

# **Live Music in Footscray: Gentrification, Identity, and Planning**



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Parliamentary Internship Report for Katie Hall,

Member of the Legislative Assembly, Footscray

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## **List of Abbreviations**

CBD – Central Business District

FCAC – Footscray Community Arts Centre

MCC – Maribyrnong City Council

SLAM – Save Live Australia’s Music

SXSW – South By South West

TMOAMC - *The Mastering of a Music City* (2015) Music Canada, IFPI.

## Executive summary

This report examines 'live music' in Footscray, in the context of ethnic and cultural diversity in the area and the ongoing gentrification of Melbourne's inner-west. The report notes that music in Victoria has been widely recognised for both its economic and social benefits.

The key objective of the research been:

*To investigate methods of protecting and promoting Footscray's unique identity, while engaging with the creative and commercial opportunities that come with gentrification, through music.*

The research incorporates 'live music' of all kinds, as well as the surrounding institutions that aid live music such as recording studios, rehearsal spaces, non-traditional venues and record stores. However, the geographical scope is restricted to the suburb of Footscray, rather than the electoral district. This choice was made in order to investigate the most concentrated hub of musical activity, which is also at the centre of the rapid development in Melbourne's West.

The report notes that the unique, and perhaps defining feature of the modern 'West' is the combination of a history of industrial employment and development, and the diversity that has come from local migrant families and communities.

In order to develop a detailed picture of live music in Footscray, interviews were conducted with musicians, venue operators, event organisers, the Maribyrnong City Council, and an academic. Academic literature on music culture and gentrification was consulted and analysed in the context of 'music cities', to further understand the possibilities for, and limitations on, government action in this space.

The key findings of the report are that:

- The health of Footscray's live music scene is intrinsically linked to the suburb's economic and social wellbeing, and each must be encouraged and developed simultaneously;
- Footscray currently lacks a comprehensive, cooperative approach to live music between venues, musicians, and Council;

- Live music in Footscray is at a critical point, with a high number of artists as residents, but a relatively low number of venues; and,
- It is **integral** that possible recommendations are enacted as soon as possible in order to see the benefits before this critical point has passed, and the number of artists residing in Footscray falls.

Based on these findings, the key recommendations are that the Maribyrnong City Council:

- Establish a Music Office/Officer, and a Music Advisory Board of local stakeholders which will be accessible to musicians, audiences and residents, through which to voice any concerns or ideas;
- Make 'live music' more prominent in the Council's marketing, planning, and statements;
- Actively promote the diversity in culture and strong identity of Footscray in the West;
- Incentivise use of closed venues by offering financial assistance to upgrade live music facilities, or attempt to secure short-term leases of these venues for use by emerging artists;
- Secure medium-to-long-term leases on industrially zoned vacant buildings that can be used for creative purposes; and,
- Ensure that heritage listed buildings are properly protected, and if fit for use as a performance space, incentivise and prioritise this use.

The broader recommendations are that:

- Music Victoria incorporate smaller 'advisory boards' into a larger structure, to aid the sharing of concerns and information between different clusters or suburbs;
- Creative Victoria consider allowing joint applications to be made to the *Music Works* grants program to emphasise a cooperative and collaborative approach in music clusters;
- Creative Victoria continue to provide funding for community organisations that promote diversity in music and in culture; and,
- The Victorian and Federal Governments consider large-scale grants for the development of recording, rehearsal, and performance spaces in Footscray.

# Introduction

Through a combination of population growth, planning policy, proximity to the Melbourne CBD, and comparatively low property values, Footscray has found itself in the midst of a rapid process of gentrification. With a transitioning demographic, Footscray faces the challenge of harnessing the opportunities presented by new residents and still retaining the identity which has defined the suburb for many years. Live music is both integral to and symbolic of the effects of this broader situation.

Music is the most accessible artform, and a key driver of community engagement in the arts. It provides both economic and social benefits, particularly to communities in flux. An improved live music program during gentrification is thus a useful way to interact with incoming residents, whilst continuing to represent the people that have lived in Footscray for years. Therefore, the purpose of this report is to develop policy which will support live music in Footscray, in a way that is economically sustainable, socially beneficial, and reflective of the Footscray identity.

At the core of the report is this principal framing question:

*What are the key challenges and opportunities for Footscray's live music scene, and how can these each be addressed by government action and support?*

Chapter 1 provides analysis of the existing academic literature on 'music cities', 'creative cities', and gentrification. Chapter 2 considers several historical case studies both in Australia and overseas, from large cities to smaller suburbs like Brunswick.

Chapter 3 examines the current relevant policy and institutions at each level of government. Chapter 4 investigates the Footscray locality, its musical background and its current situation with respect to music. Chapter 5 considers the current organisation of music institutions in Victoria and the implications of this.

Chapter 6 presents council-based and broader policy recommendations that could be implemented to support Footscray, as well as live music throughout Victoria, particularly in localities undergoing rapid development and perceived social changes.

The scope of the report is not limited to live music performances or venues. Rather, 'live music' is taken to include the surrounding infrastructure and networks that allow

it to occur as performance, including but not limited to recording studios, rehearsal spaces, non-traditional venues and record stores.

The geographical scope has been limited to the suburb of Footscray, rather than the electoral district. There are two key reasons for this research decision. Firstly, the acceleration of music scenes and hubs tends to happen in clusters. It makes sense to focus on businesses that could realistically have an immediate positive financial effect on each other, as well as making a central area identifiable and consistent for audiences. Secondly, the Footscray suburb has both the highest concentration of music artists, venues and institutions, as well as the most rapid development within the state electorate, which suggests that it is the most critical point for short-term action in support of live music.

The report draws on academic literature and government and industry reports to assess the necessary infrastructure, institutions, and government actions in successful 'music cities'. Census data, newspaper archives, and interviews with local musicians, event organisers, and venue operators are then analysed to develop a more detailed picture of Footscray specifically, and its live music scene.

The report relies upon some general statistics for the Footscray area, and acknowledges that measurement of the exact demographics of audiences and potential audiences are difficult to obtain. This is due to the individualised and flexible nature of live music events, and the fact that they usually occur in privately owned venues.

# 1 – Music, music cities, and gentrification

## 1.1 Social and economic benefits of live music

Melbourne, over time, has developed a reputation as the cultural capital of Australia.<sup>1</sup> As the most accessible mainstream artform,<sup>2</sup> music plays a huge role in Melbourne's arts scene, and in retaining this cultural status. Melbourne has the highest rate of live music venues per capita in the world,<sup>3</sup> and has a claim to being the top 'music city' in the world, however accurately that might be ranked.

Melbourne has crafted out an alternative music culture over decades, which has allowed music to become a part of both our social identity and larger economy.

For patrons and performers, live music allows creativity to blossom, networks to grow, "fostering social engagement and connectedness" throughout the city. In addition, in 2009/10 an *Arts Victoria* report estimated that there were 5.4 million attendances at live music performances, compared to 4.3 million attendance throughout the Australian Football League home and away season in Victoria,<sup>4</sup> demonstrating music's centrality in our social fabric.

Economically, it was just as, if not more, compelling. Live music in venues "generated an additional \$501 million in gross state product (GSP) to the Victorian economy in 2009/10, and increased full-time equivalent (FTE) employment by approximately 17,200 persons".<sup>5</sup> In 2014, it was found that live music spending in Australia delivers a 3-to-1 benefit-to-cost ratio.<sup>6</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> Creative Victoria (2017) *Melbourne as a Global Cultural Destination*, Boston Consulting Group.

<sup>2</sup> Australia Council (2014) *Participation* [online] Available at: <http://artfacts.australiacouncil.gov.au/music/participation-7/> Accessed: 2/6/19.

<sup>3</sup> Newton, D. & Coyle-Hayward, R. (2017) *Melbourne Live Music Census 2017 Report*, Music Victoria, p.3.

<sup>4</sup> Arts Victoria (2011) *The economic, social and cultural contribution of venue-based live music in Victoria*, Deloitte, p.2.

<sup>5</sup> Above, n 4.

<sup>6</sup> APRA AMCOS (2014a) *The Economic & Cultural Value of Live Music in Australia*

## 1.2 Studies of gentrification

'Gentrification' is a term that is difficult to define comprehensively. While many have a basic idea of the types of changes and effects that come with gentrification, due to the localised nature of the lived experience, it can and will mean different things to different people. For instance, the residential use of formerly industrial land by artists in New York (or Melbourne) has a somewhat different impression to the arrival of new middle-class residents, and displacement of previous ones, in a small coastal village.<sup>7</sup>

Scholars of the past have advised the academic community to embrace the "chaos" of the definition, which allows us to consider each case with regard to its own setting and idiosyncrasies.<sup>8</sup> But in general terms, Boston University academic Japonica Brown-Saracino helpfully notes the broadly agreed characteristics:

while scholars acknowledge that gentrification varies by time, place, and stage of gentrification (Clay 1979, Kerstein 1990), for the most part they concur that among gentrification's defining traits are an **influx of capital and resultant displacement, and the transformation of local "social character"** (Glass 1964), **culture, amenities, and physical infrastructure** (Warde 1991, Atkinson 2003).<sup>9</sup>

The above quote highlights the duality of the social effect. The transformation of "culture, amenities, and physical infrastructure" should lead to a net benefit for the community, although the intrinsic "displacement" of previous tenants, as renting residents become replaced by middle-class owners, can cause the fabric of such a community to be lost. This can push the "character" of a community towards conformity, rather than uniqueness or creativity.

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<sup>7</sup> Brown-Saracino, J. (2010) *The Gentrification Debates: A Reader*, Routledge, London, p.12.

<sup>8</sup> Rose, D (1984) 'Rethinking gentrification: beyond the uneven development of marxist urban theory.' *Environment and Planning D: Society and Space* 1, pp. 47–74

<sup>9</sup> In Above, n 7; Atkinson, R. 2003. "Introduction: Misunderstood Saviour or Vengeful Wrecker? The Many Meanings and Problems of Gentrification" *Urban Studies*, 40: 2343– 2350; Clay, P (1979) *Neighborhood Renewal: Middle-Class Resettlement and Incumbent Upgrading in American Neighborhoods*, Lexington, MA: D.C. Heath; Glass, R (1964) "Introduction", *London, Aspects of Change*. London: Centre for Urban Studies: xiii–xxiii; xxiv– xxvi; xxx– xxxi; Kerstein, R. 1990. "Stage Models of Gentrification". *Urban Affairs Quarterly*, 25, 4: 620– 39; Warde, A. 1991. "Gentrification as Consumption: Issues of Class and Gender," *Environment and Planning D: Society and Space*, 9: 223– 232.

### 1.3 Music Cities, Creative Cities, and the ‘Creative Class’

The term ‘creative city’ has gained popularity with councils and governments worldwide, as each stakes its claim for cultural capital, and therefore attractiveness to potential residents. It was Richard Florida’s ‘Rise of the Creative Class’<sup>10</sup> in 2002 that brought it to the attention of policymakers worldwide.<sup>11</sup> His core message was, like previous academics, that any city could be a ‘creative city’ with the right policy and infrastructure, but Florida now argued that they should attract a ‘creative class’ from elsewhere in order to become ‘regionally, nationally or globally competitive’.<sup>12</sup>

Among several key criticisms, chiefly important is that a ‘creative city’ strategy – encouraging the arrival of a talented, educated ‘creative class’, and consequently corporations wanting to employ them – is nothing more than an economic gentrification strategy. Florida’s creative class consists of university graduates and professionals, who are not necessarily the true creators. The artists who create the most are, by nature, those who take the most risk, and those who will not have the income stability required to inject Florida’s ‘creative cities’ with the desired economic boost.

Despite these criticisms, councillors around the world embraced this vision, and attempted to establish their own creative cities, which at least had the effect of making arts and culture visible at a policy level.<sup>13</sup> As Monash University academic Shane Homan notes, ‘A lot of councils and cities will say, “We’re a music city!” – often you’ve got a live music policy, but that’s it.’<sup>14</sup> It has become attractive, even important, to be *seen* to be doing something on this level, even if that does not translate into a vibrant musical community in reality.

It is this level of government and community interest in creative cities and especially ‘music cities’ which has led to discussions at regular events such as the *Live Music Roundtable*<sup>15</sup> in Victoria, the international *Music Cities Convention*, and the *Music Cities Summit* in Canada. Through these bodies, a lot more substantial, and less

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<sup>10</sup> Florida, R (2002) ‘Rise of the creative class’, *Growth Strategies* 943, pp.1-2.

<sup>11</sup> Shaw, K (2010) ‘Melbourne’s Creative Spaces program: Reclaiming the ‘creative city’ (if not quite the rest of it)’, *City, Culture, and Society* 5, p. 141.

<sup>12</sup> Ibid.

<sup>13</sup> See: *The Age* (2004) ‘Creative concept to put city in top class’, 11/12/04 [online] Available at: <https://www.theage.com.au/national/creative-concept-to-put-city-in-top-class-20041211-gdz6ce.html> Accessed 5/6/19.

<sup>14</sup> Interview with Shane Homan, Monash University Academic 11 April 2019, Monash University, Caulfield.

<sup>15</sup> *Live Music Roundtable*, Terms of Reference, *Live Music Office*.

superficial, research and reports have been done on the key components of modern 'music cities'. So, while the term 'music city' is still perhaps more popular with councils than it ought to be, and can still be a euphemism for planned gentrification and socio-economic transitioning, we now have solid data and committed organisations with more comprehensive music city plans, **which can be used for smaller suburbs and localities as well.**

#### **1.4 Components of a Successful Music City**

As listed in one such substantial, comprehensive report, *The Mastering Of a Music City*<sup>16</sup> (TMOAMC):

the **essential** elements of music cities are:

- Artists and musicians;
- A thriving music scene;
- Access to spaces and places;
- A receptive and engaged audience; and
- Record labels and other music-related businesses.

#### **1.5 Policies and Strategies**

The key strategies listed in *TMOAMC*,<sup>17</sup> are the following:

- **Music-friendly and musician-friendly policies**, including appropriate licencing, protection of music properties, training or mentoring, and access to hubs and affordable housing for artists;
- **A music office or officer**, acting as a single point of contact for the music community, helping musicians and venues through government policy and any disputes that arise;
- **A music advisory board**, comprised of representatives from the music community, but also professionals from industries such as tourism or economic development;

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<sup>16</sup> *The Mastering of a Music City* (2015) Music Canada, IFPI, p. 17.

<sup>17</sup> Above, n 16, p. 13-15.

- **Engaging the broader music community to get their buy-in and support**, ensuring cooperation and collaboration across different businesses;
- **Access to spaces and places**, including a full range of venues and other music businesses in clusters;
- **Audience development**, in particular taking advantage of large student populations, and using all-ages events to engage younger audiences and developing lifelong relationships with music; and,
- **Music tourism**, involving music in branding, promotional campaigns, and investing in infrastructure and programming.

## 2 – Case studies of music cities

### 2.1 Melbourne and Gentrification

Melbourne's music culture has developed over a long period of time, particularly in the second half of the 20<sup>th</sup> century. After the Second World War, with urban decline in industrial land in the inner city, the middle class flocked to the suburbs.<sup>18</sup> As artists and 'trendies' moved into these unattractive inner city neighbourhoods, they found places to create without pressures of high housing costs. Venues or unofficial performances spaces could operate consistently without the now omniscient threat of neighbourly disputes and noise complaints.<sup>19</sup>

This low level of investment in the inner city continued for decades until in the 1980s a higher socio-economic demographic moved through St Kilda, and eventually in the 1990s the CBD received some residential development and priced many of these artists out.<sup>20</sup>

Despite this, the city has moved from having a small number of restaurants in the 1980s, to now having over 160 bars and pubs, as well as over 1000 cafes and restaurants. As University of Melbourne academic Kate Shaw notes, "the transformation was deliberate and government-led."<sup>21</sup> Shaw ponders the inevitability of recurrent issues in any place of gentrification:

Along with its increasing liveability and distinctiveness came a set of problems common to every gentrifying city. Residential conversions and increasing rents displaced low income residents and businesses. Public spaces were privatised, heritage-listed buildings were demolished and some of the new developments were disappointingly formulaic.<sup>22</sup>

For artists, these concerns can be surmised into one overarching need for *space* – space to live, and space to create, all at an affordable rate. Of course, the city, on the

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<sup>18</sup> O'Hanlon, S & Hamnett, C (2009) 'Deindustrialisation, Gentrification and the Re-invention of the Inner City: London and Melbourne, c.1960–2008', *Urban Policy and Research*, 27:3, pp. 211-216.

<sup>19</sup> Above, n 11, p.140.

<sup>20</sup> Ibid, p.141.

<sup>21</sup> Ibid.

<sup>22</sup> Ibid.

surface, is not behoved to act to save the artists. There are other places to live. The economic revival has occurred. Has it not already been a success?

It is at this point that cities like Melbourne must show whether they are truly invested in cultural benefit, or purely economic benefit. The city, by virtue of its location and convenience, would survive without the artists, so long as the venues and residents continued to bring patrons in.

The City of Melbourne appeared to have reached its decision by implementing the *Creative Spaces* program. The City of Melbourne looked to partner with private developers to provide spaces for artists on short term-leases in otherwise unused or incomplete buildings in mostly industrial areas.<sup>23</sup> However, in growing cities, there are pressures for industrial areas to be rezoned as residential, as the population puts a strain on the existing infrastructure, and as the prospective residential values of such areas increase.<sup>24</sup> As such, tenants of the *Creative Spaces* were given permits only on a rolling 30-day basis, allowing private developers or property owners to make these properties available for rent-free uses “without sacrificing the potential commercial returns.”<sup>25</sup>

This issue highlights the need for **long term solutions**, providing creative spaces for artists and musicians while the community or city continues to change around them. Governments often prefer short-term, flexible programs, as it is much easier to partner with developers this way.<sup>26</sup> However, without secure, affordable spaces, any temporary fixes will be just that, and there will be no places left once the land is suitable and attractive for residential or office use.

Though the *Creative Spaces* program was certainly a positive initiative, the property ‘squeeze’ and development of cheaper, more culturally vibrant options nearby, has meant that the suburb of Melbourne did not rank in the top ten Victorian suburbs for

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<sup>23</sup> Ibid.

<sup>24</sup> Howland, M (2010) ‘Planning for Industry in a Post-Industrial World’, *Journal of the American Planning Association*, 77:1, pp. 39-53.

<sup>25</sup> Docklands Spaces (2013) in n 11, p.142.

<sup>26</sup> Munzner, K. & Shaw, K. (2014) ‘Renew who? Benefits and Beneficiaries of Renew Newcastle’, *Urban Policy and Research*.

number of songwriters in 2014,<sup>27</sup> with the most popular suburbs being in the north of Melbourne.

Ultimately, like in many localities, we can retrace the gentrification of the CBD in two stages of relocation: firstly, of the artists into the CBD; secondly, of the artists out of the CBD (with middle-class residents replacing them). Though it may be tempting to view gentrification as one stage of increased property value over time, with one new demographic incoming, it is important to note that, in many cases, there are two separate movements of people which cause one result. Of course, the temporal lines between these occurrences are blurred. Truly financially struggling artists and middle-class creators will take to a gentrifying suburb at different rates, and then leave at different rates as the rental and property prices increase. But, as the majority leave, and Florida's 'creative class' of white-collar professionals take their place, the real creators are being replaced by mere creative consumers, and the process of gentrification is coming to some sort of conclusion.

Regardless of the loss of residential songwriters and musicians, the city remains musically active, though this hasn't been without problems. The most notable moment came on 23 February 2010, with the SLAM rally at Victorian parliament.<sup>28</sup> Despite the Victorian Government's previous positive steps in supporting music and the arts in Melbourne, it had now raised the ire of the music industry through policy seeking to minimise alcohol-fuelled violence at 'high risk' music venues. The legislation required many venues, now labelled 'high risk', due to the presence of music after 1am, to hire a set amount of security and install CCTV cameras. This blanket approach was most devastating to smaller venues – of which there are many in the City of Melbourne – who might have small jazz events, a far cry from the large clubs and pubs that were the intended targets of the legislation.<sup>29</sup>

The rally and movement were successful in removing many of these restrictions on the venues, but its effect went beyond that. Where before live music, as an alternative and informal sector, was largely a place of individual stories and anecdotal evidence,

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<sup>27</sup> APRA AMCOS (2014b) 'National Songwriter Rankings', Available online:

<http://apraamcos.com.au/media/corporate/2014-postcode-rankings-whitepaper.pdf> Accessed 28/5/19.

<sup>28</sup> Homan, S (2016) 'SLAM: the music city and cultural activism', *Law, Social Justice and Global Development Journal* 20, pp. 1.

<sup>29</sup> Above, n 28; Above, n 14.

now we have access to hard data and collective organisations.<sup>30</sup> Through this turbulent episode, the live music industry in Victoria became stronger both in its cooperation, and in its mainstream presence, which has ensured its centrality in the past decade of cultural development in Melbourne.

## 2.2 Brunswick and Gentrification

In 2014, the suburb of Brunswick housed the highest number of songwriters in Australia.<sup>31</sup> This artistic culture began in the 1970s as the three-quarters of Brunswick's factories closed, allowing artists and musicians to move in with conditions of low rent.<sup>32</sup> Consequently, as is to be expected with the above studies in mind, the cultural revival of the area made it desirable to the middle class. This raised median house prices from 86% of Metropolitan Melbourne's median, to 109% in 1996, to 122% in 2018.<sup>33</sup>

Despite this, the number of percentage of households renting in Brunswick increased from 42% in 2011 to 50.6% in 2016.<sup>34</sup> Though a study on the number of resident songwriters has not been replicated, it is a fair statement that Brunswick and the inner north remains the centre of live music activity in Melbourne.

Brunswick continues to be recognised as a 'precinct' of live music venues<sup>35</sup>, and this vibrancy and reputation will see it survive at least in the foreseeable future as a home for artists and their performances. This stability was built on the back of the explosion of venue numbers in the late 20<sup>th</sup> century, and surrounding infrastructure, including record shops, late night traders, studios, and rehearsal spaces. If there were no benefits over the surrounding suburbs in terms of live music, then (more) musicians would be relocating to more affordable suburbs with the same amenities, as history

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<sup>30</sup> Above, n 28, p. 12; Above, n 14.

<sup>31</sup> Above, n 27.

<sup>32</sup> Green, H (2012) 'Cultural Capital', *Victorian Parliamentary Intern Reports*.

<sup>33</sup> Above, n 32; Realestate.com.au (2019) 'Brunswick' [online] Available at: <https://www.realestate.com.au/neighbourhoods/brunswick-3056-vic> Accessed 9/6/19.

<sup>34</sup> Above, n 32; ABS (2016) '2016 Census QuickStats: Brunswick', *ABS* [online] Available at: [https://quickstats.censusdata.abs.gov.au/census\\_services/getproduct/census/2016/quickstat/206011105?opendocument](https://quickstats.censusdata.abs.gov.au/census_services/getproduct/census/2016/quickstat/206011105?opendocument) Accessed 10/6/19.

<sup>35</sup> Above, n 3, p. 7.

and research has shown.<sup>36</sup> The current health of Brunswick's live music scene, despite concerns over noise disputes, outpricing, and middle-class resettlement, demonstrates that localities can retain their character throughout the gentrification process, if set up to succeed in the very beginning.

### **2.3 Fortitude Valley and Precinct Policy**

As of 2004, Fortitude Valley in Brisbane became an entertainment 'precinct' in the formal sense of the word. The Brisbane City Council prioritised entertainment in the Valley over all other types of land use.<sup>37</sup> The key idea of this *Harmony Plan* was to restrict the conflict between residents and venues over late night activity and noise. The plan essentially removes many of the protections that residents would have against noise pollution, as long as the venues are promoting entertainment and live music 'of all types and styles'.<sup>38</sup>

In theory, this 'zoning' would protect the precinct and its venues from rising residential property values and restrictive requirements catalysed by noise complaints, and it would promote the area's night-time economy.

In reality, many of the diverse 'live music' venues were not killed off by the housing market or a lack of audience, but by the ensuing 'buck's night' or binge drinking culture that came about after the regulations kicked in. A stereotypical "bar downstairs, disco upstairs" venue has become the dominant place for live music in the Valley, which was not the intended effect of the legislation. In addition, the legislation has failed to address social issues in the area:

Fortitude Valley has a prominent destitute side that clashes with the lush identity that it holds as an entertainment district and trendy residential area for young professionals.<sup>39</sup>

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<sup>36</sup> Lobato, R (2006) 'Gentrification, cultural policy and live music in Melbourne', *Media International Australia* 120, p. 66.

<sup>37</sup> Brisbane City Council (2004) *Harmony Plan*, Brisbane.

<sup>38</sup> Ibid, p. 2; Above, n 32, p. 21.

<sup>39</sup> Darchen, S & Ladouceur, E (2013) 'Social sustainability in urban regeneration practice: a case study of the Fortitude Valley Renewal Plan in Brisbane', *Australian Planner*, 50:4, p. 347.

However, the Valley does still have a relatively high number of venues and other key institutions, such as recording studios, rehearsal spaces, and record shops.<sup>40</sup> Despite its lack of diversity in venues, it has succeeded in protecting these key indicators of the health of music ecology.

Fortitude Valley is a clear example that protective 'precinct' policies will not always have the intended consequences. However, it has shown that one way to ensure quantity of venues and other institutions in the face of a changing property landscape is to remove the threat of residential zoning. In Melbourne, this is no mean feat – any unused land is constantly eyed off by developers, and there is little prospect of council or state acquiring already residential land amid rapid population growth and high property demand.

#### **2.4 Austin, Texas – the 'Live Music Capital of the World'**

Austin, Texas, is known by some as the "live music capital of the world" despite many Melbournians' attachment to that title. In 1991, Austin councillors found that Austin had more live music venues per capita than any other city in the United States,<sup>41</sup> just as Melbourne researchers have found the same statistic (worldwide) in 2018.<sup>42</sup> Due to the lack of exact data, and the still fledgling Melbourne music scene, we can take their word that in 1991 they were in fact the capital of the world by this metric. Yet, in 2019, their reputation continues, with the annual South By South-West (SXSW) the biggest music conference-meets-festival of its kind in the world.

Austin did not always have this reputation and did not always find it easy to assert itself in a landscape of American 'music cities'. In the 1970s, Austin's live music venues faced threats from rising real estate prices, and some shut down.<sup>43</sup> They attempted to stop losing artists such as New York, Los Angeles, and Nashville which together had a virtual monopoly on the recording industry, which was the key financial sector of the music industry at that time.<sup>44</sup>

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<sup>40</sup> Above, n 14; Google Maps inspection.

<sup>41</sup> Tretter, E (2015) 'Live Music, Intercity Competition, and Reputational Rents: Austin, Texas the 'Live Music Capital of the World', *Human Geography* 8:3, p. 56.

<sup>42</sup> Above, n 3.

<sup>43</sup> Above, n 41, p. 55.

<sup>44</sup> Ibid, p.56.

Austin attempted to enter the recorded music market in a number of ways, including music loan programs and a proposed precinct, but to no avail. So, in 1991, when the city's official slogan became "The Live Music Capital of the World", they intentionally focussed on live music. With this as the city's central distinguisher from other Texan towns, the city Council began to put music at the forefront of Austin's public image.<sup>45</sup> It was a brand that brought musicians from all over America and the world to play music and meet other musicians. At around the same time, SXSW was taking off as an annual event (starting in 1987).<sup>46</sup> So, this exciting new annual festival, attended by musicians, promoters and other professionals, gained momentum through the fact it was occurring in the "live music capital of the world". At the same time, Austin's claim as the "capital" was reinforced by the fact that they had one of the most unique, reputable festivals in the world in SXSW. In terms of actual government policy or regulations, very little changed between 1990 and 1995, except the reputation of Austin grew exponentially. Additionally, the traditional "record company" model of music sales declined as the world transitioned to digital and then to streaming. The importance of live music grew.<sup>47</sup>

In more recent years, with live music at the centre of the city, the council has created a music office, which, among other duties, books live music performers for conferences and corporate events, ensuring that each visitor to, and resident of, the city is reminded that music is at the heart of their identity.<sup>48</sup>

Austin is an example of **the power of an image**, and of taking advantage of the differences that your city or locality has. They were not the biggest music city, nor the one with the most financial investment, or recording facilities, but recognised that they had live performers – and importantly, ensured that everybody else recognised it as well.

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<sup>45</sup> Visit Austin (2018) 'Discover the Live Music Capital of the World', 31/10/18 [online] Available at: <https://www.austintexas.org/austin-insider-blog/post/live-music-capital-of-the-world/> Accessed: 3/6/19.

<sup>46</sup> Above, n 41.

<sup>47</sup> Above, n 41; Errico, M (2016) 'Hitting the road in the age of digital music; '360' contracts give labels a share of ticket revenues, but artists take the risks', *International New York Times*, 26/1/16.

<sup>48</sup> Visit Austin (2019), 'Austin Music Office' [online] Available at: <https://www.austintexas.org/music-office/> Accessed 2/6/19.

## 3 – Current Government Initiatives and Policy

### 3.1 Local Policy

#### 3.1.1 Festival City

The City of Maribyrnong has a *Festival City Policy*, which has grown since its adoption in 2010:

This growth of the Festival City Program was achieved by:<sup>49</sup>

- Establishing annual and triennial funding schemes for festivals and increasing overall funding for festivals;
- Developing a brand and promotion strategy for the Festival City program;
- Providing for the strategic allocation of resources to professional development and support for festival organisers; and
- Developing strategic partnerships to attract some of Australia's best festivals to the City

Though the policy only briefly mentions music, the encouragement of community, signature, and promoter festivals will often bring live music.<sup>50</sup>

#### 3.1.2 Footscray Structure Plan

The Footscray Structure Plan, enacted in 2015 as local planning legislation, will guide future developments in the area. The key component of the plan is the rezoning of the majority of land in the Footscray 'Central Activities Area' (CAA) to be an 'Activity Centre Zone' (ACZ).<sup>51</sup> While the official terms seem fairly indistinguishable, the effect of the rezoning is that high-rise apartments up to a height of twelve storeys will be allowed, or perhaps encouraged, to develop. This has caused angst throughout some sections of the community.<sup>52</sup> The plan forecasts that 7,000 new dwellings will be required in Footscray by 2031 to keep up with population growth. Again, music is only

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<sup>49</sup> *City of Maribyrnong* (2016) 'Festival city policy'

<sup>50</sup> *Ibid*, p.8-9.

<sup>51</sup> *Maribyrnong City Council* (2014) 'Footscray Structure Plan'

<sup>52</sup> Schelle, C (2017) 'Footscray real estate agents slam plan for 7000 high-rise apartments', 5/4/17, *Herald Sun* [online] Available at: <https://www.heraldsun.com.au/leader/north-west/footscray-real-estate-agents-slam-plan-for-7000-highrise-apartments/news-story/846122653e6c951f5c69f20aedd36bf6> Accessed: 1/5/19.

briefly mentioned, though there is a strong focus on ‘arts and culture’ and related facilities.<sup>53</sup>

### 3.1.3 Interaction with businesses

The MCC has set up a concierge process for new businesses, giving them a single point of contact to organise all necessary licences and permits.<sup>54</sup>

### 3.1.4 West Set Festival

In response to a perceived need for live music engagement, the MCC has organised *West Set* festival, programming 35 live acts over 9 days, commencing June 14.<sup>55</sup> The Council hopes that this will showcase some of the venues throughout Footscray, and incentivise venue owners and audiences to continue to involve themselves further in Footscray’s live music scene.<sup>56</sup>

## 3.2 State Policy and Institutions

### 3.2.1 Creative Victoria

Creative Victoria (CV) is ‘the state government body dedicated to championing, growing and supporting Victoria’s creative industries’.<sup>57</sup> As part of the Victorian Government’s *Creative State* policy, its major music contribution comes in *Music Works*, a four-year, \$22.2 million contemporary music funding platform.<sup>58</sup> These grants are awarded upon application to musicians, organisations, and venues in order to promote creativity, accessibility, and diversity in the industry. Part of this scheme

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<sup>53</sup> Above, n 51, p. 27.

<sup>54</sup> Interview with Maribyrnong City Council officers, 27 May 2019.

<sup>55</sup> Maribyrnong City Council (2019) ‘West Set 2019’ [online] Available at: <https://www.maribyrnong.vic.gov.au/festivalcity/Festivals/West-Set-2019> Accessed: 7/6/19.

<sup>56</sup> Above, n 54.

<sup>57</sup> Creative Victoria [online] Available at: <https://creative.vic.gov.au/about> Accessed: 3/6/19.

<sup>58</sup> Music Works [online] Available at: <https://creative.vic.gov.au/funding-and-support/programs/music-works/music-works-grants> Accessed 3/6/19.

is *Good Music Neighbours*, whereby venues can apply for grants up to \$25,000 for noise reduction measures.<sup>59</sup>

Creative Victoria acts upon applications, and not upon directives to specific places, councils, or genres. Therefore, in the specific context of Footscray's live music, it is useful for the participants but not necessarily for the Council or any overarching body.

### **3.2.2 Music Victoria**

Music Victoria is a non-for-profit organisation, set up by the Victorian Government as the peak body for contemporary music in the state in 2010. It aims to “represent musicians, venues, music businesses and professionals, and music lovers across the contemporary Victorian music community.”<sup>60</sup>

It does not disperse funds, but acts as an advocate for the music industry as a whole.

## **3.3 Federal Policy and Institutions**

### **3.3.1 Federal Music Policy**

In the lead up to the 2019 Federal Election, the Federal Labor Party pledged a grant of \$500,000 to the Footscray Community Arts Centre.<sup>61</sup> They failed to win the election.

### **3.3.2 Live Music Office**

The Live Music Office was established by the Federal Government to review the impact of policy frameworks on the Australian live music sector. It has provided important current research on the social and economic benefits of music in Australia, as well as opportunities for discussions with key industry stakeholders at the Live Music Roundtable.<sup>62</sup>

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<sup>59</sup> Ibid.

<sup>60</sup> Music Victoria [online] Available at: <https://www.musicvictoria.com.au/about> Accessed 2/6/19.

<sup>61</sup> FCAC (2019) 'Labor Pledges \$500,000 for a Music Hub at Footscray Community Arts Centre', *Footscray Arts* [online] Available at: <http://footscrayarts.com/news/labor-commits-500000-for-a-music-hub-at-footscray-community-arts-centre/> Accessed: 2/6/19.

<sup>62</sup> Above, n 15.

## 4 – Footscray and Live Music

### 4.1 Profile of Footscray

For reasons noted in the introduction, the geographical scope of this report has been limited to the suburb of Footscray, rather than the electoral district. Therefore, these figures relate to the suburb, postcode 3011.

In 2016, Footscray had a population of 16,345. The population is young compared to the nationwide figures, with a median age of 32 (38 nationally), 28.1% of the population aged 20-29 (13.8% nationally), and 23% aged 30-39 (14% nationally).<sup>63</sup>

13.7% of Footscray residents are at university or a tertiary institution (5% nationally), and 36.1% have completed a Bachelor Degree or above (22% nationally).<sup>64</sup>

28.4% of the population listed their ancestry as English or Australian (48.3% nationally), 43.8% were born in Australia (66.7% nationally), and 24.6% have both parents born in Australia (47.3% nationally).<sup>65</sup>

Footscray's profile is one of **a young, diverse, educated demographic**. This represents a shift from the traditional view of Footscray as a working-class area. Certainly, there are still traditional jobs in Footscray, but professionals now make up 29% of the workforce, compared to 25.1% combined labourers, trades workers, and machinery operators.<sup>66</sup> With the influx of more professionals since 2016, this shift has probably increased. Following the gentrification trend of demographic change and real estate values, the median house price in Footscray has risen to 108% of the median in the Melbourne metropolitan area.<sup>67</sup>

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<sup>63</sup> ABS (2016b) 'Census 2016 QuickStats: Footscray' ABS [online] Available at: [https://quickstats.censusdata.abs.gov.au/census\\_services/getproduct/census/2016/quickstat/SSC20929](https://quickstats.censusdata.abs.gov.au/census_services/getproduct/census/2016/quickstat/SSC20929) Accessed 6/6/19.

<sup>64</sup> Ibid.

<sup>65</sup> Ibid.

<sup>66</sup> Ibid.

<sup>67</sup> Realestate.com.au (2019b) 'Footscray' [online] Available at: <https://www.realestate.com.au/neighbourhoods/footscray-3011-vic> Accessed 4/6/19.

## 4.2 Live Music in Footscray

### 4.2.1 History

Footscray has a long history with music and the arts, which follows the suburbs history of working class and more recently, migrant families, which gives it a strong identity as “the heart of the West”.<sup>68</sup> Robyn Gawenda, General Manager at FCAC, noted the intertwining of music and the industrial roots of the suburb:

...it’s always been a working-class suburb, and music’s always been part of that.

FCAC was established because of that movement - it was the meat workers Union that saved the site for workers to participate in art and music making... There’s a real legacy there, and even people moving to the west really get caught up in that culture I think as well.<sup>69</sup>

Gawenda’s last comment is perhaps the most surprising, but also quite hopeful, in a changing Footscray. In a suburb that has seen defacing of new stores, with some seemingly revolting against the ‘new demographic’,<sup>70</sup> Gawenda notes that new residents can still appreciate the rich history and identity of the past, particularly if they engage with it.

The other dimension is that of ethnic and cultural diversity. What was initially Greek, Italian, and Yugoslavian immigration, was then Vietnamese, then Ethiopian and Eastern African communities coming to make Footscray and the inner-west their homes.<sup>71</sup> From a music perspective, this has meant a diversity of genres as well as a diversity of cultures.

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<sup>68</sup> Above, n 51 p.3.

<sup>69</sup> Interview with Robyn Gawenda, General Manager at FCAC (Footscray, 24 April 2019).

<sup>70</sup> Mannix, L (2017) ‘Bag of rotting meat thrown at hipster cafe in Footscray’, *The Age*, 3/1/17 [online] Available at: <https://www.theage.com.au/national/victoria/rotten-bag-of-meat-thrown-at-hipster-cafe-in-footscray-20170103-gtl8yr.html> Accessed 1/6/19.

<sup>71</sup> Maribyrnong City Council, ‘The history of Footscray and surrounds’ [online] Available at: <https://www.maribyrnong.vic.gov.au/Discover-Maribyrnong/Our-history-and-heritage/The-history-of-Footscray-and-surrounds> Accessed 3/6/19.

#### 4.2.2 Bands, Genres, and Audiences

The Footscray live music scene has traditionally been dominated by heavy rock and punk.<sup>72 73</sup> However, with cultural diversity, this is becoming more and more varied. There is a strong, talented group of African diaspora communities in the West, showcased at the Emerge in the West Festival 2018, as well as the Ethiopian New Year Festival. The opportunities for these bands and performers to play neo-soul, jazz, or hip hop, also provides an opportunity for local audiences to see a different kind of contemporary music. FCAC's *Hear Footscray*<sup>74</sup> summer series was a successful example of this, successfully bringing diverse audiences to ticketed events.<sup>75</sup>

In 2013-2014, Footscray as the fastest growing suburb for residential songwriters, both per capita and in terms of pure numbers.<sup>76</sup> While the study has not been replicated, this increase in artists is sure to diversify the genres and experiences of live music in Footscray.

Additionally, Footscray has historically had strong marching and brass bands, with the two most well-known the Footscray-Yarraville City Band, with roots back to the 19<sup>th</sup> century,<sup>77</sup> and the Hyde Street Youth Band, established in 1928.<sup>78</sup> These bands are both integral to the continued Footscray identity, as well as for exposure for the community to all kinds of music, contemporary or otherwise. In particular, youth bands, as well as music education in schools and in programs such as *Chasing Sounds*, helps to solidify musical interest and involvement of the entire suburb over long periods of time.

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<sup>72</sup> Above, n 69.

<sup>73</sup> Interview with Matt Bodiam, former operator of The Reverence Hotel (via phone, 26 April 2019).

<sup>74</sup> FCAC, 'Hear Footscray' [online] Available at: <http://footscrayarts.com/event/hear-footscray/> Accessed 4/6/19.

<sup>75</sup> Gauged from attendance at FCAC, 7 June 2019.

<sup>76</sup> Above, n 27.

<sup>77</sup> Footscray-Yarraville City Band, 'History' [online] Available at: <http://www.fycb.com.au/about-the-band/history/> Accessed 3/6/19.

<sup>78</sup> Hyde Street Youth Band, 'History' [online] Available at: <https://hsyb.org.au/about/history-2/> Accessed 2/6/19.

### 4.2.3 Venues

A number of interviews and informal conversations with musicians<sup>79</sup> and organisers<sup>80</sup> from the area presented this issue as the biggest challenge for live music in Footscray.<sup>81</sup> Just before the commencement of this research, The Reverence Hotel, a key local live music venue over the past six years, shut its doors,<sup>82</sup> as did the Dancing Dog Cafe, after 17 years in operation as a comedy, music, and theatre venue.<sup>83</sup> Each of these venues cited rising rents and rates as at least a contributing factor,<sup>84</sup> if not *the* contributing factor to the decision.<sup>85</sup>

Without these band spaces, Footscray finds itself lacking in options for consistent, quality, band rooms for regular performance. The FCAC has quality performance spaces, as does Kindred Studios, but the lack of regular, accessible, marketed events means they lacks the predictability and accessibility of a traditional 'pub' venue.

There are several other bars that regularly house live music, including Sloth Bar, Littlefoot, and Pride of Our Footscray, though each of these lacks the space that is necessary for a medium-to-large event.<sup>86</sup> This is not to say that they are unimportant. These types of bars, and restaurants, and record shops that have live music performances are integral to the health of the overall musical ecology, as are the recording studios, and rehearsal spaces.<sup>87</sup> However, the report finds that there is a gap – a **lack of accessible venues that have both quality production and room for sizeable audiences**. The report notes that the “21<sup>st</sup> century venue” may not be so traditional or single-use focused as a pub or club. However, the number of unused or under-utilised large buildings in Footscray – many of which are heritage listed<sup>88</sup> and

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<sup>79</sup> Interview with Daniel Atlaw, Ethiopian musician (Footscray, 16 May 2019)

<sup>80</sup> Interview with Arthur Tanzi, Creative Producer at FCAC (via phone, 10 May 2019)

<sup>81</sup> Above, n 73.

<sup>82</sup> Buckley, N (2018) 'Beloved Pub the Reverence to Close', *Broadsheet*, 28/11/18 [online] Available at: <https://www.broadsheet.com.au/melbourne/entertainment/article/beloved-pub-reverence-close-footscray> Accessed: 1/6/19.

<sup>83</sup> Millar, B (2019) 'Rising rents spell the end for Footscray's iconic Dancing Dog Café', *Domain*, 5/3/19 [online] Available at: <https://www.domain.com.au/news/rising-rents-spell-the-end-for-footscrays-iconic-dancing-dog-cafe-806696/> Accessed 1/6/19.

<sup>84</sup> Above, n 82; Above, n 73.

<sup>85</sup> Above, n 83.

<sup>86</sup> Experience of live music there.

<sup>87</sup> Above, n 51

<sup>88</sup> Victorian Heritage Database, Addresses of both The Reverence Hotel and the Dancing Dog Café [online] Available at: <https://vhd.heritagecouncil.vic.gov.au/places/12893>, <https://vhd.heritagecouncil.vic.gov.au/places/28974> Accessed 4/6/19.

somewhat protected against immediate residential development – present themselves as obvious candidates.

### **4.3 Immediacy of Gentrification**

As noted in the above analysis of Melbourne CBD's gentrification, it would be naïve to think that Footscray's gentrification will be a one step process of increased arts activities and real estate prices. This ongoing process has occurred due to several situational factors encouraging (initially) artists to move to Footscray. As the rent and property prices continue to increase, it will become less and less likely that further true artists and musicians will arrive. The question is whether, when the critical price-point arrives, Footscray will have a competitive advantage in 'live music' over its surrounding suburbs? If yes, there is precedent for the true creators to continue to live there at higher cost for the convenience and vibrancy of the neighbourhood, as in Brunswick. If no, there will be no reason for these musicians to continue to stay in a more expensive locality, as with the CBD exodus. Regardless, with the higher rent prices, the MCC must plan for the displacement of long-term residents as well as the artists in the near future. High-density living is one possible solution, but it is also contributing to the problem through its inflation of current property values.

### **4.4 Further Local Considerations**

#### **4.4.1 External Audiences**

Though the Maribyrnong-based approach is suited to the Council's duties to their own City, it must be recognised that a live music scene will not survive based solely on the local residents' patronage.<sup>89</sup> Therefore, as successfully done by Austin, the MCC must appeal outwardly and inwardly simultaneously, by finding an image – a brand – that can capture the minds of both.

Footscray is hindered by 'an image problem',<sup>90</sup> with perceptions of it being too far away, too quiet, too dangerous, or too similar to closer offerings. But this can change.

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<sup>89</sup> Above, n 79; Above, n 73.

<sup>90</sup> Ibid.

Footscray undoubtedly has a unique aura, as a result of the amalgamation of cultures and people in a suburb with such a proud history. This must be broadcast, not just to show people, but to ask if they would like to join. SXSW has a very low proportion of musicians from Austin compared to outsiders, and yet they still go back to Austin each year. There is an opportunity for Footscray to represent not only its own musical and cultural diversity, but to invite others to come and share theirs as well. The *West Set* Festival is a terrific way to promote this, but the venues will have to continue programming outside of Council-organised festival events.

#### **4.4.2 Accessible Communication Lines**

To represent the values of the music community, the MCC must consult not only venue and business owners, but also musicians and audiences. A Footscray or Maribyrnong Advisory Board, would facilitate discussion about key concerns and opportunities for music in the West, which would help Council to develop policy considering the cultural impacts on the City.

## **5 – Broader Policy Considerations**

Music policy in Australia would benefit from a more localised, but vertically integrated approach. Live music tends to occur in clusters, and it makes sense that those clusters should have representative bodies or advisory boards. Not just with the industry heavyweights, but at a local, accessible, level, For audiences to contact about local events or concerns, or for musicians to contact if they are looking for a venue.

If vertically integrated through a peak body such as Music Victoria, rather than local councils, the music world in Victoria and Australia would have a much better picture of the concerns across the nation, and how best to address them. In addition, these cluster-groups would give a good reference point on applications for state grants, which at the moment are very individualised processes.

## **6 Recommendations**

The report finds that the following recommendations would contribute to the promotion and stability of live music, while respecting and embracing the identity of Footscray through the gentrification process.

### **6.1 Utilising Council Resources**

1. Appoint a Music Officer/Office as a point of contact for venues and organisations;
2. Invite stakeholders to join a music advisory board, and ensure the board is accessible to regular musicians, audience members, and residents to voice their concerns;
3. Ensure the visibility of music in Footscray by making it more prominent on council documents, advertisements, and online, separate from the 'arts & culture' bracket;
4. Focus marketing strategies, music or otherwise, around the unique diversity of genres and cultures in Footscray;
5. Attempt to garner positive media coverage for the suburb by heavily publicising when festivals or events are happening;
6. Encourage all-ages music events where possible by waiving restrictive permit requirements for family-friendly low-risk music events;

### **6.2 Uses of Space by the Council**

7. Incentivise use of closed venues by private venue operators by offering financial help in upgrading live music venue facilities;
8. Secure leases on closed venues and use as performance, rehearsal, social or residential spaces for musicians or a music advisory board;
9. Secure medium-to-long-term leases on industrially zoned vacant buildings that can be used for creative purposes;
10. Provide residential assistance for emerging artists by way of subsidisation of housing costs;
11. Ensure that heritage listed buildings are properly protected, and if fit for use as a performance space, prioritise this use;

### 6.3 Broader Recommendations

12. Creative Victoria: Allow joint applications to be made to the *Music Works* grants program to emphasise a cooperative and collaborative approach in music clusters;
13. Creative Victoria: Continue to provide funding for community organisations that promote diversity in music and in culture;
14. Music Victoria: Investigate options for incorporating small 'advisory boards' into a larger Music Victoria structure, to aid the sharing of concerns and information between different clusters;
15. Victorian Government: Investigate public transport options to allow the free flow of people and patrons to from the Western Suburbs to the inner north of Melbourne and vice versa;
16. Victorian Government: Ensure that planning policy around Victoria factors in the likelihood of gentrification effects, the potential displacement of long-term residents, and whether the locality will be able to accommodate these displaced residents; and,
17. Victorian and Federal Governments: Consider large-scale grants for the development of recording, rehearsal, and performance spaces in Footscray.

## Conclusion

Live music in Footscray is at a very exciting and important stage. The suburb is well poised to become a vibrant centre for performance, should the presence of a few key components complete the picture of the mini 'music city'. There is a good number of music creators in Footscray, and there are important indicators of a healthy music scene: small performance spaces in bars; recording studios; quality performances spaces; record and music shops; and artists and audiences. With the more consistent use of venues such as FCAC, or the revival of traditional pub venues in the area, and with a more zealous and confident approach to branding the suburb, live music should have a stable home in Footscray.

However, the threats facing long-term residents, and more recent creative residents, with gentrification, are real. If no real development occurs for live music as the property market increases, the true creatives will be gone when the middle-class creative consumers take their place. The property market will increase regardless, so the MCC must plan for long-term solutions, including the provision of long-term creative spaces, performance spaces, and subsidisation of living costs for artists.

The challenge throughout for not just the Council, but the suburb, is to engage with each other and embrace each other. No one can deny that gentrification is taking place, so the suburb had best learn to take this opportunity to conform, or to lose its identity, but to make it more ingrained and stronger in the process.

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## **Interviews**

Interview with Arthur Tanzi, Creative Producer at FCAC (via phone, 10 May 2019)

Interview with Daniel Atlaw, Ethiopian musician (Footscray, 16 May 2019)

Interview with Maribyrnong City Council officers, (Footscray, 27 May 2019).

Interview with Matt Bodiam, former operator of The Reverence Hotel (via phone, 26 April 2019).

Interview with Robyn Gawenda, General Manager at FCAC (Footscray, 24 April 2019).

Interview with Shane Homan, Monash University Academic (Caulfield, 11 April 2019).

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