything else. Stake argues that the processes undertaken for a case study have been inadequately recognised for their inherent possibilities as essential enquiries into one or more significant factors (2000, p. 439). He

is clear that when contemplating researching and developing a case study, questions will inevitably arise about how much time and resources are available to bring to the inquiry (Stake, 2000, p. 439). These factors determine how deeply the researcher can delve into the substance of a case to draw out its background and meaning and what was achieved. This influenced my eventual choice of the monologue as the case at the centre of this inquiry, in terms of how much time I would be able to spend studying its complexities as well as how much of it would need to be understood.

The question of generalisability

Despite many researchers' preference for case studies that focus on generalisability to other cases, Stake (2000, p. 439) believes it is necessary "to support disciplined and scholarly study that takes up important questions but has no scientific aspiration". Case studies are useful when thinking about other similar cases in different settings or of contexts that concern different things, because they focus on developing generalisations or general principles which can be applied to other comparable situations. However, generalisations from one or even several experiences may or may not be relevant or useful outside their own contexts. Over-reliance on them can risk overlooking vital and necessary local knowledge or circumstances not immediately apparent in situations that have occurred outside the environment in which another case took place.

Modelling is an accumulative process where, unlike the use of templates, a particular model is proposed and once it has undergone practical application and testing, it is built on and further developed. Models can be used in mechanistic and proscriptive ways, where institutions promulgate a singular, correct way of doing things or have limited resources for pursuing imaginative and practical approaches to discuss and illuminate circumstances surrounding long-standing difficult, complex or unruly social situations. Where a study, report or article takes the generalisations arising out of one particular case and applies them to another case, the unique, mundane and special features of the other case is missed. For whatever

reason where a case is fitted into a preconceived template, the value of the study, report or article is constrained and compromised by lack of focus on the different circumstances and contexts in which it exists.

Where a gap exists, it lies in the space between the depth, richness and complexity of a CACD project — in all its particularity, colour and detail — and the reporting evaluation made to the arts funding bureaucracies. It is as if the interest and wonder, palpable when an audience watched an unfolding narrative about a group of people never represented by their own voices in public before, vanishes once practitioners fulfil the funding reporting requirements. The project is no longer an aesthetic experience that inspires an appreciation of beauty, mystery, suffering, complexity, paradox, injustice, unawareness, poignancy or hopefulness. The artwork and its reception is reduced to a set of sociological, political or cultural propositions, objectives, achievements or failures, devoid of any of the poetry the project was able to conjure up in the minds and hearts, memories and intimations of those who made it, took part in it and witnessed it.

Qualitative case studies

According to Norman Denzin and Yvonna Lincoln (Stake, 2000), qualitative research is grounded in the most part, in approaches which take into account the whole picture. These methods of understanding situations which take place in society, including the predicaments of individuals and groups and their characteristics, are seen as deriving from particular circumstances, places and people linked and connected to a wide range of events and actions of a different nature. In terms of a kind of research, the case study approach was chosen for this particular work because it suited the nature of the inquiry. The methodology of a case study does not preclude other methods of scrutiny and analysis. Calling this investigation a case study immediately focuses the purpose on discovering what particular understandings and knowledge can be found in and drawn from the case of the monologue.

Stake (2000) makes the point that a case is a separate entity within its own right and functions on its own terms as well as in relation to the wider society in which it is situated. The monologue was created as a performance with its own identifiable parts which worked together in particular ways according to specific rationales. The performance of the monologue followed well-known as well as newly forged pathways. In these ways, the meaning and purpose of the monologue was created. It represented a particular theatrical form, situated within the dance theatre performance and linked to that in various ways as well as being connected in a number of senses, to institutions, organisations and groups outside its existence as an art work. The monologue is examined as an art work created by a funded art practice and as an expression of a social and health problem existing for the women cleaners working within the hospitality service sector.

The value of intrinsic case studies

Intrinsic is an adjective derived from the Latin *intra* meaning within, used to describe a quality or qualities belonging to the essential nature or constitution of something, in this case, the monologue. According to Stake, (2000, p. 437), the intention of an intrinsic case study is not to develop hypotheses, generalisations or theories, even though there may be occasions when the researcher does that. An intrinsic investigation is done because of a basic curiosity about the nature of the particular case and a desire to understand an aspect of it in a fuller, more detailed way. It is when the particularities of the case and what is valuable about it become known and understood on its own terms and within its own spheres of influence that the nuances and subtleties that give it meaning can be comprehended in their entirety. Stake (2000, p. 439) goes on to say that a full rich and "thick description" of the case only emerges with the identification of the concerns of the case and the issues that are particular to it and its contexts, settings and framework. At this point what has been revealed can be explained and interpreted.

Stake's note that researchers occasionally differentiate between a case record and a case study is relevant when using case studies to discuss CACD practice. Much of the writing about CA and CD projects that are called case studies are only glimpses of them, aimed primarily at advocating the usefulness of the practice as a tool to address social issues. While such an instrumental quality is unquestionably one of its key outcomes, one with which this study is also concerned, other intrinsic qualities of the practice have been overlooked. The nature of a case, its historical background and physical setting and all the myriad contexts in which it exists are essential to develop a full picture and understanding of what went on. Stake's sense that both a case record and a case study can exist side by side within a final case study report is useful to the practice. It directs the field to address these gaps and ensure that in future, projects used as exemplars are given their full due. This is accomplished by undertaking a fully fleshed-out story of the case in all its complexity and detail. This approach honours the project and recognises all those who made it happen. It also provides evidence for arguing for the value and usefulness of the case in terms of its intrinsic qualities as an art work and an instrument which has agency in a wider social domain.

All the participants — the artists, practitioners and the women cleaners — bring specific qualities, skills and knowledge that inform and define the relationships that develop between them and contribute to the creation of the resulting artworks. The creation of the monologue will be discussed in these terms. The relationships that developed between the participants are intrinsically linked to the quality of the collaborative processes to produce the art works in terms of how each of them — the writer, the project director, scriptwriter, director and Lora — individually contributed to the collective endeavour. The reception of the artwork by the storyteller participant who collaborates in its creation is seen as a key indicator of a CACD project's success or otherwise. In this case Lora's response to the creation of the story *I will fly again* on which the monologue was based was intrinsic to the way in which the monologue was subsequently scripted and

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then performed and the reason why the director sought her involvement in the performance. Where all these factors are taken into account, and the intrinsic roles of all the participants in the making of the art work — the artists, practitioners and people are made explicit, and in this way their contributions are honoured. These considerations about art—making processes are intrinsically linked to the success or failure of the instrumental outcomes of the project. Importantly they provide artists and practitioners with a critical perspective of their work, a crucial factor that enables them to refine and extend their practice. Reflecting on these questions also enables artists and practitioners to differentiate clearly their own thinking and plans for the development of their artistic practice from the intentions of the funding bodies and the groups, organisations and people with whom they work.

The meaning of cleaning

Cleaning as a task is intrinsic to our health. It is contested along gender lines in vigorous and silent ways in many homes of women in the paid workforce. Cleanliness is used as a metaphor for order and disorder. In the current period of the 2000s, where there is increasing possibility of exposure to harmful and in some cases deadly viruses and diseases in offices, schools, hospitals, paid accommodation, public transport and airports, it is salient to note that this hazard bears no relationship to the pay, working conditions and status accorded those people who clean these places for a living. Cleaning is seen as women's work, especially in the domestic realm.

The Greek archetype most closely related to cleaning is Hestia, the virgin goddess of the home and the sacred private and public hearth. According to the *Larousse world mythology* (Grimal, 1989, p. 105 & p. 110), Hestia was one of twelve Olympian deities, herself one of three daughters of the Titan Rhea, sister and consort of Cronus. According to *The Greek myths* (Graves, 1960, Vol. I, p. 43, pp. 74—75, 106, 125), Hestia was the only Olympian who never took part in conflicts or arguments, and was happy to leave behind the family quarrels and problems. Nonetheless, she was always

awarded the first public sacrifice by Zeus in recognition of her ability to keep the peace. She willingly gave Dionysus her seat when he ascended to Olympus. A goddess who received and protected guests and supplicants, Hestia is the personification of hospitality, and any bad treatment towards visitors signified a slight against the goddess herself. Hestia was also the name given to a popular brand of women's lingerie in Australia.

THE DESIGN OF THE CASE

Investigating long-standing questions and problems surrounding my work as a CACD artist and practitioner since the 1970s, Robert Stake's explanation of the methodology of qualitative case studies is salient to this study. A qualitative case study of the performance of the monologue from my practice, from an intrinsic perspective, was an appropriate method to investigate CACD practice. Hage has been chosen as an intellectual whose social, political and economic theories I had become interested in and whose works I had begun reading. Understanding how a theoretical informant would enable me to pursue answers to my questions, Hage's work was deployed in order to use them in the analysis of the case.

The monologue was chosen from a number of art works for a number of reasons which are dealt with in Chapter Five. One reason for the selection of this particular performance was I had been involved in its creation in multiple roles as an artist and practitioner, a distinction set out in the section "Explanation of terms" in Appendix A, p. 216. For example, I worked firstly as the project director of the *Invisible Work Invisible Pain* project, and then developed a working script for the dance theatre production *Bring in the Cleaners* which I directed and within which the monologue was performed. The choice of the monologue as the subject of the case in this inquiry also instantiates Hage's interest in and focus on the situation of migrants and others who live outside mainstream culture in Australia. He discusses issues faced by migrants from their perspectives and uses stories from interviews he conducts with them to illustrate theories he proposes to understand their situations and their reception by those who see themselves

as representing the prevailing culture in Australia. As the inquiry proceeded, it was clear that Hage's theories were applicable to the examination of the monologue because the nature of an intrinsic qualitative case study enables aspects relevant to this kind of inquiry to be revealed. Hage's social anthropology, embedded as it is in Bourdieu's research methods, enables a rich and nuanced unravelling of the layers of such an intricate construct as this *Invisible Work Invisible Pain* enterprise.

Stake (2000, p. 444) discusses researchers who design their enquiries in ways which enable them to find out what is valuable about the case on its own terms and within its own sphere of existence. It is the creation and planning of a particular approach to the study of the case which enables the revelation and development of its concerns. This is what Stake (2000) describes as the rich, substantial account of the case, citing Clifford Geertz' 1973 essay 'Thick description: Toward an interpretive theory of culture'.

Storytelling as a medium and an art form is central to the design of this inquiry. Stories are used to interpret the data collection that traces the creation and reception of the monologue. As Stake says:

> Storytelling as cultural representation and as sociological text emerges from many traditions, but nowhere more strongly than oral history and folklore, and is becoming more disciplined in a line of work called *narrative enquiry* (2000, p. 441).

A substantial body of CACD work is based on gathering people's stories and fashioning them into art works that are able to reflect the concerns of the project — the dense, complex and vivid aspects of the storyteller participants' lives. Stories from the reports that were written about the *Invisible Work Invisible Pain* project and were part of the acquittals required by the funding bodies are also included. The project director's funding acquittal and the writer's Artistic Report can be found in Appendix C, CD 2. Questions about the nature of storytelling, what it does and how storytelling can be an agency for change assist in revealing the importance and meaning

of the storytelling that took place in the setting of *Invisible Work Invisible Pain*.

Three principles informing CACD practice were identified: self-expression, self-determination and solidarity. They are linked to the notion of cultures of silence expounded by educationist Paolo Freire in his 1972 publication *Cultural action for freedom*. This enriched my understanding that my own stories of involvement and experiences as a participant in the creation of the monologue would be valuable in explaining the nature of the practice. In these ways, the design of the study encompasses the use of storytelling, a key component of the data of documentation surrounding the case. This is used to test it against theories of CACD practice and theories of social life proposed by Hage and others.

Hage and the design of the case

In Chapter Three, theories drawn from the writings of the anthropologist Ghassan Hage (1998, 2000, 2002 & 2003) are used to contextualise the three principles of self-expression, self-determination and solidarity as applied in the practice of CACD in society. Hage applies his theories of gifts of social life, caring and hope to contemporary social situations involving migrants and others who live outside mainstream culture in order to understand responses to their presence here. In this context, his understanding of community as a place where people can build a home and live with each other with a sense of fellowship and mutual respect is significant. It builds on the definitions and meanings of this term proposed by Ros Bower in 1980, Andrea Hull in 1983 and David Watt in 1991, discussed further in this chapter and Chapter Two.

Hage's theory of gifts of social life is used to investigate the value and social meaning of the monologue which is a representation of the not uncommon phenomenon of what can happen to migrant women cleaners in the course of their work. In this sense, the monologue presents evidence of the statistics regarding the prevalence, types and causes of injury to

employees within the cleaning workforce in Australia. The research and other evidence on which the development of the project was based is found in Appendix B, p. 221. Hage's rehabilitation of the value of caring is applied to the collaborative processes which constitute a major aspect of the generative methodology used by Murphy and I in our work with Lora creating the story and the monologue. Hage's theory of a political economy of hope is employed to understand the importance of being able to transform Lora's story of her experience of becoming injured into art works that could be read, seen, heard and understood within the public sphere.

Hage proposes that gifts of social life are made available to all members of society through its institutions and mechanisms. He further characterises real as well as symbolic acts of giving, receiving and reciprocation. The invitation Murphy and I made to Lora to become involved in the *Invisible Work Invisible Pain* CACD project can be construed as a symbolic act which she perceived and reciprocated through her acceptance and willingness to become involved. As someone who as a cleaner had been badly injured in the course of her work, Lora was willing to take part in an arts project that was concerned with the issue of injury to cleaners. She wanted to share her stories and came to understand her situation within a wider social context in the light of the statistical evidence which was published in the anthology. According to Hage, notions of honour and obligation inform exchanges and signify recognition by others of our basic entity, of our essential humanness. The faithfulness and gratitude inherent in these exchanges between people and critically, between a nation and its citizens, are important as they exemplify an interest in ensuring the continuing viability of this relationship.

It is through giving gifts of social life, Hage (2000, p. 32) argues, a society keeps and fosters its own ethics and values by offering its citizens the kind of principles and environment it wants them to honour and reciprocate. Further, Hage maintains, it is the manner in which certain gifts are offered by governments which reveal the respect and esteem in which the

authorities hold or do not hold their people. From this he claims it is possible to determine the nature of the ethical belief systems which underpin a given society. It is the government, Hage maintains (2003, p. 3) which, as the major distributor of hope, is responsible for ensuring that everyone has access to hope. "The caring society is essentially an embracing society that generates hope among its citizens and induces them to care for it." At the Art + Globalisation + Cultural Difference conference in 2001 and in conversation with Mary Zournazi, he defines this in terms of a political and social economy of hope, "one which is on the side of life" (Costelloe, 2001; Zournazi, 2002, p. 151).

Application of Hage's writing about gifts of social life, caring and hope to the generative methodology in creating the story and the monologue, disclose that a major element of government CA and CD funding programs lies in the manner in which practitioners are able to offer a gift to those who live outside mainstream culture. The gift is an invitation to take part in a CACD project, have their story heard and work with professional artists to create an artwork based on it. The processes of the practice embody respect for the languages of the participating people and the ways in which they express themselves, as well as their right to determine how they want to tell their stories within the negotiated terms of the project. The processes exemplify a kind of caring that is valuable because the ways the artists and practitioners welcome people, and position their knowledge and experiences as the central concern of the project is respectful. In this way, the practice honours them. A certain hopefulness comes into being in the way that each person's story, as well as the group's collective story, is transformed into an art work. As an art work it is taken out into the public sphere for wider exposure and consideration.

I first came across Hage's plain-speaking analysis of the rationales behind migration and his position on hope in at the conference in 2001, long after the completion of the *Invisible Work Invisible Pain* project in 1998. Hage's explanation of a political economy of hope sees its availability as an

enabling and positive concept, informing people's decision to leave their country and emigrate to another. This is despite a lack of knowledge of what was to come. He uses a story told to him in an interview by a man called Ali Ateek, to illustrate theories of social exchange which explain particular social phenomena. The story contains rich detail, background and meaning, concerning the specific realities of Mr Ateek's life. In bringing social, philosophical and political concepts and notions to comment on his story, Hage extrapolates on the ways these ideas inform the way people think, make decisions and act within the limitations and possibilities of what is available to them, in the given social setting in which they live.

Chapter Three recounts the offer to Mr Ateek of an apparently mundane, but to him immeasurably valuable gift of social life. His story prompted me to consider whether CA and CD projects could also be seen as gifts from society that are made available to people living in this society. The invitation to take part in the *Invisible Work Invisible Pain* project was initially offered to everyone involved in cleaning in Canberra's hospitality sector, including the managers of cleaning companies and their staff. Hage is also clear that gifts of social life signify a particular kind of caring by a nation towards its people, with recognition of their existence. The notion of care and caring is also acknowledged as an aspect of CA and CD processes and a quality often present in the resulting art works. It has been described by some as a "feel good", "woolly" "motherhood" term that lacks a critical edge or any real punch or accuracy. To my mind these interpretations of care reveal a misunderstanding of the meaning of "care" and its transformative power. It was refreshing to come across Hage's work and his desire to rehabilitate this notion. His arguments enabled me to investigate the expression of care within the processes of creating the monologue and from there its place within CA and CD practice. This journey results in the reinstatement of caring as a concept of great consequence.

In the study, the groups that were central to the creation of the monologue are identified in order to clarify and investigate the problems. In Chapter

Two the three entities enable the literature about the practice to be sorted into meaningful categories to assist the inquiry. The term "critical friends" — which is defined in Appendix A, p. 217 — was settled on to describe those whose writing and thinking about community, community development and art making in a social context inform CACD work. Government funding bodies are another group intrinsic to the practice, in particular the Australia Council for the Arts (AC), the Federal arts funding and advisory body which initiated the CACD funding program in the 1970s and was its key supporter within the period of this study. The third group consists of unions, their organisations and affiliates and the community, migrant and health groups and organisations which became part of the network of relations surrounding the project, are included in this category. The three entities derived their identification and relationship through their connection to the generative methodology used to create the monologue, the case at the heart of this study.

The questions

The research questions emerge from the investigation of problems concerned with establishing the value of the work of CA and CD practitioners to Australian society. Questions revolve around the relationship of community arts and cultural development to institutions within society and what CACD is able to achieve. The origins of CACD practice and the theories and principles underpinning it and the results of an investigation into concepts of community are set out in Chapter Two. The questions find their most vivid representation in the story of the monologue which is explained in Chapter Four. The design of this investigation is focussed on the following questions.

> 1. How do the participants in the project, the artists, practitioners and the women cleaners, show a reciprocal and reciprocated mutual act of caring through an exchange of a gift of social life?

2. How did the exchange encourage hopefulness that the situation of the women's continuing exposure to unsafe work practices might be redressed?
3. How was the project influenced by the network of relations surrounding the event — that is the group of artists and practitioners, the institutions of the funding bodies and unions?

The questions deal with the relationships between the individual participating artists and practitioners — Murphy and myself — and Lora the storyteller, the resulting art work created through this exchange and what this represented. They also indicate the way how the project existed within a social setting through the involvement of those who formed the network of relations that supported the project. The tensions that became apparent between the needs of the individuals and the collective institutions are highlighted in Chapter Five. This may also explain the reasons behind the poor standing, vulnerability and instability of the artistic practice of CACD.

These ideas also relate to my own practice and my role in the creation of the monologue. By using the case of the monologue in an instrumental sense, Hage's theories of gifts of social life, caring and hope and his idea of what constitutes 'community' are triangulated with the principles of self-expression, self-determination and solidarity as evident in the case.

Limitations of the study

The stories and experiences of women cleaners are central to the study. Cleaning has been a traditionally female occupation since European settlement in Australia. The research is concerned with the period between 1974 and 2006 encompassing my involvement in the first Womens Theatre Group (WTG) shows in Melbourne, the years 1996 to 1998 during which the *Invisible Work Invisible Pain* project took place, and the re-structure of the Australia Council's Community Cultural Development funding program into Community Partnerships in 2006.

As a founding member of the Womens Theatre Group at the Pram Factory, together with a small group of performers, I researched, devised and performed in the show *The women and work show* (1975). The Secretary of the Victorian Meatworkers Union Wally Curran toured it to factories employing significant numbers of women meatworker, continuing his predecessor George Seelaf's commitment to involving union members in art and cultural activities. Seelaf believed that:

> If the working class are deprived of cultural activities or deprived of the right to participate in cultural activities, they're back to the slave days and that's what we've been fighting against. All progressive humanity over history have been fighting against that slave concept (Union Media Services, 1984).

The focus of this investigation is on the artist as the agent of practice and this is informed by social activism and issues of equity. This involves re-visiting the history of the practice and that of the case from the perspective of the principles of self-expression, self-determination and solidarity. Hage's writings on self-expression, self-determination and solidarity together with his concepts of gifts of social life, caring and hope are used to uncover layers of meaning embodied in the monologue. While Hage discusses his theories in relation to migrants and refugees, this investigation is limited to the situation of migrants and in particular the migrant women cleaners at the centre of the case. I am aware there are more aspects to concepts with which I am dealing than those I discuss. In the case of multiculturalism for example, my deployment of this concept focusses on its relevance to the case, its interpretation and analysis.

The debate on multiculturalism includes issues of cultural identity, cultural excellence and social cohesion. I have chosen to focus on those aspects of earlier ideas associated with it. These include ensuring all Australians have the right to speak English as well as to speak, maintain and where possible retrieve their first language. All should be able to access services and enjoy equality of opportunities available to anyone from English speaking backgrounds. In terms of the Australia Council's Art and Working Life policy and program (1982/83 – 1996), the extent to which I focus on its

existence and the nature of the art work accomplished within its parameters is also determined by the problems I am addressing through this study and the framework within which this takes place.

THE SIGNIFICANCE OF THE STUDY

The study is a sustained investigation into the under-researched field of community arts and cultural development, an inconsistently discussed funded art practice. The investigation has been conducted from my perspective as an artist practitioner. Principles are identified and defined which inform the processes used by practitioners in their work with participating people. Social theories and theories of social exchange are introduced and explained in order to illuminate the social meaning of the principles underpinning the practice and the value of the work of practitioners to Australian society In order to generate the case, an art work has been chosen to represent a "good enough" example of CACD practice. The art work took place within a union setting. This enables me to establish the nature of the exchange which took place between the migrant women participants, in particular Lora, one of the women and the artist practitioners.

In 2004 — 2005, when the CACD funding program at the AC was called into question, renamed and its budget reduced, practitioners were described in the final edition of *Artwork* magazine by editor Lisa Philip-Harbutt as "doing it tough" (2006, p. 3) and feeling "undervalued and disconnected" from what they perceived as "*their* federal support agency" (my emphasis). By investigating the case of the monologue through the prism of Hage's concept of hope — an attitude that is "on the side of being" (Costelloe, 2001) — it will be claimed that through the mechanisms of the CACD arts funding program, society is able to extend this kind of hope to people like Lora who live and work outside the mainstream culture.

The significance of the role of artists and practitioners is misrecognised. Their role is central to the collaborative processes which lead to the creation

of the art works because it is they who initiate the exchange that takes place, welcoming people joining the project as active participants. Practitioners value and express interest in them and their stories, and offer their creative and organisational skills to the collaborations in ways that enable art works to be created. These works represent the voices of the participating people and emerge through the practitioner's commitment to social justice.

These findings shed light on the nature of the power of institutions in relation to that of individuals within society. The interest and support of union organisations enabled the project to happen and the women's voices to be heard. However, union involvement in government—funded arts projects is conditional on the approval of politicians, who are responsible for determining policies and the application of them and for approving arts funding recommendations from the staff and peer members of government institutions. It will be shown in Chapter Four that, with the agreement of the union arts officer, the staff of two ACT government institutions were able to successfully negotiate project funding for use by the newly-created union arts officer position at the ACT Trades and Labour Council, in the face of the government's decision to discontinue funding the position. The *Invisible Work Invisible Pain* project represented the compromise and, with additional funding secured from Healthpact and the Australia Council, provided work for the union arts officer over the following two years. In this way, the staff and peer advisors of the ACT Government institutions became part of the network of relations surrounding the position of the union arts officer and the project. Questions of power and agency and who benefits from the existence of the CA and CD funding programs, will be taken up in Chapter Five.

Framing the study

Chapter Two introduces the concept of dominant cultures within society using the work of pioneering community arts practitioner Vivienne Binns (1991), academic David Watt (1991) and feminist art critic and art historian Linda Nochlin (1989). Dominance is used to understand the entrenched

power of some within society. Freire's (1972) work continues be of relevance in investigating post-colonial practices, remnants of which according to Hage, first in *White nation* (1998), and then in conversation with Zournazi (2002), can be discerned amongst those who hold attitudes of what Hage calls "colonial whiteness" (Zournazi, 2002, p. 154), towards those outside the prevailing culture. According to Freire, what is required to address unjust and entrenched power is for the voiceless to find their voices and come to the table to speak to those who hold and maintain power. Freire had no time for the destructiveness of violent armed revolution and its transient outcomes and shifts in power bases, and saw education as a means to freedom. Internationally recognised as a major interpreter of the work of sociologist and public intellectual Pierre Bourdieu, Hage's (2002) application of Bourdieu's concept of "symbolic violence" provides a further understanding of dominance. Hage frames the injustice and powerlessness experienced by those outside the dominant culture in terms of the violence wrought by the despair and hopelessness as they live unacknowledged and ignored. The theory of symbolic violence resonates with the concept of cultural dominance and the despair Lora endured following her accident.

Hage's deployment of the Bourdieuian concept "social being" (2003, p. 20) in Chapter Three raises the idea that "being" is not a given — that some people are born into or inherit more of a life, a better existence than others. In *White Nation* (1989), when discussing the power implicit in the notion of tolerance, Hage argues that tolerant acceptance is not concerned with accepting people for their humanness. Rather,

> tolerance presupposes that the object of tolerance is just that: an object of the will of the tolerator. Tolerant acceptance is never a passive acceptance, a kind of 'letting be' (1998, p. 89).

CACD practitioner Sally Marsden (2000, p. 65) describes her work with young people as "being with" them, a quality of relationship Marsden sees as key to her practice with young people. "Being with" is interpreted as a further development of a relationship of solidarity and resonates with

Bourdieu's concept. The meaning of "being" becomes of increasing interest in analysing what it is that CA and CD practice is able to do.

Hage's ongoing interest in Bourdieu's concept of networks of relations (retrieved 24.3.2014), is used to identify the specific nature, meaning and function of the network that was formed to support the development of the *Invisible Work Invisible Pain* project, within which the monologue was created. Hage's theories of social exchange explain the way the network of relations symbolises a nascent hope, one that is able to be distributed through the mechanisms of society – its institutions, organisations and groups. Societal hope is a key to understanding the meaning of the exchange that took place between the artists, practitioners and the women and which resulted in the art work.

Through these means, the case study discloses the societal interest in the wellbeing of migrant women cleaners during the period between 1996 and 1998. The misrecognition of the crucial nature of the relationship established by artists and practitioners with project participants to the outcomes of the projects is a further key finding of the study. Rather than being merely instruments in the processes of CA and CD practice, artists and practitioners are skilled professionals whose roles are central and intrinsic to CACD goals, processes and practice. It is their expertise and commitment to principles of social justice that enable them to collaborate with people and fashion their stories of their experiences into art works. Through these means, the art works are able to embody voices of the participants and through the art works, their voices are taken out into society and a certain hope is brought into being.

Shortly after the conclusion of the *Invisible Work Invisible Pain* project, the Sydney Morning Herald reported that the International Monetary Fund (IMF) was urging the Howard Coalition Government to embrace a "radical free—market approach" (Cleary, 1998, p. 1). The IMF specifically referred to WorkCover accident insurance in its recommendations, calling for the

deregulation of the minimum wage, holiday leave loading, superannuation, the arbitration and conciliation role played by the Industrial Relations Commission and the adoption of a "US—style deregulated labour market" (1998). The following work of Superwoman, a pseudonym adopted by a Croatian woman cleaner for the purpose of the project, reveals how the women were aware of how they were perceived within a predominantly Anglo-Australian society at that time.

MIGRANTS
Superwoman

They think migrants …
They don't care

DOSELJENICI

Oni misle doseljenici …
Oni se ne brinu (Murphy, 1997, p. 51)

Translated by Renata Pavelic

In these ways, the study is able to offer CA and CD artists and practitioners evidence of the value and meaning of their work to society. The field is characterised by insecurity about the ability to continue working in the face of the vulnerability of the funding programs to changes in government and in government policy. This inquiry confirms the exceptional nature of CACD work and underscores its value to those with whom the artists and practitioners have collaborated, as well revealing the specific nature of its contribution to the ethical values of society.

The network of relations

Hage's explanation of Bourdieu's term network of relations (retrieved 24.3.2014) as an interconnected group of individuals and people from a range of institutions, organisations and groups that surround and inform phenomena that develops within society, is applied to the three entities central to the creation of the monologue and further identified in Chapter

Two. In this case, the entities formed the network that supported the development of the *Invisible Work Invisible Pain* project, the anthology that was created within the project and the production within which the monologue was created. The network constituted the institutions of government arts and health funding bodies which fund CA and CD projects and other ACT Government Departments. Unions that value arts and cultural activities particularly in the lives of their members represent another entity. The ACT Trades and Labour Council (TLC), the peak union organisation in the region, became the central organising point for the project and its organisations and affiliates became involved in different ways. Other individuals and community, migrant groups and organisations were also part of the network of relations. The third entity related to the case and to the development of my own practice consists of the 'critical friends'. Critical friends are identified as intellectuals and practitioners who have contributed to the development of CA and CD theory, as well as the art theory informing my own work as an artist practitioner. The critical friends — including some who are recognised and acknowledged in this field of practice — span a range of disciplines. The specific nature of each of the entities and their links to the case are discussed in Chapter Two.

THESIS OVERVIEW

Chapter One introduces the background and subject of the study. This is accomplished by the definition of case study methodology, particularly in respect of intrinsic approaches. The design of the case is set out with reference to the work of Ghassan Hage on concepts of gifts of social life, caring and hope. The writings of Hage frame the analysis of the case in Chapter Three, enabling and underpinning the investigation of the case in Chapter Four.

Chapter Two is in two parts, to facilitate an extensive review of the literature organised in terms of works about community and community activism as represented by the work of CACD. The second part delves into limitations which accompany the structural reality that the work of the

practitioners and the projects they undertake are instrumentally moderated by, through their reliance on government funding. In Chapter Two, links are identified between the social movements of the late 1960s and 1970s, the theories that informed them and the policy and program responses from governments. The thinking behind the establishment of the community arts (CA) funding program at the Australia Council (AC) is traced through the accounts of those engaged at the time and theories are set out. Theories of dominant cultures and cultures of silence have informed the development of my own practice and are related to my research questions. From the social, political and cultural zeitgeist of the 1970s when CA had its beginnings, three principles are identified which are associated with those times: respect for self-expression and self-determination and for the formation of relationships of solidarity with people and groups around issues of common concern. The three principles are linked to my practice.

Storytelling is part of the generative methodology used by artists and practitioners to create art works with the storytellers, those people who take part in the project. The term generative methodology is not exclusive and may not be contentious in some quarters. However, generative methodology encompasses the technical, creative, imaginative and poetic, as well as organisational skills artists and practitioners bring to their collaborations with people. Generative methodology includes the approaches and manner in which they work with people in the context of what is possible, expected and hoped for during the project. Also relevant are the circumstances in which the project is initiated and what is on offer at the time from institutions, organisations and groups surrounding and supporting the project. The collaborative nature of CACD practice makes it unique. Artists have a particular kind of brilliance which Ros Bower, the first Director of the Community Arts Board, describes in *Caper 10* (1981) as "essentially highly skilled, exceptional". Further, CA and CD artists and practitioners bring a commitment to social justice to the distinctive ways in which they deploy their talent.

Three concepts are identified that inform the ways the artists and practitioners worked with the migrant women cleaners on the *Invisible Work Invisible Pain* project and these are seen as central to the practice of CACD. These are first, respect for the ways in which people express themselves. Secondly, the principle of self—determination: the right and ability of all participants — the artists, the practitioners and those people who participate — to collaborate and make decisions about the ways in which people's voices are made into artworks. The principle of self—determination has been central to the generative methodology since the 1970s. The third principle of working alongside people in a spirit of solidarity was assumed to be self-evident by many early artists and practitioners. Nevertheless by the early 1990s, Watt (1991, p. 61) believed it had become necessary to name and identify a relationship of solidarity as a key factor differentiating the way services are delivered by charities and welfare from the way CACD artists and practitioners work with people. All three principles continue to inform the processes developed by practitioners to work with people.

The emergence of CA is examined in the social and political context of the period of the 1960s and 1970s, enabling identification of the social and political principles, philosophies and theories linked to these and to the practice. Principles of self-expression, self-determination and solidarity are linked to a philosophy of cultural democracy which also encompasses access, equity and participation. In this inquiry I will argue that subject to government priorities, these ideas have been threaded throughout the incarnations of CA and CD practice since its beginnings in the early 1970s. The focus of this inquiry is the examination of ways that self-expression, self-determination and solidarity manifest within a case where processes used by artists and practitioners lead to the creation of an artwork.

Also in Chapter Two, two institutions, the Federal and ACT Government's arts and health bodies and the trade unions, are examined together with the community, migrant and health groups and organisations in terms of their relationship to the specific work involved creating the monologue. The

pivotal supportive role played by the CACD arts funding agency within the Australia Council to artists and practitioners is discussed as well as the nature of these gatekeeping organisations. It is here that the problem of the dependency of the field of practice on an unstable funding base affected by the shifting arts funding policies of incumbent governments is identified as an ongoing problem besetting the field of practitioners. The Australia Council's Multicultural Arts policy and the Art and Working Life policy are explained together with how they related to the arts funding application processes necessary to undertake the *Invisible Work Invisible Pain* project. The project was supported by the CACD funding program within the framework of the Art and Working Life funding program in its final two years as a policy of the Council of the Australia Council, the Federal Government's arts and funding advisory body (Donovan, 2006). The project also reflected multicultural art practices, a concept which emerged in the 1970s during the same period as community arts and which was supported at the time by Australia Council policies.

The existence and effectiveness of Federal, State and Territory CACD programs continues to be reliant on funding from government arts institutions whose policies are, in turn, dependent on the political priorities of the government of the day. Mention is made of the efforts of staff of the government arts funding bodies to anticipate shifts in government policy and of their ability to re-structure and re-present the CA and CCD funding programs using the terminology and objectives of new policy priorities. The new community arts funding program addressed the absence of support for art making by artists who work with people who are not artists. In her seminal article in *Meanjin*: "Community arts; a perspective" (1983), the second Director of the Community Arts Board (1980 – 1982) Hull describes how the establishment of the first CAB in September 1977 as a funding program in its own right with the same status as other art form boards, represented a challenge to the dominance of elitist art forms whose existence is predicated by their value in the marketplace.

The term "community" is revisited as what constitutes community in the second decade of the new millennium is different to its meaning in the 1970s. Hull (1983, p.320) insisted on an essentially subtle and fluid meaning resonating with Bower's (1980, p. 3) reference to community as a "complex piece of machinery, made up of interlocking parts" which involves a shared sensibility connecting people around any number of shared interests and experiences. Bower's description of a "sense of community" (1980, p. 6) is useful because she sees that the definition of the term implies an act of bonding with an element more specific than merely ethnicity, occupation or circumstances for example. Watt's objection (1991, p. 58) to the use of "community" as a filler used to smooth over gaping inequalities within society can also be understood on these grounds. Hage's understanding of community is drawn from the experiences of migrants and others who want to stop travelling, put down roots and create a place for themselves and their families. Community is about making a safe place that constitutes a home. Bourdieu's concept of symbolic violence is employed as a frame for Hage's theories as it resonates with the notion of dominant groups within society who exist and maintain their dominance only by virtue of being seen as the way things are (Watt, 1991, p. 58).

In Chapter Three, Hage's explanations of theories of social exchange are used to interrogate the case for meaning. Theories of gifts of social life, caring and hope are explained in order to apply them in Chapter Five to disclose the social meaning of the storytelling at the basis of the generative methodology of CACD practice. What the practice is able to offer the people who participate with the artists and practitioners is a central concern of the study as well as, in a wider sense, what the practice offers society.

Hage's theories of gifts of social life and care and caring have been noted in this chapter in the context of the design of the study. His concept of societal hope that is "on the side of life" (Costelloe, 2001; Zournazi, 2002, p. 151), referred to earlier in this chapter, embraces joy in life as an immediate rather than deferred experience, and one which is characterised by involvement

with reality. Societal hope is circulated throughout society by governments and is linked to Hage's aforementioned interpretation of Bourdieu's idea of "social being". Hage contends hope that is distributed within society represents an act of caring which acknowledges and recognises one's value and importance for simply being who you are. Further, he argues the hope that is available through the mechanisms and apparatus of society is shrinking as a result of government's diversion of resources away from services to global corporations. Tracing the philosophical basis of the social meaning of gratitude and obligation, Hage questions the ethical basis of social gifts received within an Australian economy that is based on stolen land and stolen goods. He makes the point that those who understand this know how easy it is to take something from another and who, at the same time, are most reluctant to share what they have with others. This point is linked in Chapter Five to the perennial unpopularity of the CACD funding programs with successive governments because of its free availability to the people who take part in projects.

Hage's arguments are further applied to examine the social, economic and cultural contexts of the work of cleaners. He contends there is a continuity of thinking, from slave societies to our own times, by those who hold white colonial views; who see themselves as being in charge of the society and exercise their authority prescribing the position those on the margins can occupy within society. Hage extends the notion of toleration to the practice of tolerating exploitation, identifying the social spheres of slavery and domestic and industrial labour as settings where this most commonly takes place.

Cleaning work exists as one of the lowest rungs of employment available to people with either few qualifications or work experience, or skills which are unrecognised. As has been mentioned, at the time of the project and at the time of writing, the LHMU represented cleaners within the hospitality industry within the service sector. The effect of globalisation on labour is examined in Chapter Three. Jessica Irvine notes (October 15—16, 2011)

that in August 2011, 77% of the Australian workforce was employed in the service sector, which represented an increase of 23% from 1966. According to George Megalogenis writing in 2012, the effects of globalisation "on federal and state powers" began to be felt in Australia as early as the 1970s (2012, p. 85). As Irvine's (2011) research demonstrates, the period with which she is dealing, beginning a decade before, saw the decline of employment in the skilled manufacturing industry — in 1966 its share of employment was 26%, dropping to 8% by 2011 — and a concomitant rise of employment in the low paid and often unregulated service sector. .

Using the data collection of existing documentation of the *Invisible Work Invisible Pain* project which provides a trace of its existence, Chapter Four examines the case of the monologue *Fly* in detail. The data set sheds light on the historical background of the case, the aesthetic and cultural contexts in which it existed and the political and economic setting of the work of the migrant women cleaners. This is followed by a reflection on its creation, performance and reception as an art work. As a suitable exemplar of CACD practice, the case reveals some of the processes used by the artists and practitioners in their work with the cleaners. The specific nature of the support provided by the representatives of the government institutions, unions, community, health and migrant organisations and groups which made up the network of relations that formed around the *Invisible Work Invisible Pain* project is explained. The rationales behind the choice of the monologue as the case for investigation are outlined and linked to the overall objectives of the project.

The link between storytelling and CACD practice is made clear through the processes involved in the creation of the story *I will fly again* and the monologue. The artists and practitioners specifically invited the women to talk about their experiences of exposure to harm and injury in their workplaces, and to mention what they saw as the causes behind the low notification of injury and their attitudes to colleagues who had become injured while working. As Murphy noted:

> Participants were invited to write about their experiences or to talk their stories into a tape recorder, in their own language or in English. Most of the women chose to tell stories or have conversations. Most sooner or later agreed to be taped. Most used English – probably so that I could understand them! but also because in some groups English was again the only common language. (1998, p. 2)

Two different theatre productions are briefly mentioned that also represented rarely heard-of lives of people. The formal ways in which Lora retained control over the telling and use of her story at the time are described, and the caring nature of the relationships that developed between Lora and Murphy and Lora and me, noted.

The genesis of the *Invisible Work Invisible Pain* project provides clear evidence of the problematic link between CACD, a government funded arts practice, and shifting government policies. The representative nature of the network of relations that subsequently formed around the development of the project met at the Trades and Labour Council and played an intrinsic role supporting the creation of the art works and facilitating unplanned events linked to the project. The unions — a major power base within Canberra at the time — played a central role supporting the activist CACD model and hosting the Focus Group. The people who told their stories of working as cleaners were all women and mainly migrant women, who had come to Australia in the hope of a better future for their children. They joined the project in response to invitations extended to them. The existence of the CACD funding programs within the ACT arts and health funding bodies and the Federal Government's Australia Council was essential to the creation of the art works.

Discussion of major artistic decisions made in relation to the project and the creation of the art works are explained in the context of the theories associated with CACD practice and the objectives of the project. Issues associated with language and performance techniques are explained and discussed. Reflective performance techniques were used in the performance

of the monologue and of the supervisor character Denise, enabling the stories of both characters to be represented within a social as well as an individual context. Issues surrounding the use of "migrant English" and the principles informing the use of the womens' first languages in the anthology and the production are discussed. Their stories were translated into their first languages and through well-established CACD collaborative processes with the artists, fashioned into two major works: the multilingual anthology *Everyone Needs Cleaners, Eh!* (Murphy, 1997), and the multilingual dance theatre production *Bring in the Cleaners* (Costelloe, Gordon and Yoo, 1998). The works in the anthology were published in English and in each woman's first language, and several linguistic techniques were used in the theatre production to perform some of the English script in the language of the specific women, including key phrases spoken in Serbian during the performance of the monologue.

The data collection provides evidence that particular processes informed by respect for self-determination, self-expression and a spirit of solidarity were used by the artists and practitioners to create the story and the monologue with Lora. The art works reflected the occupational health and safety (OH&S) aims and objectives of the *Invisible Work Invisible Pain* project and were related to larger societal issues of unsafe work practices and the situation of migrant workers in poorly paid and unevenly regulated sectors. The significance of the monologue lies in its ability to enable Lora's voice — through a "good enough" representation of her experience — to become heard and known in the public domain beyond her circle of family and friends. At the time it was also believed that taking her story out into the public domain might serve as a catalyst for introducing more effective health and safety regulations and training for cleaners.

Chapter Five answers the three questions representing the problems with which the inquiry is concerned. The questions are used to interrogate the case of the monologue through the three principles of self—expression, self—determination and solidarity informing CACD practice, together with

Hage's theories of gifts of social life, caring and hope. The results indicate that the CACD *Invisible Work Invisible Pain* project was, in small but significant ways, able to reveal the particular nature of hazards endemic in the hospitality sector and in so doing, act as an agency of hope that the situation of the migrant women cleaners might be redressed.

Through the art works that were created: *Everyone Needs Cleaners, Eh!* (Murphy, 1997) and production *Bring in the Cleaners* (Costelloe, Gordon and Yoo, 1998), the general public came to know of the dangerous situations the cleaners faced and in this way, the migrant women, their lives and their working conditions, came to matter. This was achieved through caring processes used by the CACD artists and practitioners who collaborated with Lora and the other participating migrant women cleaners to develop the art works. The creative abilities of CACD artists and practitioners are seen as exceptional and highly imaginative. They are able to work collaboratively with people who are not artists and their work is characterised by an abiding and practical commitment to social justice.

In return for the invitation to take part in the project, extended to her by the project director and the writer, Lora reciprocated. She joined the project and entrusted the writer with a number of her stories, one of which, the story of an accident which left her disabled and experiencing chronic pain, became the basis for the monologue *Fly*, the case at the centre of this study. Lora stated her desired mode of written expression and was adamant that her story, which became the work *I will fly again* (Lora, in Murphy, 1997, pp. 118 – 129), must represent her and her experience. Her wishes were respected by the writer, confirming the ongoing respect for principles of self-expression and self-determination that underpin the practice of CACD. Lora was satisfied that the resulting story was an authentic representation of what had happened to her.

Hope was brought into being through the publication of Lora's story in the anthology, as more people came to know of the unsafe circumstances in

which she had been working as a cleaner prior to the accident and what happened to her as a result of these conditions. Her active involvement in the subsequent production and her attendance as an audience member revealed to her the care and concern others felt for her situation. Importantly, it became clear to her that her accident was not an isolated experience but one that was systemic within the sector she had worked. Through her involvement as a storyteller participant and by recording her voice for use as an echo during the performance of the monologue, Lora assumed an active agency, alerting readers and audiences to the situation faced by migrant women cleaners through the story of her own experience. The caring and respectful nature of the relationships that developed between Lora and the artists and practitioners embodied the solidarity people felt with her and her situation. Through their interest in taking part in the project and sharing their stories, Lora and other participating migrant women showed solidarity towards each other and to the women who would come to work in the sector after they had left.

The network of relations that formed to support and inform the project, provided the power base from which the stories of the migrant women cleaners could be heard. The union base from which the network operated extended the traditional role of unions and enabled the project to attract representatives from government institutions who shared invaluable expertise about the problems faced by the cleaners. Migrant, health and community organisations also saw the network of relations as compatible with their objectives and their representatives brought equally valuable links to the project from the grass roots of the communities they represented. The union base also linked the project to a wide network of affiliated unions who supported the project, and some of whom became readers and audience members of the art works.

Hage's rehabilitation of the concepts of care and caring — seen as a particular quality present in CACD work but misrecognised for its value — was able to reinstate the importance of care within the wider social sphere.

His contention that the care or worry people experience is related to the ways in which the nation, through its governmental apparatus and mechanisms, extends hope to all those who live in the society, is used to show how CACD projects are analogous to gifts of social life offered to people. Hage identifies these gifts as symbolising the ways in which a society recognises and honours its people, simply for who they are. He explains how the gift giving establishes reciprocal and reciprocated exchanges and obligations amongst its people. These exchanges are seen as representing the ways society cares for its people, and the manner in which the society wishes its people to be obliged to care for their society and for each other. With the advent of globalisation, Hage argues the gifts offered to people by society are shrinking, as governments attend to the needs of global capital, at the expense of the needs of their people. His theories are used explain the hope embodied in migration and the situation of the migrant women cleaners who are employed at the bottom of the labour market, and who exchange this in the hope of realising a better future for their children in Australia.

Through deploying Hage's explanation of gifts of social life to the processes of CACD practice, CACD projects — although different in the nature of their conception and far more complex and layered in their realisation to the example he offers — can also be seen as analogous gifts of social life. This is in the sense that they also emanate from governmental acts and policies that constitute "ethical structural facts". As gifts of social life, CACD projects are, conditional on their nature and concerns, able to be offered to anyone living in the society.

Hage's belief that the shadow cast on the nation by the unresolved issues concerning the original theft of land from Aboriginal people and the stolen goods that have resulted from this act, is employed to understand the precarious funding situation on which the practice of CACD is based. Involvement in projects comes at no cost to people who take part in them, and it is argued that this is seen as an ideological objection to people being

able to get something for nothing. On the other hand, the fragmented nature of employment for CACD artists and practitioners, and thus their ability to practise their art, renders them vulnerable. A major finding of this study lies in the misrecognition of the centrality of the role of artists and practitioners. Art works that represent people's experiences are realised and shaped through creative participatory processes that recognise the necessity of sharing power. This is achieved by recognising the need to observe protocols that embody respect for the people who participate, whatever their circumstances are, including their class, race or ethnic back ground and whether they live within or outside prevailing mainstream culture.

In this way, the problems stated earlier in this chapter are addressed and the meaning of CACD practice and its value to society is able to be illuminated. By fashioning and shaping people's stories of their lives and situations into art works with them, artists and practitioners are able to reveal systemic problems which are invisible. The study reveals the qualities embodied in the values and ethics upon which the practice of CACD is based and importantly, how the practice contributes to sustaining respect and reciprocity within civil society.

CHAPTER TWO: PART ONE

ANTECEDENTS TO COMMUNITY ARTS AND

CULTURAL DEVELOPMENT

INTRODUCTION

Chapter two, the review of literature salient to community arts and cultural development consists of two parts. The first examines CACD antecedents and defines the nature of the field historically and as it has evolved in Australia. The second part details the nature of a practice strongly, if not exclusively, reliant on government funding and accompanying policy shifts as administrations change. This is a singular quality in the structure of the field, which at times has led to instability as policies are overturned and introduced.

In this chapter, literature is examined concerning:

- the origins of community arts;
- the principles and theories that underpin CACD practice;
- the central role played by the government arts and health funding bodies in CACD practice and
- the role of these bodies together with unions in the creation of the case of the monologue.

The literature will be sorted into three distinct but related categories. Categories 2 and 3 will be examined in part two of this Chapter.

1. Work by critical friends of the practice comprising CA and CD artists, practitioners, writers, educators and theorists.
2. Material from arts funding bodies, in the main, that of the Australia Council's CACD funding program, as well as the ACT Arts and Cultural Development Unit, now artsACT and Healthpact, the ACT Government's health promotion body now part of ACT Health.
3. Material from institutions of organised labour — unions as well as people who have worked closely with them. An influential if unusual institution within Australian society, unions were intrinsically linked to the Australia Council's Art and Working Life

> funding program which existed between 1983 and 1995/96 and they
> played a central role in the case study.

These entities reflect the reach of the network of relations surrounding the case which is at the centre of this research. The concept of a network of relations asserts that there is no one individual or group that determines a particular course of action. Rather, there is a set or structure of relationships, contacts and conduits of meaning that run through these relations that contribute to and enables a particular action or phenomenon to take place within society. The writing emanating from these groups is directly related to the problems that are addressed and the questions being asked.

Another major strand of published inquiry concerns the inescapable link between the practice and the federal community arts then community cultural development and since 2005, community partnerships funding program and some effects of this connection. In this investigation it will be seen how the practice — through artists and practitioners — places the individual in a central position. By necessity and in the broader context of each program or project, the individual artist and practitioner sit in a rather different position in relation to the government institutions surrounding and supporting their practice.

I am using Hage's notion of care and caring and its relationship to hopefulness, as a way of looking at the social meaning of the processes employed by the artists and practitioners throughout the development of the monologue with Lora. The interest and mindfulness that characterised these processes is seen as particularly important. The artwork that resulted from the collaboration is emblematic of a particular generative methodology of the practice that is concerned with addressing social issues. The community activism model has been identified as being closest to the generative methodology of CACD practice being investigated here as exemplified by the case of the monologue *Fly*.

It is necessary to re-visit the meaning of "community" once again as possibilities and demands have changed since the 1970s and 1980s. Today

the term community has taken on another meaning. It may seem hackneyed when it represents a way of life that is a given, one which we take for granted; but this is not the case for everyone.

Hage describes his understanding of the term to writer and philosopher Mary Zournazi, in her anthology of conversations about hope with key intellectuals around the world:

> [T]he sense of community is clearly a sense of articulation to others, concretely speaking – the feeling of connection, of sharing, or recognition. Homeliness comes from all of this (Zournazi, p. 162).

As Watt suggested in his 1991 article *Interrogating 'Community'*, Hull's third principle — outlined in an address she gave to the Australia Council in 1981 towards the end of her tenure as the second director of the Community Arts Board — confirms an early engagement with theoretical concerns by those within the bureaucracy and peer advisors. It presaged discussion that would follow regarding the meaning of the term community:

> That the word 'community' is acknowledged to have amorphous and protean connotations, and that the concept of a community of common interests is accepted. Such communities might, for example, be bound by language, geography, work, or socio-economic factors (1983, p. 320).

If a group of people do the same work but do not share a substantial set of relationships and are fundamentally different and mostly unconnected, is not it possible to call them a community? Ros Bower (1975, p. 6) writes that "The sense of community involves communication and a degree of regular and continuous association". A degree of attachment and connection based on shared characteristics or circumstances provides a measure of gauging whether a group is a community. This means that any particular group in society that shares these qualities can be considered a community — a group of bankers or company directors for example. It is therefore imperative to identify the groups within society in which CACD is most interested and the power structures at the lower end of the socio-economic ladder which stand with, care about and assist them. These are the individuals and groups of

people whose voices are rarely heard in a dominant culture that preferences voices of the elite, the celebrity and the powerful.

When asked in 2005 how he would involve Sydney people in his concept of a Sydney Festival, celebrated violinist and leader of the Australian Chamber Orchestra Richard Tognetti replied:

> Anything that's good is going to be tagged as elitist, so I don't think we shy away from that. Elite is only pejorative when it's applied to the arts. An elite sportsman, pilot or politician is seen as pretty positive. Community arts should be kept at a community level. A city festival is not about community arts, sorry (Chipperfield, 2005, p. 31).

Hage claims Bourdieu subverts what is generally assumed to be the meaning of an all-encompassing and practical approach to being: the question of either being or not being. As Hage says, for Bourdieu this is not an either or question but rather a question of what it is to "be" (2003, p. 16). He posits that some people have more of a life, one that has more significance, is more agreeable and more satisfying than the lives of other people. Hage ventures that in short, Bourdieu could say "there is no communism of being in society" (2003, p. 16) because being is not circulated amongst people in society in fair and balanced ways. Rather it is the case that some people have passed down to them a profusion of being whilst others have to dig deep to find the smallest remnant of being.

> At the heart of Bourdieu's anthropology is the idea that people are not passive recipients of being; they struggle to accumulate it. At the heart of his sociology is that being, a meaningful life, is not, unlike what is posited by religious thought, something given prior to social life. Life has no intrinsic meaning. Rather, it is society that offers individuals the possibility of making something meaningful of their lives… (Hage, 2003, p. 16).

Hage further cites Bourdieu's argument that 'The social world …gives what is rarest, recognition, consideration, in other words, quite simply, reasons for being' (in Hage, 2003, p. 16). He extrapolates from this quote to claim that what is critical to what he thinks is a society which is fair and ethical is primarily "this capacity to distribute these opportunities for self-realisation" (2003, p. 16). Hage interprets Bourdieu's meaning as being that this *illusio*

or these opportunities "are none other than what we have been calling societal hope".

Most of the women who formed the group of participants who took part in the *Invisible Work Invisible Pain* (IWIP) project never or rarely met with one another or shared their stories as a whole group. The exception was the group of women who worked in the hotel. Through their interactions with Murphy in the writing workshops she held, these women discussed their work and their lives with her and each other and shared their stories about their work. Whether they remained in contact after the end of the project is immaterial. They formed a community for the duration of the project because the project linked them together through its interest in and focus on their shared experience of working as cleaners, exemplified by Murphy's input and her expressed interest in their working lives. In her Artistic Report (1998, p. 6), Murphy referred to aspects of the women's personal lives of which she also became aware through working closely with them.

In this way, all of the input and activities of the participants in the *Invisible Work Invisible Pain* project were mediated by the professional artists and practitioners who generated art works from the women's stories. It is also possible that all the women participants in the writing stage of the project developed a sense of community with each other reading their own and others' individual and group works in the anthology, in English and their own language. Posters and flyers advertising the show were distributed to a wide range of ethnic organisations and groups in Canberra including the Embassy of the Philippines, the Philippine Cultural Society of Canberra and the Philippine-Australian Association; the Tongan Association of Canberra; the Queanbeyan Multilingual Centre; Korean Church groups and the Korean Choir and Womens Group; the Croatian Ethnic School, the Croatian Village, Croatian World Congress and Croatia Deakin Soccer Club; the Pan Pacific and South East Asia Women's Association; the Serbian-Australia Social Settlers Club and the Macedonian Orthodox Community of Canberra and Queanbeyan. Editorials and advertisements were published in *Nova Hrvatska* (New Croatia), *Canberra Chinese Post*, *Spremnost*, *Denes* –

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Today (Macedonian), *El Nuevo Espanol* and the *Philippine Community Herald*. The women participants recognised that the art works and performances were based on their own and other's stories. A sense of recognition would have emerged amongst them, that a small but vocal group of women cleaners was making public some of the grim issues they faced in their workplaces.

These interpretations give context and meaning to the ways in which community contextualises the case. In this inquiry, "community" relates to the practice of CACD because it was the catalyst for the practitioners and the group of women to come together. The women told their stories and their presence and contributions enabled the artists and practitioners to make the artwork, in this case, the monologue *Fly*. The public performance of the monologue re-contextualised the nature of Lora's work as a cleaner and revealed her invisibility in society and the dangers she faced carrying out her work.

About the literature

In his article "Evaluation perspectives and practices in community cultural development", academic Rick Flowers (2002, pp. 3—5) encourages the pursuit of disciplined and scholarly theoretical research on the practice and supports what he sees as important work which has been accomplished to date. In selecting certain writing over others for the purposes of this study, it has been important to differentiate between key studies, seminal histories and arguments, and other publications that the researcher sees as reliable writing. Trustworthy literature involves referencing of other studies, factual verification and the use of theorists with acknowledged standing within the fields with which the study is concerned. It is important to this investigation that writing about the practice acknowledges and builds on the ideas, theories and accounts of the work of earlier artists, practitioners, educators and advocates. Writer and senior community theatre practitioner Graham Pitts laments the lack of honour given to those practitioners whose collective work with people he sees as exemplifying an artistry of singular depth and

quality, but who remain largely unrecognised within and outside the field (2005, p. 36). This signals a fragmented publication culture in CACD.

Nevertheless, in her important study *Creating social capital* (1995), Deidre Williams makes a rare and welcome acknowledgement of the intrinsic value of artists to the practice. Williams worked in regional theatre before becoming the Executive Officer of the Community Arts Network South Australia (CANSA) between 1988 and 1996 at the time of the National Network meetings. Later she became known for her work as a researcher and theorist (Moynihan & Horton, 2002, p. 207).

> At the heart of every case study project, the success of the project and the resulting benefits were due to the ability of the professional artist to involve people in a way that was meaningful to them, and to produce an artistic result that was highly valued by the project's stakeholders ... (with) 93% of all survey respondents citing the skills of the professional artist(s) as having a strong influence on the resulting long term benefits (1995, p. 2).

The literature is generally instrumental and responds to demands of fiscal and other regulatory reporting. It is often not very high powered although there is a lot of it. The influence of government and government's shifting policies in relation to CACD contributes to the large amount of available literature. CACD practice has its own distinct history, structures and meanings and policy shifts within and between each electoral cycle tend to place it on the fringe.

The nature of the community arts and cultural development sector is such that many references to the practice and its rationales are found in articles in magazines, pamphlets, bulletins, booklets, kits and newsletters which were published by government-funded community arts organisations. These include magazines published by the state and territory networks, all of which were called networks except the NSW Community Arts Association (NSWCAA) which changed its name to Community Cultural Development New South Wales (CCDNSW) in the 1990s. CCDNSW no longer exists. Several magazines were published by the Community Arts National

Network (CANN) which was composed of representatives from the state and territory organisations and funded by the AC for particular expenses from 1983 into the early 1990s. By then, the Executive Officer, the Training Officer and the Chair of each network attended the twice yearly meetings, with each network taking it in turns to host in the capital city in which they were located with the other always held in Sydney, the home of the AC. The agenda was developed collectively amongst the networks and included local reports, local and national issues, training and education, current practice and projects and ideas for local and national strategies. One day was always set aside for meeting with AC staff. Portfolios of responsibility for each organization were negotiated in the early 1990s. One of the last AC─funded field-based journals *Artwork* was published by the Community Arts Network South Australia (CANSA) from 1988 until 2007. At the end of 2013, CANSA announced on their website (http://www.cansa.net.au Retrieved 17.1.14) that their funding applications to Arts South Australia and the Australia Council had been unsuccessful. Although the organisation has programs which would run until July 2014, director Lisa Phllip-Harbutt's tenure finished on 31 December, 2013 Artwork magazine was mainly distributed within South Australia until 2000 when a second national network was set up by some of the remaining networks (Philip-Harbutt, 2009). The Executive Officers from Queensland Community Arts Network, CCD NSW and Community Arts Network Western Australia became involved at the time of Issue 50 in 2001, supporting the costs and the editing, and its circulation outside South Australia increased (2009). The journal came to represent and document works, projects and ideas from the other states and territories as well as publishing articles from overseas, until the final edition in December 2006 when publication ceased after AC funding was withdrawn.

Another example of the types of publication that supported the practice included the national *Community cultural development in Australia* online website *http://www.ccd.net/* based within the South Australian network. It remains online and is potentially an active site, indicated by the invitation on its homepage to subscribe and submit material, despite the fact that funding

was discontinued in 2006 (*http://www.ccd.net/*, retrieved 17.1.14). At the time of writing the website remains online and includes definitions of a selection of key terms associated with the practice including self-determination and a copy of the article "The imaginary conference" by Graham Pitts and David Watt from *Artwork* 2001.

Early publications emanating directly from the CAB include the 1976 *Community Arts Directory* (Binns & Hull, 1976) which provides evidence of the existence of artists and organisers in local government, community-based organisations and workplaces at that time. The twenty-seven editions of *Caper* produced by the Community Arts Board between July 1979 and 1989 are invaluable accounts of the thinking behind the emerging practice and were written by staff members of the CAB together with commissioned writers. Each edition was about a specific aspect of the practice and covered areas that included copyright, art making in workplaces, ethnic arts and artists, a bibliography, arts and disability, the built environment and community theatre. Three special editions of the national magazine *Artlink* edited by Stephanie Britton were directly and indirectly related to CACD practice: "Arts in a multicultural Australia" (1990), "Community Arts" (1991) and "Art, architecture and the environment" (1991/92). The latter edition focussed on the work being done in the built and natural environment which was supported by the Australia Council's Community, Environment, Art and Design funding program. Each issue included articles by arts officers, artists, organizers, theorists, academics and professionals associated with these areas of artistic practice. It is salient that in the early 1990s the questions asked of CACD practice in the 'Community Arts' edition of *Artlink* were:

> Yes but what IS community arts? a strategy for social reform? a way of life? a political movement? a victory for the margins? a type of social welfare? a radical challenge to the art institution? a model for a new culture? (Britton, 1991).

All of these publications contain some diverse and valuable references to the ideas informing the notions underpinning the practice as well as documenting a large body of the work and the projects which exemplify it.

Nevertheless, a preponderance of writing about projects read like reports. This in part reflects a style closely associated with the preparation and acquittal of funding applications. It is here that the links with the arts funding bodies are tangible. Pitts describes many publications dealing with the practice as "jargon-infested" (2005, p. 36). Definitions are easily muddied and clarity is sacrificed for reasons; examples include: the desire to make passionate statements and disavowals; a lack of time, inadequate or no remuneration, a need to emphasise reasons for funding the next project, multi-year funding or continuing to maintain the funding category. This is especially true where articles describe projects as case studies and are in fact brief descriptions of projects that closely resemble reports with some commentary. Such documents advocate a principle which it is hoped may be taken up in a future project. Other reports promote aspects of the project deemed to be unique and noteworthy. The tenuous nature of funding and its relative scarcity within a disparate growing field comprising several generations of practitioners (Watt, 1992, pp. 4-5), means many articles read as arguments for funding: project examples promote what are deemed within the arts funding bodies —particularly the AC — model projects. These become examples of what are currently defined as "good" CA or CCD or projects which are seen as fashionable at the time and thus worthy of emulation by the rest of the field. Thus the published representations of the field lurch between advocacy and definitional concerns.

There are gaps in the literature surrounding the practice. These include:
- an absence of writing on the nature of collaborative artistic practice in relation to individual practice;
- the lack of critical evaluation and analysis of the art works created within the practice (Maxwell & Winning, 2001; Flowers, 2002);
- little critical writing about CA and CD that addresses the ideology of gate-keeping organisations sustained by and existing in reaction to governments;

- the destabilising effects of the inescapable funding link between CACD practice and government, and the effects of bureaucracy─initiated reorganisations resulting from changes in governments, their policies and their direction.

The origins of community arts

As noted in Chapter One, community arts came into being as a distinct form of artistic endeavour during the 1970s in Australia, an exciting, confronting and strident period of social change for many. There are potentially as many different accounts of its beginnings as there are people able to articulate their involvement at the time. In the pioneering publication *Community and the arts*, editor Vivienne Binns (1991, p. 12) cites the influence of the revolt of disillusioned visual artists in the UK and the USA against the use of their work by market forces involved in the art world. In the Introduction (1991) Binns sees this factor as one of the many different pathways that led to the formation of the practice. In the same publication, art historian and researcher Sandy Kirby (1991, p.19) writes about the origins of CA and, in particular, art created around union and work, themes and ideas, within "the political left" and the longer-term cultural historical context of the Australian labour movement.

Kirby's research with Ian Burn (1985) provides important historical evidence, tracing a continuum of artistic activities linked with and supported by unions and labour organisations from the 19th century, decades before the CA and Art and Working Life funding programs came into being. In her view, the activism that emerged around second wave feminism, Aboriginal Land Rights and anti-Vietnam war campaigns of the late 1960s and early 1970s was the impetus for the birth of what she refers to as the CA movement. Kirby also edited *Ian Burn Art, critical, political* (1996), a collection of Burn's contributions to labour movement culture which includes 'Historical Sketch', which he wrote with Kirby and 'Art, critical, political', the last contribution he made to Art and Working Life. The collection reveals the central role played Burn played in the development

and proliferation of the Australia Council's Art and Working Life program. It contains images from projects and writing about unions, art and the Art and Working Life program and an invaluable bibliography (1996) of his own writing. The Art and Working Life program and Burn's links to it will be discussed further in this chapter.

As has been mentioned in the previous chapter, theories of dominant cultures by Binns (1991), Watt (1991), Nochlin (1989) and Freire (1972) were being disseminated during the 1970s and applied to areas of social life in Australia and overseas, including education and culture. The available literature suggests that the practice came into being through a convergence of different pathways influenced by local and international events related to a wide range of factors including social, political, gender, psychological, racial, economic, environmental and cultural issues emerging at that time. Now the discussion turns to the key terms of community arts and cultural development.

KEY CONCEPTS INFORMING COMMUNITY ARTS

The literature surrounding the key terms of the study are central to understanding the practice of CA. Of interest within this inquiry are the key principles of self-expression, self-determination and solidarity. These exist within the philosophy of cultural democracy which also encompasses the principles of access, equity and participation. It is argued these concepts have been continuous since the beginnings of the practice in the 1970s. A key idea values voices which were previously unheard being heard, alongside an idea of community which is dynamic, oppositional, challenging and open to change.

Self-expression and language

In its written form and its use in performance, language is a vital component in the development of self-expression. The case exemplifies a number of language-related issues including the thinking behind publishing the migrant women cleaner's stories in the English they spoke and in their first

languages which will be discussed further in Chapter Four. Self-expression and language is highlighted in the work of Antigone Kefala. Fluent in a number of languages, Kefala describes the layers of meaning inherent in language, its primary significance in people's lives and its complex reach into society:

> Language is like a vast, magnificent edifice built by the constant effort of successive generations of people, a day-by-day effort.
>
> A language is a way of life, a perspective, it carries with it moral, factual, historical and aesthetic assumptions, a social approach, an attitude to people, relations, politics, life and death (2008, p. 137).

Respect for self-expression enables people to publicly assert their beliefs, ways of living, dressing, speaking and behaving without fear of obstruction by those in authority. Currently in Australia, this does not include vilifying or inciting hatred against other groups. During the 1960 and 1970 anti-Vietnam war and feminist movements, many young people in western societies spoke out against authority, which they found judgemental and oppressive. Self-expression is valued because of its ability to contribute a unique perspective and understanding of a situation which may be common to many others, but which is also specific to the experience of an individual or specific group.

The right of all participants to use their languages in the art works they create together is pivotal to an interpretation of self-expression and self-determination that values each person's way of expressing themselves. This sentiment informed the decision to incorporate languages other than English in the art works produced by the *Invisible Work Invisible Pain* project and specifically the monologue created in collaboration with Lora whose first language is not English. According to Hull, these principles have informed the processes that defined the practice from its beginnings in the 1970s (1983, p. 315).

In 1987, Tony Mitchell interviewed a group of key FTG members, and Robin Laurie, winner of the 1989 Ros Bower Award, described her experience performing and directing in more than one language at the time she was working with the FILEF Theatre Group:

> I think bilingualism isn't just verbal, it's also physical, and so we tried to find physical shapes and physical expressions of emotional states, so that if you didn't understand the language or the words you could understand what was going on from the physical reaction. They were like physical icons of emotional states (Mitchell, 1987, p. 6).

Laurie identified an additional benefit which might arise:

> The other thing about not understanding the language … (for English-only speakers if the work is in a language other than English) … is that you have an experiential sense of what it must be like for people who can't understand English (Mitchell, 1987, p. 10).

The aforementioned educator Paolo Freire (1972) and fellow educational critic Ivan Illich (1972; 1976), stressed that in order to effectively engage with the realities of power and change, the value of the colloquial languages of the streets, schools, workplaces and homes needs to be recognised. A living language contains the basis of its culture, and theatre performed in more than one language including dialects has been performed in Australian community theatre productions since the late seventies and early eighties. These included the work of Adelaide-based group Doppio Teatro, Sydney's Sidetrack Theatre and the FILEF Theatre Group (FTG) (Mitchell, April, 1987). However, the practice has not become widespread in either community or mainstream theatre although ironically, professional opera which is seen as an elite, privileged art practice is consistently performed in the language in which it was written, with English surtitled translations screened above the performance.

By the mid-1970s, despite a significant presence of migrants who spoke languages other than English, Australia continued to be seen and see itself as a predominantly white Anglo-Saxon society.

By 1975, because of economic and political pressures, some three million immigrants had settled in Australia so that 25% of Australia's population had been born overseas and over 15% was either of non-Anglo-Saxon origin or the child of at least one parent of non-Anglo-Saxon origin (Centre for Urban Research and Action, 1976, p. 107).

Large-scale post-war migration to Australia from countries where English was not the first language meant it was no longer the only language spoken here. It never had been. Over 500 distinct Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander languages were spoken prior to British settlement and while far fewer languages continue to be spoken due an extended period of colonial suppression, Aboriginal language maintenance and retrieval programs are in place in at least one Australian state, NSW. Nevertheless prior to the mid to late-1970s, access to government, institutional and business documents for migrants from Europe and Vietnam was a low government priority. It was the same with unions up until that period. By 1975, 15% of people in Australian society were of non-Anglo-Saxon origin (1976, p. 107) and many relied on the translation and interpreting skills of their children for the meaning of social security, bank, mortgage, insurance, education, housing, union membership and health-related forms and publications. This would eventually change and some advocate it was the actions of migrants themselves which was the catalyst.

Self-determination

The principle of self-determination hinges on the idea that an individual has the capacity to act of their own free will to determine their own affairs without the influence of others, especially those whose interests are inimical to theirs (Delbridge, 1991, p. 1591). Self-determination argues that a group of people or nationality has the right and capacity to freely determine their allegiances, form of government or statehood without taking into account the desires or intentions of another individual, group or state. However, it is unrealistic to suggest that an individual or group of people within a nation state can exist as an island unto themselves without links to others or the institutions of the society. The principle of self-determination values the

dignity and the knowledge people bring to deciding what is best for them. Collaborative and consultative approaches respect and value these qualities.

A complex mix of factors together with a growing understanding of ideas pertaining to the power and influence of dominant cultures, led some people to make their own way individually and in groups to develop alternative representations which would serve the interests of those who were being depicted. Art works were created with this goal in mind through Writing, Visual Art, Theatre, Music, Dance, Puppetry and other forms of expression. In 1975 Jon Hawkes, then an actor with the Australian Performing Group (APG), gave evidence at the public hearings in Canberra of the Industries Assistance Commission enquiry into *Assistance to the Performing Arts*. Hawkes described the theatre being written and produced by the APG and others at the Pram Factory as being critically important because it enabled Australians "to show ourselves to ourselves". The author appeared with Caroline Jay on the same day, representing the Womens Theatre Group (WTG) which was also based at the Pram Factory at that time. An able administrator, Hawkes went on to become a founding member of Circus Oz and also became the third director of the CAB, 1982—1987. At a pragmatic level, representation was seen by some at the time as a matter of taking direct action to challenge the status quo.

In 1974 for example, a group of women performers, writers and photographers formed a feminist consciousness-raising group of which the researcher was a member, and linked up with like-minded women actors in the APG and formed the Womens Theatre Group. Theatre shows were devised by the group and challenged prevailing depictions of women and the assumptions behind them. The first two productions were comedies: *Women's Weekly Volume I* and *The love show.* The third production was the group's first drama: *Women and children first* which dealt with serious issues. Later, some shows were toured to women and men in workplaces, factories, community centres and schools, providing alternative representations of women and of what was going on in society. *The women*

and work show (1975) mentioned in Chapter One, was one of a number of WTG and APG productions which toured during that period.

Theories developed by Freire (1972) resonate with principles of self-expression, self-determination and access. His concept of a "culture of silence" (1972, p. 16) is predicated on the belief that people in the Third World are conditioned through education to accept their role as subservient to the First World. Freire's idea that "education is cultural action for freedom and therefore an act of knowing and not of memorisation" (1972, p. 13), is intimately connected to the ideas behind theatre based on the stories of people who live outside mainstream culture. He valued dialogue as a precondition for any real justice or lasting change to take place. Freire saw it as necessary for those who had been silenced by various means to respond to the arguments of those in power by telling their stories and speaking from their own experience and knowledge.

> The fundamental theme of the Third World – implying a difficult but not impossible task for its people – is the conquest of its right to a voice, of the right to pronounce its word. Only then can the word of those who silence it or give it the mere illusion of speaking also become an authentic word. Only by achieving the right to speak its word, the right to be itself, to assume direction of its own destiny, itself, will the Third World create the currently non-existent conditions for those who today silence it to enter into dialogue with it (1997, p. 18).

Jungian psychotherapist James Hillman (1983), patron of the French Pan Theatre company — a French company associated with Hillman's ideas of depth psychology — emphasises the restorative value of fiction in his practice-based context of case histories. Hillman's thoughts on the capability of storytelling are also linked to the value CACD places on self-expression and self-determination. He claims that people who have read or had stories told or read to them from an early age have a distinct advantage over those who have not (1983, p. 46). Those who have engaged with storytelling know and appreciate the value of stories, of what they are able to make happen: the imagined universes which can be created and visited as well as left. This,

Hillman says, is also because they understand that stories are created by language rather than material things. He further argues (1983, pp. 46—47) that a distinction exists between stories told on film and television and those that are primarily spoken or read. Images are based on cognitive understanding and recognition, while "word-images" (1989, p. 46) which exist within each person's imagination are in this sense, less likely to be connected to anyone else's perceived world. Images conjured up by reading or listening to stories have the capacity to free someone from the immediate constraints of reality, taking them to a deeper place within themselves, one which he sees involves their soul, their intellect and their spirit. He claims these word-images "take the mind home, to its poetic base, to the imaginal" (1983, pp. 46—47) to the place where our imaginations reside. Hillman sees live theatre performance, with the immediate sensory presence of the performers, their spoken text, costumes, movement and settings as having the qualities of his idea of word-image.

An Australian example with some echoes of Hillman's work come from oral historian Morag Loh. In her editorial preface to the work *With courage in their cases* (1980), Loh explains how members of FILEF in Melbourne decided to collect and publish their own stories and those of other migrants' experiences in Australia because members believed these would enable people other than migrants to better understand their situation. The stories concern what is involved leaving one's own country; why migrants work so hard; why they stay within their communities once they are settled here and getting involved outside them and how they experience prejudice. Loh said FILEF hoped that the divisions caused by lack of understanding would be replaced by acceptance and that this would encourage people from different backgrounds to stand together as a united force in the workplace to defend their rights and "have an effective voice in Australian society" (1980, p. 1).

In their article "Enabling theory" (2004, pp. 30 - 35), Annie Bolitho and Mary Hutchison hold that each person has something to say and a manner of speaking which is distinct and remarkable and both see this as intrinsic to their work in community writing. In writing about the relationship between

self-expression and voice, they say a person's voice, alongside those of the others in the group, creates meanings about who each one is in society. Further, it is through this articulation that each life and the lives of those who hear their voices are made richer and more powerful. Bolitho refers to the value of the potential that lies in the act of people telling their stories with their own depictions and representations of themselves and the impact of having them taken into the public arena:

> We have a strong understanding that this work does open up and create change in our sense of who we are, both individually and collectively (2004, p. 32).

In the first sections of Steve Wilson's Honours Thesis: *Theatre and the labour movement* that were published in the NSWCAA's magazine *Community Arts File* (1990a, 1990b, 1990c, 1991a & 1991b), Wilson examines four theatre productions funded by the Australia Council's Art and Working Life program. He comments on the way the Death Defying Theatre Company (DDT) worked with people in a Queensland mining community when devising the production *Coaltown* (1990c). Wilson describes how although "DDT had been unable to fully involve the town within the means of cultural production as participants, they had 'demystified' theatre and the theatrical process" (1990c, p. 21) through the way they worked and interacted with the locals. He believed this recognised that

> As in most working-class towns there was strong tradition of story-telling within Collinsville which DDT was able to use to gain anecdotal and historical material on the town's past and its people. Storytelling, as part of a theatrical structure, briefly sustains an intensified picture of social life where the exchange of experience has been displaced from the private to the public sphere (1990c, p.21).

Wilson further observed that "while storytelling allows the expression of the local culture, it is also a critical presentation of that life and its problems" (1991a, p. 17). In describing the social, political and cultural value of *Coaltown*, he notes its role celebrating the culture of that mining community and therefore making

> a valuable contribution to the labour movement by re-affirming those values, providing the case for their continuity, and retaining or building the solidarity of that

community. But, this is a general and perhaps vague political intervention. The production being a one-off project by DDT, lacked the support and direction from being part of a union industrial campaign or education programme or a strong, political directive from the union (1991a, p. 18).

Paul Brown in his Foreword to the published script of the play *Aftershocks* (Brown and Workers Cultural Action Group, 1993) — based on the stories of people who were in the Newcastle Workers Club when an earthquake hit Newcastle in late December 1989 — comments on the links between oral history and community theatre. People's stories became the text the actors spoke and Brown describes the processes involved in creating this Verbatim Theatre production and the rationale behind the processes. He quotes British reviewer Derek Paget (Brown and Workers Cultural Action Group, 1993, p. xvi) who characterises Verbatim Theatre as theatre where "the firmest of commitments is made by the company to the use of vernacular speech". Brown refers to Paget's point about the oppositional nature of documentary theatre and how, in providing an alternative to prevailing views, a major intention "has been to give voice to people who otherwise have been disenfranchised, and to dramatise events which are invisible to, or misinterpreted by mainstream media" (1993). It is clear that the issue of the ways in which people are represented is foremost here.

In their introduction to *Feminism and the politics of difference* (1993), editors and contributors Sneja Gunew and Anna Yeatman summarise a range of positions taken by the authors on appropriation and on people speaking on behalf of others. Gunew and Yeatman (1993, p. xviii) cite Wendy Larner's reflection on a notion of solidarity which emphasises "the importance of women learning to join with others without pretending to be those others". Vietnamese filmmaker, writer and composer Trinh T. Minh-ha uses the term "matronising" to describe the actions of people intent on instructing those people they see as oppressed in liberating ideas. Her description of prescriptive, mechanistic approaches is insightful.

The dogmatic mind proceeds with ready-made formulas which it pounds hard into whoever's ear it can catch. It validates itself through its own network of lawmakers and

recruited followers, and constantly seeks to institute itself as an ideological authority. Always ready to oppose obvious forms of power but fundamentally uncritical of its own, it also works at eliminating all differences other than those pre-formulated; and when it speaks, it prescribes. It preaches revolution in the form of commands, in the steeped-in-convention language of linear rationality and clarity (1993, p. 165).

In her chapter "Voice and representation in the politics of difference," Anna Yeatman (1993, pp. 222—245) argues that feminism relates to one basis of oppression only, that of gender. Class, race and ethnicity are also locations of subjugation and Yeatman refutes the traditional Marxist and Hegelian theories of an 'emancipatory universal subject' (1993, p. 228). She says it is inconceivable that people exist who can be described in this way or that there could be "a social movement which can stand in for and represent all the various and distinct interests in emancipation" (1993, p. 228).

Solidarity: a distinguishing feature

Watt argues the principle of solidarity is a key differentiating notion informing CA practice. In his previously mentioned work Watt (1991, p. 64) proposes a notion of "community" as a dynamic site where change is always possible. Watt challenges community artists and activists to recognise the value that lies in using culturally democratic processes and principles in their work with people rather than engaging in what he refers to as "diverting activity to 'disadvantaged' groups" (1991, p. 65). He encourages practitioners to realize the potential involved in assisting people, through their participation, to produce their own culture and create their own social meanings and through those processes become

> coherent social groups, operating on democratic principles, and able to fight for the extension of democratic practices into a world dominated by entrenched power structures (1991, p. 65).

Further, Watt makes the significant point that the notion of solidarity is essential to distinguishing the difference between these activities of mutuality and the provision of the kind of service which Hage (2000, p. 34)

later described as being devoid of "all that is ethical: honour, recognition, community, sociality, humanity". Watt sees the work of community arts as embodying an act of solidarity by practitioners.

Solidarity is a term traditionally associated with actions of unity in accordance with class interests within trade and white-collar unions, the political left, socialist and communist parties. It includes solidarity groups who also form around common interests, feelings and hopes and who demonstrate a sense of responsibility towards others in society. Solidarity is used from the mid-nineteenth century to mean "unity (as of a group or class) that produces or is based on … (a) community of interests, objectives and standards" (Mish, 2004, p. 1187). The term recognises that while the situation in question is not necessarily being experienced by the person in solidarity with those who are affected, by offering support, they have an important role to play. An idea of community which embodies a concept of service does not by necessity exclude solidarity. It is the notion of standing beside another, of walking together in companionship with those who are in need and who welcome this gesture, which is important. These attributes, particularly the kind of companionship implied in gestures of solidarity, form key criteria through which successful collaborations between artists, practitioners and participants can occur. It is suggested that this is a unique feature of the practice of community arts and cultural development.

Solidarity and "being"

Watt (1993) further developed Hull's vital link between principles of self-expression and self-determination and cultural democracy (Hull, 1983, p. 315) to the practice, extending Hull's identification of respect for people, for honouring the ways in which they express themselves and their right to determine what is important to them. Citing E.P. Thompson's landmark study *The making of the English working class*, (in Watt, 1993, p. 60), Watt saw solidarity as a key concept intrinsic to the notion of community he envisaged for CACD. He stressed it was the manner in which the work between both parties was undertaken that is of crucial importance. To be in

solidarity with someone or with a group of people is about how we conduct ourselves with people with whom we feel common concern and responsibility as fellow human beings. Notwithstanding emotionally identifying with people, the relationship is a professional one and respect is offered by the practitioners to participating people. Sally Marsden, the winner of the 2000 Ros Bower award, differentiates the practices of art therapy and CCD. In conversation with Martin Thiele, Marsden raises the idea of 'being with' the young people with whom she and others make art at *The Artful Dodger Studio* (2000, p. 65).

A similar concept to solidarity but with subtler connotations, Marsden's interpretation of "being with" is concerned, in an immediate sense, with the mutual existence between the artist and the participating person. It is also concerned with what practitioners are able to offer a person or a group in cautious, thoughtful and in some situations compassionate ways, through listening to and acknowledging their situation as they present it. While the focus of the process is on the quality of the relationship that develop between the artist and the participant, the focus of the activity is also on making art. There is a desire to make the best art work together that is possible and for the art work to stand up in the public domain — if that is what the participant wants — as a fine piece of work.

Cultural democracy, participation, access and equity

The term cultural democracy resonates with the perennially-maligned multicultural approach introduced in Chapter One. Whilst acknowledging the existence of an overriding culture and the subliminal power it exerts, proponents of cultural democracy make the claim that no one expression of art is seen as more significant and representative than any other. Although still far from a practical reality, the desire for cultural equality is the moving principle here. Kirby (1991, pp. 21, 24) defined the democratisation of culture as merely being about broadening patronage to those institutions of opera, art galleries, museums and theatres which were previously situated within the exclusive cultural domain of the dominant classes. It is evident in

the intervening years, that the wider public has gained increasing access to these institutions through the resources directed towards public and educational programs within these institutions, especially focussed on young people. Kirby contends that cultural democracy enables people access to the means of expressing their own cultural and artistic sensibilities in contrast to only viewing, and increasingly in some places, interacting with the work of others as an audience member. She saw this as especially true of the AC's Art and Working Life program, previously mentioned in Chapter One.

Access, equity and participation are social policy terms which increasingly came into use in the early 1970s, particularly during the period of the Whitlam Labor government (1972 — 1975). In the intervening years the terms have come and gone although they can be discerned in perhaps more guarded or obscure policy language. The idea of access is fairly straightforward — meaning gaining entry to someone, something or somewhere — and is linked to a notion of equity or fairness and justice (Delbridge, 1991, p. 589). Well overdue policies of access and equity were brought into play in order to begin to include those who, on the basis of their language, race or nationality, had been denied knowledge of, or full recourse to, the range of benefits society offered to English-speaking Australians.

Participatory practices signal a shift from the idea of an authority that knows everything and aspires to make decisions for everyone. To participate is to take part and give back and share in what is offered. Proper consultation with people directly affected by a specific situation — which is taken into account and acted on — provides more effective outcomes because the people's knowledge and experience informs the way forward. Consultation acknowledges the value of directly engaging people about the issues that affect them.

Community arts: a funded arts practice

Deidre Williams' explanation of CA in *Creating social capital* written in 1995 also resonates with these notions.

> For over ten years, governments have been funding community arts activities in the belief that all Australian communities should be able to get the help they need to develop their culture through artistic expression (1995, Appendix).

However four years later in 1999, Williams' definitional concerns re-focus on the imperative of the funding base of CACD. A national one day *Symposium: they shoot ferals don't they*, was organised by Sarah Moynihan and Norm Horton, coordinators of Feral Arts, who wrote (2002, p. 204) that the Symposium "brought together 40 of the country's leading practitioners to discuss the past, present and future" of the practice of community cultural development. Williams is cited as saying:

> I think we need to do some work in identifying what it is that our leaders are going to deliver, and with whom. We're talking about "the work" – well I don't know what it is. I don't know whether we're making art or whether we're making happy communities or whether we're making very powerful people who were once powerless or whether we're designing malls? I think that's really, really important if we're talking about community cultural development, because what we produce is going to directly relate to who's going to invest in us. If we don't know what it is that we can deliver, then we don't really know who we can go and sell it to, or even on whose behalf we are selling it (Moynihan & Horton, 2002, p. 207).

Williams' obvious concern for the financial base of the practice is emphasised by her use of market language. 1999 was four years into what would become the eleven-year term of the conservative Howard Coalition Government and Williams is asking her colleagues to seriously consider where, to whom and for what purpose practitioners can pitch their funding proposals should the Federal Government withdraw support for the AC's funding program. Williams' published research (1995) and her subsequent concern underscore the vulnerability of this funded arts practice.

Finally, a different perspective of CA is raised by Gunew and Yeatman in their introduction to *Feminism and the politics of difference* (1993). They refer to problems regarding the legitimation and support offered to minority artists and writers within the Australian arts funding institutions at that time

and claim that community arts is the funding category where writers whose languages and cultures are other than Anglo or Celtic were most frequently "subsumed" (1993, p. xx). The tendency was problematic, especially for individual artists who work alone rather than in groups. Another issue is that community arts is perceived as a non-professional practice characterised as developmental rather than an autonomous art practice. As a result, Yeatman and Gunew argue (that artists who see their cultural background as intrinsic to their practice are left with few options other than having to consider community arts as a possible source of support and recognition or having their work situated on the fringes of the mainstream (1993). Gunew was a peer committee member of the CCDB, the advisory body of the CCDU in the early nineties.

CHAPTER TWO: PART TWO

FUNDING THE PRACTICE

INTRODUCTION

Part Two focusses on the latter two categories into which the literature has been sorted. These are:

1. The arts funding bodies and in the main that of the Australia Council's CACD funding program as well as the ACT Arts and Cultural Development Unit, now artsACT and Healthpact, the ACT Government's former health promotion body.

2. The institutions of organised labour: unions as well as people who have worked closely with them. Unions were intrinsically linked to the Australia Council's Art and Working Life funding program.

THE GOVERNMENT ARTS FUNDING BODIES

This section deals with literature emanating from those government arts funding bodies which, through their funding support, were linked to the creation of the monologue *Fly*, the subject of the case study. The agencies are:

1. the Australia Council, the Federal Government's arts funding and advisory body and the institution within which the CA funding program began which later became the CCD and now the CP funding program;

2. the Arts and Cultural Development Unit and its Cultural Council now called artsACT, the ACT government's arts funding and advisory body and

3. Healthpact the ACT government's health promotion funding and advisory body at the time of the project. It is now is located within ACT Health and called the Health Promotion Fund.

The AC has partially or wholly supported a large body of writing on the practice. It is significant that the landmark publication *Community and the*

arts (Binns, 1991) discussed in this chapter and in Chapter One was the first major collection of writing about the nature of the work and the ideas informing CACD. It arguably remains the key text which defines what it is about this particular art practice which distinguishes it from other kinds of practices. Other works relevant to this study include Veronica Kelly and Richard Fotheringham's issue of Australasian Drama Studies, *Theatre for communities* (1992), Bolitho and Hutchison's *Out of the ordinary* (1998), Mills and Brown's *Art and wellbeing* (2004) and the already mentioned titles: William's *Creating social capital* (1995), Marsden and Thiele's *Risking art* (2000) and Jon Hawkes' *The fourth pillar of sustainability* (2001). This demonstrable support for publications analysing, critiquing, advocating, researching and explaining diverse aspects of the practice is of interest. It reflects the vital role the Federal Government's arts funding program has played in supporting the writing about it. It is also evidence of the close links which exist between staff of the CACD funding program and select practitioners, educators and advocates in the field of the practice.

In the early 1990s, special editions of a range of publications linked to the funding programs focussed on aspects of the practice in order to advocate it to their readership. These included the conservation journal *Habitat* (Church, 1991), *The Australian Left Review* (Hawkins & Gibson, 1991) and *Impact*, the journal of the Australian Council of Social Services (1990). Since its formation, the Australia Council's CACD funding agency alongside all the other art form agencies, has produced material for its own advocacy purposes including information booklets on funding programs (Australia Council for the Arts, 2006) and joint publications. As has already been mentioned, the CAB published and distributed the pamphlet *Caper* to support the work of practitioners in the field. An early explanation of the Art and Working Life funding program — which will be discussed in more detail later in this chapter — was contained in *Caper 18* (Union Media Services, 1983) and was produced in collaboration with the Australian Council of Trade Unions (ACTU).

> The ACTU is the peak organization which represents unions
> in Australia and internationally … The ACTU was

established in Melbourne in 1927 when the State Labor
Councils and the then federal unions recognized the need for
an organization to represent the national interests of the
unions. Today the ACTU speaks on behalf of its 65 member
unions on issues that are of interest to all Australian workers
(Australian Council of Trade Unions, 2009).

In an early edition of the CCDU advocacy booklet *Hands On!*, CD is
described as a "process rather than an artform" (Reid, 2000, p. 4). In a later
version: *Hands on!* (2002), Scott O'Hara writes that CD is:

> a broad term covering an enormous range of activities that
> give communities the opportunity to tell their stories, build
> their creative skills and be active participants in the
> development of their culture. It may be useful to think of the
> phrase or its abbreviation, as a description rather than as a
> name. CCD describes collaborations between communities
> and artists which can take place in any artform. They result
> in a wide range of artistic and developmental outcomes
> (2002, p. 4).

This small sample from the substantial body of writing about the art works,
the processes, the ideas and theories that inform CACD practice, has been
published with the support of the Australia Council. Publications are always
linked to their available budgets and finances. Thus the sustainability of a
practice dependent on the funding provided by the AC and other government
arts funding institutions is intrinsically linked to the political fortunes of this
institution.

The Australia Council: arms-length funding and peer assessment

The Australia Council (AC) came into being in 1972 through an act of the
Federal government. It was set up as an arts funding and policy advisory
body using the principles of "arms-length" funding and peer assessment.
These terms describes a structure whereby the Federal Minister for the Arts
does not play a direct role in determining who is eligible for government arts
funding. The government has responsibility for the budgets and policies
determining the funding available to art practitioners and organisations
through applications and these policies are administered by the staff of the

ACT and in a practical sense, interpreted by them and disseminated as guidelines to the field and the wider general public. A layer of peer practitioners and individuals deemed representative of a particular field of practice and acceptable to the minister are invited to assist and advise the staff on policy matters and assess project and program applications. This layer was put into place between the public servants and the minister in the late 1960s and early 1970s. In practical terms, the work of the peers involves reviewing each application in relation to the policy guidelines and rating priorities as well as bringing their knowledge of current practice and the work of the applicant to prioritising which applications should be funded. Their suggestions are considered by the public servants in relation to budgets and policy and once decisions have been made, the list is sent as recommendations to the Minister for final approval. In these ways, the funding processes of the committees of the Australia Council and most committees of the various state and territory ministries of arts in Australia, whether approved by the Minister for the Arts or not, take place. Significantly, this mechanism of discussion and deliberation has removed the Minister from direct political involvement in selecting who should or should not receive government funding in most but not all cases. The AC criteria of excellence and national significance are key notions informing the selection of applications. Watt interrogates their meaning in his article "Community Theatre in Australia" (1993), as does Hawkins in her work *From Nimbin to Mardi Gras* (1993).

Arts and Cultural Development Unit

The Arts and Cultural Development Unit of the ACT Government was another major funding partner of the *Invisible Work Invisible Pain* project. This agency also operates using the arms-length principle from the Minister and invites peer practitioners onto its governing Cultural Council and art form committees to assess and make recommendations for funding. As with all arts funding bodies, public acknowledgement of their funding must be included in all the project's programs, publications and advertising. In the period of the project (1996 – 1998), the acknowledgement required by the

Arts and Cultural Development Unit (ACDU) was "(name of project) was assisted by the ACT Government through its Cultural Council" (Murphy, 1997, p. ii). This wording reflects the esteem the government accorded their appointed advisory body through publicly acknowledging its existence.

Maximum engagement and participation in the arts was a feature of the ACT government arts policy (artsACT, 2006, p. 9) and was noted as one of three goals. The government described its second area of priority as community arts, defined as an arts activity having

> social wellbeing outcomes as well as arts outcomes. Community arts projects often bring diverse sections of our community together and strengthen communities. Community arts often include activities where the process is as important as the outcome (2006, p.15).

Healthpact and ACT Health

Healthpact was the third major funding agency involved in the *Invisible Work Invisible Pain* project. It played a central role in realising the project at the outset as has already been discussed in the Foreword. A statutory body at the time of the project, Healthpact also used peer committees to assess applications to their annual grants program and like the government arts funding bodies, operated at arms-length from the ACT Minister for Health. The agency supported a range of activities seen as promoting health in different areas of social life including arts and cultural projects. Key areas of the project were funded within Healthpact's Safe Behaviours program and this included a major health promotion strategy planned to take place during the season of the dance theatre production, the final stage of the project.

Nevertheless, while it is clear that involving peers in the assessment of applications is the most effective and democratic method of evaluation of applications to arts and cultural government funding agencies, peer assessment is not without problems. Professional jealousy can skew discussion in ways not immediately obvious, especially if staff are unaware of a conflict of interest or ill-equipped to deal with it. It is not unknown for

scores to be settled on behalf of colleagues by friends sitting on committees. Nevertheless, if the peer system was discarded simply on the grounds of human shortcomings, it would only be a matter of time before the system would have to be reinstated if fairness were to prevail.

The fluctuating policy landscape

The history of the Federal Government's CA funding program indicates that politicians, whether Labor or Coalition, have been critical of aspects of the program. Although their criticisms have been different, this has been the primary catalyst for redefining the terms of the funding program of the practice itself. Following a period of well documented deliberation and consultation between the consultant Rosalie (Ros) Bower and members of the Special, Regional and Community Arts Committees, the Community Arts Board (CAB) became an official Board of the Australia Council in 1977 during the period of the Fraser Coalition government (1975 – 1983). Bower's professional and academic interests were linked to women's working lives (Hull, 2006) and she became the first director of the CAB. In 1989 during the period of the Hawke/Keating Labor government (1983 – 1996) the CAB was re-named the Community Cultural Development Unit. Later the Unit was once more elevated to the status of a Board — which has control over its funding allocation — until shortly before Christmas in 2004, during the Howard Coalition government (1996 – 2007), when it was announced that it would be re-organised and re-named as Community Partnerships.

In August 2009, the term Community Partnerships was described on the AC's website within the funding program's site as an art form and CA and CCD were referred to as activities supported by the funding program. In Ann Dunn's report *Community partnerships scoping study*, CCD is referred to as "a specialised professional practice with international standing, influence and networks" (2006, p. 1). The definition of community used at that time was taken from the Australia Council's Support for the Arts Handbook, 2006: "[A]ny group of people that identify with each other

through commons such as geographical location, shared cultural heritage, age group, professional, social or recreational" (2006, p. 48).

It is fair to say that the project and program funding, advocacy support and interest in writing on the practice which derives from the Australia Council has always been and remains a cornerstone to the survival of CACD practice.+

The Community Arts Board and multiculturalism

Sonja Sedmak began to write for theatre with the bilingual FTG in 1984, assisting community theatre playwright P. P. Cranny with various aspects of the script of *Nuovo Paese* (1984), continuing to write for subsequent productions. A former public servant within the Federal Department of Immigration, Sedmak described her interpretation of the practical meaning of multiculturalism at the time is of interest in the interview with Mitchell, already mentioned in this chapter:

> What Filef is all about is trying to help Italian migrants make the place where they live more human, which is multiculturalism in its true sense, helping people work together to realise their full potential (1987, p. 9).

The term multiculturalism was introduced during the period of the Whitlam Labor government (1972—1975) and was borrowed from Canada but interpreted in Australia in a very different way.

The Fraser Coalition government (1975—1983) continued to support the concept of multiculturalism, despite some internal opposition within the Liberal Party at the time. The Special Broadcasting Service (SBS) launched SBS Radio in 1978 to broadcast in community languages and in 1986 SBS Television went to air and began to show programs including news, films, documentaries and drama in languages other than English. The multicultural policies promoted mutual respect between Australians of Anglo-Saxon descent and migrants whose first languages were other than English. The practice of tolerance in dealing with cultural difference was advocated and the positive contributions made to Australian culture and cuisine by post

World II migrants from the Mediterranean and Europe were emphasised. These were celebrated in newly created multicultural festivals including the first Brisbane Fiesta in 1985 and the NSW state multicultural festival *Carnivale*, introduced by the Wran Labor government (1976 — 1986). *Carnivale* was staged in various iterations between 1982 and 2005 (Bright, 2014) and grew into a meaningful rather than superficial festival because it was supported by many different ethnic communities in the state. In large part this was because it was organised at a local level and events were held in suburbs and regional locations as well as centrally in the major regional cities. Small but significant amounts of funding were also available on application for performances, costumes and instruments. *Carnivale* was ultimately subsumed within the Sydney Festival despite a successful proposal emanating from the NSW Multicultural Arts Alliance with strong support from the Ethic Communities Council of NSW and the Ethic Affairs Commission which was later re-named Communities NSW. This resulted in the festival being returned for a year or two to its stand-alone status as a major spring multicultural festival.

Significant positions and programs of assistance became located or were seen to be located within the CA funding program. During Kefala's first stewardship of the ACs Multicultural Arts program, it was physically located within the CAB (Hull, 1983, p. 21). It continued to be located within the re-named Community Cultural Development Unit (CCDU) when it was subsequently held by Mary Dimech the Program Manager, Multicultural from 1988. In collaboration with members of the ACs Multicultural Advisory Committee, Dimech developed the landmark *Policy on arts for a multicultural Australia* (Dimech, 1993). Prior to this, the Federal Government's *National Agenda for a Multicultural Australia* (NAMA) was released in 1989. According to Dimech (1993, p. 3), NAMA was based the following elements:

1. Cultural identity and heritage
2. Social justice (access and equity)
3. Economic efficiency

Dimech cites the principles of social justice which informed the access and equity programs within NAMA (1993, p. 3). These acknowledged experiences particular to people whose first languages are other than English, and their diverse cultures which had come to comprise approximately half the population growth of Australian society in the previous forty years (1993, p. 2). Echoing Watt's definition of community in relation to the practice of CA already mentioned in this chapter, the policy acknowledges that society and culture are "dynamic and changing rather than static and fixed" (1993, p. 4).

At the time of the first mention of multiculturalism and Minister for Immigration (1972 — 1974) Al Grassby's early discussion about it (1973), the reality for migrant workers and their families was somewhat different. In mid-1973, a group of migrant workers smashed down a wall at the Ford automobile factory in Broadmeadows in Melbourne (Centre for Urban Research and Action, 1976, p. 114 & Bramble, 2008, pp. 58—59). At the time management practice at Ford included putting migrant workers from different language groups next to each other on the assembly line so they could not speak to each other. The men were also timed when they went to the toilet. These policies combined with the inaction of unions that were yet to recognise the realities experienced by their migrant members, was at the root of the workers' anger and frustration at Broadmeadows that day. Their action followed by subsequent negotiations quickly led the unions to comprehend the situation and the first of a number of Migrant Workers' Conferences was held in Melbourne in 1973 (Caputo, 2009).

During the same period, the International Women's Year Secretariat commissioned the Centre for Urban Research and Action to undertake a study of married and single migrant women who had become the majority of the workforce in the manufacturing industry in Melbourne at the time. Their report, *But I wouldn't want my wife to work here…* coordinated by Des Storer (1976), highlighted a range of complex issues faced by the women. The report's recommendations (1976, pp. 114—118) included:
- the need for unions to involve their women members;

- for managements to notify and involve the workforce in any planned changes in work systems and work arrangements;
- the provision of English on the job training;
- the creation of child care facilities within or adjacent to the workplace;
- the need for both unions and management to provide their written materials in the languages of the workplace and also to provide interpreters where necessary.

The study was based on:

i. The observations by a five person research team of the social and physical conditions of 30 factories employing migrant women.

ii. The views and requirements of a sample of 710 women workers.

iii. The views of a sample of factory owners and managers and trade union officials regarding the situation of migrant women workers in these factories (1976, p. 107).

What is salient about this report in relation to the practice and the case at the centre of this study is that it "attempted to systematically describe the perceptions and needs of migrant women workers … regarding their everyday work situation" (1976, p. 107). This methodological approach was deemed necessary by the researchers because, while expert social observers were eminently able to note the oppressive work circumstances, any proposals for change would count for little if the women's needs were not taken into account (1976, p. 3 & p. 107).

The idea for a program of assistance linked to the culture of unions and their members that supported cultural and artistic work reflecting experiences of work was first mooted within the AC by Ros Bower (Hull, 1983). Artists and organisers in workplaces around Australia had been listed by Binns and Hull in the first *Community Arts Directory* published by the Australia Council in 1976. The idea was further developed by Deborah Mills, then a project officer within the CAB who became the fourth director of the renamed CACD funding program, the CCDU. In 1982 Fraser signed off on

the Art and Working Life (A&WL) program. This was adopted by the Australia Council in September 1982 and produced an arts funding partnership between the Australia Council and ACTU. Two of the program's four objectives were:

> to encourage art practice and policy which is informed by the concerns and issues affecting workers' own lives and which acknowledges working class cultural tradition and the multicultural nature of that tradition (Union Media Services, 1983, p. 16); and

> the development of opportunities for workers and their families to gain access to the arts and to enjoy opportunities for creative self-expression and participation (1983).

The new program provided financial support for A&WL project applications to all the art form boards of Council. It also devolved varying amounts of arts funding to the ACTU to use and further distribute through the various national, state and territory unions and regional organisations. Importantly and despite the fact that it was a funding program intended for all the art form boards of the Australia Council, the CAB also became the nominal home of the fledgling Art and Working Life program. The Visual Arts Board also engaged enthusiastically with the program, unlike the other art form boards.

The CACD funding program supported two national A&WL conferences in collaboration with the ACTU and in the case of the second conference, *Industrial issues cultural tools* in October 1990 (Winning, 1990 & 1991), in partnership with the Trade Union Training Authority. Discussion took place about union-based art work and related issues, union campaigns of the time and the role of artists in creative collaborations with working people and was focussed on:

> The role of art and culture within the trade union movement in the current context of change and restructuring and the current and future role of arts funding bodies in trade union arts (1990, p. 1).

The CAB and CCDU supported and commissioned research, articles and publications. Contemporary art works funded under the program included a new generation of union banners, songs and song writing awards, poetry, films, posters, theatre productions, programs of May Day celebrations and photographic exhibitions as well as specific one-off and ongoing programs of creative activities developed between artists and specific unions and union organisations. Key reports on the A&WL program were commissioned and included those by Steve Cassidy (1983), Jill Churchill (1988) and Sandy Kirby, 1992). The reports were used to support its retention as a program of Council, as well as to wind it up in the mid-1990s.

A consistent focus of Mills' work has been to secure the financial base of CACD practice within government and non-government institutions through targeted strategies amongst other things (1983 & 1991). Mills gave a realistic reading of the support offered to the A&WL program by art institutions and unions at the second A&WL Conference in Melbourne in 1991.

> It was supported (in the mid '80s) by cultural institutions like funding bodies, galleries and museums as a kind of interesting movement in postmodernism. It got the nod from the militant and well organised sections of the union movement because it was cheap and it offered a fresh new way to communicate with their members. Times are tough now and whether or not these activities flourish in the nineties will depend on how successfully they become integrated into the mainstream of the union movement (1991, p. 7).

Following her departure from the public service, Mills has maintained an ongoing role in cultural and strategic planning and evaluation. She champions CACD practice to groups, communities, sectors, politicians and people seen as having major influence within different institutions across society (Mills & Brown, 2004). The Art and Working Life program stopped being a distinct funding program under the CCDU around 1995 and continued as a policy of Council for a year or so (Donovan, 2006). While not funded through the A&WL program, the *Invisible Work Invisible Pain* project, as well as other projects conceived by union-based Arts Officers

across Australia in the mid-1990s, received funding from the CCDU for a short period following the election of the Howard Coalition government.

The centrality of artists to the funding program

The staff and peer advisors of the Community Arts Board identified the artists and practitioners as key to developing a successful practice, one based on inviting people in communities to take part as participants, on their own terms, in in collaborative projects that held meaning for them. The Board supported artists in the community. Hull asserts:

> Artists who choose to work in communities are challenging the taboos against subject matter often considered unsuitable for art – such as unemployment, work, domesticity, folk history and the drama and visual imagery of people's daily lives. Artists working in the community attempt to offer situations where it is possible for people to discover outlets for expression which are meaningful to them and relate directly to their lives. In doing this, the artist is integrated more closely with our lives, our history and our unique environment (1983, p. 316).

The art forms were not all new; rather it was the ways they were put into practice by the artists and practitioners in collaboration with people who were not necessarily artists themselves but who came from somewhere and had stories to tell. The early committee members recognised the emerging body of practitioners interested in the everyday experiences of people's lives, looking to the commonplace and ordinary as subjects of and sites for their art making. This interest in and consideration for people is a hallmark of the practice and informs the processes undertaken by the artists and practitioners in their work with people.

Watt launched his interrogation of the term "community" referencing Hull's first major point when she proposed six principles informing the work of the CAB in an address she gave to the Australia Council in 1981:

> That (the Board) refuses to be caught in the bind of definition, but that community arts was an approach which began with the question in Australia: Why are the arts not an experience shared by all people, every day of their lives, in

the places that they are – be it in the work place, the school, the home, the shopping centre? (1983, p. 320).

In another major challenge to its detractors, Hull writes of the way the Board decided to define community arts only insofar as was necessary for bureaucratic purposes. This included identifying the kind of information required from applicants that would enable peer assessors to make informed decisions about their applications for funding. This statement is worth reprinting in full as it clearly articulates the intentions of the staff of a government instrumentality to take its policy lead from the people it saw itself as employed to serve.

> In mid-1975 the Community Arts Committee agreed that a single definition of community arts could not be sustained, but that its programme should be influential over a wide spectrum of arts activities … [I]t wished to encourage people to develop their artistic talents and involve themselves in the arts individually and in groups in new and traditional ways. The Committee adopted the philosophy that no set of tastes and cultural values can be imposed from above, and further that the forms of art and forms of action must be tailored from the base of knowledge, interest and taste of those whom it sought to interest. This approach and the appointment of specialist officers (community arts officers) to facilitate the process was consistent with approaches being adopted in other fields of community work at the time, like health, welfare, education and youth work and general community development (1983, p. 317).

The policy provides further evidence of the respect and esteem in which the lives and cultural interests and pursuits of ordinary people were held by the Board. It also emphasises the respect afforded to artists at that time and the central role they were seen to play by those within the community arts funding body; the value of the new ground that artists were grappling with through their practice was recognised and appreciated. By placing the work of artists at the centre of the new funding program, the Board not only recognized their interest in everyday life as subjects for art making, but also their capacity and commitment to work collaboratively and consultatively with people in the communities whose cultures they valued. Artists were seen as intrinsic to the successful development of the practice and the key protagonists who would carry the ideas and hopes of the program forward.

After the second National Community Arts Conference, *Compost* in South Australia in 1977 and in the face of new threats "from the change in government thinking, worsening economic conditions and the opposition to the concept of community arts within the Australia Council" (1983, p. 318), Hull contends that the artists and practitioners became politicised. They began actively campaigning for both the maintenance of the community arts funding program and for the establishment of a fully-fledged community arts board.

As has been said, the Board's approach of opening up the program to all comers rather than prescribing the parameters of what it meant by the term "community arts" is a clear and unusual instance of social exchange initiated from within a major government institution. The Board offered policies, programs and funding based on a practice that included projects, events, festivals, seminars and workshops that had already taken place, and which represented a variety of interests and needs articulated by individuals, groups and organisations that had been involved to date whose interests had been taken into consideration. It is an instance of reciprocity which perhaps was not so unusual in its time but which has certainly achieved the status of a threatened species over ensuing decades. At a symbolic level, this exchange represents an offering by a government institution to artists and practitioners and through them to people. Once this symbolic invitation is accepted by the people, it enables the artists to work with them. It is the participants' willingness to join in and contribute the stories of their lives and in so doing, entrust their dreams, hopes, fears, horrors and mundane and extraordinary realities to the practitioners and artists – that they reciprocate the offer of the collaboration. In this way the art work that has been devised in collaboration and consultation between the two parties is fashioned and created as a representation of the lives of the participants. An art work created through these processes is significant and unique in that:

- it is produced collectively and not only through the talent of an individual artist;

- it represents the experiences of the people in communities whose voices are rarely heard, and

- is the result of a gift that is able to be offered to people by artists and practitioners because of the existence of government policies and exemplifies the care for and interest society has, through its institutions, in all its people.

Hull's explanation of the Board's refusal to provide a particular definition of community arts can be seen as valid at the time when the government was interested in developing policies that were more responsive to more people than its predecessor. Hull commented that "many people were preoccupied with definition" (1983, p. 317) which has continued to be the case, with good reason. It is an area where the practice, the terms of the work and the nature and meaning of the engagement between the artists and practitioners and the people participating continues to be contentious and ill-defined. Watt has remained committed to addressing this ongoing concern in his paper with Graham Pitts "The imaginary conference" (2001, pp. 7—14). Under the heading "In, for, with, of and by the community" they discuss different examples of CACD working relationships between artists and practitioners and communities including communities who work without artists and practitioners. The article focusses on the distribution of power between the two groups demonstrated by the extent of either group's involvement in the stages of the art making process. Watt and Pitts state they do not preference one examples over another and CACD is explained as an instrument for the achievement of objectives in addition to art making. The art works that are created through the various examples of the contexts in which the two groups operate are mentioned only in passing. As a result, there is a sense that they are describing a situation where the artists and practitioners are in competition with communities in terms of who holds the upper hand.

Language and funding

The significance of the ongoing links between the field of practice and the policies and practices of the Federal CACD funding body have become apparent. This includes the ways concepts of self-expression, self-determination, cultural democracy, access, equity and participation within the literature have been somewhat irregularly used. The literature on CACD practice provides clear evidence of the involvement of its funding program at the AC. Major works and key publications dealing with the practice have been supported by the funding program which also publishes its own and other's advocacy material directed to sectors seen as likely to engage with the practice. Much writing about the practice from the field uses jargon in ways resembling reports and acquittals and deals with advocacy and definitional concerns. In relation to much of the advocacy material published, the clarity and definitions informing the theoretical underpinnings of the practice are less important than the need to promote and market the practice in current social and other policy terminology. This constantly weakens the grasp of practitioners on what it is that defines CACD practice. The fine work that has been accomplished to date and the favourable feedback this has earned from participants are forgotten. As a result practitioners' sense of their value suffers, as does the ongoing development of the art practice.

While the more democratic arms-length and peer assessment policies of government are preferable to the ministerial control that existed in relation to government funding of the arts prior to the 1970s, the problem of dependency on shifting government policies for the field of CACD practice remains, arms-length or not. This is because the major support and funding for CACD practice that has come from the Australia Council since the 1970s, and on which the viability of the practice rests, lies with this government institution whose existence is predicated by the changes in government and shifts in government policy. The uncertainty this creates explains why respected senior figures from within the field of practice such as Deidre Williams relinquish well-researched evidence (Williams, 1995)

regarding its value and meaning to society in the face of anticipated government intervention in the funding program. When restructuring is announced, a wave of dismay sweeps the field – for a time.

CACD practice has been cleverly and strategically re-defined in language acceptable to the current government policies. Maintaining the funding program thus far has clearly been at the expense of the development of a sound theoretical base for CACD practice, one which can be placed on the table for discussion with sympathetic governments as well as supporting arguments to governments that fail to see the value of the work. As previously noted, in the early 1990s Watt saw the approaches of the Australian arts funding agencies as quite compatible with the views and ideas of the practitioners. While this may be true, the imperatives faced by program staff in government institutions are very different to those faced by their client base in the field. This needs to be recognised as serious outside times of funding crises and re-structuring of funding programs.

The decision of the CAB and its advisors not to define community arts kept definitions flexible and fluid. In the early days of the finding program, applications were assessed against what was being done within the field. The links between the multicultural arts, Art and Working Life and CACD funding program can be viewed in the congruence of concepts underpinning each of these institutional programs that emerged between the 1970s and the early 1990s. Hage argued that the multiculturalism of the Whitlam Labor Government was focussed on restructuring institutional behaviour in relation to social issues affecting migrants and their families (1998, p. 254). He differentiates this approach from an interest in cultural pluralism and issues of recognition and identity with which multiculturalism became concerned in the following years. This will be dealt with in further detail in the following chapter.

UNIONS AS CULTURAL AGENCIES

The cultural concepts will now be examined that inform those people within the broad spectrum of the Australian Left who were linked with the cultural policies of union institutions actively involved in cultural work and particularly in the development and activities of the A&WL program.

In its 1980 Arts and Creative Recreation Policy, the ACTU expressed "an urgent need for trade unions to become more involved in the arts and cultural life of the Australian people" (Kirby, 1996, p. 5). Eleven years later, the ACTU Congress — essentially a parliament of organised labour which meets every three years to set the agenda for the following three years — ratified a revised Cultural Policy (ACTU Cultural Committee, 1991). With cultural democracy as one of its policy objectives as well as providing its framework the ACTU cultural policy supported policies of access and equity which stated that:

> Congress believes that cultural activities give people a voice in defining their society and that there must be access and participation to the fullest range of cultural experiences for workers and their families to ensure their right to make an impact on the cultural definition of Australia (1991, p. 27).

The ACTU policy describes its constituency as workers and their families, while acknowledging the central role of cultural workers. Whilst the policy does not mention CACD as practices through which cultural activities might occur, it acknowledges the strategic importance of the Art and Working Life (A&WL) program. The ACTU supported its continuation, calling for its expansion in order to extend the cultural access and participation it saw as providing to union members and their families. The A&WL program, alongside the community arts and multicultural arts programs were seen as evidence of "the (Australia) Council's commitment to break down the elitist nature of many art programs" (1991, p. 29).

ACT TLC Cultural policy

In the final period of the Australia Council's A&WL program, the Art in Working Life Committee submitted an ACT Trades & Labour Council

Cultural Policy (Arthur, 1996) to Council, which was accepted. Modelled to a certain extent on the ACTU Cultural Policy (1991), it also placed the concept of self-expression in a central position both within and outside the workplace. It reiterated the notion of access and participation and recognised the primary role of artists and the pivotal importance of the A&WL program in supporting and furthering the diverse cultural work emanating from the union base. The idea of community articulated in the TLC policy is inclusive, embracing members and their families as well as all Canberrans within its constituency.

The Art and Working Life program

According to art historian Sandy Kirby (1996, p. 5), Burn played a leading role in determining the ideas underpinning the Art and Working Life program. An advisor on its establishment, implementation and promotion, Burn was a conceptual artist, designer and intellectual who had returned to Australia from the USA in 1978. He continued his own arts practice as well as establishing Union Media Services (UMS) at Sydney's Trades Hall, providing a graphics and design service to unions. His role included overseeing the A&WL program as it unfolded and advising the Australia Council staff on strategies. He also interpreted union perspectives on art and culture and questions for artists interested in working with unions and their members. He indicated issues arising connected to the widespread introduction of new technologies in the 1980s and 1990s. Burn collaborated with Kirby (1992) and visual artist and academic Kathie Muir (1992). Kirby (1996) and art historian and curator Ann Stephen (1996 & 2006) have published key studies about Burn's thoughts, writing and influence on radical art, unions, politics and social change in Australia..

Working closely with staff at the CAB and people at the ACTU, Burn and his colleagues at Union Media Services produced and wrote sections of *Caper 13*: "Art and Working Life" in 1981, and *Caper 18* of the same name in 1983. The objectives and intentions of the A&WL funding program were defined and set amongst a large selection of striking and militant images,

including photographs of demonstrations, past and contemporary union banners, posters, stills from theatre productions dealing with industrial and other workplace issues and films, postcards and snapshots of union leaders and members of the ACTU Arts and Creative Recreation Committee. The booklets were distributed widely to artists, unions and other interested individuals and organisations. Burn successfully proposed and implemented three further A&WL-related strategies for the AC (Kirby, 1996, p. 6). The first was a narrative for use with a slide kit of images representing the art produced by the Australian labour movement from the late nineteenth century to the 1980s, with other art works Burn deemed representative of a "populist mythology (egalitarianism, the Bush or Outback, larrikinism and so on)", which he saw as exemplifying the dominant Australian nationalist ethos "while barely obscuring the antagonisms of class interest" (In Kirby, 1996, p. 61). Burn's latter observation resonates with Watt's objection to a definition of community which serves to hide conflict based on systemic inequality, mentioned in Chapter One. Burn also designed, wrote and published eleven widely circulated editions of the newsletter: Art and Working Life News between 1984 and 1989 (1996, p. 12). In addition, a series of articles on trade union culture were forwarded to over three hundred unions for insertion into their magazines and publications.

Burn's writing on the subject of art and unions in publications distributed to all unions indicate his influence in this sphere, although not everyone working in the area was aware of this. Reading his early and later writing on unions, artists, art and art—making processes, a shift can be discerned. From an early position where the artist is seen as unequivocally serving the needs of the union and by inference, their organisers and executives, Burn later questioned why artists should feel the need to uncritically observe the wishes of a union. In *Caper 18*, he states that a creative role with unions and their members involves "not fitting unions to artist's ideals, but fitting artists to trade union needs …" and "… letting members develop their own skills, forms of expression and appreciation" (Union Media Services, 1983, p. 10). Later, in his essay 'Art: critical, political' (in Kirby, 1996, pp. 59—60), written a decade later, Burn insists that artists reflect on their intentions and

delve deeply into the multiple questions surrounding the ways in which their art can be viewed. Burn identified several roles for culture in relation to unions and the labour movement and identified the primary one as being "the direct use of artistic forms of expression by unions in fighting for and actively creating a better working life, and ultimately a better life in all aspects" (1983, p. 10).

Hull (1993, p. 324) cites visual artist Toni Robertson whose works are concerned with presenting seemingly benign images of the everyday realities in the nuclear power industry. Robertson identified an inherent contradiction in the community arts program within the AC that came from a "federally funded, centralised Board". She stated that she would have expected that the initiative for the program to come from the community but saw this as the "result of specific historical conditions". Burn also saw the necessity of viewing social phenomena through the historical conditions associated with a particular moment in time. He argued that the relationship between the specific time and place surrounding the creation of an art work was intrinsic to the meaning embodied in the work.

> The artist's intention may be to make a political commitment evident within the representation, yet the art 'becomes' political not through intention but in relation to the frames of historical or institutional circumstance (Kirby, 1996, p. 59).

Burn makes a fine distinction about the art produced within the parameters of the A&WL program:

> This program set out to sustain a *class* diversity in art, to continue to produce a working class consciousness *in* art, but not to produce 'working class art' (1996, p. 61).

Importantly, Burn always emphasised the need for documenting works to enable discussion and critical approaches.

Emerging practices

Another major cause for the perception that CACD continues to be perceived as an emerging practice lies in its inextricable link to government funding, which is dependent on the policies and programs of the governing

political party or parties. This is particularly the case with the Australia Council, a cornerstone of support for CACD. What is now the CP program remains vulnerable and as such, has been redefined and renamed three times since its beginnings in the 1970s to accommodate the changing policies of the incumbent government. This sense of instability exists within the practice and influences the terms and notions used by practitioners in the field and by those within the bureaucracy. In this climate, the responsibility of the government arts funding agencies towards those individuals and organisations they support is uncertain.

If there is little sense of solid conceptual ground, it is easy to dismiss the whole as confused and in disarray.

Enduring concepts: a sustained thread of meaning

The principles of self-expression, self-determination and solidarity and access, equity and participation remain central to the processes of CACD. Where less explicit terms are seen as advisable for the government of the day by the staff of the funding bodies together with practitioners, advocacy material is produced within and outside the institutions without using these terms. The principle of self-determination was central at the time the CA funding program was set up by the staff of the Australia Council with their advisors. The term had meaning and currency for a generation which challenged social, political and cultural authorities seen as having little or no ethical foundation beyond their own continuance. Self-determination is still used in defining the practice, in careful ways and when the political climate allows. Thus it is argued that CACD is a bounded practice informed by ideas and theories that have been continuous since its inception and which remain socially, politically and culturally relevant. This is despite the fact that, as has been already emphasised, the terms are described in somewhat different language.

A particular definition of community arising from the deliberations of the early 90s is dynamic, and inclusive of the many manifestations of difference

existing in society. Given access to resources — which include artists — a specific community is able to express its own sense of itself and direction to itself as well as to the wider public. Collaborative practice between artists and those whose stories form the basis of the resulting works, remains a strong and consistent presence in the processes of the generative methodology. In the early 1990s, Watt argued that the notion of solidarity was the major differentiating factor between an active and continually negotiated idea of "community" and an approach which invoked a type of service provision that reinforced the values of the dominant society and did little to empower those in need and outside its boundaries. Participation, access and equity continued to be included in government policies and were linked with social justice from the late 1960s until the early 1990s. Hawkes argued for the central role of local government to provide culturally democratic pathways for people to express their values and their culture in order to directly affect decision-making and therefore "the directions society takes" (2001, p. vii). In terms of art practice, the principles of access and participation enable people to take part in projects and creatively express themselves. Policies promoting access and equity enable those outside the mainstream culture in Australia to access the means available to the dominant groups in society.

The practice has always been concerned with power and the ability of the voices of ordinary people in society to challenge it. Prior to the establishment of the CA funding program, the federal arts funding body was seen by many people as undemocratic and elitist. The general opinion is that the idea of community arts arose out of influential social movements which emerged during the sixties and seventies. Critiques of power relationships within society were significant in causing the Left to re-examine its fossilized ways of thinking and acting to achieve social justice. Making the structures of power within institutions, organisations and groups obvious and transparent means everyone can easily and without confusion or anxiety, locate where the authority resides.

Notions of dominant and subservient cultures in relation to art and art making were of central concern to the practice from the outset. The agency or capacity of previously unheard voices that are taken into the public domain to be heard continues to challenge representations which serve the interests of the dominant culture and its power bases. The idea that the establishment of the CA funding program was based on what local people and groups said they needed (Hull, 1983, p. 319) underlines the significance of the term "voice" in the writing about the practice. Empowerment is linked to the concepts of self-determination and self-expression. The idea that CACD enables people's voices to be heard is a commonly used way of describing what the practice does. Voices being heard is a central idea in the case study described in this research. Self-expression and self-determination became guiding principles for CA artists and practitioners in the 1960s and 1970s interested in the creating work with ordinary people based on their untold stories and histories. Ideas current at that time found "voice" through challenging the position of the mainstream culture and the term continued to be used to valorise every person's story as notable and extraordinary.

The philosophy of cultural democracy informed the earliest manifestation of the CA funding program. At the same time, principles and practices of arms-length funding and peer assessment were introduced into the processes of government arts funding. Artists and academics defined cultural democracy as people having access to the means of self-expression. In the same way as the Community Arts Board funded many different groups and individuals for the first time, the A&WL program also extended the possibility of receiving government arts funding to unions and their members. As has been already been mentioned in this chapter, through the significant research of Burn and Kirby (1985) and Kirby (1991), the program identified a working class tradition of a multicultural nature and offered opportunities to union members and their families to express themselves creatively. National and regional union bodies believed that cultural activities provide the means for people to express themselves (ACTU, 1991 & Arthur, 1996) with avenues to affect the way the nation saw itself. Importantly in keeping with the practitioner/artist-centred policy approach at the time of Andrea Hull and

Jon Hawkes's stewardship of the CAB, the unions emphasised the pivotal role of the artist. Nevertheless it must be stressed that while the practitioners and artists facilitate the collaborative processes used to create the art works, it is the experiences of the people who participate which essentially form the basis of the content of the art works.

Notions of self-determination and self-expression are cited within this philosophy of cultural democracy as intrinsic to the approaches by the staff of the CA funding program and their committee members. Others see these questions as problematic. The principle of self-determination has come under public criticism in relation to past government policies for Aboriginal people (Sutton. 2009, pp. 47—51). Self-expression and self-determination retain currency in a number of ways in regard to practice, including the ways the artists and practitioners view and deal with the issues brought to the table by the people participating, particularly in terms of the language they use to express themselves. The terms under which the artists shape and fashion people's stories into an art work addresses each person's ownership of the final art work as intellectual property. These issues also point to questions of representation and the ways in which the culture, whether of a small neighbourhood, a workplace, a rural community, a city or of a nation becomes known, to those who are depicted in the art work and to the audience who sees, hears or reads about it. Throughout the 1990s to the mid-2000s, a major feature of practice continued to be cited as enabling groups of people to creatively express their own culture and that of their community life.

The notion of solidarity indicates a specific way in which artists and practitioners see their work with the people whose stories and experiences form the basis for the collaboration. The artists have particular creative skills and processes to contribute and are interested in and prepared to work creatively and collaboratively in respectful ways with those who bring their widely diverse experiences, concerns and interests as participants to the project. As Watt explicitly put it when he argued the case for some precision from the field and bureaucrats alike when they described the practice as

being about "community" he is not interested in using the term "like Polyfilla, patching the cracks of contradiction to create the impression of a monolithic social grouping" (1991, p. 58).

It is clear that a sustained and viable artistic practice supported by the CACD funding agencies has persevered for nearly forty years. What historical and institutional conditions reveal in hindsight about a movement or a work of art is of interest. Despite its susceptibility to ideology, its lack of regard for what has gone before and above all its insecure footing in the world of arts funding, the fact that support for this practice was conceived and accomplished by a group of staff and advisers within a centralised federal government funded institution is not surprising. The principles informing policies of the Labor government in the 1970s and the work of sections of the Australia Council at that time were inclusive and empowering in practice well before the terms came into common use. This was in contrast to previous polices which supported and maintained artistic practice for the privileged and elites.

The art work created through collaborative processes by CA and CD artists and practitioners with people who live outside the prevailing culture, creates representations which have the capacity to challenge those which are produced — consciously and unconsciously — by artists in service of it. The reliance on government funding, and hence on shifting government policies and changing governments, contributes to a large degree to the vulnerability and instability of the practice. The practice is not autonomous — government policies and funding bodies oversee it. This is not to disparage or discount the importance of this link. On the contrary, the intention is to shed light and examine the nature of this relationship in order to understand some of the resulting consequences for the practice. This is particularly relevant when thinking about the sustainability of CACD practice.

Having surveyed a representative range of the literature of CACD, and set out the publications according to the entities and interests that generated them — the critical friends, government arts funding bodies and unions —

the following points can be made. It is clear that the questions surrounding what community arts and cultural development is and what it does, continue to be asked for a number of reasons. The practice is still seen within the broader arts community as being in its formative years and has yet to achieve status as mature and bounded practice. Up until recently this has been reinforced by an immature and uneven culture of publication. This reflects the kind of reporting required by funding bodies in grant acquittals, and the ongoing proliferation of snapshots of projects reliant on jargon that uses insufficiently differentiated descriptors which swing between defining the practice and advocating it in convincing ways.

In the next chapter, some of the questions raised will be further scrutinised through an examination of Hage's writing on gifts of social life, caring and hope. These will be used to interpret the three principles selected as informing the processes of CACD practice and applied to create the monologue at the heart of the case study.

CHAPTER THREE

FRAMING THE INQUIRY: HAGE AND THE GIFTS

OF SOCIAL LIFE

INTRODUCTION

The case study of the monologue *I will fly again* is analysed in Chapter Four some sixteen years after it was performed. The aim is to reveal what it represents. Its significance lies in the way it provides an understanding of the specific nature of the practice of community arts and cultural development and how this is relevant to society. The theoretical writings of social anthropologist Ghassan Hage, in particular his use of the notions of gifts of social life, caring and hope, provide key insights in response to these questions and the ideas and intentions surrounding the creation of this CACD performance. These concepts are central to Hage's inquiries and he uses them to publicly address issues and concerns affecting contemporary Australian society, particularly migrants, refugees and nationals living outside the mainstream culture. Hage began life in Lebanon and has since settled here. He is a prolific writer and speaker in Australia and overseas and his work tracing and analysing social developments involves the historical development and social meaning of social, psychological, political and economic theories and their impact on social life.

Like Bourdieu, Hage also positions his intellectual concerns and arguments within the public sphere. Hage refers to Bourdieu's sense of obligation to ensure an increasingly greater degree of engagement through defining the moral values and duties of a society able to bring everyone along with it (Hage, 2002). Using Bourdieu's theories to illuminate social issues current in Australia, he examines key aspects and assumptions underpinning society's ways of caring and not caring for its citizens.

Symbolic violence

Hage's interpretation is used here to examine the nature of the careless disregard for the safety of the migrant women cleaners in Canberra who took part in the *Invisible Work Invisible Pain* project. Symbolic violence resonates with the ideas of a hegemonic and dominant culture already discussed in the previous chapter. Art historian Linda Nochlin's writing (1989) about the necessity to recognise the nature of control and power exercised over women is relevant here. This control she argues is partially hidden and only evident through its manifestation as symbolic and abstracted ideology. Further, as Hage argues (2000), a particular political entity can be said to prevail over society to the extent it is able to convince others of the rightness of its convictions, its own vision, ideas and basic beliefs. Its complete control comes about when its particular systems of belief are seen generally and without comment or question, as amongst the ordinary truths of that society as Hage states on the ABC website in his homage to Bourdieu on occasion of his death (2002).

> This is the basis of what Bourdieu calls states of symbolic violence: when domination hides itself by being thought of as simply 'the way things are'… Critical intellectuals undermine symbolic violence because they do not know what certainty and inevitability is. They show that everything has its basis in struggles for power and undermine the comfortable visions of the people who say, this is how we are, this is how things are, or this is the only way things can be done (Hage, 2000).

A central perspective in Hage's work concerns people who come to Australia to make a home for themselves and their families. From this point of view, Hage debates and tests ideas, propositions and arguments surrounding a number of longstanding issues within Australian society. These include the right of all who live in Australia to share in the wealth of the country; the right of refugees to enter Australia and be received with dignity and respect; the right of all to live unencumbered by racism, and the central, longstanding and unresolved issues related to Australia's colonial past. When discussing what he refers to as "White colonial paranoia", Hage notes the rarely spoken of massacres of Aboriginal people which he sees as

constituting a shameful colonial history which remains unacknowledged and unrecognised and so continues to haunt.

> The fact that no post-colonial pact has ever been reached (no treaty with the Indigenous people yet exists, for example) has left Australian culture with an ongoing sense of unfinished business, and has opened the way for a continual struggle by the remaining Indigenous population for some form of moral redress as well as material compensation (2003, p. 51).

In pursuing his own quest towards "an ever more ethical and inclusive society" (2002), Hage discusses his thoughts about the role and importance of class with Mary Zournazi.

> [O]ne of the things that is becoming obvious to me today is that, if you are a social scientist and remain blind to the processes of class exploitation that are happening around you, there is something unethical about it … but I fear that many of us have somehow retreated from a confrontation with a critique of capitalism, and facilitated the dominance of the rampant neo-liberal ideology we are witnessing today (Zournazi, 2002, p.158).

His cross-disciplinary knowledge is enhanced by his gifts as a communicator and storyteller. These are evident in his ability to write and speak directly and to convey complex concepts and theories in accessible language.

Exchange, reception, reciprocation and *Fly*

Hage's contemporary understanding of the exchange, reception and reciprocation of gifts of social life is applied to the monologue analysed in this study. It reveals the linkages between a range of individuals, groups, organisations and institutions that existed within the society of the period between 1996 and 1998, the key players that manifested in the network of relations that formed around the case. Lora is the pseudonym of the author of *I will fly again*, and her first language was Serbian. Her story concerns the way she became injured at work. The story was developed into the monologue which was performed throughout the dance theatre production. Other key people were the artists who, with Lora brought the story and the

monologue into being. Their work with Lora came about through the agency of a CACD project made possible by the existence of government arts and health funding policies administered by the respective government institutions at the time. Once the applications written by the union arts officer and the Art in Working Life Committee were approved, the institutions supported the project financially and in other ways. The funding was essential and enabled the artists and practitioners to undertake the project.

All the unions affiliated to the ACT Trades and Labour Council (TLC) had supported the employment of a union arts officer by the TLC in 1995, the year before the development of the *Invisible Work Invisible Pain* project. The TLCs Occupational Health and Safety (OH&S) training organisation WorkWatch responded to the union arts officer's request for an example of a health and safety issue needing the kind of exposure an arts project could throw on it. The situation of migrant women cleaners was suggested and WorkWatch provided the initial rationale with research on the high rates of injury to cleaners. The project was also supported by the Liquor, Hospitality and Miscellaneous Workers Union (LHMU), the union which looked after hospitality workers who include cleaners; the union provided further research and assistance to the project. Hage's writing on the nature of symbolic dealings demonstrates the ordinary and varying degrees to which Australian society respects all, or only some of its people. Hage's work provides an appropriate investigative framework for this work as the obligations and social transactions in the performance *Fly*, can be seen as indicators of the ethics by which we live as a social group

Rehabilitating caring

In his major work *Against Paranoid Nationalism* (2003), Hage sets out to "recover the significance of the relation of care that can exist between the nation and its citizens" (2003, p. 23). He introduces theories about worrying, seeing this more as an indicator of the nature and quality of the connection between the nation and its people, rather than as reflecting any actual or

imagined dangers. Hage proposes that our society acts to assign and apportion hope to people. There is a capacity within our social and political apparatus he argues, to deliver hope — with all its connotations of trust, promise, anticipation and desire — to everybody despite the reality that hope is made available to only some of the members of society. He argues that this unequal sharing of care is intrinsically connected to either the predominance of a culture of interestedness and involvement or of a culture of unease and apprehension. Through comprehending the ethics inherent in caring, Hage demonstrates that it can be seen as a vital symbolic place from which to investigate what he sees as the unhealthy and unsound aspects of a currently patriotic culture consumed with disquiet and uncertainty.

It is this accomplishment of Hage's which resonates most closely with my own interest in bringing his concept of gifts of social life, caring and hope to bear on the case study of the monologue. This involves Lora, the artists and practitioners whose work with Lora was intrinsic to the creation of the art works as well as the groups, organisations and institutions which constituted the network of relations surrounding the *Invisible Work Invisible Pain* project. Through these concepts, the value of CACD practice in maintaining the ethical values of our society will be illuminated. While the evidence suggests there has been more or less continuous articulation of the concepts of self-determination and self-expression in CA and CD arts funding policies and practice, I will reveal in Chapters Four and Five how these ideas are embedded in the processes honed over time by practitioners and inform, to an adequate degree, the ways artists and practitioners work with people to make art.

As someone who was born with a major hearing impairment, the clarity of Hage's spoken voice, his early school attendance and graduation in Beirut and his large body of written work in English indicate a character of strong will and determination. He received and accepted a great deal of support and assistance from his family from a young age as confirmed by the warm acknowledgements he makes of them in *Against paranoid nationalism*

(2003, p. iv & pp. xiii—xiv). It is likely then, that he is personally and acutely aware of the magical and transforming qualities of both familial and societal gifts of support and care and of the kind of hopefulness that is, as he calls it, "on the side of life" (Costelloe, 2001; Zournazi, 2002, p. 151). Here it is worth noting that while Hage discusses other less positive interpretations of hope his preference is for his own interpretation. Hage's reflections on the attributes of social obligations lead him to explain how these gifts are made real and valued in relation to the ways we live and in particular, the manner in which we deal with the major tensions of our lives.

A STORY ABOUT A GIFT OF SOCIAL LIFE

In 2000, Hage used an enthralling story to explain the theory of the exchange of gifts of social life in his article in *Meanjin*: "On the ethics of pedestrian crossings: or why 'mutual obligation' does not belong in the language of neo-liberal economics". His methodology is based on anthropological processes of open-ended interviews undertaken as part of an enquiry into a gap perceived at the time in the theoretical overview of a particular phenomenon in society. The article was written in response to the then-conservative Coalition government's decision to call a new policy affecting unemployed people one of mutual obligation. At the time, the policy initially required a specific group of unemployed people receiving social security benefits to work in return for their allowance. Hage examined the policy through a simple and powerful story about a man who had been deeply traumatised by an event he experienced before he migrated to Australia from Lebanon and found solace in two particular features of life here. Just before he left his country, Ali Ateek, now deceased, witnessed two close relatives horribly killed in a bomb blast. Once in Sydney, he would wander from home at night in a disturbed state of mind and his brother would find him crossing and re-crossing a particular pedestrian crossing. Although these are mundane and commonplace features of life in metropolitan centres, Hage demonstrates how they can also be a site of magical transformation. In an interview recorded in 1993, Mr Ateek tells Hage how he crossed and re-crossed the road because the cars stopped for

him and how this gave him, in his vulnerability and anguish, a sense of his own value and importance.

> I developed a liking for pedestrian crossings (*laughing*)! I spent hours crossing them and crossing them again. I loved the moment cars stopped for me! It made me feel important! I thought it was magical! Can you imagine this happening in Beirut? (2000, p. 28).

Hage describes this as a social transaction in which Mr Ateek is honoured in an ordinary yet real way. The feeling of being important Mr Ateek experiences is significant for Hage because "'Important' here is not linked so much to social status as to existential status: the recognition of one's 'importance' as a human being" (2000, p. 29). Hage acknowledges the many ways in which the gift of the pedestrian crossing is offered by drivers who deliver it and the diverse ways in which it is received by pedestrians. He also proposes that the one most valuable aspect of the crossing is that it is an 'ethical structural fact'.

> [U]nderneath all these possible modes of interaction remains the fact of the crossing as a structurally present ethical space: a space where people can enact a ritual of stopping and crossing, and through which society affirms itself as a civilised (that is, ethical) one where dominant modes of inhabitance are invited to yield to marginal modes of inhabitance (2000, p. 31).

"Ethical structural facts"

The pedestrian crossing is a gift from society because it is supported by law which decrees that the dominant users of the road, motorists, must yield their use of it to the minority users, pedestrians. Similarly, government funded arts projects can also be seen as an "ethical structural fact". CACD projects in the main derive from government policies which are supported by law, in this case, the Australia Council Act, passed by the Federal Parliament in 1975. While the existence of pedestrian crossings is governed by specific laws concerning the use of roads by people and vehicles, the existence of the CACD funding program can be seen as a functional 'ethical structural fact'. At a basic level, policies govern the Australia Council's CACD funding program that grants financial and other assistance to artists,

practitioners, groups and organisations. Then arts projects and program applications are submitted for consideration to the staff and their peer advisors, and are then shortlisted against a number of criteria that include successfully meeting the stated guidelines and priorities of the funding program. In order to steer their way through the various dilemmas which arise out of this arrangement, a functional ethical approach is taken by those within the institution and those submitting to its requirements. Therefore determining which projects receive funding, and which do not and why requires a reliance on an ethical approach by all parties involved, supported by transparent processes and documented deliberations. It is in these ways that the CACD funding policy can be seen as an "ethical structural fact" as its existence linked to policies within the apparatus of legally constituted Federal and Territory Government institutions.

The gift of recognition

What causes Mr Ateek to feel important as he makes his way back and forth across the pedestrian crossing is the fact that the cars stop for him and allow him to cross unhindered. It is this he tells Hage, as well as the way he is treated with respect by the doctors and specialists he sees who seek his permission before proceeding with the treatments they suggest, that contribute to his decision not to return to Lebanon with his brother. Hage interprets Mr Ateek's feeling of being important as recognition and thus a sense of being honoured. The magical transformation for Mr Ateek takes place because of the existence of the pedestrian crossing and his opportunity to use it. This sense of being recognised as a human being together with the existence of the narrow section of road painted with stripes and set aside by law for crossing, allows this experience to be understood as a type of social gift, that is, a gift which is offered by society to its members. Further, such gifts are not dependent on the ways they are offered or received and they are not contractual obligations. In the ordinary sense of offering and receiving such gifts of social life are available to everyone in society, regardless of citizenship status, class, race, gender, ability, social background or any other distinguishing feature.

While the fact of a government—funded arts project is the result of previously negotiated machinations that are complex and layered, its existence is analogous to the way Hage tells the story of Mr Ateek. They both share the gift of government provision and support. CACD practice is predicated by a complicated and at times labyrinthine network of relations which requires investigation and as such, is the subject of this inquiry. A government funded arts project is a functional "ethical structural fact" (Hage, 2000, p. 30) because, although it is not available to everyone in the same way pedestrian crossings are, all members of society are potentially able to take part. Government funded CACD projects are accessible to anyone in the group or community with which a particular project is concerned. In these ways, a government funded CACD project represents a specific gift of social life that is able to be made available. It is a gift that is offered because government policies exist that recognise and value art that is created by artists in collaboration with ordinary people, together with dominant notions of what constitutes art that is excellent and valuable.

The idea of gifts of social life and the sense of obligation accompanying them, lies in reciprocity engendered by giving, and the quality of the exchange is exemplified by how giving and receiving takes place. Hage maintains that mutual obligation can only exist in an ethical society that appreciates and treasures all those who exist within it. He cites the work of French anthropologist and sociologist Marcel Mauss, who reflected on the sense of honour and obligation that accompanies the giving of gifts (in Hage, 2000, p. 32). Mauss argued that gift exchange could be seen as a set of commitments involving the offering of a gift, its reception, and the sense of responsibility thus engendered to acknowledge the gift through reciprocating. He was emphatic that the exchange of gifts was more than just the giving and receiving of objects. Mauss believed the exchange was important as it represented "the symbolic exchange of recognition" (in Hage, 2000, p. 32), especially in terms of the ways in which people exist as social beings, living with and amongst each other.

Raymond Williams proposes two essential meanings for 'society'. In a generalised sense, the term society refers to that group of public and government bodies, associations and kinships that form a distinguishable entity "within which a relatively large group of people live" (1979, p. 243). In a conceptual sense, Williams says, the idea of society encompasses the manner or ways in which these institutions and relationships are formed. The fascination of this term, Williams claims, lies in the frequently challenging and demanding association between these general and abstract meanings. He suggests that by recalling the principal meaning of society as "companionship or fellowship" (1979), enables us to understand that the reason we are able to talk of institutions and relationships lies in the historical development of the idea of society.

Claude Lévi-Strauss further developed Mauss's concept and importantly demonstrated how the exchange of recognition is about being offered the opportunity to come to understand and know of the existence of someone else. In this way Lévi-Strauss proposed, we continually make visible and renew our fundamental quality of being human. For Hage "Lévi-Strauss shows us that in exchanging recognition we are reproducing our basic humanity" (2000, p. 32). Hage sees it is this aspect which is being symbolically conveyed and received at the pedestrian crossing each time a motorist stops for a pedestrian. It constitutes ethical values which exist and are real and give meaning to these acts of giving and receiving.

The particularities of Mr Ateek's experience of the pedestrian crossing are important. He crossed it again and again, in joyful wonderment of how the cars stopped for him when he crossed – something that would not have happened in Lebanon. It made him feel special, important, validating his existence in a way significant for him, particularly as he was very troubled at the time.

CARING AND SOCIETY

Hage sets out to restore the importance of the connection of care and concern between the state and its people. He argues that the value attributed to this relationship is reflected in the ways people experience anxiety about or a sense of interest in the wellbeing of each other within the symbolic nation (2003, p. 23) The emergence of trends amongst people towards either a caring or worrying disposition have little to do with the presence of danger to the country or lack thereof he claims. Instead, these attitudes are more likely to mirror the nature of the relationship that exists between the nation and all its instrumentalities and its people. He draws attention to the modes in which our particular ways of life act in systemic ways to assign and apportion hope to people, with all the inherent meanings of trust, promise, anticipation and desire.

Hage's interest in defining and understanding what constitutes contemporary notions of caring in terms of the relationship between a nation and its people, leads him to psychoanalytic theories to elaborate on his notion of hope and the ways in which it is seen to be distributed within society. The ability to meet the changeable situations encountered in life with a "good enough" sense of hope, he contends, is a consequence of caring, of being secure in the knowledge that you are cared for and can spread your wings and fly in the certainty that you are deemed, by virtue of your existence, as someone who is valuable, who matters. In this sense, Hage likens the nation to either a caring or an uncaring parent, one whose care is adequate or not good enough and which, through its institutions and mechanisms is able to distribute hope to its people through resources and services. These are symbolic gifts and serve to demonstrate a nation's interest in and concern for its people. However where gifts are not given to some people, this lack of interest in them and their welfare is apparent and results in unease, uncertainty and anxiety.

In the same sense as people who have what Hage calls either social hope or a dispositional sense of hopefulness within themselves, there are those who have little hope and very few or non-existent reserves of hope for themselves or for offering to others in need of it. Hage suggests that a lack of a sense of hopefulness is linked to a capacity to worry. Here he considers attachment theory. This theory is based on the idea that the way we interact with the world and the meanings we attribute to our responses to the vast panorama of different situations, reflects the ways we have experienced life from infancy to adulthood, mediated through the care given to us most immediately by our parents and family members. In 2003, Hage linked "worrying" in part to the lack of interest of the Howard Coalition Government in maintaining society as a major distributor of hope. In the current era of globalisation, he argues, governments of nation states act as real estate brokers for international capital, placing their interests over and above those of the people they are elected to represent. The state is cast in this scenario as a disinterested and uncaring parent and the citizens as worried children, unable to believe that their parent is not doing their job of caring for them through continuing to support them. As this current manifestation of capitalism has little use for the nation but deals directly with the state and the individual as a consumer who has choices, Hage claims that the caring function of nation states has diminished accordingly. He asserts that concern by the state for the welfare of their citizens has been replaced by their role as managers of the aesthetics within their borders. These aesthetics can take the form of the infrastructure that already exists as well as that which can be readily constructed and the availability of ready and willing labour. While aesthetics refers to truth and beauty, taste, the form of the thing, the gaze, the sublime, Hage is using it in the sense of a nation prepared to put its architecture, city planning and labour regulations at the service of global corporations. The casino to be constructed at Barangaroo in Sydney is a good example. Smoking will be exempt from the law and a deal has been struck with the NSW Government and the NSW Branch of United Voice, the union which represents casino workers, to allow smoking in one of the casino's high-stakes gambling rooms in order

to attract wealthy Asian patrons (Seccombe, 2014, p. 10). These allowances are evidence of the efforts of governments to attract the interest of globalised capitalism that knows no borders, is known to pay few real taxes within the countries in which it operates and pays little or no allegiance to any state operating outside its interests.

Reciprocating recognition

In a broad sense Hage maintains, the ways a society keeps and fosters its own values and virtues is through continuing to offer its citizens the kinds of principled ways of living with each other it wants them to choose. Therefore it can be seen that the offering of gifts of social life leads to a sense of being recognised, fostering a desire to reciprocate through a sense of mutual obligation that has been brought into being.

> Here lies the importance of dwelling on the 'gift' nature of these social phenomena. It is from such socio-ethical offerings of recognition that 'mutual obligation' emerges in society. The term is the signifier of an ethical structure of reciprocity that can only exist and be reproduced in societies that valorise, or better still, in Ali's words, *honour* their members. It is when we have a society that, through the bodies that govern it, feels 'obligated' to offer spaces that 'honour' its members as 'important' human beings, and when these members, in turn, experience an ethical obligation towards it — which means nothing other than becoming practically and affectively committed to it — that we have a structure of 'mutual obligation' (2000, pp. 31-32).

Hage cites observations of faithfulness and gratitude developed by Georg Simmel, an early sociologist. Simmel believed the distinctive feeling of faithfulness, encompassing aspects of devotion and loyalty, represents a dedication to protect and maintain one's relationship with another, rather than being about the sense that the other's best interests are the main concern. Simmel sees the feeling of faithfulness as being directed towards the care and sustenance of that connection, although, he says, the value of this feeling is often overlooked, Hage also finds resonance in Simmel's explanation about the significance of gratitude.

> It gives human actions a unique modification and intensity: it connects them with what has gone before, it enriches them with the element of personality, it gives them the continuity of interactional life (in Hage, 2000, p. 33).

Extrapolating from possible ways in which drivers and pedestrians offer and receive this gift of pedestrian crossings, Hage imagines another scenario and what it might conjure up.

> … an exceptionally civilised encounter: a driver stops even though they could have passed, and the pedestrian says 'thank you' even though they didn't have to. In this inter-subjective moment of mutual exchange and mutual recognition, two people acknowledge each other. But in doing so they also acknowledge their common belonging to a society committed to honouring its members … As an Arab saying has it: the society that honours its members honours itself (2000, pp. 33-34).

Mr Ateek's story of his experiences with pedestrian crossings is used by Hage to consider the "nature of social obligations". Hage argues that in the situation where the Howard Coalition government was calling its new unemployment policy one of mutual obligation, the principled actions and exchanges arising from a sense of reciprocal responsibility have had their ethical meaning removed.

> Equating it with trite capitalist common sense of the 'you don't get something for nothing' variety, they want to leave us with an impoverished enterprise-bargaining-like concept that conjures ideas of contractual rather than ethical compulsion (2000, p. 29).

It will be seen in the following chapters, that reciprocity is at the heart of the exchanges that take place between artists, practitioners and people who participate in CACD projects. The particular nature of the relationships that developed between the project director, the writer and the director and Lora throughout the *Invisible Work Invisible Pain* project is examined through existing data and reveals the central role they played in the creation and performance of the monologue *Fly*.

The importance of gratitude

Hage claims at the very core of this dismissal of such a central area as awareness and appreciation of each other's humanity is a more entrenched misunderstanding. This is the erroneous notion that the practice of giving and taking starts from the time we begin to gain something from being in a specific society. Hage cites George C. Homans' (in Hage, 3002, p. 35) argument that children are lesser than adults and that their behaviour is attendant on their parent's good will. According to Homans, as recipients of bounty they cannot return, children can only discharge their obligations to their parents by wholly conforming to their wishes. Hage maintains this reasoning is flawed as it does not take into account that the small beings we embrace upon their arrival are seen as carrying with them an original and unique offering: the present of their very existence, of who they are. Thus, in giving a gift to someone,

> I am not initiating the cycle of reciprocity. I am giving back. This is perhaps very obvious in the case of a loved child. But does not any human being we encounter carry such an a priori gift insofar as we recognise in them a fellow human being? In this sense giving to any human other is always giving back since we would have received the gift of their presence the very moment we encountered them. This is why to give is an obligation for Mauss as well as for Lévi-Strauss. Simmel captured an element of this gift of presence in his analysis of gratitude:
>
>> We do not thank somebody only for what he does: the feeling with which we often react to the mere existence of a person, must itself be designated as gratitude. We are grateful to him only because he exists, because we experience him. Often the most subtle as well as the firmest bonds among men develop from this feeling (Simmel, 1950, p.45).
>
> … Why is the other's presence a gift? Because the other through my desire to interact with him or her offers me, by making it visible, my own humanity (2000, pp. 35–36).

Put simply, Hage demonstrates why it is sufficient to be human, without the intrusion of instrumental considerations.

Hage's concluding argument is striking because it introduces a relationship between accountability and exchange. He questions whether we can discuss the values and principles of our society when the benefits we enjoy and give, receive and reciprocate are grounded in the theft of as-yet-uncompensated land that was stolen from Aboriginal people. He questions the reciprocal responsibilities involved for non-Indigenous Australians and the government, when dealing with the bounty from this massive and unacknowledged thievery?

> The totality of the social gifts we receive in Australia constitutes a black economy—both in the sense of an economy based on indigenous land and in the sense of an economy of stolen goods. How can we have an ethical basis for society when what circulates as social gifts is based on stolen goods? What kind of obligation does the reception of stolen goods create? (2000, p. 37).

Hage implies that an act of projection lies within the government's rationale for the introduction of so-called mutual obligation requirements for people already unemployed and receiving unemployment benefits. He claims only those who steal from others know how easy it is to have what they have, stolen from them.

HOPE

Looking at the case through the lens of Hage's enabling and optimistic notion of societal hope (2003, p.3), we first need to understand what he means by this. In constructing this idea, Hage applies Marx's structural analysis of capitalism – the mechanisms and ethical considerations related to the distribution of wealth in a capitalist society to concepts of hope, joy and dignity and the ways in which these are distributed in society. In this way, the nature of the quality of hope offered by a society to its citizens is revealed. Referring to institutions for the monopolisation and distribution of hope that have existed throughout history, Hage examines the nature of the hope that is circulated within society by the governments of nation states. As has been said, he links the ability of people to experience hopefulness to the inclination of the government to maintain society as a major distributor

of hope. He contends this hope has been distributed in increasingly unequal and uneven ways since the advent of global capitalism. The emergence of globalisation has been accompanied by an equivalent shrinking of the obligations and responsibilities of the nation state towards its citizens and with that, the constriction of its role as an equalizer of hope.

Through proposing the existence of a political economy of hope (2003, p. 23) whose distribution in society is regulated, Hage argues that migration is fuelled by hope, the driving force behind people's decision to emigrate. For migrants, it is a hope based more on the side of *being* rather than on any rational knowledge of what may actually lie ahead. This is linked to a study in 2000 by Galina Lindquist of people living in post-USSR Russia, a country rife with corruption and, for most people, continued unfulfilled expectations of a better life. In her research, Lindquist discerns a hope that that is a "stubborn confidence without any substantial ground, an ineradicable human faculty" (in Hage, 2003, p. 25). Hage links this interpretation to Bourdieu's theory of "social being": that humans are always trying to accumulate more being. Hage sees this as central to understanding the sociologist's theory that:

> It is not true to say that everything that people do or say is aimed at maximising their social profit; but one may say that they do it to perpetuate or to augment their social being (in Hage, 2003, p.15).

Migration, Hage says, is a desire not based on knowledge but on a lack of knowledge and on hope. Being on the side of being, it is on the side of joy and always linked to living in the hope of something. For people who leave their countries to live and work in another and raise their families, it is in the hope of experiencing more homebuilding than was possible in their home countries (Costelloe, 2001). Homebuilding is having a sense of opportunity, security, familiarity and community. Hope is on the side of joy: always living in the hope of more joy, of more homebuilding — with the feeling of being at home. The right to hope is the right to have fantasies. Hage links hope with a sense of homeliness which is

> [A]lso achieved when individual bodies can actually find a more useful and better pursuit for joy in combination with other bodies. So this combination of bodies itself, even in its physical sense, has a basis for thinking the importance of the homeliness of communities (Zournazi, 2002, p. 162).

For Hage, the notion of joy is vital and the greater goal to hold to in life. This, he says, makes it necessary to ask about the version of hope that is disseminated within a capitalist society. In this framework, hope is characterised as a promise of something to come in the future rather than a hopefulness of something to be gained in the here and now. In addition, Hage cautions against pitting joy against hope and instead encourages people

> to think of joy as that particularly positive variant of hope that is 'on the side of life'. Otherwise, hope as the deferral of joy becomes a variant of *ressentiment* — a surrender to the logic of deferral, masquerading as a higher ethics used to justify the non-pursuit of joy (Zournazi, 2002, p. 171).

Here Hage discusses at length Dutch philosopher Benedict de Spinoza's ideas on hope. Spinoza depicts "a hope which drives us to continue to want to live, no matter what" (Zournazi, 2002, p. 151). Hage links this to what has already been mentioned in Chapter Two as Bourdieu's concept of *illusio*: "the existence of something to live for, what gives life a meaning" (2002, p.151). Hage cites Spinoza's hope as "always laced with fear … a combination of desire for and fear of the future in which the desire for the future is more dominant" (in Hage, 2003, p. 24).

In response to Zournazi's question: "What, then, might be an ethics of hope, a hope not based on threat and deferral?" (Zournazi, 2002, p. 150), Hage acknowledges that hope is not available everywhere to everyone. He tackles hope's complexities and the fluctuations between negative and positive meanings in its definitions and usages. On one hand hope is seen "as the absence of the pursuit of joy" (2002, p. 151), and by Friedrich Nietzsche as "the worst of all evils, for it protracts the torments of man" (in Hage, 2003,

p. 11). Hage discusses the work of British psychoanalyst Anna Pontamianou who he sees as usefully characterising:

> the difference between the hope that induces an active engagement with reality and the hope that breeds passivity and disengagement by using the Nietzsche-inspired 'hope for life' and 'hope against life' (in Hage, 2003, p. 12).

As has been said in Chapter One, Hage's interest is in the kind of hope which supports and sustains existence.

Hope and resilience

Pursuing his concern with the pivotal role of hope for migrants, Hage distinguishes between what he calls social hope and the dispositional hopefulness of individuals (2003, p. 23). He defines the former as being that which is available to people in terms of the equity involved in the distribution of hope by a nation to its people. With individual hopefulness, Hage sees that some people have more of a hopeful frame of mind than others. This interpretation resonates with a new use of the term resilience, an engineering term, used to calculate the amount of stress steel for example can withstand when used for building bridges. Currently used within the health sector, the term resilience is employed to understand why some people are able to deal in "good enough" ways with major stressors or ongoing difficulties without completely disintegrating. It is seen as a quality people have in abundance, adequately or in a limited amount. Research provides evidence that where there are properly resourced support mechanisms in place that have been developed in collaboration with the people for whom they are intended, resilience in people can be structurally and systemically enhanced and supported by society's institutions (Wilkinson & Marmot, 2003). Whether these findings are brought to bear in areas such as public health depends on the political will of incumbent governments. In regard to such policy and budgetary considerations, Hage argues for a return to an ethical re-thinking by governments of nation states such as ours, so that they resume their role as major distributors of hope to all who live within its society.

Tolerating exploitation

Hage delves deep into the basis for practices of tolerance. He makes the salient point that tolerant and good-natured racism is historically far more prevalent in societies based on slavery, and where systemic abuse of ethnic labour exists in industrial, domestic and cultural spheres.

> We are yet to hear of the slave owner who wanted Blacks to 'go home'. This, in turn, highlights the fact that often tolerance is structured around a discourse highlighting the 'value' of the other to be tolerated, in the sense of the capacity to exploit this other, a capacity closely linked to that of being able to position such an other (1998, p. 93).

Hage further comments on the way the historical narrative of the practice of tolerance is more often found in accounts of exploitation than in lofty declarations about religious tolerance.

> It is slaves, domestic servants and other forms of exploited labourers — people who are seen as inferior, or in negative terms, by the dominant — who, because of their value as objects of exploitation, are accepted and included within the dominant's space, while, at the same time, the limits of their inclusion are carefully traced (1998, p. 94).

Hage identifies people who, in a real or imaginary sense, are seen as and see themselves as part of a dominant nationalist culture. It is this he claims, that enables them to preside over and monitor the places in society where migrants and refugees will be of most real or symbolic value to them. His ongoing championing of the need to posit the centrality of questions relating to race, class and labour in his scholarly pursuits resonates with a central concern of the case study. The material and physical realities of work at the bottom of the ladder, the dangers and hardships encountered and the paucity of wages are issues faced by cleaners which affect the quality of their lives and health.

Hage continues to stress the shifting nature of the terms on which inclusion and exclusion have occurred historically. In 2001 at the conference Art + Globalisation + Cultural Difference (Costelloe, 2001), Hage spoke of how

what are now deemed racist attitudes, were applied to the working classes of Europe until the time those nations embarked on their quests for colonial power. The United Kingdom colonised countries such as Australia, India and Pakistan; Belgium and France were in Africa, and France remains a presence in Tahiti and Kanaky; Germany was in South America and Africa, and Portugal was also in South America. The Netherlands colonised what is now Indonesia and India, and Indonesia currently governs Bali and West Papua – to name a few past and some present colonial outposts. At the time of the early colonialist ventures in the late eighteenth century (Costelloe, 2001; Hage, 2003, p. 15), the Imperialist powers began to include their own working classes in the distribution of hope, if only in an imaginary sense. That legacy continues albeit more uneasily with the migration of nationals from the previously colonised countries settling in large numbers in the suburbs and cities of the colonising countries. With the advent of global capitalism, the necessary inclusion of mobile, skilled, transmigratory employees of all races and ethnicities who fly in and take up prestigious positions in the workforces of nation states, Hage sees the pendulum swinging back to the categories of class rather than race.

Multiculturalism and the distribution of hope

In *White Nation,* Hage states that

> White multiculturalism and White racism, each in their own way, work at *containing* the increasingly active role of non-White Australians in the process of governing Australia that they both qualify as fantasies (1998, p. 19).

Later, he emphasises (2003) the need to re-visit the emergence of Australian multiculturalism, examine its complexity and map the changes as they occurred. Hage sees Australia's experience of multiculturalism as defining "a number of social and political realities" (2003, p. 58). In the first place the term described the changed reality of the ethnic composition of the country and the policies which were developed to govern this reality. Multicultural policies acknowledged the existence of cultural difference and enacted provisions for this as well as promoting the diversity of ethnic

groups as a positive aspect of society, one which should be celebrated. Here Hage notes a fine distinction "between multiculturalism as a marginal reality in a mainly Anglo-Celtic society and multiculturalism displacing Anglo-Celtic culture to become the identity of the nation" (2003, p. 59). Another difference Hage discerns extended the concept of multiculturalism beyond its cultural meanings to "multiculturalism as welfare and multiculturalism as a structural socio-economic policy" (2003). While the provision of access to the state's services was and remains crucial, Hage believes that addressing socio-economic policies in terms of multiculturalism reconfigured a radical role for the welfare state as a means of redressing the "structural class inequalities" (2003) faced by migrants, the majority of whom worked in the lowest and most poorly paid jobs in society.

It is useful to recall the situation for migrant workers up until the 1970s, and in particular migrant women workers in Australia who, together with migrant men, made their voices heard about their working conditions. As has already been mentioned in Chapter Two, this tumultuous time in Australian society saw the introduction of multiculturalism. The summary and conclusions of the report *But I wouldn't want my wife to work here ...* (Centre for Urban Research and Action, 1976, p. 114), also mentioned in Chapter Two, provides a critical perspective of the employment of migrant men and women at the time. The report notes the presence of migrant men and women within the social frameworks of that period, the tensions that are apparent and their increasing activity organising around industrial issues.

> They have formed a relatively silent, ignored and devalued group of industrial workers. This study shows, however, that migrant women bitterly understand their situation of exploitation.

Five of the fourteen recommendations arising from this study are summarised in Chapter Two. All the recommendations focussed on the working conditions of migrant women in the manufacturing industry in 1975 and they support Hage's argument. The full text of the above quote together with a sample of the recommendations with select detail included

under some is cited in Appendix G, p. 226. They establish links with subsequent policies and legislation adopted by both State and Federal Governments that addressed these issues, albeit not always to the letter of the recommendation. Thus it can be seen that governments do respond to movements in society.

Hage sees the later, more homogenised form of multiculturalism as primarily concerned with cultural pluralism and the politics of identity. It linked with and served the interests of globalisation. From the 200os, he contends that class has displaced race and has re-emerged as a major determining factor when looking at those to whom the state does not offer the gift of hope. For Hage, the earlier concerns of multiculturalism focussed on the needs of working class migrants whose first languages were other than English. Policies of access and equity enabled migrants to access the services provided by the institutions of the welfare state and the period of the Whitlam Labor government (1972 – 1975) saw specific class-based inequities addressed. The central role of language in people's lives was also recognised. The need to respect and value the first languages of migrants and refugees as well as enabling their acquisition of English without cost was deemed of importance in terms of welcoming and including them within the care the society offered its members.

In appraising the relationship of multiculturalism with artistic practice in 2001, Fazal Rizvi examined the state's multicultural policies through the work of the Australia Council's Multicultural Arts Committee (ACMAC) (Costelloe, 2001; Rizvi in Papastergiadis, 2003). From Rizvi's perspective, the government maintained an unstable notion of multiculturalism for political reasons and in order to enable a critical perspective. He saw the specific nature of Australian multiculturalism as providing:

- a fluid framework for cultural activists;
- a way of managing cultural difference and
- a means of accommodating middle class migrant aspirations.

In his view the Australia Council's policies on multiculturalism in the 1990s did much to enable valuable access for ethnic communities. However, he argued that while the focus on the access and equity paradigm enabled an examination of the complexities of cultural pluralism, it prevented multiculturalism from being seen as political. In this way he claimed, society became trapped in a limited view of multiculturalism that concerned the redistributional aspect of access. He argued this was at the expense of a critical appraisal of the nature and content of participation. Importantly, Rizvi noted that issues of power are always central to this discussion, especially in terms of the way in which wider questions associated with the terms and application of notions of multiculturalism are ignored. For Rizvi, this includes the sanctification of colonial violence. This last point resonates with Hage's reference to slave societies, the tolerance of exploitation and Australia's "Black economy" (Hage, 2000, pp. 36 – 37).

By examining some of the theories of Ghassan Hage alongside the processes that embody the concepts of practice, a link is made between them and the ways in which the practice contributes towards maintaining the ethics of our society. In basic ways, Hage's explanations of concepts of gifts of social life, caring and hope describe the manner in which a civilised society values its members. In this way, as he cites an Arab saying: "the society that honours its members honours itself" (Hage, 2000, p. 34). By understanding the implications of faithfulness to one's networks of relationships with others and the gratitude involved in the social exchange of gifts available to everyone in society, Hage explains society's role as a key distributor of hope. The mutual recognition of each other and the fact of one's existence is enough.

Three questions are drawn from Hage's work that directly relate to the case of the monologue and how it was created through the collaborative processes the artists and practitioners brought to their work with Lora. In Chapter Four, it will be shown that these processes were characterised by a particular kind of caring by the writer and the director. They took into

account regard for her situation, respect for her wishes about what the art work that would be created would represent, and what her involvement in the project came to mean for her. Evidence presented in Chapter Four also traces how the collaboration resulted in others coming to know about Lora's experience, through reading the anthology and seeing the performance of the monologue. These results engendered the hope that Lora's story might lead to steps being taken to prevent others working as cleaners being required to work unsafely and without proper instruction in lifting heavy objects. The network of relations that formed to support the development and implementation of the project constituted a power base through which the women's voices were able to be heard. The questions are:

1. How do the participants in the project, the artists, practitioners and the women cleaners, show a reciprocal and reciprocated mutual act of caring through an exchange of a gift of social life?

2. How did the exchange bring hopefulness that the situation of the women's continuing exposure to unsafe work practices might be redressed?

3. How was the project influenced by the network of relations surrounding the event, that is, the group of artists and practitioners, the institutions of the funding bodies and unions?

Answering these questions will reveal an understanding of the situation of Lora and the participants in the project. The questions also enable the practice to be positioned as a conduit for Lora's and the other women's voices to be heard in the wider society. The case is an example of cross cultural arts practice that derives from a concept of multicultural arts practice that is less concerned with cultural identity than with socio—economic questions. What is revealed by the case is systemic exploitation in the sense that cleaning in the hospitality sector — a job at the bottom of the employment ladder — was one of few employment choices available to Lora, a recently arrived migrant, whose prior professional experience was unrecognised.

As Rizvi is noted as saying, conversations about multiculturalism always have questions of power at their centre and the nature of and assumptions surrounding participatory practices are rarely discussed. It is argued that it is the quality of participation that occurs in CACD projects that is critical, as it reflects the nature of power that is either held by one participating group over the other, or shared equally between the groups — in this case, the artists, practitioners and women cleaners. The story of the monologue will be told in in the following chapter where these questions will be highlighted through a data set that provides evidence of the existence of the monologue.

CHAPTER FOUR

THE CASE (PROJECT) DATA

INTRODUCTION

This chapter is organised using the following structure. Firstly, the creation of the monologue *Fly* (Lora, 1998) is discussed. This is followed by discussion of its performance within the dance theatre production *Bring in the Cleaners* (Costelloe, Gordon & Yoo, 1998), and then its reception. The data used to trace the existence of the monologue is listed and the chapter concludes with my reflections on the 'setting of the case'.

The monologue *Fly,* selected as the case study for this research, is recognised in this instance as the creative outcome of a funded artistic practice. *The Invisible Work Invisible Pain* project within which it was created had a specific budget which, in many ways, determined what the artists and practitioners were able to accomplish. Artefacts which form the data collection trace the existence of the monologue and are documented in the Appendices. Many are examples linked to my own recollections as an active participant in several capacities on the project. I acted as the project director, the scriptwriter and the director of the production. The collection of artefacts provide "good enough" examples of the connections and linkages that were made through the processes developed by the artists and practitioners in connection with the creation, performance and reception of the monologue within this CACD writing and theatre project. For example, the data collection includes sections of the Director's Book Three and can be found in Appendix D, CD 1. The data is listed in chronological order to enable the reader to best understand how CCD practice evolved across the life of the project.

The artefacts also provide evidence of the ways in which the monologue was able to represent Lora, one of the migrant women cleaners who took part in the project. The processes used by the artists and practitioners demonstrate the pivotal role of storytelling in the creation of the monologue.

The case is able to demonstrate the significance of the roles and responsibilities of the artists and practitioners, in particular, the project director, the writer, the scriptwriter and the director, in creating the story with Lora and from that the performance of the monologue. It also provides clear evidence of the crucial role played by the institutions, organisations and groups (governments, artists, unions) which made up the network of relations that supported and informed the development and implementation of key aspects of the *Invisible Work Invisible Pain* project. As an example, this included providing researched evidence about the extent and nature of injuries sustained by cleaners within the cleaning sector which determined the objectives of the project (see Appendix B, p. 221); access to workplaces and unions, groups and organisations interested in the project; interest in and support for the project (see Appendix C, CD 1), and letters to managers of cleaning companies to interest them in the project (see Appendix C, CD 1). It is my understanding that the women cleaners heard about the project by word of mouth, their workplaces, union contacts as well as through paid and free advertisements in *The Canberra Times* and its community newspaper *The Chronicle*. The women participating in the writing workshops facilitated by writer Lizz Murphy — the first activity of the project —included Lora, whose story became the basis for the development of the monologue, a performance in which she also participated through her recorded voice.

This study takes the monologue and examines it theoretically on its own terms for its own value and meaning. A case study approach is used to examine it as an example of CACD practice that exemplifies several theories underpinning the practice. Through the prism of concepts expounded by anthropologist Ghassan Hage (alongside the CACD principles), some new observations are able to be made about features and processes specific and unique to this practice. This case study examines the circumstances surrounding the creation of the monologue, the processes involved in creating it, the actual performance of it and its reception.

The data collection

The existence of the monologue is traced through a body of artefacts, documents and other material. These are used to develop the story of the case and provided the basis for my reflections on the creation, performance and reception of the monologue. This list is ordered chronologically for ease of interpretation. The order is based on the point in time at which each artefact became relevant to the project or was created — such as a funding application — during its life. Some items in the data collection are listed below and included in the Appendices and where this is the case, it is noted. Other items are on the public record. Appendix A, explains the terms used in this study and can be found on page 216. The data collection includes the following Appendices B. to F. refer to artefacts and ephemera which are the primary sources.

Appendix B, p. 221.

> Researched evidence on which the *Invisible Work Invisible Pain* project was based, p. 208.

Appendix C. CD 2.

> Feb 1996. First funding application to Healthpact.
> Trades and Labour Council of the ACT Inc. February 1996.
>
> Mar 1996. Letters of support from Mark Tiirikainen, President and Hernan Flores, Multicultural Arts Officer, The Ethnic Communities Council of the ACT Inc., 1 March 1996 and from Dr Greg Ash, Director, ACT WorkCover, 13 March 1996.
>
> Oct/Nov 1996. ACT Writers Centre contribution — correspondence.
>
> Nov 1996. Application to Theatre Fund of the Australia Council, and notification of receipt.
>
> Dec 1996. Letter to manager of a cleaning company.
>
> Jun 1997. Three cartoon images by Stephen Harrison, which reflect the monologue and were shown on a loop amongst a bigger selection of original images he produced for the anthology throughout the production *Bring in the Cleaners*, 1997.

Nov 1997. Creative development evaluation sheet. Marie Mannion, member of the invited audience.

Jan 1998. Artistic Report, Murphy, R., writer.

Jul 1998. 'Zero deaths and injuries' draft logo by Stephen Harrison and invoice to Robert Gott, ACT WorkCover.

Oct/Nov 1998. Newspaper reviews of *Bring in the Cleaners*:
Oct 1998 *Cleaners' work turns to art*, Graham McDonald. Canberra Times.
Nov 1998 *Bring in the Cleaners*, Lorena Param. Muse magazine.

Nov 1998. Acquittal Report to Healthpact, the CCDF of the Australia Council and artsACT, Costelloe, R., 1998.

1997. Multilingual anthology *Everyone Needs Cleaners, Eh!*
Murphy, L. Editor, 1997; (in the collections of the National Library of Australia and the Clement Semmler Library, College of Fine Arts, UNSW);

Appendix D. CD I.

Costelloe, R., 1998 Director's Book Three containing the working script and stage directions of the monologue *Fly* .

Transcript of the monologue *Fly*, Lora, 1998.

Theatre program, *Bring in the Cleaners*, Edge, F. & O'Donnell, J, 1998.

Appendix E.

DVD from video of the production *Bring in the Cleaners*, Fabio Cavadini & Mandy King, 1998, p. 211.

Appendix F, p. 225.

National Council of Women of Australia Recommendation (1999), p. 212.

This existing data is supplemented by my own reflections generally observed and acknowledged throughout the life of the project as an active participant at the time, central to the creation of the monologue insofar as

they are related to the artefacts. Through this data set and the creation, performance and reception of the case, the following areas will be explored.

- The case's historical background in terms of the motivation and circumstances surrounding the creation of the monologue at the particular time and place. The central importance of the union setting within which the project took place as well as the willingness and ability of those within the network of relations to engage with the issue of injury sustained by migrant women workers, this latter reflecting the history of Canberra as a Labor town and the implications.

- The aesthetic and cultural contexts in which the case exists in relation to its performance and the creative and organisational involvement of the practitioners and artists involved in the performance. This includes the thinking involved in Murphy's and my own artistic choices and decisions regarding the way Lora's experience was shaped into a story and performance as well as our feelings about her situation which informed the ways we worked with her.

- The economic and political contexts of the sector in which the women cleaners worked. The entire project rested on their stories and experiences.

- The nature of the case as an example of CACD practice in terms of identifying the particular qualities of the processes used by the CACD artists and practitioners in their work with the women.

- The active role played by the network of relations that formed to support the project. It included people working within government agencies, union organisations and migrant, health and community groups. Also central to the nature of this case were the support and influence they provided for the *Invisible Work Invisible Pain* project.

Communities of the case

The case under consideration in this study is based on the exchanges that took place between Lora and Murphy, a writer and me working as a project director, scriptwriter and director of the theatre production. As noted, the result of these collaborations was the publication of a number of works by Lora in the anthology *Everyone Needs Cleaners, Eh!* (Murphy, 1997). Some of these were subsequently developed into scripts for performance in the dance theatre production *Bring in The Cleaners* together with the story that was developed into the monologue *Fly* as it was called in the theatre program (Edge & O'Donnell, 1998). The monologue was performed by the character: The injured woman. Lora was one of the group of migrant women cleaners who took part in the *Invisible Work Invisible Pain* project and who worked with the artists and practitioners to develop the stories and aspects of the performance. The group of women already existed in the sense that while only one or two women were members of the LHMU, they formed a distinct group with specific needs within the overall membership of that union. For the purposes of the project and through the processes of the practice, the group included union and non-union members.

The terms 'community theatre' and 'community performers' are also used in reference to the *Invisible Work Invisible Pain* project. The former refers to the kind of theatre that has evolved throughout the development of CACD practice and which encompasses a wide range of approaches that distinguish it from mainstream theatre at the same time as sharing some features. In terms of the case this community theatre production, unlike amateur or repertory productions was created by professional artists, technicians and community performers working in collaboration with members of a community through the direct involvement of people involved in the writing stage of the *Invisible Work Invisible Pain* project and through the use of the women's stories of their work as cleaners as the basis for the script. The 'community performers' were those actors and dancers who were part of the cast of BITC who, despite being keenly interested in taking part in the show were unable to work full time because of other work or study commitments.

In this case 'community performers did not relate to their skills and abilities as performers as most had worked in professional and non-professional productions at different times.

Circumstances surrounding the creation of the case

As a writer and poet, Murphy facilitated the writing workshops with all the women cleaners, comprising the first stage of the Art and Working Life project *Invisible Work Invisible Pain*. The story *I will fly again* was fashioned by Murphy from one of the stories told to her by Lora a former cleaner and housemaid, in one to one sessions at Lora's home. Murphy also edited the women's stories, anecdotes and one-liners which were published in the multilingual anthology *Everyone Needs Cleaners, Eh!* (1997). Lora was the woman's chosen pseudonym. *I will fly again* tells the story of Lora's experience two years before at age 46, of sustaining an injury, while she was working as a cleaner and housemaid. As with the women cleaners accounts of injuries, harassment and other injustices, Murphy listened to and documented Lora's unfolding story, using collaborative and consultative processes common to community arts and cultural development practice, with Lora she fashioned it into a cogent narrative. Highlighting the role of language in CACD practice, Lora's story was published in English and her first language Serbian. Later, as the scriptwriter, I created a working script for the dance theatre production from select works in the anthology and further developed *I will fly again* into a monologue. Monologue is being used in this sense of a script for a single actor to perform on their own; elsewhere, it refers to the monologue *Fly* performed by professional actor Amalia Milman. Like Lora, all the storytellers who took part in the project were women, mainly but not all migrants. Their stories concerned particular aspects of their work related to the hazards they encountered. Stories were collected because it was anticipated that they would illustrate in specific ways, the evidence reflected in the research and statistics about the high rate of injury to cleaners (See Appendix B, p. 221). This evidence supported the initial concerns of the members of the Focus Group during the development phase of the *Invisible Work Invisible Pain* project.

Lora's experience of work in Australia is common to many people who had migrated to Australia following World War Two until the late 1980s and early 1990s when immigration policy shifted to favour skilled migrants and those with money. Lora had previously worked as a professional in the finance sector in former Yugoslavia. When she arrived in Australia in 1987 (Murphy, 1997, p. 131), the only work available to her involved intensive labour and low pay as a casual worker contract cleaning in accommodation. Her account of how she sustained the injury to her back is detailed and, because of this, it is excruciating. Alongside the works in the anthology and the dances and ensemble and solo performances through which the monologue was threaded, the monologue reveals the ways in which migrant women cleaners are treated by their employers and the ways they were seen and valued or not valued at that time. The monologue and the performances within the production to which it is linked, also provide insight into the migrant women cleaners' thoughts about the ways they are seen by Australians. In these ways, the case provides a window into the values of our society and the ways in which, individually and collectively, people living amongst us who are migrants are cared for. The case is a reminder that many migrants are given the worst jobs when they arrive here whether without any qualifications or professional experience, or as was the case with Lora, despite her prior experience in international finance in the Balkans.

The performance of the case

The monologue was chosen as the subject of this case study because it reflects a number of characteristics which are central to this enquiry. It is an art work that was created because of the existence of the particular category of government arts funding called CA, CCD then CP. The artists and practitioners who worked with the women cleaners to create the monologue, from their stories, used processes common to CACD practice and in particular community writing. These processes reflect values for self-

expression, self-determination and solidarity that can be seen as central to the creation and meaning of the monologue.

The *Invisible Work Invisible Pain* project was realised in distinct stages involving artists, practitioners, women cleaners and those who formed the network of relations. The first stage comprised its hasty development in response to a funding crisis at the beginning of 1996 which is outlined further into this chapter. This was followed by a series of writing workshops led by writer Murphy that involved over twenty mostly migrant women cleaners.

Auditions were held at The Street Theatre and though all the women who auditioned wanted to be involved, they were not able to rehearse full time and joined the team as community performers. Rehearsals took place in a larger Scout Hall in Reid and by then there were four full time professionals — three dancers and one actor — who worked during the day and were joined by a student dancer from Adelaide. The group of seven experienced community performers rehearsed on weekends and some evenings. Closer to the season, I picked Lora up at her home and we drove to the Community Radio Station 2XX where Tristan Ray recorded her speaking a selection of phrases in Serbian, her first language, from the script of the character 'The injured woman'. Each phrase was played as an echo at the end of the sequence in which it was spoken in English. The five day season of *Bring in the Cleaners* took place between Tuesday 29 September and Saturday 3 October 1998 in the main theatre of The Street Theatre.

The monologue was performed by Milman and woven in eight sequences throughout the production. As subjects of the project, the migrant women cleaners worked in a predominantly male-run sector in the hospitality industry in Australian society. The project addressed the particular occupational health and safety (OH&S) issues related to the low status work of cleaning.

The story and its significance as a case study

As Robert Stake (2000, p. 439) says, the pursuit of singularity within a case study vies with the quest for that which is common to many and what is singular about the case.

To illustrate this quest and find commonality and appropriateness across this case, the monologue was chosen for investigation for the following reasons:

- It illustrates an experience common to some migrants who had previous experience and qualifications, of having to forego their previous professions and take casual work in a low paid, labour intensive sector because their experience and qualifications are not recognised.

- Murphy's work with Lora developing the story and then my own work developing the monologue is well documented.

- The story provides a detailed account of how easily a debilitating accident can happen and how it can be mishandled afterwards by the person who had the accident and those charged with caring for her. Both the story and the monologue enabled the readers and theatre audience to gain an intimate understanding of what this experience was like for Lora and what it entailed for her. The story and the monologue tell of the effect the injury had on her, on her sense of herself and of the pain she continued to experience long after the accident happened.

- An aspect of Lora's story that is perhaps unusual lies in the hopefulness she expresses in the face of the chronic pain she suffers after the accident. This can be seen as what Hage refers to in Chapter Three as a dispositional hopefulness (2003, p. 23), a quality Lora has within herself and which she expresses in the story and the character of 'The injured woman'.

- Lora had worked as a cleaner for eight years prior to the accident. In the story (1997, pp. 118 - 129), she sees that different priorities operate in Australia regarding the information workers are provided with about their rights in contrast to how this was dealt with in her

country of origin, former Yugoslavia. This and other political-economic aspects of the monologue are explored Chapter Five. Hage's theories of gifts of social life, caring and hope are applied to the monologue in the light of his arguments concerning the impact of globalisation on the availability of societal hope and the importance of race and class in this economic era.

- The performance of the monologue *Fly* provides a good example of the use of reflective performance techniques that situated the story of 'The injured woman' firmly within the structural limitations of society at that time.

The reception of the case

The outcome of the workshops was the illustrated multilingual anthology of the women's stories *Everyone Needs Cleaners, Eh!* (Murphy, 1997), published in Canberra and launched during the 1998 Multicultural Festival. The book contains "poetry, stories, interviews, essays and aphorisms" (Murphy, 1998, p. 9). Following the conclusion of the writing workshops, a week long creative development took place in a small Scout Hall in Lyneham where some of the women's works were workshopped and developed into a short performance in November 1997. Lora's story was reflected in Paige Gordon's choreography of the *Bandages Dance* performed by Barbara Mullins and Anastasia Wong Perera. Singer Mereana Otene Waaka composed music to the group poem *Bring in the cleaners* (Murphy, 1997, p. 10) and performed it and Murphy read the work *The versatile cleaner* (1997, p. 84) which she had written for the anthology.

The performance was shown to an invited audience made up of several of the women storytellers, Senator Bob McMullen the former arts minister in the Keating Labor Government, members of the Focus Group, staff of the LHMU and the ACTTLC and friends and family members. The audience was asked for feedback on the viability of a full length production based on the stories of the women. Their written responses were positive and a selection was included in subsequent funding applications for the dance

theatre production. The final stage involved the development of a full length working script based on the works in the anthology.

Reflection on the creation, reception and performance of the case

The story *I will fly again* is an account of the way in which a woman's body became irreparably damaged in the course of doing her work. The first time Murphy and I were introduced to Lora and discussed the project, we recognised that her experience was able to reflect a core truth of the *Invisible Work Invisible Pain* project. An excerpt of her story *I will fly again* was read at the creative development performance. In April 1998 when I began work on the script, I decided to develop one or two works as solo "acting pieces only" (1997-1998) to set within the ensemble performances which I wrote as a vehicle for the women's individual and group stories. I selected *I will fly again* for its dramatic possibilities and its inherent challenge to the slur "Mediterranean back" — perhaps a less frequently-heard term these days — it refers to supposedly fake back injuries suffered by migrant workers. The surprising and hopeful ending of Lora's story was also a major consideration.

Fly also reflected four of the five objectives of the *Invisible Work Invisible Pain* project described as strategies in the first funding applications. These were:

1. identify areas for implementing OH&S programs to minimise injury at work;
2. raise the awareness of health hazards in the cleaning industry amongst migrant women cleaners;
3. make available adequate information at the worksite on potential hazards e.g. labelling of chemicals and chemical containers, electrical hazards and manual handling situations;
4. increase awareness of the importance of reporting occupational injuries/diseases;

5. shift workplace culture in terms of response to injured workers (Art in Working Life Committee, 1996).

As she explains in the story, over a period of eight years Lora cleaned twelve apartments with one or two beds in each apartment as well as seven kitchens, six and sometimes seven days a week. In order to vacuum underneath the beds, she would have to move them, including at times, a few beds with bed boards. On one particular day, Lora experienced a piercing pain in her back after she lifted a bed with a bed board. Several weeks later, after she was unable to keep working because of the pain, she visited her doctor and had an X-ray. She was told that she had a prolapse, a slipping or falling down of a part of the body from its usual position — of a disc in her lower back. An accident happened to Lora because she was lifting a very heavy bed board as she had not been instructed in safe ways to lift heavy objects. Bed boards are:

> … supportive boards that go between the springs and the mattress. They are so heavy it takes two men to carry them up the stairs (Lora, 1997, p. 121).

Fabio Cavadini and Mandy King's video (See Appendix E.) of the production *Bring in the Cleaners* (1998) shows that from the beginning of Act One the audience sees an elegantly dressed woman lying on a bed reading magazines. At one point she gets up and walks with great care down the steps to the stage, holding her handbag very close to her body. I treated Lora's account of her accident in the monologue differently to the way it was told in the story where her accident is revealed in the first paragraph. I wanted to create a sense of mystery around the woman: who she is, why she is there and how she is linked to the other characters, the cleaning women. Before anything is known about her, it is clear that she is stiff and careful, beautiful and elegant but it is unclear in what way she is connected to the others who have performed repetitious routines and a vigorous dance about their work by the time she speaks for the first time. The woman is 'The injured woman' named in the cast list in the program. A link to the others becomes clear when she walks slowly to centre stage at the conclusion of

the *Happy Dance*, and stops to stand in front of the table where all the women have gathered for a break and are chatting. The women continue to chat but the sounds of their voices die away when 'The injured woman' starts to speak to the audience.

> I really enjoyed morning teatime. We would discuss our funny stories. We would share stories with each other and laugh about that. It was lovely (Costelloe, 1998, p. 7).

This text was taken from Lora's short piece *Tea Break* (1997, p. 45), one of her nine works — including anecdotes, reminiscences, reflections, queries, confidences and stories — published in the anthology. After 'The injured woman' speaks, she moves back to the seat where she was sitting at the side near a piano and the women's voices around the tea table become audible once again. They tell each other stories that are funny and awful, about things that have happened to them while they work. One woman translates for another woman who becomes so overcome with indignation while recounting what happened to her, she starts telling her story in Polish, her own language. The mystery of the woman's identity and why she is there continues throughout the rest of Act One as she stays seated near the piano listening to the stories. It becomes clear to the audience that the other women on stage cannot see 'The injured woman' nor hear her, but she can see and hear them. It will not be until early into the second act that she speaks again.

At the beginning of Act Two 'The injured woman' lies on her bed reading. Lorna, one of the cleaners tinkers with the piano and as she sings the poignant song *I am a migrant* (Costelloe, 1998, p. 17), 'The injured woman' slowly makes her way down the stairs. The song finishes and the woman starts to tell the audience her story:

> It was actually an accident, but I mean I wasn't aware of it at the time.

> This happens because you work very hard every day and you might feel that your back is tense or something like that.

But one particular day when I moved one particular bed – it had a supporting bed board and it was heavy I tell you – **I felt a sharp pain in my back**.[1] SHOWS IT [2]

I had to lie down for a couple of minutes to stretch myself.
STRETCH THEN RELEASE
I put my hand on the door and stretched a little bit to get relief from the pain.
LONGER STRETCH - THEN RELEASE

I thought it would pass, that I would be all right.

I wasn't even thinking I was injured at all.
That was two years ago (Costelloe, 1998, p. 19).

The woman goes on to tell the audience how she continued to work despite the pain. A key moment, her story shows how easy it is to miss the warning signs and not realise an accident had happened — or report it as soon as it happened.

NEW THOUGHT
I never felt very good after that. **I felt bad**.
I would work for half an hour or so and then have to lie down on the floor **because my back, feet and everything were sore.**

I worked for two or three weeks after that particular day.
NEEDS TO BE REMEMBERED WHEN THE AUDIENCE WATCH THE DANCE

I couldn't carry, for example, the buckets in my hand.
I couldn't stand in one place, for example to wash the dishes.
Five, ten minutes and I would feel my back couldn't keep me, that I couldn't carry on, I couldn't carry things in my hand – I wouldn't push the trolley.

LULU (WHO PLAYS LORNA) SETS CHAIR FOR AMALIA

Serbian shadow – taped v/over
I felt a sharp pain in my back. I thought it would pass, that I would be all right.
I felt bad because my back, feet and everything were sore (Costelloe, 1998, p. 19).

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[1] Bold text indicates the emphasis Milman gave these lines.
[2] Capitalised text indicates directions.

To emphasise the point, 'The injured woman's' explanation of her accident and how she kept working despite the pain was situated immediately before the *Bandages Dance* (Gordon, 1998). Inspired by Lora's story and using the idea of spiralling out of control depicted in *The Sorcerer's Apprentice* in the 1940 Walt Disney animation *Fantasia*, the dance begins slowly with two sets of partners reprising the vigorous cleaning gestures and joyful routines of the earlier *Happy Dance* (Gordon, 1997). Then one by one a dancer is hurt and goes off and returns moments later to resume her place, albeit with a bandaged limb or neck or head and strives to keep up with the increasingly fast routine danced by the others. It is an exaggerated, grotesque and riveting representation of what happens when someone has an accident but keeps working.

> THE FOLLOWING DANCE TAKES PLACE
> The Bandages dance
>
> AMALIA LOOKS AWAY AND REMEMBERS HER OWN
> INJURY AND THE EVER PRESENT PAIN
> (Costelloe, 1998, p. 19).

The injured woman continues her account of what happened. Thus far it can be seen that the unfolding story of the monologue deals with the consequences of manual handling situations – the lifting of heavy objects, an area overdue for OH&S training for cleaners in hospitality and accommodation. The cleaners who came to see the show would be familiar with the requirement to lift heavy objects.

Storytelling and caring — the role of CACD artists and practitioners

Storytelling is a predominant artistic form linked with the practice and it is argued that CACD practice is concerned with caring by providing the means for people to tell their own stories and have them further developed into art works then seen in the public domain. Through the collaborative processes engaged in between the artists, practitioners and in this case, the women cleaners, these works are able to represent the storyteller and convey their

dignity in their own words. This is one of the distinguishing features of CACD. The *Invisible Work Invisible Pain* project used the women's stories and experiences as the acknowledged creative, imaginative and poetic foundation on which the art works were based. In these ways, Lora's story and the monologue are seen as results of CACD processes and the ideas which inform them.

Murphy as the writer worked closely and respectfully with Lora as she did with all the storytellers, in the first instance documenting Lora's experiences and reflections and then fashioning or, as she refers to her craft, "massaging" them into nine edited one-liners and stories for publication. Her work involved her skills as an organiser, a writer, an editor and teacher as well as the warmth she brought to the trusting and respectful relationships she achieved with the women. She listened to them, recording their stories and thoughts and encouraged them to tell her and each other their stories of "health and injury (and) any aspect of their work or daily routines." (Murphy, 1997, p. xvi). An understanding of the realities of their situations informed her work with the women.

> This is not my first time working with the women through writing projects and certainly not the first time I have had close contact with other women's pain. As well as the frustration and politics participants endured at work I never knew from one workshop, meeting or phone conversation to another what other pain or pressure any of them might be facing next. Problems ranged from cuts and torn ligaments to breast cancer, and from separation and custody battles to domestic violence and housing issues. There was always the latest scenario with social security (injured women) or on the dole queue (former cleaners) and indeed many of the women were in financial crises. At these times the enticement of their story helping other women or the "offer" of publication of their stories seemed inadequate, almost trite (Murphy, 1998, p. 6).

Murphy also acknowledged the commitment the women brought to the aims of the project. "I appreciated the sincerity and seriousness with which the Serbian group approached the project and the vote of confidence they gave it on behalf of all the women (1998, p. 5).

The context of the time: community control and ownership

The principle of self-determination within CACD practice is the basis for the ways in which a community is able to retain control over a creative project of which they are an intrinsic part. By basing the core meaning of the art works in the participants' own stories, the legitimacy and supremacy of particular cultural understandings and permutations are able to be challenged through representing the experiences of the participants as significant and of consequence. Brown (1993, p. xvii) cites several theatre productions in which the stories of the local people constituted "the fundamental building blocks of the drama". He refers to Roberta Bonin's report *Oral History in Community Arts* (1993, xvii) in which Bonin found a strong connection between the aims of oral historians and CA practitioners. Critiquing a "less than rigorous approach to project design" (1993), Brown points out that Bonin's measures ensure a more principled approach. These include setting up a steering committee of people from the community whose role is to oversee the work as it progresses and give advice, feedback and assistance to the artists throughout the various stages. Providing warranty or permission forms for the storytellers on whose stories the work is based ensure they are able to specify how, when, why and with whom their stories may be used. A process whereby the work was taken back to Lora and all the women storytellers for checking, feedback and their approval before proceeding any further, guaranteed they retained ownership over their work as well as acknowledgement and inclusion in all the processes involved in transforming their stories into something else. Similarly Bolitho and Hutchison discuss the need to recognise the legality of copyright and ownership and the necessity of seeking permission to use a person's work thereby honouring "the principle of individual control over the text that she or he has created" (1998, p. 46). The stories are the legal and moral property of the individual storytellers and embody a unique account of themselves which they have decided to convey outside their own circle of colleagues, friends and family and record for whatever reason at the time. As also mentioned in Chapter Two Binns (1991, p. 12) suggests that early CA practitioners were concerned with creating places where many

different voices that were previously contained or controlled could be heard. People feel inclined to tell their stories within a CACD project for many reasons. Bolitho and Hutchison refer to the idea of "finding a voice" as a strong moment for those who have been:

> denied a hearing or have felt they don't have a right to one, (and) take courage and embark on a project to tell the story in their own way (1998, p. 118).

Murphy wrote in her Introduction to the anthology, that notwithstanding the initial shyness felt by some people at the outset of the writing workshops, they continued to come (1997, pp. xvi—xvii). This was because they had begun to enjoy the opportunity to talk that was presented by the project and to see the importance of speaking about things that mattered to them.

As with the writing aspect of *The Heart of the Hospital* project, the women were encouraged to use pseudonyms for their published works instead of their real names. This was to protect their identities and ensure they would not be subject to any repercussions from their employers; it also enabled them to speak openly and freely about their experiences at work. As Murphy wrote in her Introduction (1997, p. xvi), their lower status positions and apprehension about their jobs informed the women's decision to use another name. Once the women signed the copyright and permission forms agreeing to publication of their works in the anthology and their use as the basis for the script of the production, the forms were secured in the safe at the TLC. These forms remain in the archives of the *Invisible Work Invisible Pain* project and provide the only evidence of the real names of many of the women.

The formal observances and legalities of the copyright and permission forms are necessary but would mean little without the ordinary qualities of caring, sensitivity and respect that were shown between the artists and practitioners and Lora. It gives pleasure to have someone interested in you and your experiences of hardship and difficulties; to be listened to and possibly understood, particularly if that person is not going to give you

advice; to be able to talk freely about your complaints to someone outside the usual group and importantly, to have time to sit and tell your own stories as well as listen to those of others. Murphy describes her awareness of Lora's situation with a depth of feeling and eloquence.

> I felt nervous about sending the typed and edited script to Lora for proofreading and approval. A lot was riding on her stories not just for the project but as part of Lora's healing process. I had gone to great lengths to make them happen and on the day, Lora had been so welcoming and open. I didn't want to botch it up for the project and I didn't want to let Lora down. The follow-up telephone conversation was very moving. Lora told me how she had cried when she read her own story. Cried for her own pain.

<div align="center">

TEARS

I cried and cried All night I cried

</div>

> While a couple of corrections were necessary and a small number of clarifications and contextualisations had to be negotiated, Lora was very pleased with the script. She was so pleased with what we had achieved together that she also cried about that too! "It is me Miss Lizz, it is me." Then it was my turn to cry! Not just out of relief but for Lora's pain and the pain my husband and family have experienced in similar circumstances. (Murphy, Artistic Report, 1998, pp. 4-5)

When Lora attended the opening night of the show it was

> … a moment of truth for many of the performers and production team...

> Lora sat in the front row with her grown up son, twisting and turning in her seat. The painfulness of her back allows her to sit, stand or walk for only short periods of time before she has to rest …

> During the second act the director went and sat with her, whereupon Lora turned to the director and stated flatly that no one was interested in her story. It became obvious that the opposite was true and that the audience was spellbound.

> At the end of the show, Lora stayed on for a while and talked to the actor who portrayed her, members of the cast and the choreographer. She enthusiastically conveyed her appreciation of their work as well as saying again, how much the project had affected her, allowing her to place her back injury in a wider social context of bad work practice.

<div align="center">135</div>

As a result of her involvement with the project and reading about the high rates of injury, she was starting to make inroads on the depression caused by her pain and immobility at the age of forty-eight as well as questioning her shame for not refusing to perform this task and continuing to work for a short period of time following the rip in her back (Costelloe, Acquittal report, 1998, pp. 6—7).

These excerpts show how community control was evident at the time in this case. They also reveal the kind of caring offered to Lora by the writer and the director which was accepted by her. It also becomes clear that the hope embodied in taking Lora's story into the public domain was extended to a hope that Lora found consolation through her involvement in the project.

THE SETTING OF THE CASE:
AN ARTIST/PRACTITIONER'S PERSPECTIVE

The script, video, reviews and other items are the documentary evidence of the performance of the monologue. In this study, the scope, design and setting of the case is comprised of the following groups of people, institutions and organisations:

- The women cleaners whose experiences formed the basis of the artworks arising out of the *Invisible Work Invisible Pain* project;

- the critical friends, including artists and practitioners whose collaborative and creative work with the women produced the artworks, in this case, the monologue and the writers, educators and theorists whose ideas informed the work of the aforementioned artists and practitioners;

- the government arts and health institutions: the CA, CCD and now CP funding program of the Australia Council, the ACT Government's Arts and Cultural Development Unit now artsACT, Healthpact, now a health promotion section situated within ACT Health who funded the *Invisible Work Invisible Pain* project through their policies and several other government bodies who became involved through the project's Focus Group and

- the institutions of organised labour, the national and regional bodies who hosted the artists and practitioners and with their affiliated unions supported it through their networks of relations which included a number of community based organisations and groups.

The *Invisible Work Invisible Pain* project was hastily developed by me and members of the Art in Working Life Committee of the Trades and Labour Council of the ACT (TLC), the regional peak body of the unions. Consultations with a wide network of people and organisations resulted in the construction of an achievable project with a sound premise, framework and budget which fitted within the guidelines of three arts funding programs, that of the Arts and Cultural Development Unit now artsACT, Healthpact, an ACT statutory health promotion body and the Community Cultural Development Fund of the Australia Council. When the applications were approved, the structure and the funding the project required for activation enabled a creative team of artists and others to be employed to work with the women.

The genesis of the project lay in the decision of the ACT Liberal Government in early 1996, to stop funding the salary of the newly created union arts officer position at the Trades and Labour Council. Funding for the position had been approved the year before in the last sitting days of the ACT Labor government. The Carnell Liberal Government believed some of the material in *The Heart of the Hospital* (Hutchison, 1996) — the first major project I coordinated as the union arts officer — and was critical of it. A compromise was later reached and the same amount of funding was approved but was to be spent only on projects.

The ACTTLC was campaigning at the time against the government's enterprise agreement offer with the full support of their affiliated unions. It was a period of recession for the ACT economy and the government began its term in office in 1995 making unpopular budget cuts in a range of areas including health. *The Heart of the Hospital* project followed an earlier

project at the Woden Valley Hospital after the then-Follett Labor Government had merged the Royal Canberra and Woden Valley Hospitals at Woden Valley. *The Woden Valley Hospital Project* of June-July 1992, involved story gatherers, visual artists, a photographer, a song writer and a coordinator, and had been deemed highly successful by the hospital management. The conflicts and difficulties concerning the quite different work practices of the two groups of health professionals from each hospital who were now expected to work together were articulated and issues were brought out into the open in the words, images and songs created by the staff with the artists. Major concerns were given air and the hospital's management was thankful as it was able to address and alleviate some of the tensions in the workplace.

The heart of the matter

The hospital's management was keen to undertake a second project some time down the track and committed $10,000 towards it on the basis of the success of the first project. Funding for the follow-up project was secured before I arrived at Easter in 1995 to take up the union arts officer position. *The Heart of the Hospital* project involved musician, composer and performer Chrissie Shaw, writer Annie Bolitho and photographer Grant Elmers who worked intensively over a three month period with many of the staff from the different workplaces and professions within the Woden Valley Hospital (now the Canberra Hospital). The artists collaborated with staff and Bolitho documented their stories, anecdotes and feelings about working in the hospital. Elmers photographed people at work as well as forming a staff photography group. Shaw established a choir of people from different areas in the hospital and they wrote and performed their repertoire of songs about their work.

By pure coincidence, the three artists were in residence at exactly the same time as two consultants from the North American firm Booz-Allen Hamilton were "employed by the ACT Government to undertake an operational efficiency review of the ACT Health system" (Hutchison, 1996,

p. 71). It was said they were paid $1 million to find $3 million worth of savings in the hospital budget and it was understandable that the hospital staff's concerns related to the review would be reflected in the resulting works. The anthology *The Heart of the Hospital* (Hutchison, 1996) comprised the photographs, lyrics and music and written works developed by the staff with the artists. Bolitho named two sections of the book 'Amalgamation, renovation, restructure, review' (1996, p. viii) and 'Amalgamation, renovation, restructure, review – again!' (1996). These titles reflected sentiments expressed in the *Booz-Allen (Consultants') Song* (Hutchison, 1996, p. 50) and other works giving vent to anxiety about anticipated changes and cuts in staffing, the value of redundancy packages on offer, the value of the services staff provided and the full time relentless nature of their work. A number of performances of the highly readable material, the topical songs and the evocative photographic images took place in the hospital auditorium over ensuing weeks and a memorable performance was held at The Street Theatre.

The AiWL Committee invited the Chief Minister Kate Carnell and Arts Minister Gary Humphries to the premiere performance at The Street. The Committee believed it was pointless to simply 'preach to the converted' and felt that something might be gained from the politicians hearing first-hand about the nature of the work done at the hospital. On the afternoon of the performance, the secretary of one of the largest affiliated unions with members at the hospital rang me demanding that the invitation to the politicians be withdrawn. Kate Lundy, the then-President of the TLC was contacted and she let it be known that she supported the invitation. Prior to the performance members of several unions whose members also worked at the hospital picketed the theatre and once everyone was seated, started cat-calling inside the auditorium. Michael White, the Chair of the AiWL Committee and highly respected within the ACT union and arts sectors took the stage and angrily told people to desist. A bomb threat was phoned in but the theatre staff saw it as a hoax at the time and the show went on. As the union arts officer I found the whole thing quite astonishing. The lack of

solidarity by our union colleagues shown to the project and to the Committee's intentions which I had explained to the union secretary when she had rung me earlier was upsetting as was the fact that my position depended on the government renewing the funding for it the following year. As it turned out, despite many disavowals that the funding would be affected, when we reapplied for the position for 1996 several months later, this was what happened.

I was informed of this decision by Marj Hall, Director of the Arts and Cultural Development Unit at the time, who advised me to re-write the annual arts funding application in such a way that my income could be derived from individual projects. Hall was supported by Richard Refshauge, the chair of the ACDU's advisory body the Cultural Council and also chair of Healthpact, the ACT's health promoting body. Hall directed me to meet with Healthpact to seek out-of-round project funding, whereby the institution agrees to accept applications outside the normal deadlines and time periods. Amongst other roles, Healthpact also disbursed funding for arts projects with a health message. Discussion took place and it was agreed that Healthpact's funding category 'Safe work practices' would be an appropriate place to start building the arts project that would become *Invisible work invisible pain*.

In these ways, the genesis of the project lay in the immediate need to present a project with enough longevity to provide me with a living. The previous Minister for Arts Bill Woods told me to expect there would be three years of funding for my job at the TLC. The pressure of the situation and the speed with which the revised annual program and the new project had to be developed took an emotional and physical toll on me. This kind of precarious situation is not new to practitioners and exemplifies the instability facing those who work in this sector. The artists and practitioners do not control the fate of CA and CD government arts funding programs and are always subject to instrumental and external pressures resulting from the nature of the work they do with people in communities. At a meeting with

Humphries at the time, he claimed *The Heart of the Hospital* was of poor artistic merit and because the union arts officer position was situated within the TLC which was campaigning against the government's enterprise bargaining offer the time, he wanted to discontinue support for the position of the union arts officer.

Nevertheless, these events did not detract from the fact that we quickly sought to develop a project that would, in the words of the TLC's Cultural Policy — already mentioned in Chapter Two — written some months later in July, contribute to "maintaining funding for an arts officer responsible for … supporting union cultural programs" (Arthur 1996, p. 1) as well as "providing a variety of mediums through which people can express their views" (1996).

A network of relations forms around the case

Significant linkages were formed through the *Invisible Work Invisible Pain* project with individuals and people from within institutions, organisations and groups. The project emanated from the Art in Working Life Committee at the peak ACT union body the ACT Trades and Labour Council. The TLC provided an institutional base within a union movement that valued art making as a means to engage with union members and the work-based issues facing them. The Art in Working Life Committee and I drew on the support of the TLC's OH&S WorkWatch Centre, the LHMWU which covered cleaners and housemaids, the Union Education Officers and all the affiliated unions which supported our work. The managers/owners of ten of Canberra's largest cleaning companies were contacted and invited to become involved, ultimately to no avail. Hospitality staff in a local hotel became involved in the project as participants, and staff of different government institutions became members of the Focus Group that supported the project. A number of migrant organisations became involved through Hernan Flores, the Multicultural Arts Officer at the ACT Migrant Resource Centre and others. Murphy was associated with the ACT Writer's Centre which donated $1,000 towards her costs (See Appendix C, CD 2). I was

assisted in my search for a dancer from a non-Anglo background by Jennifer Kingma the director of Ausdance. Choreographer Paige Gordon collaborated on the production, and two dancers from her organisation as well as a student dancer on placement with her company worked on the show. The staff of the Street Theatre who had invited the Art in Working Life Committee to launch *The Heart of the Hospital* project in their main theatre in 1995 welcomed the *Invisible Work Invisible Pain* project, and the creative development performance, the auditions and the production were held in the foyer, studio and main theatre space of the theatre respectively. Healthpact supported the project through their Safe Behaviours funding program. Their Project Officer Sandy Kirby, with whom I dealt, wrote in the theatre program:

> Healthpact is pleased to support *Bring in the cleaners …* in particular its capacity to use the arts to explore the impact of work on our psychological and physical selves, was evident.
>
> The project's community development flavour was also complemented by its potential to affect the social, political and economic health of the cleaning and hospitality industries. In health promotion terms we call this structural change. Positive changes to the structures in which we work, live and play are essential to the adoption of healthy behaviours on an individual and community level because realistically one cannot occur without the other (Edge & O'Donnell, 1998)

In these ways, it is shown how this particular network of relations supported the *Invisible Work Invisible Pain* project.

The women cleaners

The people who told the stories were low paid migrants, some of whom like Lora, had worked in high status jobs in their home countries. Some of the women had come to Australia as refugees fleeing war, and some had no work in their home countries and came to make a better life for their children.

As has already been said, Lora states that she had worked in international banking and in her short work *I am from Balkan* (Murphy, 1997, pp. 92—

93), she tells how once the Yugoslav economy began to fail and inflation rose, she and her family decided it might be better for the children to move to Australia where her brothers already lived. The only options for newly arrived migrants and refugees without experience or with qualifications that are not recognised by the authorities in Australia, is to work in the lowest paid jobs. Very few Anglo—Australians work in these areas now except on a temporary basis or as supervisors.

The women cleaners who became involved in the project got in touch through local networks as Lora did. Notices letting people know about the project and asking interested participants to contact the TLC were distributed to all union affiliates and were included in the weekly distribution of arts promotional material and information the ACDU sent to all arts organisations at the time.

The central role of the unions

Susan Kenny (1994) observes the slippage between reality and rhetoric in her description of the activist model of community development (1994, p. 85). Notwithstanding this shortcoming, the activist model most closely reflects my intentions and those of the members of the Art in Working Life Committee regarding what we hoped to achieve with the *Invisible Work Invisible Pain* project and the work we did to realise the hopes.

The Committee had undertaken several successful projects prior to the funding of the full time union arts officer position in 1995. Several large photographs from Huw Davies and Annie Jacob's project *My Body, My Labour*, which was supported by the TLC, adorned the office's walls in Woolley Street Dickson and members of the local branch of the Australian Social Welfare Union worked with Annie Trevillian at Megalo Access Arts to produce striking bolts of silkscreened fabric. As has already been mentioned, the Committee had also undertaken the successful project at the Woden Valley Hospital which paved the way for the second project. All the committee members were delegates to Council for their unions at the time

of the *Invisible Work Invisible Pain* project. White was an organiser with the local branch of the Media Entertainment and Arts Alliance at the time and at the time of writing, continues to work as the union's secretary. Jeanne Arthur, an actor and drama teacher was an Australian Education Union (AEU) delegate and on secondment to the ACT Department of Education at the time, and Kerrie Ruth was a long term employee at the National Film and Sound Archive and a Commonwealth Public Sector Union delegate. Tania McMurtry was a sculptor and an AEU organiser. Poet, singer and stone balancer Susie Carcary was an Australian Services Union delegate and David Morrow was an organiser for the Health Services Union of Australia. My relationship with the Art in Working Life Committee had begun in the early 1990s when I visited Canberra to speak about community writing and also met with members of the Committee and other interested people.

Following negotiations with the ACDU and Healthpact, my role as the union arts officer became that of a project director. Arthur, White and I had extensive experience in the field of theatre and CACD practice, and all the committee members supported my work and assisted in practical ways with many aspects of the *Invisible Work Invisible Pain* project, in the first instance, rewriting and preparing the funding applications. During the development period of the project, we developed rationales and budget forecasts for an arts project staged over two years. There would be a writing stage gathering the women's stories that would result in a publication of their works and this would form the basis of a theatre performance. In the first instance, the Committee anticipated an outcome:

> Cultural resources in English and languages other than English promoting injury prevention will be developed from these projects for use within the cleaning industry, OH&S training programs and migrant community organisations in the ACT (Art in Working Life Committee, 1996, p. 2).

The original plan was that the full length main stage theatre production would consist of flexible segments:

> sequences which can be re-assembled into shorter but complete performances for lunchtime touring shows suitable

for the type of workplace to be visited and the issues current there (1996, p. 4).

In addition to the theatre performance and the touring show, "Each sequence will be videoed for use as OH&S training films within the cleaning industry and within migrant community organisations" (1996, p. 4).

What would become an unrealistic schedule was drawn up and objectives, rationales, outcomes and strategies were developed, refined, revised and re-written. It was anticipated that further applications to the Community Cultural Development and Theatre Funds of the Australia Council would be submitted in mid-May and a further application sent in mid-June to the Literature Fund. The subsequent application to the Theatre Fund stated:

> At this point we are planning to perform at: the Canberra Hospital, TOTALCARE, public service offices, ethnic community clubs, OH&S seminars run by the TLC and the ACT Government through its Workwatch program (Art in Working Life Committee, 1996, p. 2).

This aspect of the plan did not eventuate. One reason was the hope that managers of local cleaning companies would be interested in involvement in the project through the Focus Group and would allow their staff to take part in "three workplace based workshops … over a ten week period" (1996, p. 4) proved false. The assumption was based on the way the Education Officers of TLC's Workplace English language and Literacy program (WELL) taught in workplaces, as well as the way we had worked with staff at Woden Valley Hospital during working hours throughout that project. Initially it was thought that "the effectiveness of the project would have been manifestly increased by the participation of the managers and owners" (Murphy, 1997, p. xii). Later Murphy discovered there were other forces at play that also influenced the women's decisions to become involved:

> Their casual status and the fear of losing their jobs makes most of them reluctant to lobby for better conditions or to speak out. It was felt by many that their exploitation was due to migrant status. Others spoke of dire politics and practices,

including buying positions and being black marked if you made a complaint or "caused trouble".

It is probably for these reasons that others who expressed interest in the project and promised to participate never quite managed to. These are the reasons why some would only speak off the record and why most have used pseudonyms, even when telling quite innocent stories. It is why we have decided to make most workplaces anonymous also (Murphy, 1997, p. xvi).

The story behind the unsuccessful approach to the managers will be told in Chapter Five.

The ACTTLC was established in the late 1920s and early 1930s and at the time of the *Invisible Work Invisible Pain* project twenty unions were affiliated to the TLC (Harbus, 1996). Union members and elected officials from each union made up the delegates who had speaking and voting rights and attended the monthly Council meetings at the large meeting room behind the WorkWatch Centre in Woolley Street Dickson. An annual AGM was held to elect the Secretary and the Executive Committee was elected each year from officials of the affiliated unions. All the officers of the TLC presented reports about their activities to Council at the AGM. The TLC provided in-kind support, including office space, insurances and administrative support for the *Invisible Work Invisible Pain* project noted in the application budgets. My position as the union arts officer within the TLC meant I had access to all of its staff and resources including WorkWatch, its OH&S training centre and the Federal Government-funded Education Officers who ran the WELL program. The Manager of the WorkWatch Centre Deidre Chance suggested the working conditions of migrant women cleaners and their situation within the hospitality sector in Canberra would be a good place to develop a project around safe behaviours in the workplace and provided me with initial information and research. The minutes of the 14th meeting of the ACT Occupational Health and Safety Council(1992), stated that cleaners were in the most part women who were migrants, that there was a high staff turnover within the local hospitality

sector and that they suffered one of the highest rates of injury (1992). Cleaners were covered by the ACT branch of the Australian Liquor, Hospitality and Miscellaneous Workers Union. This later became the LHMU and is now called United Voice. Secretary Gil Anderson and organisers were keen to support the project. As Anderson later wrote in his Foreword to the anthology:

> Most of the contributions in this book are from cleaners or house maids working in Canberra's accommodation industry — an area with low levels of unionisation. This work is done almost exclusively by women. It is hard, unforgiving work with high levels of stress and physical injury, because of heavy weights, cleaning chemicals and few employers who take occupational health and safety seriously (Murphy, 1997, p. vi).

These initial links were central to the decision to undertake this project. Assistance and support were given at the developmental and research stage of the project. The TLC was open to and very supportive of the union arts officer position and the Secretary Jeremy Pyner was a former post graduate student, union secretary and lover of music and literature. He was keenly aware of the pivotal role of culture in people's lives and understood the rationale behind the storytelling aspect of the project.

> The Invisible Work Invisible Pain project serves a critical role. It provides a medium for the participants to express otherwise private feelings, sentiments and thoughts, enabling these to be appreciated by a wider audience (1997, p. vi).

Pyner was also much-admired by some within Canberra's migrant communities for his willingness to act in solidarity with them and support issues they were facing by taking them to the Executive and monthly Council meetings. At the beginning of his Foreword to the anthology (1997, p. v), he wrote about a rally he had attended outside the Federal Parliament organised by a migrant women's organisation protesting against a cut to their funding. The cut significantly affected their operations but was scarcely more than the amount parliamentarians claimed for their travel expenses. In addition, he wrote scathingly about the ACTU's Living wage claim at that time which had been rejected on the basis that the country

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could not afford it. The claim was argued on the basis of the low rates of pay of more than 1.1 million migrant women workers. Pyner's Left Green politics and the ALP affiliation of the ALHMWU meant the project would have been seen in the Canberra community as politically left wing activism.

Margaret Hay, Rod Pickette and Marie Mannion represented ACT WorkCover, the ACT Department of Industrial Relations and the ACT Chief Minister's Department respectively on the Focus Group with Hernan Flores, the ACT Multicultural Arts Officer, Marguerite Rutherford, a WELL Education Officer, Joanne Courtney from the Women's Centre for Health Matters, White, Pyner, Anderson and me. The group met twice over a period of five months and provided specific information and current research on the issues related to injury and hazards within the cleaning and hospitality sector. They brought their knowledge and experience to bear on the development of the parameters of the project and provided contacts for cleaners and managers of cleaning companies. The Focus Group clarified the objectives of the project and gave feedback on its progress. They agreed with the need to publish the works in the women's own languages as well as English. In early 1997 when the writing workshops were underway, Murphy presented the group some of the material that had begun to emerge, as well as some of Stephen Harrison's ink drawings of cleaners at work. A selection of his drawings was projected on a loop during the production and several of these relating to the monologue can be found in Appendix C, CD 2. At that meeting I reported back on the reluctance of managers to become involved. By December 1996, the Focus Group had identified four objectives for the project. These were "manual handling, chemical awareness, reporting of injury and attitudes to injured workers in the workplace" (Costelloe, December 4, 1996). I described the objectives of the project in my Preface in the anthology in the following way:

> The project's focus would be on injury in the workplace,
> exploring the reasons behind the low reporting of injuries and
> looking at people's attitudes to injured fellow workers.
> (Costelloe in Murphy 1997, p. xii)

Migrant organisations and groups became part of the network of relations centred on the project at the TLC. The ACT Ethnic Communities Council, the Migrant Resource Centre and the Serbian Australian Settlers Social and Cultural Centre provided letters of support, established meetings with women they knew from their own communities who worked as cleaners, and later put me in touch with translators for the works which, for a variety of reasons, were mainly spoken and documented in English. Lora was contacted through one of the migrant organisations to which she was connected and which felt a sense of obligation towards her and her wellbeing. The Women's Centre for Health Matters also put the team in contact with potentially interested women and groups and supported the applications.

The arts funding bodies

The existence of CACD funding programs within the ACDU, Healthpact and the Australia Council were essential to the creation of the *Invisible Work Invisible Pain* project and the art works created from it. Each funding body contributed financial assistance towards specific aspects of the project. The staff of the ACT Government's arts and health bureaucracies contributed in significant ways to the establishment of the project and I was given assurances from the outset my position at the TLC would continue, at least for the time being. Application deadlines were extended on request and where possible their Project and Program Officers were supportive of the unfolding nature of the development of the project. Changes in circumstances were also supported as was the case when the costs for the publication of the anthology went over-budget. I had initially set this expenditure against the anticipated income from sales and later, the Healthpact strategy linked to the production did not eventuate. One curious situation took place when I rang the Theatre Fund to find out the result of our application. I was told our application had not been received although we had earlier been sent formal notification of receipt of our application which was undated (See Appendix C, CD 2).

Planned and unplanned events

Healthpact discussed a major safe behaviours strategy with the Art in Working Life Committee, the LHMU and ACT WorkCover, planned to take place during the season of the theatre production, and budgeted additional funds for it. Representatives from insurance companies, the cleaning companies, the LHMU and ACT WorkCover would be invited to a seminar to discuss best and worst practice in the cleaning/hospitality sector. Discussion would centre on the findings of research (See Appendix B, p. 221) on the amount of savings which could be made by the companies on insurance premiums by increased action around safety issues (Coopers & Lyebrand, 1996, p. 3). To provide everyone with a better understanding of the situation, excerpts of the production illustrating the realities in workplaces would be performed to the group following a luncheon. This would inform the presentations and discussion that followed about ways forward to better practice. Harrison was commissioned by ACT WorkCover to develop a logo including the phrase *Zero deaths and injuries* (See Appendix C, CD 2) for inclusion on all "publications, pamphlets, invitations, brochures and printed matter relating to the joint Healthpact/ *Invisible Work Invisible Pain* project health promotion strategy for the theatre production" (Costelloe, July 9, 1998). Harrison was paid for his work and the logo was used in promotional material and the theatre program. For a variety of reasons this strategy was never implemented. In July 1997, the failed implosion of the Royal Canberra Hospital resulted in the death of twelve year old Katie Bender. In subsequent hearings over the next two years, including a coronial inquest, ACT WorkCover was required to give evidence of their involvement. Although the seminar strategy was not implemented, ACT WorkCover did provide a stand of pamphlets on injury prevention in community languages, and one of their staff was on hand in the theatre foyer each night to answer questions and provide information about what to do if an accident happened.

Well into the production stage of the project, an unforseen opportunity presented itself to further the project's reach and influence. Small and

unplanned, it was welcomed by the union and everyone connected to the project. Beryl Evans, a retired nutritionist and member of the Canberra branch of the National Council of Women of Australia (NCWA), approached me following my presentation on the project at the Canberra Hospital in April 1998 as part of the Health Promotion Network Forum *Health promotion meets the arts*. Mrs Evans wanted to learn more about the issues underpinning the project and requested copies of the research and evidence. In June 1998, Anderson forwarded her a copy of confidential research concerning cleaners commissioned by the union (LHMU, 1996). The following year at the annual NCWA National Conference, a recommendation was put and carried recommending all the states and territories introduce compulsory workplace OH&S training in English and the first languages of all cleaners and newcomers to the sector (for the full text of the Recommendation see Appendix F, p. 225).

The project, the anthology and the theatre production were promoted at each stage through the TLC and LHMU's networks. The LHMU purchased a bloc of tickets for their members for the last night of the theatre production and in the final report provided to the project by The Street Theatre, the attendance of new audience members from working class and migrant backgrounds was noted. Towards the end of 1998, everyone involved in the *Invisible Work Invisible Pain* project were pleased when the TLC was presented with the Overall Award for Health and Safety 1998 by the ACT OH&S Council. The project also won the annual Healthpact Award for the Successful Promotion of Safe Work Practices.

Every professional who worked on the production in creative and technical capacities was employed under contracts which clearly stated their job description, remuneration and hours. White was helpful negotiating rates of pay which reflected either the Award rates for that work or recommended hourly rates published by the Australia Council's CACD funding body. As is common in the arts sector, people, especially key people worked for longer hours that what they were paid for. As Murphy noted:

> … in hindsight I realise that in spite of other work pressures, in the end I contributed many more extra hours, even including the very welcome fee for compiling and editing the book. I think this is quite typical of community arts projects. I do however appreciate the award rates of pay and a total of hours which was probably more realistic by far than most community projects (1998, p. 4).

In the early days of the project the LHMU organisers and WELL Officer suggested Murphy and I visit a well-known middle-of-the-range Canberra hotel to meet the women housemaids there. We met the supervisor, a softly-spoken young Anglo-Australian woman who was the only union member there. Later she would contribute a number of works to the anthology including *Working with pain* (Maree, 1997, p. 29) which concerned the way the women kept working despite being in pain. Murphy and I followed her through a maze of doors and passages and took a service lift to a small room with plasterboard walls where six or seven women were seated round a table. We had been told that the workplace was pretty bad and the supervisor was keen for her staff to hear about the project and take part in it. We explained the rationale behind the project to the group and emphasised the hope that it would help lower the high rates of injury to cleaners. We invited them take part and tell their stories, particularly any stories about the hazards they encountered. They would be able tell their stories to Murphy or write them in their own languages and then have them translated into English. Then, with their consent and written permission, their stories would be published in a book and become the basis of a script for performance using dance. The women seemed singularly unimpressed and disinterested and one older woman who appeared to have influence was looking quite scornful. So I asked if they would tell their stories so that when their daughters came to work as cleaners, things would be safer. The woman immediately responded that their daughters would not work as cleaners — they would go to university — that was why they were working there. Her disdain and scorn were palpable and my strategy was starting to go badly wrong. I asked whether they would get involved for the women who would replace them after they had moved on — the new arrivals, the new migrants

from other countries. The women looked at each other and the woman who had spoken thought for a few seconds and then agreed. This group became the largest single group of working cleaners to take part in the project. Despite the initial misunderstanding, Murphy found the group "not only insightful but often great fun" (1998, p. 5).

From the moment the women in the hotel agreed to take part in the project, there was hope that the next group of migrant women who arrived in Australia and began working as cleaners in Canberra might not have to work in the same dangerous and unpleasant conditions as was the norm at the time. It was thought that public exposure of the harmful nature of cleaning work would bring pressure to bear on those with the means to shift the work-based practices which caused the damage. This was the gift the artists were bringing to the women through the project and in turn, the women would reciprocate with their gifts: their involvement in the project and their stories "exposing high rates of injury, irreparable damage to health and underpaid work" (George, 1997). The agreement that was struck that day between the women and Murphy and me marked the point where a common understanding was established that we were offering the women a gift — the opportunity to tell their stories. It was a symbolic gift that was available at the time and made possible by government arts funding policies. If the women accepted the offer and joined the project they would be able to work with Murphy and others including myself, and together create art works from their stories. The art works which would represent their experiences would then be shown in the wider social domain with all the hopefulness entailed in making the invisible nature of their work and the hazards to which they were exposed visible and more widely known. The women who took part in the writing stage of the project were from Serbian, Croatian, Macedonian, Filipino and Tongan backgrounds along with several Anglo-Australian women.

ARTISTIC DECISIONS

Writer Murphy was herself a migrant from Belfast, Ireland and in September 1996 we invited her to facilitate the writing workshops. At the time she was a successful published poet who was later awarded the 1998 ACT Creative Arts Fellow for Literature and in 2011 won the Rosemary Dobson Poetry Prize. By the time Murphy had gathered a substantial body of work from the women she was keen to continue with the project and took on the role of editor. She also assisted with the production of the anthology, consulting colleagues in the publishing industry about style and design issues and provided valuable feedback to the Art in Working Life Committee for future publications. *Everyone Needs Cleaners, Eh!* was the second anthology published in the two years I had been working with the Committee. Her work with the women cleaners formed the layered and rich bedrock from which I wrote the script for the theatre production. Murphy was also a visual artist and brought Harrison into the project to illustrate the works. A selection of his cartoons was projected on a loop throughout the theatre production. When Harrison showed Murphy and me his first cartoons of migrant women at work we found them stereotypical and talked to him about the issues the women faced with and gave him some of the emerging text to read. His work immediately took on a more serious depth and quality.

In the first instance I was to coordinate and direct the research and development components of the *Invisible Work Invisible Pain* project as well as oversee the writing stage and the theatre production. My salary would be drawn from this work as well as from overseeing several other projects coordinated by others throughout 1996. These included a series of cultural discussions; *Labours of Love*, the first of three annual exhibitions of union members' art and craft works which was launched that year, as well as a largely independently coordinated song writing project *Voices of the Hospital*. At the end of 1996 applications were made to the Theatre Fund of the Australia Council to employ well-known local director Camilla Blunden. I had spoken to a community theatre playwright about the project

but nothing further happened. As already mentioned, our application to the Theatre Fund had been unsuccessful. This resulted in my decision to take on the roles of scriptwriting and direction of the production. My work as project director was informed through my facilitation and direction of many small short term projects throughout my professional life. My creative involvement with BITC referenced and built on my work on the first three bilingual FTG productions *Nuovo paese/ New country* (Costelloe, 1995, p. 105), *Ottomarzo/Eighth of March* (1995, p.106) and *Lasciateci in Pace/Leave us in Peace* (1995). These productions involved community performers and the use of languages other than English in performance. I had successfully used live voice-overs in the dance production *Lines of Descent* (Balai Dance Ensemble, 1994), and recorded voice-overs with young Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal high school students in the 1982 production of *Here Comes the Cake Man* (New South Wales Department of Education, 1982) and the results had been interesting especially within the context of the dance work. My much earlier work, already mentioned in Chapter One, on the WTG touring theatre production *The Women and Work Show: A women's place is ...?* (Womens Theatre Group, 1975) was a good example of a performance that functions as a herald or messenger bringing stories from the grass roots — in that case a specific factory floor — to the attention of people in other factories.

The idea to use dance in a production about cleaners and injury was linked to an OH&S study (Bartlett, 1985) familiar to me. Dancers were identified in the study as amongst the most vulnerable of all practising artists to accidents and injury. White and I approached Gordon of Paige Gordon Performance Group who had worked as a dancer with Meryl Tankard's group in Canberra. Her work was vibrant and compelling and she was interested in the theme of cleaning because many artists including her had earned their living at one time as cleaners. She also saw that cleaning's "vigour and repetition lends itself strongly to the movement genre" (Edge & O'Donnell, 1998). A creative partnership with the AiWL Committee was negotiated and Gordon became the choreographer of the production. I had

spoken to Gordon about my reasons for employing dancers and actors from culturally diverse backgrounds from the outset. Once work on the production began, despite repeated assurances from her that there were no professional dancers in Canberra from culturally and linguistically diverse backgrounds, I continued to make enquiries. After some time Kingma put me in touch with Hee Ra Yoo, a classically trained ballet dancer from Korea who had worked with the Kirov Ballet in St Petersberg. Yoo admired Gordon's work and was very keen to work with her. The budget allowed for four full time professional dancers or actors, and following the auditions two positions were filled by Barbara Mullins and Emma Strapps, both talented dancers with performance skills from Gordon's group and both from English speaking backgrounds. Whilst continuing my search for the other two positions, I employed Anna Voronoff, a strong and interesting actor from a third generation Polish-Australian background.

The artistic decisions regarding the performance of the monologue related to particular theatrical traditions and practices and were informed by the nature of the story. My early interest in the social role of theatre in the 1970s had led me to an artistic practice concerned with the ways in which different people within society are represented. In this project I was able to develop reflective performance techniques arising out of my work with Bertolt Brecht's particular theatre practice and his notions of epic theatre (1978, p. 37) and apply his concept of *verfremdung*. In epic theatre which Brecht distinguished from dramatic theatre, characters are depicted as social beings rather than existing at fixed and determined points, and action occurs in curves and jumps that are part of a developmental process rather than a linear development (1978, p. 37). In theatre practice *verfremdung* means making something that is commonplace strange or distancing it from the narrative being played out in order to bring attention to it and make a point (Costelloe, 1985), although the concept has often been misinterpreted as meaning alienation. Working with Milman in rehearsal was an enjoyable and productive experience for me. Milman immediately responded to the script and understood my direction and the rationale behind the reflective

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performance techniques we brought to the role and the wider production. Milman brought elegance, awkwardness and anguish to the role that we both knew from reading all Lora's works in the anthology and which I knew from my acquaintance with Lora.

The women's languages

One of the key arguments for establishing the Leichhardt-based bilingual FILEF Theatre Group (FTG) in 1984 was "that theatre which existed at the time was largely linguistically and culturally irrelevant to most Italian migrant families" (Costelloe & FILEF, 1995, p. 41). From the FTG's first production the scripts were written and performed in both Italian and English. This enabled the production to speak directly to the migrant community as well as to those whose only language was English. It was successfully accomplished using a range of linguistic and performance techniques developed over several productions. Despite the different circumstances in which the *Invisible Work Invisible Pain* project was developed and the linguistically diverse group of women cleaners who were the subjects of the project, similar rationales informed the use of the women's languages in the writing and theatre stages of the project. The majority of women who worked with Murphy in the writing workshops told her their stories in English. As she explains in her Artistic Report (1998) which is available in Appendix C, CD 2, many of them had low literacy levels and as the women spoke different languages, English was the only common language everyone spoke. Once it became clear that most of the women wanted to tell their stories rather than write them in their own languages, the budget for translating the works from the women's first languages into English was used for translating the women's stories into their first language. A desire to reflect the linguistic realities of the participants and in this case the languages and sounds of the multilingual workforce within the hospitality sector, was informed by the director's earlier work with the FTG and the WTG. The stories and anecdotes of each woman's experiences constituted the basis of the project, along with several group works developed with Murphy.

A great deal of thought was given in the writing stage to publishing the women's stories in their spoken English and this was ultimately decided by the women. In my Preface to the anthology, I referred to some of the issues:

> Language is an important issue and questions arose as how as to how we should deal with it – especially in the immediate political climate where there are interests calling for a halt to the migration by people who do not speak English. Publishing works in "migrant English" can present an opportunity for caricaturing migrants, making them figures of fun and ridicule. We asked ourselves and the women whether we should edit their works into Standard English and thus present a concise and clear body of writing, easy to read, free of any ambiguities and safe from any possibility of being misread or made fun of.
>
> However, other questions arose. If we did this, would we change the meaning of the women's words, making it unrecognisable to them? Would we be misrepresenting the way they talk to each other and the way they think in English, their second or third tongue? Would we rob the works of their texture and specific qualities and thus fail to reflect the issues, feelings and cultures of the speakers? A decision was made easier when a number of the women insisted that we must leave their words as they spoke them. It was this which determined the language of the final works. (Costelloe. In Murphy, 1997, p. xi)

Murphy also spoke of them in her Introduction to the anthology. The following comments are from her Artistic Report:

> A great deal of the text is in "migrant English". A number of the participants felt very strongly that their true voices should be represented. Some either requested editing to some level of Standard English or spoke English quite fluently. Others fell somewhere in between, welcoming a little correction but comfortable with their own way of speaking … I was keen to support this more expressive form of English … these individual speech patterns are a delight to listen to, with their own rhythms and grammatical poetics (Murphy, 1997, p. xvii).
>
> Much of the text was originally spoken into a tape recorder and editing to some degree to make the stories and conversations work on the page was necessary (Murphy, 1998, p. 4).

The show was promoted in the women's community language newspapers as well as in the local English-language newspapers. A budget for promotion enabled the employment of publicist Jane O'Donnell who worked closely with graphic designer Fiona Edge to create a series of engaging advertisements for the production which included leaflets, a newsletter and more conventional newspaper copy. They used Harrison's cartoons and in particular his striking image of a group of women cleaners holding buckets, mops and brooms standing in together on top of the globe of the world.

> As with the anthology, Bring in the Cleaners was always planned as a multilingual theatre work, as far as possibly using the languages of the industry. My work in the eighties with the bilingual F.I.L.E.F. Theatre Group yielded a number of theatrical approaches to performing with more than one language. I look forward to your feedback on our use of echo, switching, direct translation and contextual linguistic techniques (Edge & O'Donnell, 1998).

Brecht also used key words, signs and phrases to add a layer of commentary to the performance, emphasising and highlighting what he deemed to be important developments, turning points and surprises in the narrative. Referencing his practice, I used some of the bilingual methods developed in the FILEF Theatre Group to create the script of the monologue, including Lora's recorded voice reading key phrases of 'The injured woman's' text in Serbian. Each recorded phrase was played as an echo following Milman's performance of the sequence from which it was taken. The quality of Lora's voice is revealing. Her tones are sometimes flat and at other times emphatic. Her weariness and pain are always there but Lora's voice also conveys perseverance, endurance and especially at the end, a particular resonance of hope in contrast to Milman's interpretation of passionate avowal. In comparison to the bilingualism of the FILEF Theatre Group productions, the use of Serbian in the monologue was minimal, although the Serbs and Croatians in the audience were acknowledged and able to hear their own language spoken through the echoes. Milman's Argentinian Spanish-inflected English carried the story of the monologue with grace and nuance.

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The short phrases encapsulated significant points of change in the story of 'The injured woman' and were taken from the text of three of Milman's nine spoken sequences. 'The injured woman's' last spoken sequence is set just before the finale that involved the entire cast. She speaks of her dream of flying again and of her certainty about this, and Lora's recorded voice presents a direct translation of most of the text.

A reflective performance style

Specific artistic mediums, techniques and practices contributed to the ways in which the monologue was shown to and received by audiences. As has been said, the use of stories of people's experiences is common to CACD practice. Specific processes were used within the creation of the performance of the monologue. Performers were employed where possible from the communities of the storytellers, to portray the characters from the stories. The storytellers' languages were used as well as English in the performance and reflective performance techniques were used to tell the women's stories.

The decision to use the story *I will fly again* as the basis for the monologue and thread it throughout the whole production related to the nature of Lora's story. *I will fly again* is a detailed and reflective account of what can and did happen to a woman who was unaware and uninformed of the dangers inherent in the work she was expected to undertake as a cleaner. A reflective performance style was chosen to depict the role and action of the character of Denise, the supervisor, and for the performance of 'The injured woman'. The monologue was situated before and after particular stories told by the ensemble of women cleaners around the tea table. Of the four dances performed throughout the production, *The Bandages Dance* (Gordon, 1998) in Part One was particularly linked to the unfolding story of 'The injured woman'.

That the woman is a migrant is central to the meaning of her story and the whole *Invisible Work Invisible Pain* project. This had a major bearing on the

ways in which Milman and I sought to represent the character. She was only known as The injured woman, she had no other name and in this way the monologue contextualised Lora's particular story amongst the other different but similar stories of the characters of the women cleaners.

Lora's story unfolds amongst other stories of harassment, humiliation and exploitation and Denise sees all of it and is concerned for their welfare and worries about them. Thematic dances and routines link the stories and create narrative connections and tensions, adding depth, expanding meaning and providing information to each sequence. The dances, routines and stories performed are enriched by their links to each other. In this way, rather than being presented as a sad, pathetic story of one victim, 'The injured woman's' story becomes one which, although sombre, continually references the nature of the workplaces where she and the cleaners work and thus the wider social, political, economic and cultural contexts in which this kind of work takes place. In presenting Lora's story in this way, the monologue was able to embody hope for societal change, a major concern of the arts project and a critical feature of the specific generative methodology of this project as an example of CACD artistic practice.

As 'The injured woman' occupies her place onstage, she is unseen by the other cleaning women and she watches and listens to them. She is separate from the action taking place, yet at the same time is part of the whole picture. Denise is also sometimes part of the group and at other times apart from them. In the same ways as 'The injured woman', she observes all the players and listens to them, and ruminates about what she knows. By the second act, the convention is well-established so that, as has already been said, when 'The injured woman' speaks the other women's voices subside into a murmur, and become audible again only when she has finished speaking. Hers is a performance style of watching and not watching, being integrated and being separate. In these ways, her character and at times that of Denise, directs the focus to the group of women and bring it back to themselves whilst all the stories remain within the context of the workplace.

Presenting the audience with an uncomfortable story which contained little relief was a risk. If not performed in a particular context, it could elicit a sympathetic or pitying response from the audience or worse, tedium and boredom. My focus was on representing the cause of 'The injured woman's' suffering. In keeping with respecting and honouring Lora, her story needed to be presented in ways which reflected her dignity and her efforts, striving to comprehend and accommodate her new situation. The way to achieve this was to contextualise her story within the different but thematically similar stories of her co-workers.

'The injured woman' experiences anguish when she realises that in exchange for a job she did impeccably as she was instructed, and which paid barely enough, she lost her mobility. This is a tragic and melancholy moment of truth for her. Further, when placed amongst other stories which tell of the hazards, unfairness, shabby carelessness and disregard faced by cleaners undertaking their everyday work, it becomes clear that her tragedy is not an isolated incident. Then the story takes a final surprise twist in the last sequence of the monologue and 'The injured woman' shares a startling revelation of the hope she holds for herself:

> Still I have my dream, and I fly in my dreams," and I think in reality I will fly again. I never stop believing it. Actually even after the worst of my days, when I recovered again, I thought, "I am going to fly again". At least at some level I will reach my goal, and I will be able to stand longer and walk better. Because I still love life. I will experience things again because that's me — I will fly again (Costelloe , 1998, p. 30).

In the final chapter, Ghassan Hage's theories of gifts of social life, caring and hope are applied through an interpretive response — outlined in Chapter One — to the rich, detailed and specific descriptions of the case of the monologue as a satisfactory example of a CACD artwork. Significant values and ethics will be revealed about the case, the nature of the artistic practice, what it is able to achieve and the ways in which this reflects certain values held within our society.

CHAPTER FIVE

CONCLUSIONS AND OUTCOMES OF THE PROJECT

INTRODUCTION

The conclusions and outcomes of this investigation encompassed concepts introduced in Chapter Three from Hage and the practice and purpose of CACD embodied in the reflective investigation of the case in Chapter Four. The *Invisible Work Invisible Pain* project recognised the existence of harassment and injury that was systemic within the hospitality sector and questioned it on the basis of gender, ethnicity, race and class. Three questions emerged from the inquiry into the beginnings of CACD, the principles and theories underpinning it and the investigation into concepts of community. Using Hage's concepts to illuminate aspects of CACD practice in this chapter, the three research questions have been applied to the case of the monologue. The questions informed the trajectory of the study and are intrinsically linked to the project within which the monologue *Fly* — the subject of the case study — sits. The interpretive discussion that follows in this chapter is framed around the research questions that were stated in Chapters One and Three:

1. How did the participants in the project — the artists, the practitioners and the women cleaners — show a reciprocal and reciprocated mutual act of caring through an exchange of a gift of social life?

2. How did the exchange bring hopefulness that the situation of the women's continuing exposure to unsafe work practices might be redressed?

3. How was the project influenced by the network of relations surrounding the event — that is, the group of artists and practitioners and the institutions of the funding bodies and unions?

The case provided rich and detailed evidence of the practical application of principles of self-expression and self-determination and of relationships of solidarity that developed between all the participants. The CACD

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framework valued the collective impetus exemplified by the processes used by artists and practitioners to collaborate with people to make art works capable of representing them and their experiences. Collective art—making processes exist within competing value frameworks associated with the art marketplace, which is seen as the major determinant of the value and excellence of art works, within which individual artistic talent is accorded a primary role over collective art making practices. Exceptional creative skills were evident in the processes the writer, scriptwriter and director brought to the exchange that took place with Lora during the creation of the story *I will fly again* and its subsequent iteration as a monologue for performance. It is argued that because of the collective nature of CACD art—making processes, the singular collaborative work of CACD artists is misrecognised and undervalued.

In Chapters Two and Four, the network of relations that was intrinsic to the development of the case was shown as a necessary component of CACD practice, because it provided the power base from which the project was developed, through which the women's voices were able to be heard. CACD drew the network together and provided the impetus for the project. Different sets of expertise were willingly shared and exchanged within the network of relations and anchored the case within the union organisation which hosted it. The people representing institutions, organisations and groups shared a concern for the situation of the migrant women cleaners. The interest of the TLC in the project, together with its organisations and affiliated unions, represents a gift of social life in itself, a symbolic gift that institution offered the women cleaners — most of whom were not union members — through extending hope to them: that in making the hazardous nature of their workplaces public, the situation might be addressed. The case revealed the ethical role of unions in an area outside their traditional function of negotiating collective bargaining processes with employers about pay and working conditions. The case was able to demonstrate a particular way in which society cares for all its members. It engages with Hage's ideas in the sense that processes of CACD art—making revealed in

Chapter Four, represented exchanges that took place between all the participants in the project, the manner in which they took place, and the agency of hope that was generated by the exchanges.

HAGE'S CONCEPTS AND THE CASE

Gifts of social life

Hage's concepts of gifts of social life, caring and hope provided a way of understanding how the principles that inform the processes of CACD, and led to the creation of the case of the monologue, were able to reveal the meaning and value of CACD to society. As has been seen in Chapter Three, Hage interpreted the anthropological notion of gifts of social life through a story that demonstrated the ways in which a nation, through its institutions, laws and apparatus, presents its members with particular offerings they are invited to accept. Through accepting the gift, Hage revealed the particular way in which one person experienced symbolic recognition by the society, and felt honoured and valued, simply by the fact of his existence. Importantly, and as a result of the exchange that took place, the story revealed the esteem in which the person held the society and the respect he accorded it. CACD projects are also able to be seen as gifts of social life. Corresponding in particular ways to the gift of the pedestrian crossing offered to Mr. Ateek, the man in Hage's story, once activated, projects are able to be offered, accepted and reciprocated in that they also originate from social and governmental mechanisms. Albeit gifts that are more complex and layered in their conception, CACD projects are analogous in this sense. Acts of symbolic gift giving are identified through the manner in which CACD processes are offered and exchanged by artists and practitioners with participants.

The provision of financial recompense for Australian workers injured in the course of their work has a legislative basis in the Federal Government's *Safety, Rehabilitation and Compensation Act* of 1988 (the SRC Act). Using Hage's concept of gifts of social life, the Act symbolised a societal gift

which would have been available to Lora when she had the accident. Lora may have accepted the offer this gift represented, although she did not mention it. Nonetheless, it was a gift she was entitled to, and one which in one sense, was offered in exchange for the sacrifice she had made for her children's future. Work as a casual employee in hazardous, low paid, low status jobs provides few guarantees of the safe working conditions enjoyed by those in better paid, higher status areas of work. For Lora, her children's future happiness was sacred and as a migrant whose former experience and qualifications were not recognised, one option open to her in Australia was work as a housemaid. As 'The injured woman' says after her accident:

> It was very scary as time moved on and I didn't get better. I
> thought:
> Oh God, not me!
> I was a casual employee. I didn't know what my rights were.
> Only how to work.
> No one tells you what your rights are, only your obligation to
> work perfectly,
> Perfectly.
> (Costelloe, 1998, p. 24)

For the full text of the monologue, see Appendix D, CD 1. As mentioned in Chapter One, the recommendation made to the Howard Coalition Government by the International Monetary Fund, to de-regulate the labour market including "WorkCover accident insurance" (Cleary, 1998, p. 1), resonates with Superwoman's pithy two—liner *Migrants* (in Murphy, 1997, p. 51) also in Chapter One. Her observation encapsulated the regard in which she knew migrant workers were held in some quarters in Australia at the time.

Caring

The processes employed by the project director, the writer and the director in their work with Lora and the other women were intrinsically caring. Each woman's acceptance of the invitation to join the project was a joyful and hopeful moment for the project director and the writer. While the objectives of *Invisible Work Invisible Pain* were conditional on the presence of the women cleaners, each woman's acceptance of the invitation was welcomed

for who they were, as much as what they might offer the project. The project director and the writer recognised the significance of Lora's story of her accident to the project. Importantly, they became aware of the significance that lay in her telling of it — in all its fulsomeness and detail — to her and her wellbeing. Her accident caused her to feel ashamed at what she believed to be her complicity in the accident at the time, through her agreement to follow management's instructions to lift heavy objects in the course of her work. For very little financial return, the accident with the bed head resulted in her loss of mobility and ongoing pain.

The care and sensitivity the writer exercised towards Lora, by carrying out her request for her story to be written in fluent English and ensuring it truly reflected her experience, was seen as an exchange. As a result of the exchange that took place through the processes that shaped her story and involved her in the performance of the monologue, Lora came to a new understanding of her situation. In making her story *I will fly again* and the subsequent iteration of it as the monologue publicly known, and gaining the knowledge that her accident was not an isolated incident but one which the research showed was commonplace in the sector in which she worked, her involvement in the project was able to free her to some extent from a sense of self—recrimination. Her work with the writer also enabled her to recognise and speak of her dreams of flying which she linked with her desire for a joyful and fulfilling life. The caring involved in the processes undertaken with her, led Lora to reciprocate the offer of the project with her story.

The performance of the monologue, which was noted in the reviews of the production (see Appendix C. CD 2), contributed in a significant way to the hopefulness the project came to embody: of playing a role in redressing the unsafe work practices she had been subjected to. The report: *But I wouldn't want my wife to work here ...* (1976, p. 114) mentioned in Chapter Three, describes the migrant women workers interviewed, as being keenly aware of the circumstances of their exploitation. Twenty-one years later, the migrant

women cleaners' stories in the anthology, particularly the work *Migrants* by Superwoman, the pseudonym of a Croatian woman who took part in the writing workshops, cited in Chapter One (1997, p. 51), indicated her awareness of the lack of regard in which migrants were held within the wider social sphere. In this sense the project was able to offer them an experience of being cared for and acknowledged for who they were within the society at the time.

Hope

These exchanges generated art works which embodied an agency of hope which did not previously exist. The case of the monologue symbolised the hope that cleaners and their managers would understand the importance of recognising an accident as soon as it happened and report it so the cleaner would immediately be able to receive medical attention if required. The monologue also emphasised the need for providing cleaners in instruction in safe heavy lifting techniques. As mentioned in Chapter Four, this aspect of the case attracted interest from Mrs Beryl Evans, a local member of the National Council of Australian Women, and a recommendation which addressed this and other health and safety issues raised by the project was put and carried at their national conference the following year (see Appendix F, p. 225). In this way, the case exemplified how the exchange resulted in hopefulness that that the women's continuing exposure to unsafe work practices might be redressed.

Through the women's stories, the project also provided evidence of what has been referred to by Hage in Chapter Three, as dispositional hopefulness the women had in the face of their workplace circumstances. As mentioned in Chapter Two, two of the women who took part in the project spoke about their migration to Australia in the context of their work as cleaners, as being about ensuring a better future for their children. This was their societal hope, their *illusio*. In her work *I am from Balkan* (1997, pp. 92—93) mentioned in Chapter Four, Lora wrote that her family's decision to migrate was based on the possibility that it might be better for their children than would otherwise

be the case. Also mentioned in Chapter Four, the woman who spoke on behalf of the group of cleaners at the hotel the day the project director and the writer visited, was emphatic that their daughters would be at university, not working as cleaners like they were.

The *Invisible Work Invisible Pain* project honoured and validated Lora's experience, her knowledge and her desires for the project. The social and cultural exchanges that took place between her, the writer and the director were responsible for the creation of the monologue *Fly*. Using Hage's theory of hope that is "on the side of life" (Costelloe, 2001; Zournazi, 2002, p. 151), the performance of the monologue, which was seen by an audience of over five hundred people, brought hope into being. The monologue was a re-contextualisation of the story Lora offered to the project about her experience, one that was only known to the relatively small circle of her family and acquaintances. As the monologue, and became one that was seen and became known to more people, many of whom may otherwise have never previously known of the situations it depicted

Accountability and exchange

There is a link between Hage's characterisation of an Australian black economy based on unacknowledged theft of land, with his reference to the banal capitalist cliché that you don't get anything for free and CACD practice, referred to in Chapter Three. This manifests itself in the perennial demise and restructuring of the CACD funding program. As has been suggested in Chapter Two, the "absent presence" of a government's reasons for its enmity towards the existence of a government budget that funds this arts practice informs the actions of the staff and in the last instance of the restructure of the CACD program between 2004 and 2006, announced by the executive of the AC. The government's reasons for disapproving of the program and wanting its activities curtailed are never made clear. Hage identifies a socio-psychological phenomenon peculiar to Australia: the unrecognised fear of having what you have taken away, is projected onto others. This results from living in a society reaping the fruits of a national

economy based on theft. In such a situation, the idea that those who live outside the dominant classes are able to get something for nothing is anathema. Once participants accept an invitation and join a project, they engage on a collaborative journey with artists and practitioners. People commit their time and energy to a project and as can be seen in Lora's case, invest more than a few hours of pleasant diversion to it. Through the gift of government CACD funding programs, successful applicants are provided with funding that — with last minute adjustment — covers the costs of the project, leaving the participants able to take part at no financial cost to themselves. What people who participate reciprocate with are themselves, the gifts of their involvement and the stories of their experiences. What they receive is involvement in a group that is enjoyable, in part because their presence is welcomed with respect and dignity. Through her involvement in the project, Lora became an agent of change, both for herself and her own struggle with her disability, and for the women who would work as cleaners in the future.

The monetary cost of a project can be significant depending on its nature. The budget for *Bring in the Cleaners* within the *Invisible Work Invisible Pain* project totalled $73,600. As has been pointed out in Chapter Two, a number of factors limit the cost of CACD projects, including the ephemeral nature of projects. *The Invisible Work Invisible Pain* project was unlikely to be ongoing and therefore did not require ongoing funding. Because of this, one-off projects do not typically experience recurring costs such as locations, insurances, salaries, superannuation and administration. These factors are a big part of the reason why participation in arts projects within a community development strategy is referred to by François Matarasso as being, amongst other elements, "cost-effective" (in Mills and Brown, 2004, p. 106).

It is rare for advocacy material emanating from the bureaucracy to make these points. In late 2004 when it was announced that the CACD funding program was to be restructured once again, arguably due to a change in the

political climate, it was the practitioners who demanded a review. The discussions around strategies for the survival of the program largely took place behind closed doors within the bureaucracy, albeit with invitations extended to those who were considered germane to deliberations. When the news of a program's demise is made public, it may be perceived — but is not spoken of — by all parties involved that the problem lies in the radical nature of the practice supported by the funding program. As noted in relation to the reception of *The Heart of the Hospital* project in Chapter Four, some governments take exception to criticism they perceive as originating from a program they financially support. In the 2004—2006 situation, Jennifer Bott called meetings of artists and practitioners in every capital city to explain the changes. Bott constantly denied that decisions regarding the discontinuation of the current funding program and the shift to a new program with a new name would be detrimental to the practice or in fact, that any real changes were taking place, despite the reduction in the funding that was re-allocated to the CACD program. Bott claimed that the shift in CACD policy was necessary but minimal. In terms of the decrease in funding, she explained that overall funds were scarce and a portion of available funds were needed to be shared with an emerging funding program. The changes, she claimed, would result in a new, more relevant and timely funding program. However, funding for two major national forums for discussion about CACD practice — *Artwork* magazine and *CCD online* — were subsequently cut as a result of the reduction in the new program's budget.

In the face of these explanations, some artists and practitioners became weary of having to explain their work once again, defining it as an instrument of social justice, or of social wellbeing or of social harmony, whichever the current term was for justifying the value of the CACD funding program. Others organised to mitigate some of the more unwelcome aspects of the changes foreshadowed by the bureaucracy. As has already been said, members of the National Arts and Culture Alliance were successful in their demands for a proper hearing and a hastily conceived,

and for some, exhausting process of consultation and deliberation took place (Dunn, 2006). Within the terms of the survey (Dunn, 2006), opinion was sought on the social efficacy of the funding program. Nevertheless, the free availability of resources provided by the CACD funding program to those members of society outside the dominant culture — and these include the artists and practitioners with whom people collaborate to make art works that represent them — is arguably a major factor in its easy dismissal.

Hage's final words on the ethical connection between gifts of social life, caring and hope are relevant here. He added these sentiments when the article: "On the ethics of pedestrian crossings" (2000) became the final chapter in his later work *Against paranoid nationalism* (2003) where he investigates caring and hope in a globalised world economy:

> [U]ntil we choose to face and deal with the consequences of our colonial theft, it will remain the ultimate source of our debilitating paranoia. We will always 'worry about the nation' and will never fully know the joy of care (2003, p. 152).

Thus it can be seen through the case of the monologue that the value of the practice to the people who take part in CACD projects is considerable. Active and implicit caring came into being through the processes and mechanisms of *The Invisible Work Invisible Pain* project. Social exchanges took place between the network of relations — the individuals representing society's institutions and organisations — and people who are largely invisible within society and who are exploited in ways which, up until then were unknown in the wider society. The exchanges that took place between the migrant women cleaners, the network of relations and the artists and practitioners, provided evidence of a society that cared about some of its members who were most vulnerable to systemic abuse. Throughout their work with the artists and practitioners, Lora and the migrant women cleaners were shown that they mattered and that their health and safety were taken into account by those who were able to make their situations known within the wider Canberra community at the time. The art works were authentic representations of Lora and the other women's experiences and

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resulted from these exchanges. While the art works became the vehicles for the dissemination of new knowledge about cleaners, their creation rested within the nature of the care taken by the artists and practitioners to respect the women's voices, accommodate their wishes regarding what they wanted from the collaboration and walk beside them in friendship and companionship to achieve this.

What storytelling can do

Storytelling is at the centre of this discussion in relation to the case study methodology used and its predominance as a generative methodology linked with CACD practice. As mentioned in Chapters Two and Four, this practice is concerned with caring by providing the means for people to tell their own stories and have them further developed into art works. Because the art works are created through collaborative processes they are able to represent the storyteller participants and convey their dignity in their own words. One of the distinguishing features of CACD practice — collaborative processes — exemplify the respect given to the self-expression and self-determination of each participant in the ways they wish to engage with the project. The project acknowledged the importance of each of the women for who they were and how, as a group of cleaners, they should not be subject to the kind of harm referred to in the researched evidence on which the project was based. The writer, scriptwriter and director acknowledged Lora's stories of her experiences as realities and worked with her to use them as the creative foundation on which the story *I will fly again* and the monologue were based.

The reflective performance techniques described in Chapter Four focussed on and emphasised certain aspects of Lora's story. Her experience of the accident was shown in the context of her relationship to her work as well as the effects of the accident on her life outside work. The techniques used to portray the character portrayed her experience as a result of a range of specific forces and conditions that are always subject to change, rather than a fixed and immutable fact. These devices enabled Milman to perform a

character who reflected on her own story as well be linked in consciously reflective ways to the dances and other character's stories in the course of the production. *I will fly again* was written as a reflection, some two years after Lora had the accident, and this informed the way the scriptwriter treated it for performance.

I will fly again became a vehicle for Lora to express her anger and importantly her grief about losing her ability to move freely around without pain or the risk of hurting herself further. Lora told the writer that she had cried all night after reading the almost final English draft of her story, sent to her by the writer in the final weeks of the writing stage of the project. The writer's account of this event is described in her own words in her Artistic Report, quoted in Chapter Four and available in full in Appendix C. CD 2. Her report reveals the care she took whilst dealing with competing concerns throughout the writing stage, as well as the reason she reproduced Lora's response upon receiving the draft of her story. With Lora's consent, the short piece called *Tears* (Murphy, 1997, p. 91), reproduced in Chapter Four, page 136, together with select quotes from the writer's Artistic Report, became the title work of the last section of the anthology, where the writer placed *I will fly again* in English and Serbian as the final work. The writer's full Artistic Report can be found on CD 2 listed in Appendix C.

In seeing the collaboration as an exchange, the writer faced several challenges: balancing the editing and interpretation of the material she had gathered; recognising and responding to the specific OH&S issues that were emerging in the women's stories; and respecting and safeguarding the women's voices and the meaning and intention of their stories. As has been said, the project director and the writer were aware that Lora's stories about her accident spoke directly to the aims of the project: to make the women cleaners' work and the personal costs to them more visible to society. During the collaboration with Lora, the writer came to understand the importance of language and expression to her. When Lora realised she would be unable to express herself to her own satisfaction in English, she

entrusted the writer — reluctantly at first — with the task of ensuring her stories were as expressive and flowing in English as she was in her own first language.

Both the writer and the scriptwriter/director understood that the exchange took on aspects of a healing process for Lora, who had, in the course of her involvement with the project, realised she was not alone in having been injured at work. The other women's stories and the research on which the project was based represented evidence that her accident was the result of a systemic problem that existed in the ways in which cleaners and housemaids were expected to undertake their work. This aspect of Lora's experience on the project resonates with Hillman's understanding of the healing nature of storytelling which is mentioned in Chapter Two. Hillman values storytelling because of the ways in which word-images are capable of taking the mind back to where it lives, to its home: a lyrical place where the imagination also dwells. This deeper place is where the soul, the intellect and the spirit come together to tell, read, hear or see stories as well as leave them, and where stories represent an agency that is solely of the person's own making.

The implication of this aspect lay in the way the project director, the writer, the scriptwriter and the director comprehended the positive but difficult agency Lora's involvement as a storyteller conferred on her. They assumed responsibility to support her journey in limited but helpful ways, respecting her accounts, taking care that she remained in control over her works and, in the case of the monologue, offering her a way she would be able to be involved in its performance. Lora was insistent that the final story had to represent her, had to be her own. The writer's accommodation of and respect for her wishes acknowledge Lora's right to determine the terms of her involvement in the project.

By accepting the invitation to take part in the project and reciprocating with the gift of her stories and what that entailed for her, Lora became an agent of change — for herself and potentially on behalf of other women who would

work in the sector in the future. Her stated belief in her story, that somehow and in some capacity she would fly again because that is the kind of person she was, recognised the strength of her own spirit and her desire to seek out the joy in life, despite her ongoing problems with her health at the time of the project, some two years after her accident. In these ways the monologue speaks of a specific experience of cleaning which resonates with the other stories to which it is linked within the production.

Issues of concern regarding the use of languages other than English in the project were discussed in Chapter Four. The project director and the writer were concerned about how the "migrant English" spoken by many of the women might be misinterpreted and lead them to be misrepresented as figures of fun. This was discussed with the women who decided that the question of whether to publish their works in their spoken English or edit the works into Standard English would be left to each woman. However, they were all encouraged to adopt protective pseudonyms for reasons discussed in Chapter Four. As has been said, the writer honoured Lora's particular desire to have her stories edited into English whilst most of the women were happy to have their works published in their spoken voices. Mention of these language-related issues are in the project director's Acquittal and the writer's Artistic Report, both which can be found in Appendix C, CD 2. This section describes how the participating artists, practitioners and women cleaners and in particular Lora, showed a reciprocal and reciprocated mutual act of caring through their exchange of a gift of social life.

Towards a culture of voices

There is truth in the assertion that CACD projects "give people a voice". It is also problematic. Without labouring the point, there are human, physical and metaphysical prerequisites, including as has already been said: artists and practitioners, materials and artistic media, and such commonplace requirements as a place to meet and work to create the art works. Brown (1993, pp. xvi—xvii) outlines important ethical considerations in relation to

the manner in which people take part in projects. These safeguard the ownership, meaning and intention of their contribution to theatre productions that are based on their stories. In the discussion in Chapter Two about the central place of self-determination in CACD practice, Brown cites Paget's comments about documentary theatre, including how a key objective has been to "give voice to people who otherwise have been disenfranchised" (Brown and Workers Cultural Action Group, 1993, p. xvi). This manner of describing a process that provides the person with control over the way their voice is used is of concern in the sense that no one and no way of working can give a voice to another person. What is someone's particular way of speaking, recounting, projecting, pleading, recalling, inventing, discovering, bemoaning, anguishing, damning, hoping, desiring and yearning, cannot be seen as a form of expression that is given to them by someone else.

Through the existence of CACD funding programs, practitioners do provide the means to enable artists to collaborate with people and document their voices and make them into art works and the collaboration is just that — a two way process. Ethical approaches ensure that practitioners and artists accord respect to each storyteller, and the interest in them and their stories is recognised through acknowledgement of their ownership and authority over their stories, what they want to do with them and the ways their stories are transformed into art works. As has been explained, Lora's reciprocation of her involvement in the project enabled her to gain a wider social perspective about her accident and its effect on her life. In the stories she developed with the writer and from the accounts of the writer and director, Lora's involvement was a cathartic experience for her. As has been said, at the end of the story *I will fly again*, also echoed at the end of the monologue, Lora recognises the symbolism of her dreams of flying, and her knowledge that there was more to her existence than the injury she had sustained and its painful aftermath. These are moments of great sensibility where Marsden's idea of "being with" someone as they reveal themselves in an art work is most fitting. Solidarity can be redolent of noisy protest marches or strident

public declarations, though it too can represent walking alongside someone in companionship in an unobtrusive and helpful way.

In collaborative CACD processes, the importance of the artist's reception of each person's story or idea is pivotal. What the artists bring to the exchange through their creative and imaginative skills and processes, provide the means and conduit by which people tell their stories and take part as an equal partner, transforming them into an art work. Then, should they choose, the art work can be seen and heard in a wider domain than was previously possible. It is the idea that the practice "gives voice" to people that is imprecise because it risks taking the practice and the relationship that develops between artists and participants into the shaky paternalistic realm of service provision which Watt refers to in Chapter Two. Characterising the relationship between the two parties as a one-sided transaction, something which is given by only one party to another — the practice to the participant — limits and misrecognises the value and meaning of the exchange that takes place. As has been said, the very presence of the participating person is a reciprocated act that acknowledges their acceptance of the gift of the invitation to take part in the project.

Lora felt comfortable enough to speak about her experiences and bring her stories to the table, to the collaboration that took place between her and the writer and then with the scriptwriter/director. The practice enables this exchange but it does not give the person a voice they did not have. Rather, people's voices are listened to, and they play an active role working alongside artists fashioning their stories into an art work they are happy with and which they see as representative of their experiences. The nature of the participation that takes place reflects the kind of power that is operating; one that is either shared between the parties or one that is predominantly held by one of the parties, by implication, over the others.

Lora's story — as well as the stories of the other Serbian women participants — were translated by a professional translator into Serbian for

publication in the anthology. The latter was supportive of the project and had introduced Lora to the project director and the writer. Following the publication of the anthology, on reading her own stories Lora discovered that the curses and swear words she had used in telling her stories had been removed. This represented a regrettable departure from the practice of respecting the language in which the women expressed themselves and ensuring that all drafts, including the final translations, were checked with each of the storytellers before moving on to the next stage. The translator was not acquainted with the principles that informed the practice nor was she a professional CACD practitioner. The failure to return the translations to the storytellers for final approval was unintentional. Artists and practitioners are often exhausted towards the end of a paid project and struggle to keep all relationships and exchanges intact. Nevertheless, this incident reveals how two unrelated omissions changed the emphasis Lora intended, diluting their meaning and effect.

An arts project as an exchange

The manner in which people's voices are able to be heard through their participation in a CACD project are evidence of respect for self-expression and self-determination and link to Hage's rehabilitation of the notion of care and caring. The principles exemplify Hage's theory of gifts of social life in the sense that the project was made possible by the arts and health policies of the Federal and ACT Governments at the time. The policies enabled the union arts officer to develop the project with the Art in Working Life Committee at the TLC. Expertise was then shared by those who formed the network of relations that supported and advised the project. Applications that responded to CACD program funding requirements were submitted and, once they were successful, the project director advertised, interviewed, selected and contracted the writer who facilitated the writing stage of the project. Together they contacted women cleaners and invited them to take part in the project. The writer gathered a body of written work in English, most of which was translated into the first languages of the women cleaners — Croatian, Macedonian, Serbian, Tagalog and Tongan — and were

published in the anthology. The scriptwriter selected works from the anthology, including Lora's story, and developed them into a working script and directed the dance theatre production, the final stage of the project. Thus government policies that support and fund the practice of CACD can be seen as analogous to the "ethical structural facts" Hage refers to in his story in Chapter Three.

Through the complex and layered interactions and machinations described in Chapter Four, the gift of social life of the *Invisible Work Invisible Pain* project was able to be offered to Lora and the other migrant women cleaners. In these ways, and as Hage described in Chapter Three, the policies enabled the project to be circulated within society. Artists and practitioners invite people living in Australia to take part in the projects and, should they be interested, to tell their stories in their own words and collaborate with artists to have them faithfully transformed into art works that represent them and their experiences. In these ways, it can be seen that what took place between the artists and practitioners and Lora was a reciprocal and reciprocated mutual act of caring between them.

Using Hage's rehabilitation of the meaning of care, the evidence presented about the case exemplifies the ways in which participants respected and honoured each other as well as the intentions of the project, in the manner in which they worked with each other. As mentioned in Chapter Four, in her Artistic Report the writer acknowledged the commitment of the Serbian women participants to the aims of the project as well as to all the women who took part in it (1998, p. 5). These mutual acts of caring existed within the framework of exchanges that took place as a result of the gift that was able to be extended to all the storyteller participants in the project.

The *Invisible Work Invisible Pain* project symbolised solidarity that was shown to the union arts officer by the staff and advisors of the ACT Government arts and health funding bodies and it provided her with work for another two years. In her Artistic Report, the writer acknowledged the

meaning Lora's story had for her, her husband and her family in "similar circumstances" (1998, p. 5). She was also appreciative of the more realistic remuneration she received for her work on the project despite its shortfall in terms of the hours she contributed. The writer and the project director respected each other and each other's work. Both women were committed to the objectives of the project and worked well together. They were able to practice and hone their particular crafts and skills as artists and practitioners, and play key roles in a project that addressed dangerous work practices entrenched in a number of workplaces in Canberra and give human meaning to the statistics. Circumstances developed that involved the project director taking on the roles of scriptwriter and director of the production and this enabled her to further craft her writing and theatre skills and fulfil a long term desire to introduce some of Brecht's theories and methodologies into her work — the reflective performance techniques she used in her treatment of Lora's story and that of the supervisor character Denise.

The project was awarded recognition by the ACT Occupational Health and Safety Council and Healthpact, as an exemplar of cultural intervention that successfully promoted safe work practices to employees, employers and the general public. The project was based on stories of unsafe work practices that were endemic in a previously unknown sector. Through the network of relations that came into existence resulting in the project director's presentation at the Healthpact Forum in 1998, a local member of the National Council of Australian Women requested evidence from the secretary of the LHMU. This resulted in a successful recommendation supporting safer work practices for migrant workers at the national conference of the latter organisation the following year (Appendix E, p.224).

The caring nature and qualities of the exchanges that took place are revealed in the relationships that developed during the creation of the story, then the monologue, throughout the life of the project. These reveal the possibilities for extending hope, recognition and acknowledgement embodied in the gift.

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Revealing overlooked dynamics

During the writing workshops issues arose between directors of union programs at the TLC. The problem was, in a sense, a demarcation dispute as some members of the team wanted more say in what the women taking part in the writing workshops in the hotel were doing. Problems were alleviated with some additional reporting and reference to the documentation of the original agreement struck between the two union programs. When members of the AiWL Committee met with professional artists early on and signed agreements to work on the project, it was on the basis that the artists were clearly acquainted with, understood and supported the basic principles of multiculturalism and respect for people from different cultures.

Nevertheless, upon reflection it emerged that some of the key artists appeared to have blind spots. These included actions at crucial stages leading up to the theatre production that suggested structural blocks and prejudices towards members of the team, all of whom were from migrant backgrounds. A key observation was that some of the artists worked differently with the cast and each other. The artists exhibited responsibility, ensuring that their work on the project was accomplished and indeed exemplary in some cases. Nevertheless, their sense of power over others was evident in the ways they spoke to and related to the individual artists concerned, and at times this cased great concern. Another example of the importance of relationships in CACD practice was the case of an early member of the production team who had the role of marketing the project to the various ethnic communities represented by the women cleaners. Early into the production stage, marketing did not occur in the way that was discussed and she was subsequently paid out.

Some of the artists were the subjects of mockery and peremptory behaviour by one of the key contracted artists. The director considered what steps to take to deal with the harm being caused. The first time it happened, the artist who had been summarily insulted would not tell the director what had happened at the time, although it was apparent from the way she withdrew

that something had. Tensions developed between two of the artists, spread to the work and were exacerbated by other factors. At the end of that particular phase of the production, the director was informed about what had happened and the director did not know what to do. The director had already experienced the lack of negotiation skills with some artists, one who had threatened to take out a piece that had been developed if her suggestions were not agreed to. The director was loathe to choose a path of confrontation and was aware that she did not have the skills to manage this kind of situation other than indicating to the offending artist that she knew something had happened and it needed to be addressed. The result was that some of the artists subsequently withdrew from any further involvement in the project.

In another situation the director sought advice from the mentor, mentioned in Chapter Four, a local director who had originally been mooted to direct the production. When the application for funding for her position was unsuccessful, she was contracted as a consultant mentor for the director. A meeting was held with her and one of the artists who was upset and wanted to withdraw from the project. One artist spoke of their feelings and a way forward that was acceptable to her was discussed. Another situation arose with the same key artist and another performer. Ashamed of herself for being unable to stand up and intervene in the situation without precipitating a walk out by the person, the director weighed up the situation. She decided on the balance of things, that the artist being belittled was, on the basis of where she had come from and what she had achieved, strong enough to weather the mockery and maintain her role in the production. The director let the artist know she was aware of the situation and to inform her if she needed her assistance. The artist held her ground and weathered the ridicule. Her contribution was later acclaimed. Around that time, with tensions mounting as the opening night grew closer, two separate incidents occurred with two different people, one of whom was perceived to be exercising unfair authority. The director leapt on their unacceptable behaviour with alacrity and shamed them and called their bluff in front of the rest of the

team – with mixed results. In one case, the artist apologised and calm was restored and in the other, little good came of the work contributed by that person from that time on, and this was reflected in aspects of the production.

This is not an unusual situation to face on a theatre project. The limitations of available funds to replace people who have been mistakenly contracted, and the realities of the schedule, are major considerations for people in key positions of responsibility when facing disagreeable people and distressed members of the creative team who are being preyed upon. This is also the case for a director dealing with a colleague whose people-to-people style appears to be tied up with a self-belief that they are an expert in terms of how they have thought about dealing with others, and believe the proof of this lies in the artistic result they are able to produce. There is a certain unacknowledged ruthlessness in this kind of power play that is very unpleasant and underhand for some, and which is difficult to get a handle on the midst of a busy pre-production schedule. These are insiders who should know better. On a CACD project where collegial practices are well-established and a sense of collective solidarity is assumed, as well as respect for what each person brings in the way of creative input to the collective process, these kinds of behaviours jar. Nevertheless, these difficulties assume larger dimensions than they deserve and tend to overshadow other stronger working relationships that are achieved, such as that described in Chapter Four between the Director and Milman, who performed the monologue. An earlier situation arose, described in Chapter Four, when the writer and the project director found Harrison's initial cartoons of migrant women cleaners inappropriate. Harrison's response also illustrates Hage's ideas of caring, as he welcomed the feedback and the ensuing discussion about the ideas of the project, notions of representation and he read some of the stories that were emerging from the women. His focus was on the meaning and value of his contribution to the project, ensuring it contributed to the collective endeavour. The conversation provided him with a better understanding of the ways in which he could best accomplish this.

While CACD can be seen as an oppositional movement and practitioners and artists work within a "good enough" activist model, the ability of artists and practitioners to work in mutually satisfying ways with each other and participating people to make artworks that have integrity, many considerations influence these qualities. These include the need to acknowledge each other's ideological proclivities and creative processes and methods as well as have our own contribution to the project validated and respected. In relation to the writing stage of the project, ensuring the storyteller participants maintained control over the creation and fashioning of their stories into art works and over the way they were taken into a wider domain, laid the foundation for collaborative work with the women cleaners in ways which honoured what each party brought to the table. The inappropriate exchanges and interactions between members of the team that surfaced during the development and rehearsal phase of the production reflected different assumptions and working methods that were at odds with collaborative art—making processes. The working relationships that flowed provided evidence of mutual respect for and acknowledgement of what each brought to the rehearsal space.

The focus on the qualities of working relationships highlights the possibilities and limitations on what can be achieved within a collaborative project based on exchanges. CACD practitioners facilitated situations that allowed the participants to experience the creative self-expression of their untold stories as well as self-determination without hindrance. These priorities were not shared by everyone, particularly in relation to some of the paid professional performers who, together with the community performers, nevertheless breathed life into the words of the script and created an imaginal world that represented the working lives of the participating people. The show went on, however, the professional working relationships suffered. By the same token, the difficulties that were raised in reasonable ways and resolved through mature discussion, strengthened the contributions of those artists and the work itself.

Other cases through which this case is recognised

The bilingual FTG production *L'Albero delle Rose/The Tree of roses*
(Sedmak, 1987) was also concerned with representing the lives and
concerns of migrant women, in particular, several generations of Italian
women in Italy and in Australia. An actor explains the rationale behind the
production:

> We wanted to tell the stories of women. Situations arose from
> the women we talked to. They were the stories we told in our
> play. I think that's really important, especially because Italian
> women here, like other migrant women, never have their
> stories told. They work their lives out here. They give
> everything to this country, and they're never heard of. They
> never see themselves reflected anywhere in public (Shevtsova
> and Rubino, 1989, p. 99).

In his study of theatre productions concerned with people's working lives,
already mentioned in Chapter Two, Steve Wilson examined *Vital Signs*
written and devised by WEST Theatre Company in collaboration with the
Special interest Group – Nurses Action Lobby (SIGNAL), a small group of
members of the Victorian Branch of the Royal Australian Nurses Federation
committed to changing the health system through political activism. Wilson
found that the show "contributed to regaining the foundation upon which
nursing was built and to the struggle that resulted in the 1986 industrial
action" (1991b, p. 21). It did this because:

> The production was able to contribute to the slow politicisation
> of Victorian nurses through its analysis of the nursing
> profession. It contributed to a new self-awareness on the part of
> nurses alluding to what a united community could achieve. It
> performed a useful function in a political campaign and
> demonstrated the possibilities and strengths of a particular
> political alignment and the way in which a theatrical
> presentation could contribute to a particular political strategy
> (1991b, p. 26).

The *Invisible Work Invisible Pain* project in which the monologue was
situated was not linked to a major campaign of the Australian Liquor,
Hospitality and Miscellaneous Workers Union (LHMU) at the time,

although in 2006 the union, renamed Union Voice did mount the successful Trans-Tasman campaign *Clean Start*, according to the union's website (Tarrant, 2012). The project received direction and support from the network of relations initiated by the TLC and significant input from the LHMU. *Invisible Work Invisible Pain* represented more than a broad and indeterminate social and political contribution to society than perhaps Wilson attributes to Death Defying Theatre's production of *Coaltown*, mentioned in Chapter Two, which was not linked to a union campaign either.

Through such mutual acts of caring inherent within the repeated performances of the monologue and the publicity it generated, it becomes possible to consider how generalisations about the hazardous nature of cleaning work were made and circulated. Through these CACD techniques, the performance of the monologue asserts that people who, to all intents and purposes are apparently invisible within society, despite being necessary to its proper functioning, matter as people. The participating women cleaners and in particular Lora came to matter in this social sense through the *Invisible Work Invisible Pain* project and this continues to be an important although undervalued and misrecognised outcome of CACD practice.

Generating hope

This case provides a model of CACD practices, which has implications beyond the specific case of the monologue. Through this artistic practice, this case questions the role and place of women, particularly migrant women who have low paid occupations. Thereby it articulates some of the previously overlooked mechanisms and implications of being a migrant, a woman and poorly paid. The experience of being physically injured through lack of care at work is revealed in the women's stories in the anthology and by the characters in the dance theatre production who re-tell the women's stories within an episodic narrative structure that is interspersed with dances, two of which represented specific dangers the women face at work. As Jon Hawkes argued at the 1975 Industries

Assistance Commission hearing into government subsidy of the performing arts mentioned in Chapter Two, the case exemplifies the possibilities that emerge when people are able to show themselves to others. This is particularly relevant for people who are outside the mainstream culture whose voices are rarely heard.

The artists and practitioners used processes that resonate with Hage's idea of care and caring as they ensured the participating people had control over what they wanted to share about themselves, how they wanted to say it and how they wanted it to be shown. In this way, people's dignity was respected and they were accorded recognition for who they were. The creative outcome of people's involvement in a CACD project raises the hopeful possibilities Loh (1980, p. 1) mentions in her preface to the collection cited in Chapter Two. They enable others to better understand the situation of migrants and in doing this, bridge the gap of misunderstanding that exists between those who are part of the dominant society and migrants who exist outside its borders. This possibility resonates with Hage's theory of a political economy of hope. The invitation to take part in the project extended by the project director and the writer to the women in the hotel, explained in Chapter Four, provides an example of a symbolic exchange of recognition. The women agreed they would take part on behalf of the women who would come to work in the sector after they had left, acknowledging them and contributing to the possibility that they might be able to work in a safer environment than was the case at the time.

OPPORTUNITIES AFFORDED BY THE PASSAGE OF TIME

It was only on reflection many years later and once work on this study was underway, that tensions that existed between the institutions, organisations and the needs of the individual players within this case and within the field of CACD practice in general became apparent. A major factor intrinsic to the development of this particular project lay in the ACT government's response to the first major cultural work coordinated by the union arts

officer, who had begun working within the peak ACT trade union organisation in Canberra some nine months previously. The government's decision was based on particular readings of community arts, on the nature of the role the government believed the union arts officer played within the TLC, and what they thought the objectives of *The Heart of the Hospital* project were. The circumstances surrounding this project in relation to the genesis of the *Invisible Work Invisible Pain* project are fully described in Chapter Four. The ACT Minister for the Arts read the arts project as being critical of the government.

However, those managing and advising the government's arts and cultural institution the Arts and Cultural Development Unit (ACDU), believed the position located within the union organisation and the project coordinated by the union arts officer were legitimate. The ACDU staff would have been well aware of the successful arts projects the Art in Working Life Committee had accomplished prior to the establishment of the union arts officer position, particularly the positive response to the first and subsequent project at the Woden Valley Hospital. The hospital's management made a substantial financial contribution to *The Heart of the Hospital* based on their understanding of the value of the first project which had enabled them to hear the voices of their staff discussing the problems and issues they faced as a result of the amalgamation of the two hospitals. This knowledge formed the basis of action taken by management to address the issues.

Despite the fact it was in its last months as a policy of Council, the ACDU staff would also have been aware of the nature and quality of the work achieved within the Australia Council's Art and Working Life funding program between unions, union and non-union member participants and artists throughout the twelve years of its existence. It is likely that a compromise was negotiated with the government to re-direct the remaining two years of funding for the salary of the union arts officer position towards projects, following the practice of previous governments regarding funding for new positions. In this way, precedents would be followed, the

government would be able to register their misgivings about supporting a position within what they perceived as a Labor party stronghold, at the same time as appearing to be reasonable and open to hearing the voices of their constituency. Aware that financial support for the position was contingent on securing funding outside the TLC, the Director of the ACDU suggested the union arts officer meet with their bureaucratic counterpart in another government body who managed another source of arts funding. As has been mentioned in Chapter Four, the chair of the Cultural Council, the government's arts advisory body also chaired the government body to which the union arts officer had been directed. All these negotiations and plans would have taken place before the director of the government arts institution met with the union arts officer to discuss funding for her position.

These machinations were central to the development of the case and are key to understanding how CACD projects are analogous to Hage's example of a gift of social life. The negotiations and intrigues provided a clear example of the layers involved in setting up and undertaking a CACD project and the tenuousness of government support for the practice. At the same time, there was support for the practice from those within the bureaucracy who understand it and value what it has been able to do since its beginnings in the 1970s.The staff and peer advisors of the ACT arts and health funding bodies also showed the union arts officer respect and kindness in their efforts to secure her position at the TLC.

KEY COLLECTIVES AND THEIR ROLE IN THE CASE
The political climate in the mid-1990s
The third question raises issues about the influence on the project of the network of relations surrounding the creation and performance of the monologue. As has been mentioned, the network of relations included the group of artists and practitioners and the individuals representing the government and union institutions. The political context of the period in which the project was initiated provides the background against which the ability of the network to address the issues faced by the women cleaners can

be demonstrated. During the period from the election of the Howard Coalition government in 1996 to their following re-election in August 1998 — coincidentally on the final night of the production — the government began to consider radical reforms to the institutional processes by which rates of pay and conditions for workers had been negotiated and arbitrated. Legislation would later be introduced which further limited the ability of unions to engage with members and non-members through collective bargaining processes with employers as the government's preference was for individual negotiations between employees and employers. The Federal Government's policies in relation to unions were characterised by curtailing their access to workplaces and thus their ability to represent their members as well as non-members in workplace negotiations. In his Foreword to the anthology (Murphy, 1997, p. v), TLC Secretary Jeremy Pyner wrote about the failed ACTU wage claims on behalf of migrant women workers and cuts to representative migrant women's organisations during this first electoral period. One of the first acts of the incoming Coalition Government in 1996 was to cut forty percent from the budget of the Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Council, the national Indigenous representative body formed during the Keating Labor Government. These were early examples of policy shifts that led many to view the government's policies towards those living outside mainstream culture as racist, a claim the government vigorously denied.

At that time, suspicion emerged concerning the motives of non-migrant artists and groups whose work involved issues, concerns and cultures of people whose languages were other than English. As was discussed in Chapter Four in relation to casting for the production, an ethical approach was adopted in relation to representing the migrant women cleaners in the art works, by ensuring the majority of those working on the project were from migrant backgrounds. This was especially so since key players including the union arts officer, the Art in Working Life Committee members, the Secretary of the TLC and of the LHMU, the majority of members of the Focus Group, the writer and the choreographer were all

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from Anglo or Anglo-Celtic backgrounds. As it turned out, eight of the twelve performers and dancers in the show, Tamara Harbus, the administrator of the TLC who assisted the production team, Mirtha Abelo, the Art in Working Life Committee's bookkeeper and Paloma Ramos, the visual designer, were from either first, second or third generation migrant backgrounds where English was not their family's first language. In this way, the active network of relations supporting the project included people with lived experiences as migrants or as the children of migrants, people who engaged with the objectives of the project from perspectives different to the Anglos.

Notwithstanding the lack of forethought given to making a pre-project assessment of the evidence about injury incurred by cleaners for post-project comparison, the project exemplified the intrinsic role of a network of relations that effectively supported and furthered the project's aims and processes. The network provided meaningful and practical assistance through locating researched evidence of the problems; through identifying the parameters of the project and by providing contacts deep within different communities seen as linked to the project. The network suggested strategies linked to the creation of the two planned major art works that would further enhance the effectiveness of the project and its members gave valuable feedback to the art works as they emerged. The body of knowledge the network of relations brought to the project provided the project director and the writer with a specific understanding of the cleaners' situation. The role played by the network was crucial in furthering the hope the project represented as a catalyst for change. An activist approach is a feature of CACD practice and reflects the concerns and interest players have with the social and political lives of all Australians and the challenges people face in these spheres.

The processes undertaken by the artists and practitioners resulted in a book to be read and a show to be seen. The incremental establishment of this particular network brought a body of institutional, organisational and

individual resources to bear on realising the hopefulness inherent in the objectives of the project. This was immeasurably greater than would have been the case had the artists and practitioners developed the project without its support and resources.

The managers of the cleaning companies

In the early days of the research and development of the project, members of the Focus Group thought some of the managers of the cleaning companies in Canberra might want to become involved in the writing workshops, as mentioned in Chapters One and Four. This was especially the feeling when evidence was presented that considerable savings could be made by companies if preventive OH&S measures were implemented (Coopers & Lyebrand, 1996, p. 3). The LHMU Secretary met with the manager of one of the largest cleaning companies in Canberra and discussed the idea of involving company managers. Following the meeting, the project director contacted the managers of nine other large cleaning groups by letter and invited them to take part in the processes and activities of the project (Costelloe, December 4, 1996) (for an example of the letter, see Appendix C. CD 2). Though there were some positive initial responses from three of the companies, none of them became directly involved.

One owner/manager met with the writer who invited him and his staff to take part in a series of writing workshops during work hours. However, despite his earlier enthusiasm, he declined because he could not afford the loss of time and money it would entail. The women who had wanted to write about their experiences said they could not meet out of work hours because of family and other commitments. As earlier cited from the writer (Murphy, 1997, p. xvi), there were quite tangible reasons behind the reluctance of many of the women to become involved in the project and speak about what went on in their workplaces. One other cleaning company made two appointments to meet with the project director but failed to appear either time. As has already been mentioned in this chapter and in Chapter

Four, the one workplace where the women did take part during their working hours was the hotel where the supervisor was a union member.

TOWARDS SELF-EXPRESSION, SELF-DETERMINATION AND SOLIDARITY

The final sections of this chapter focus on some concluding remarks about the way Hage's concepts and the CACD principles of self-expression, self-determination and solidarity have found expression in this study. It has become apparent that an intrinsic investigation of a case is able to yield findings that further a greater understanding of the workings of CACD practice, as well as its position in a larger societal context.

Applying concepts of gifts of social life, caring and hope as elucidated by Hage to the case of the monologue, reveals the ways in which CACD plays an effective social role. This is in addition to the findings that resulted from the intrinsic investigation into the particularities and uniqueness of the case as an artefact.

Problems that were foreshadowed at the beginning of this investigation have been clarified and discussed throughout the study. Early on it became clear that it was impossible for many of the abovementioned reasons to evaluate whether the *Invisible Work Invisible Pain* project had achieved its stated objectives. Indeed, this key point is one of the features of CACD practice and provides a keen insight into the reasons why the practices of CACD remain underfunded and subject to institutional and governmental policies and budgets. When reflecting on my long term involvement in these intense short term projects, other perspectives became apparent.

The CACD activist project model was one with which I was familiar, had worked with many times before, and would again before I began this study. When I considered the ramifications of the funding and advocacy of this activist model by government arts and health funding institutions, although uneven and always subject to policy change, I understood that I was only

one small artist/practitioner player in the situation. The issue here is that the capacity for self-expression, self-determination and solidarity was limited by a number of factors. These included the inability to build, in a continuous way, on solid relationships that had been established with communities. There continues to be a lack of distribution networks for the art works, an absence of wider ongoing audience development — particularly amongst communities where languages other than English are spoken — and the ongoing lack of stable funding remains.

The way that different unions and the management of the cleaning companies interacted with CACD practitioners and the participating people also revealed tensions in relationships, priorities and values. The beliefs of each of these groups ensured on the one hand that the project provided gifts of social life for participants and to some extent the CACD practitioners. On the other hand the priorities for each of the groups involved in the project as well as the project—based one-off nature of the CACD practices revealed in this case study mitigate against ongoing caring and hope as an outcome of the project. Situating CACD practices within larger more powerful policy and value frameworks is considered a key necessity for CACD practice in the future. A stable funding base not dependent on government or union priorities and values would allow the social injustices and solidarity revealed in this study to be amplified and valued across time and beyond a limited-edition set of performances. The outcomes of the project reach beyond the mere performativity of an artwork/CACD practice and this study highlights the value and significance of the practice as a key mechanism to address social injustice. It does this by enabling the voices of people whose words are otherwise inaudible in society to be heard, bringing their stories and their situations out into the open where there are more possibilities that they can be noticed, understood and acknowledged.

Was self-expression, self-determination and solidarity an outcome for all agencies and participants?

These three principles were traced to the political and social movements of the 1970s where many shibboleths, basic ethical and moral assumptions on which the systems of the institutions of society operated were being questioned and interrogated. The principles continued to operate within the terms of CACD practice as theories underpinning the approaches developed by artists and practitioners to work with people. The arts projects have a specific life cycle, a beginning, middle and an end. Some of them operate within an ongoing programmatic framework such as the work of the Artful Dodger Studio within the Jesuit Social Services program discussed in Chapter Two and some are one-off events as exemplified by the case. CACD resembles a community activist model but it does not act as an independent political movement. It is, by its nature, deeply linked in very particular ways to many strata within society and to communities with which practitioners and artists have worked. The principles form a methodology, an approach and way of working with people that engender respect and compassion. People are able to take part in a project and work in a collective framework with artists in ways they are able to determine and control and where they are heard and understood; where what is important to them is accepted and taken on board as being of value and interest and where the people working with them stand beside them and walk with them within the circumscribed boundaries of the project. The gratitude that is often expressed by people in different and often subtle ways at the conclusion of a project is a life line for artists and practitioners and represents acknowledgement of their craft, their skills and their practice. Nevertheless these principles do not necessarily extend to an appreciation, understanding and reception of the work of artists and practitioners and the depth of outrage and sense of betrayal that accompanies the funding cuts that fall on hard won programs and projects and to organisations that have provided vital links and resources to people within the field of practice over many years, are evidence of this.

This study reveals that CACD artists and practitioners are part of an approach to addressing social injustice and inequity that emanated as much from government policy as from the various institutions, community groups and organisations who host or join a project, aware of the value of the work to their own objectives. The way the *Invisible Work Invisible Pain* project developed had the feeling of a campaign about it although it was not a campaign. It was one arts project planned in several stages, in the first instance to shore up the position of the union arts officer and provide work for her.

The researcher heard Hage's plain-speaking analysis of the rationales behind migration at the conference in 2001 and read his theory of a political economy of hope (Zournazi, 2000; Hage, 2003) some years after the completion of the *Invisible Work Invisible Pain* project. Hage's theory about the availability of hope, a desire and expectation he sees as enabling, one which informs people's decision to leave their country and emigrate to another, despite being based on a lack of knowledge of what is to come is discernable in the workings of the case and of CACD. His poignant story recounted in Chapter Four, about a pedestrian crossing that represented an ethical structural fact enabling a gift of social life to be offered to one man — and the series of exchanges that eventuated — prompted the question whether CA and CD arts projects could also be seen as gifts that are available to everyone living in this society. The study has found that the nature of gifts of social life represented by CACD projects although analogous to the pedestrian crossing, are more complex and layered in the manner in which they are conceived and made available.

A pedestrian crossing exists as a physical entity and can be accessed by anyone who wishes to use it at any time. The existence of a CACD project is predicated on intricate layers of social interactions between government institutions, organisations, groups and individuals, including artists and practitioners. Lora's invitation to take part in the project as a participant can be traced to a number of different and interrelated phenomena, including the

decision by a group of unionists some years earlier to form the Art in Working Life Committee at the TLC. Another layer involves governments who were responsive in the late 1960s and 1970s to movements for social justice for all those living in Australia that arose within different sectors of society. As a result, legislation was enacted that enabled people within its institutions to envisage the CA funding program and work to establish it and by other governments since then who also responded to an interest within their communities to make art that represented the lives of ordinary people.

Another layer relates to the suggestion made to the project director by the Healthpact Project Officer to contact a woman who belonged to a migrant organisation Healthpact also supported. The subsequent meeting between Lora, the writer and the project director resulted in her major involvement in the project. Once a project has been developed, has successfully met the criteria of the government funding institution, been selected for approval against other competing applications, and the money to make the project happen is in the bank, the progenitors of the project are able to extend invitations to any members of the community with which the project is concerned to take part in it. Theoretically, the invitation can be made to a person or group from any class or racial background in Australia where the project addresses their situation. In this way, CACD projects represent a gift of social life emanating from a government policy offered to people by artists and practitioners.

The *Invisible Work Invisible Pain* project was seen as one which would suit investigation because it was able to clearly represent distinct entities that were intrinsic to it:
- government institutions and unions,
- community-based organisations and groups,
- and the participants in the creative art making aspect of the project: the artists, practitioners and the participating women cleaners.

Two works arising from the project were selected as representative of the project. The monologue *Fly* was developed from Lora's story in the

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anthology *I will fly again* and its creation and performance and events surrounding it became the subject of the case study.

Hage is clear that gifts of social life signify a particular kind of caring by a nation towards its people, recognition of their existence. The notions of care and caring are evident within the processes that led to the creation of the monologue and these qualities are an outcome of CA and CD and often present within CACD art works. Caring is referred to as a "feel good", "woolly" or "motherhood" term and in this sense is seen as lacking a critical edge or any real force. These somewhat disparaging interpretations of "care" represent a misunderstanding of its meaning and its transformative power, and it became clear that within the processes of CA and CD practice, the expression of this concept and how it manifests itself in the way in which the participants work together, required investigation. For CACD artists and practitioners, this has resulted in recognition and rehabilitation of caring as an essential component of a relationship of solidarity of the kind that develops between them and the people they work with. The care taken to listen to people without comment or advice, to take into account their wishes and desires, to notice what might be going on for them and to understand this in the context of what is known about them and their lives are relational skills and abilities which are offered by the artists and practitioners and exchanged between the parties. In this small but not insignificant way, CACD demonstrates the regard in which the Australian nation should hold all the people living within its borders, a value that has assumed greater meaning since the establishment of the Community Arts Board in 1977, thirty-seven years ago.

By applying Hage's theory of gifts of social life to the case of the monologue, the collaborative processes that take place between all the participants on a CACD project — the artists, the practitioners and the people who take part in it — can be seen as a reciprocal and reciprocated mutual exchange. Further, these exchanges are informed by qualities of caring and respect. This enables the observation to be made that the nature

of the power relations that exemplify the collaborative exchanges undertaken within CACD projects, are shared and respectful. Respect for the participants' mode of expression and the manner in which they wish to be involved in the project are contributing factors in the shared power relations and results in the ability of the art works to represent peoples' experiences. Hage's interpretation of Bourdieu's concept of "social being" resonates with both Watt's concept of solidarity — one which differentiates CACD practice from an anonymous and at times paternalistic welfare service — and Marsden's notion of "being with" the young people with whom she works in her CCD practice. These ideas are linked to a society that cares for its people in the ways that it wants its people to value the society. It can also be said that Lora's "social being" was enhanced by her involvement in the project.

In Chapter Three, mention is made of Fazal Rizvi's point; that the nature and assumptions surrounding participatory practices — a feature of CACD practice — are rarely discussed. Rizvi believed that questions of power are always at the centre of multiculturalism. This study shows that the respect shown by the artists and practitioners to the people participating in the projects is a major contributing factor, enabling the art work to represent their experiences. Through shared power, agency is brought into being; once the art work is shown in the public sphere, it becomes an agent for hope. In the case of the monologue, Lora's collaboration with the writer and the director led her to articulating her joyful pleasure in life through the agency of her published story, the performance of the monologue and her participation in an aspect of it.

While it can be seen that Lora and the women cleaners benefitted from the existence of the *Invisible Work Invisible Pain* project in which they took part, because their stories of their experiences were able to be read, seen and heard within the public domain, it can also be seen that the project reflected the values of the society at the time, values which strengthened its ethical basis. By virtue of the gift of social life of the project that emanated from government policies which represent the "ethical structural" basis for the

existence of the CACD funding program, Lora and all the migrant women cleaners were recognised and acknowledged as being important, simply by the fact of their existence within this society. This gift of recognition enabled the women to feel they mattered within the parameters offered by the project and through this in a small and modest way, within the society.

By analysing the case of the monologue *Fly* using Hage's concept of a hope that is "on the side of being" (Costelloe, 2001), it can be seen that through the mechanisms and negotiations entailed in realising a CACD project, society is able to extend hope to all its people, including those who live and work outside the mainstream culture. In this way the study reveals the potential of CACD practice and the ways in which its overlooked dynamics are essential for sustaining respect and reciprocity amongst all people living within civil society.

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APPENDICES

Appendix A

EXPLANATION OF TERMS

Agency

Agency is described as "the state of being in action or of exerting power" (Delbridge, 1991, p. 30). It is argued in this enquiry that through her active role as the author of the story *I will fly again*, the monologue *Fly* and in its performance, the woman known as Lora who had become seriously injured in the course of her work as a cleaner, gained agency through her involvement in the writing and then performance stages of the IWIP project. This agency lead to her taking an active role informing the readers and audiences of the anthology *Everyone Needs Cleaners, Eh!* (Murphy, 1997) and the dance theatre production *Bring In the Cleaners* (Costelloe, Gordon and Yoo, 1998) respectively, in the sense that she can be seen as having used her ability to take action and exercise power.

Artists and practitioners

As artist is someone who practises one of the fine arts, especially a painter or sculptor (Delbridge, 1991, p. 94) as well as someone who practises an art form including but not limited to what are termed "the fine arts". A practitioner is someone engaged in the practice of a profession or who practices something specific (Delbridge, 1991, 1388). Within the terms of this study, an artist is someone who makes an art work using any single artform media or combinations of media by bringing their creative, intuitive and interpretive skills and experience to bear on the work they are making in collaboration with other artists and non-artists. In the words of Ros Bower, the first Director of the Community Arts Board, "it is the hallmark of a work of art that it reflects a high level of skills and an exceptional quality of originality and imagination" (Bower, 1981, p. 1).

A practitioner, in the sense used here, is a practitioner of community arts or community cultural development. Their skill sets are likely to include firstly, an inclusive approach towards any person who would like to take

part in a CACD project; respect for the ability of non-artists to be creative and artistic. Secondly, respect for and an interest in the experiences of people, especially those who live on the margins of society and/or who are outside the dominant culture. Finally, ability to interpret arts funding guidelines, write funding applications; good time management, administrative, organisational, and people skills.

In some cases, a CACD practitioner may also be an artist and an artist may also be a CACD practitioner. These two terms have been linked on the whole for the purposes of this study because some of those who were involved in making the artworks within the CA project *Invisible Work Invisible Pain* in particular, were both practitioners and artists and brought their skills in both areas to bear.

Community arts and cultural development (CACD)
I am combining the older term for the practice with the newer one by which it became known as I am ambivalent about using the term community cultural development to describe my own practice. I acknowledge the shift that took place in the late 1980s from using the term community arts to community cultural development to name the processes and ways of making art that arose from the community arts funding program. Where I use CA as community arts, I am referring to the beginnings of the funding program and the practice and where I use CCD it refers to the new name of the funding program at the Australia Council.

Critical friends
The term 'critical friends' is favoured over the term 'experts' as in the field of CACD there is a collaborative culture within the context of project-based performances and activities. The critical friends in this study are those whose reflections on and enquiries into the nature of CACD practice have contributed to a body of written work that is informative and differentiates it from other art practices. The writing of critical friends selected for the purposes of this study can be found in Chapter Two and thereafter in Chapters Four and Five.

Generative methodology

'Generative methodology' describes particular concepts which informed the ways that the artists and practitioners worked with the participating migrant women cleaners in the *Invisible Work Invisible Pain* project at the time. While the term is not exclusive and may not be accepted by all practitioners, it encompasses the technical, creative and imaginative as well as organizational skills the artists and practitioners brought to their work. It also includes the approaches and manner in which they went about working with the participants in the context of what was possible, expected, as well as hoped for in terms of the period when the project took place and the circumstances in which it was initiated as well as what was on offer at the time from those institutions surrounding and supporting the project. Principles underpinning the particular generative methodology employed to create the case of the monologue are discussed in Chapter Two and aspects of its practical application in the scripting and performance of the monologue is revealed in Chapter Four.

"Good enough"

Paediatrician then child psychoanalyst Dr D.W. Winnicott was known for his ability to convey complex paediatric, child psychology and psychoanalytic notions in accessible language. Winnicott (1971) used the term to describe the measure of the care, security, trust and love a mother needs to shows her infant to enable the child to gradually grow into an independent individual with a sense of her or himself within the wider social world. The term is used here because the investigation is not concerned with evaluating the art works nor the processes used to create them in terms of them being art works or processes arising from a CACD project that were the best, worst or somewhere in between. The investigation is concerned with examining the art works as exemplars of CACD work and how as exemplars, they are able to reveal the significance of CACD practice to society. The case of the monologue is discussed in Chapter Four and the findings of the investigation can be found in Chapter Five.

Illusio

In discussion with Mary Zournazi, Ghassan Hage interprets Bourdieu's term *illusio* as "the existence of something to live for, what gives life a meaning" (Zournazi, 2002, p. 151). It refers to a deeply held conviction we have about the significance of our public lives. The group of migrant women cleaners from the hotel who took part in the *Invisible Work Invisible Pain* project revealed the nature and extent of hazards they encountered in their work for themselves and for others who would follow them in their jobs. As is discussed in Chapter Four, the women were clear that the reason they were working in this area was so their children could have a better life than they have.

Inclusive

Including in consideration and embracing (Delbridge, 1991, p. 890) in terms of CACD practice, means that anyone who wants to take part in a project that concerns them and their lives is welcome and they will be able to take a role in it and make a meaningful contribution. This has been the practice since the beginning of CA. Evidence of the use of the term during the period CA emerged has not been pursued as it is not included within the parameters of this investigation.

Network of relations

Bullock and Trombley define a network in its anthropological sense as "a field of social relations" (1999, p. 576) which can be used to investigate and understand the "internal dynamics of society" and analyse the complex relations that exist therein. The concept of a network of relations asserts that there is no one individual or group who determines a particular course of action. Rather there is a set or structure of relationships, contacts and conduits of meaning that run through human and social relations that contribute to and enable a particular action or phenomenon to take place within society. A complex network of relations developed around the *Invisible Work Invisible Pain* project that supported it and advised the project director's work and a full explanation of this particular network of relations and the role it played can be found in Chapter Four.

Participants

According to Bullock and Trombley (1999), the term 'participation' was coined as a slogan in the 1960s and then expressed as

> what the European Union calls 'the democratic imperative', defined as the principle that 'those who will be substantially affected by decisions made by social and political institutions must be involved in the making of those decisions' (1999, p. 630).

In Chapters One, Four and Five, three questions are asked of this investigation and responded to. In the first question, the participants in the IWIP project are described as the artists, practitioners and the group of mainly migrant women cleaners. This represents a divergence from common CACD practice of writing about and referring only to the people who take part in the project as the participants. The somewhat cumbersome phrases 'people who participate', 'people who take part in' and 'participating people' are interchangeable and replace the use of the single term participants meaning the people who are not artists and practitioners but who collaborate with the latter two groups to make an art work from the stories of their experiences.

Appendix B

Evidence on which the *Invisible Work Invisible Pain* project was based

The research evidence recorded here was cited in the first arts funding applications to the ACT Arts and Cultural Development Unit, Healthpact and the Australia Council in 1996, and was further cited in my Preface to the anthology as well as in the promotional newsletter for the production: *The Bucket and Sponge*, (Edge & O'Donnell, 1998). The research quoted was as follows:

> The (ACT cleaning) industry employs a high percentage of women and people who use English as their second language.
> There is a high turnover rate (of employment) in the ACT cleaning industry.
> The cleaning industry has the second highest incidence of back injuries to women reported to the ACT Occupational Health and Safety Office, requiring more than seven days off work.
> ACT Occupational Health and Safety Council. (1992). *Minutes of 14th meeting*. Canberra.

> Cleaning can be a very dangerous occupation.

> Over **one in four** accidents are reported as **severe** and almost the same proportion resulted in more than **sixty days** off work. **7 fatalities** were recorded in 1992-93. The accident rates are nearly **three times** the All Industries rate.*
> These figures based on compensation data **underestimate the real picture** as many accidents are not reported or don't result in claims. Some diseases, for example, from chemical exposure, only develop later in life and are difficult to claim compensation for. In addition, compensation figures do not begin to measure the larger un-insured costs of workplace accidents – lost productivity, re-training, recruitment, lower morale, human suffering, industrial disputes, court costs, etc.

> **These costs are unacceptable!**

> It has been estimated that if managers and employees in the cleaning industry could reduce the incidence rate to the All Industries rate, a total savings of around **$50 million per year** could be made.
> Working Towards 'Best Practice'- Occupational Health and Safety Resource Management Kit for the Cleaning Industry, WorkSafe publication prepared by Coopers & Lyebrand, 1996.

> *Foley, G. (1995). Occupational Health and Safety Performance Overviews, Selected Industries. Issue No.6 - Cleaning Services Industry. WorkSafe Australia.

Appendix C.

CD 2.

Feb 1996. First funding application to Healthpact. Trades and
        Labour Council of the ACT Inc. Feb 1996

Mar 1996. Letters of support from Mark Tiirikainen, President
        and Hernan Flores, Multicultural Arts Officer, The
        Ethnic Communities Council of the ACT Inc., 1
        March 1996 and from Dr Greg Ash, Director, ACT
        WorkCover, 13 March 1996.

Oct/Nov 1996. ACT Writers Centre contribution —
        correspondence, October/November 1996.

Nov 1996. Application to Theatre Fund of the Australia
        Council, November 1996 and notification of receipt.

Dec 1996. Letter to manager of a cleaning company,
        December 1996.

Jun 1997. Three cartoon images by Stephen Harrison, which
        reflect the monologue and were shown on a loop
        amongst a bigger selection of original images he
        produced for the anthology throughout the production
        Bring in the Cleaners, 1997.

Nov 1997. Creative development evaluation sheet. Marie
        Mannion, member of the invited audience,
        November, 1997.

Jan 1998. The writer's Artistic Report, Lizz Murphy, January
        1998.

Jul 1998. 'Zero deaths and injuries' draft logo by   tephen
        Harrison and invoice to Robert Gott, ACT
        WorkCover, July 1998.

Oct/Nov1998. Newspaper reviews of *Bring in the Cleaners*:
        Cleaners' work turns to art, Graham McDonald,
        Canberra Times, October 1998 and *Bring in the
        Cleaners*, Lorena Param, Muse magazine, November
        1998.

11.1998. Acquittal Report to Healthpact, the CCDF of the
        Australia Council and artsACT, Rose Costelloe,
        1998.

Appendix D.

CD 1.

Director's Book Three containing the working script and stage directions of the monologue *Fly*, (Costelloe, 1998).

Transcript of the monologue *Fly*, Lora, 1998.

Theatre program, *Bring in the Cleaners*, Fiona Edge & Jane O'Donnell, 1998.

Appendix E.

DVD from video of the production *Bring in the Cleaners*, Fabio Cavadini &
Mandy King, 1998

Appendix F.

National Council of Women of Australia Recommendation

National Council of Women of Australia Annual Conference, 1999.

CLEANING INDUSTRY REGULATIONS

In view of the high incidence of injury in the Cleaning Industry, in which there is a high proportion of women, the National Council of Women of Australia requests that Governments of each State and Territory

(i)   implement regulations requiring employers of cleaners to provide Accident & Chemical Awareness courses and training for each new employee. Bearing in mind that many do not speak English or read well, a manual or cassette, preferably in other languages as well as

(ii)   English, should be mandatory. It should outline clearly the specific problems found in this industry and their solutions, and

(iii)   that regular monitoring take place to ensure that these regulations are known and followed.

Cr: General Well Being; Status of Women

Retrieved 23.3.14, from http://www.ncwa.org.au

Appendix G

Excerpts from the research report: Centre for Urban Research and Action. (1976). *But I wouldn't want my wife to work here ...: a study of migrant women in Melbourne industry: research report for International Women's Year*. Melbourne: Centre for Urban Research and Action.

> In Australia, migrant men and women have been essentially incorporated and dispersed throughout the existing social structures. They have formed a relatively silent, ignored and devalued group of industrial workers. This study shows, however, that migrant women bitterly understand their situation of exploitation. At present these sometimes extreme latent hostilities become manifest in terms of the destruction of property and absenteeism. The strength of responses and the bitterness of their remarks in our survey indicate that migrant women workers are, as one union organiser put it, like a doormat volcano, likely to explode sometime in the future". The extent of such latent militancy was made very explicit by the actions of migrants at the recent Ford strike at Broadmeadows, where there was considerable destruction of property. The recent Migrant Workers Conference organised by migrant men and women in Melbourne (1972; 1975) and Sydney (1973), with the aim of uniting migrant workers to be an effective force within present working class movement, is an indication that migrants are beginning to organise. At these conferences some migrant women were among the most outspoken of the migrant workers. Australian society may soon be forced to confront the dilemma of the exploitation of migrant women workers (1976, P. 114).

A selection of the fourteen recommendations arising from the report are reproduced below with select detail included under some. They establish links with subsequent policies and legislation adopted by both State and Federal Governments that addressed these issues, albeit not always to the letter of the recommendation.

- 3. CHANGES IN WORK SYSTEMS AND WORK ARRANGEMENTS with one reference recommending initiating discussion for "self—managed toilet arrangements" (p. 115).

- 5. RETRAINING
  governments and employers should encourage affirmative action programmes such as the N.E.A.T. scheme to recruit migrant women into apprenticeships

and training programs from which they have been traditionally excluded" (p. 116).

- 6. ENGLISH ON THE JOB:
    (a) investigate ways to set up English courses, on the job, without loss of pay (p. 116).

- 7. PROVISION OF MULTILINGUAL MATERIALS
    (b) State and Federal Governments, Employers and Unions should provide multilingual summaries of all relevant awards, legislation, safety regulations for migrant women workers so they might understand their rights and entitlements" (p. 116).

- 9. WELFARE ASSISTANCE
    Governments (appropriate Local, State and Federal departments) with employers, unions and ethnic community organisations should encourage development of welfare services relevant to the social and cultural requirements of migrant men and women" (p. 116).

- 10. CHILDCARE
    The social and economic implications of the need for childcare in a society in which it is less than was possible for the family to survive on one income must be realised by governments, employers and unions. There is an urgent need to investigate ways to provide childcare facilities which meet the needs and preferences of migrant women workers (p. 116).

- 11. FLEXIBLE WORKING HOURS

- 13. DISCRIMINATION AND EQUAL OPPORTUNITY COMMITTEES

- 14. INCOME
    Reports from the Social Welfare Commission (1975), the Commission of Enquiry into Poverty (1975), and the Committee report on National Compensation (1975) all make recommendations which aim to develop a more coherent income and compensation policy for all Australians (p. 117).