ROUTLEDGE ADVANCES IN CRITICAL DIVERSITIES



Creativity, Religion and Youth Cultures

Anne M. Harris



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This book explores the rich intersection between faith, religion, and performing arts in culture-based youth groups. The co-constitutive identitybuilding work of music, performance, and drama for Samoan and Sudanese youth in church contexts has given rise to new considerations of diversity, cultural identity, and the religious practices and rituals that inform them. For these young people, their culture-specific churches provide a safe if "imagined community" (Anderson 2006) in which they can express these emerging identities, which move beyond simple framings like "multicultural" to explicitly include faith practices. These identities emerge in combination with popular cultural art forms like hip hop, R&B, and gospel music traditions, as well as performance influences drawn from American, British, and European popular cultural forms (including fashion, reality television, social media, gaming, and online video-sharing). This book also examines the ways in which diasporic experiences are reshaping these cultural and gendered identities and locations.

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Typeset in Sabon by Apex CoVantage, LLC This book is dedicated to my loving father Edward C. Harris (September 29, 1922–February 5, 2001), on whose birthday I finished this manuscript, and who taught me about faith, love, loyalty, and celebrating difference;

and to Greg Dimitriadis (August 27, 1969–December 29, 2014), whose creative and heartful scholarship has influenced me and so many others, and who has left us far too soon.



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Preface to Creativity, Religion, and Youth Cultures

Anne Harris's Creativity, Religion, and Youth Cultures is a much-needed intervention into debates about the identity practices and creative activities of diasporic youth. Her book offers deep insights into the creative community-building undertaken by young people who are too often cast as problem subjects, and too often apprehended via dated ideas about migrant integration and youth transition. There is no doubt that we urgently require more agile theorisation of youth identities, cultures, and communities in conditions of globalisation, mobility, super-diversity, and new life patterns. Young people's contemporary efforts for self-expression, community, and identity now extend us well beyond conventional frames in youth/migration studies, such as the outdated problematic of how young people overcome what is seen as their ethnically-induced deficit, as well as the rigidity of dichotomising home/host and 'torn between two cultures' paradigms of belonging. Young people are forging new, globalised, and/or transnational communicative practices, communities, and identities in the context of everdiversifying patterns of diversity, the collapse of traditional pathways to and possibilities for conventional citizenship, and the advantages and demands of mobility and connectivity. In doing so, they draw on local and global networks and fields of power that privilege the currency of creativity.

How specific groups of young people are doing this work of creative practice, how faith and culture converge in the process, and what this means for theorising youth identity, citizenship, and cultures in new times, is the subject of this engaging, brilliant book. Through an extraordinary ten-year plus (auto)ethnographic project with South Sudanese and Samoan background Christian youth in Melbourne, Australia (a place simultaneously of the global North and South), Anne Harris brings us directly into youth faith-shaped creative practices, interweaving the scholarly work of the book with excerpts from their lyrics and poetry, photographic images, and links to their audio and visual performances, representations, and commentary. She demonstrates how they generate creative capital from a position of local embeddedness in a Southern, subaltern, disaporic context that nonetheless always intersects with global, mobile, and virtual networks.

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Intersectionality drives Harris's approach in every respect, but especially noteworthy is that she never retreats from working at the juncture of faith, youth, and arts. Youth studies has had surprisingly little to say about faith, religion, and spirituality beyond documentation of generational shifts in membership of organised religions or research into youth and religious prejudice, predominantly investigations of young people's experiences of Islamophobia. Religion is often imagined as a pre-determined sociological category that functions as a layer or variable in youth identity, rather than a dynamic, processual experience. Harris instead opens a window onto the everydayness of the intertwining of faith and creativity in the lives of young people and a sophisticated understanding of the processual nature of the identities and practices that they produce.

The book puts substance and criticality into what are often abstract claims that disaporic youth cultures enable processes of creative hybridisation and animate the local-global nexus. It shows exactly how these processes unfold and are managed in the everyday lives of young people, and the implications this has for understanding youth aspirations, belonging, and identity in new times. We are invited to consider these young people's experience as 'madolescence': a glorious term coined by Harris to get at the condition of dissonance between creative forces and communities and the racist, adultist, bordered society (as well as the well-worn theoretical paradigms) through which youth are regulated. She draws on Hickey-Moody's notion of 'little publics' to understand how young people are building community outside, and at times in defiance of, highly managed institutional contexts and regimes of integration and transition. The concept of madolescence takes us straight to the heart of the wild intensity, excess, and untamed possibilities of youth creativity in the making of community and connection. But Harris is not excessively celebrationary or reductionist about young people's creative counterpublics as 'transformative'. Rather, she pushes us to think beyond the usual frameworks about how, with what resources, and against what barriers, youth construct connection, community, belonging, and identity projects in contexts that are simultaneously post-national, transcultural, locally embedded, and multiply networked.

Here we see how creative practices allow youth to simultaneously inscribe local maintenance of culture and religion, network globally, market themselves in transnational creative and cultural industries, and generate processes for individual and collective reflexivity about identity and community. And importantly, the book also explores the complexity faced by young people who seek to express agency, politics, connection, and creativity locally and at the same time pursue global visibility and cachet through the commodification and commercial applications of their image and output. As Harris so deftly demonstrates, these are not so much contradictory impulses as a reflection of the multiple meanings and uses of creative identities for young people in times that reward creative entrepreneurialism, aspiration, and display as signs of good youth citizenship and also offer unprecedented possibilities for empowering experiences of expression and connectivity. Fundamentally, Anne Harris gives us vital new ways of understanding how diasporic youth act and are produced as creative subjects within and beyond old borders of identity, community, and belonging. I have long admired her work (and have been flattered to be mistaken for her on occasion owing to the double quirk of the similarity of our names [no relation] and the fields we work in), and would venture that *Creativity, Religion, and Youth Cultures* is her best yet. This theoretically sophisticated, intersectional analysis of youth creativity is an absolute game-changer: it takes youth studies just where it needs to go.

Anita Harris



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Introduction About This Book



Figure I.1 Samoan fun at Culture Shack program. Photo and copyright, Anne Harris.

Critical Creative Cultures

This book takes a critical approach to the intersectional study of creativity, religion, and cultural practices, based in the rich youth cultures of Samoan and South Sudanese Australians. In it I also recognise the historicity of such enquiries, buried as they are in changing notions of culture, gender, spirituality, and especially these days, creativity. I draw heavily on Appadurai's scapes, his *capacity to aspire* and attention to global flows, and his *social imaginary*, an extension of Anderson's *imagined communities*—all of which I thread through my notion of *creative imaginaries*.

I also propose a notion of 'creative capital' that extends Bourdieu. I use the youth cultures scholarship of Dimitriadis (who himself used Appadurai) and Anita Harris for thinking about multicultural youth and urban youth.

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Less centrally, I draw on the religious/cultural scholarship of Yip, and the creative industries scholarship of O'Connor. I use these interwoven theoretical approaches in order to address the intersectionality of the multiple topics of culture, race, gender, digital cultures, and youth, which I introduce as a contextual landscape against which these youth rise up.

According to foundational creativity researcher E. Paul Torrance, at least from the time of Aristotle, it has been acknowledged that creative achievement is influenced by culture (1997). The ways in which creativity is distinct from artmaking, religion is distinct from faith, and culture is distinct from both ethnic and national subject positions inform the central questions of this text. Drawing on two groups of culturally, religiously, and creatively diverse youth in Melbourne, Australia (who know each other, and whose creative and religious pursuits bring them into contact), this book celebrates the complex intersectionality that characterises the lives of some migrant youth today. Here, South Sudanese and Samoan Christian youth discuss their faith-informed creative practices from a global south, Asia-Pacific perspective. By looking at the intersectionality of race, youth, culture, and music/performance-making as a nexus of social and cultural capital for youth cultures in the Asia Pacific, this book shows readers the increasingly digitally inflected, increasingly globally focused lives of even those who are mostly framed as 'local' in the discourses of global mobilities.

The threads that tie a gossameric link between creativity and spirituality are long and deep, and the things that make creativity both difficult to define and worth pursuing are some of the same characteristics of faith and spirituality. But here the intersection focuses on the ways in which contemporary young people from these two distinct diasporic communities pursue the meaning of Christian faith in their lives, in ways that might be considered both secular and religious. As Yip and Page remind us, the concepts of 'lived religion' (McGuire 2003) and 'everyday religion' (Ammerman 2007)

capture the ways in which individuals interweave their religious faith with their everyday life, engaging with enabling and constraining potentials in explicitly religious spaces as well as secular spaces. This offers the possibilities of encountering religion in unexpected places, and opens the researchers' minds to the ways in which religion might not be bound up in institutions and/or sacred texts. Lived and everyday religion instead puts the focus on the ingenious ways individuals craft their faith in a complex world.

(2013, 4)

These young people perform and also narrate their Christian faith in just that way. The intersectional approach used in this book is informed by several discourses, including post-structuralist, youth studies, creativity studies, and critical education. The use of multiple frameworks acknowledges the inextricability of these influences on the ways South Sudanese and Samoan youth in the global south understand community, cultural maintenance, creativity, and contemporary youth practices, which for them are embedded in their Christian values, and collective/individual creative and family-based rituals. Together, these sites of ritual form fields and habitus, co-constructing and enacting different forms of capital. These young people's ability to reflect upon and creatively reframe their experiences demonstrate a kind of emerging creative capital that can be understood as relational, agentic, and public. I argue that this emerging creative capital is a gateway to what Appadurai (1996) calls a new imaginary, constructed and maintained by these diasporic youth through an extension of his social mediascapes and Manning's (2009) 'relationscapes'.

The book is comprised of the written text and its digital assets, which were created by myself (and Alta Truden) and the young people you will meet here, with whom I have been working over the past ten years. The digital assets (video, sound, and still image files) are mostly self-generated graphic digital artefacts from these South Sudanese and Samoan Australian youth communities in order to foreground their particular kinds of critical approaches to their lived experiences, and which co-construct meaning alongside the more 'scholarly' arguments I advance in the text. These written and digital artefacts should be experienced together (as they were created), in order to fully enter into the multiple (though co-mingled) worlds which this book explores.

I have divided the book into two sections relating to community-building and creative becoming. These section introductions and headings provide, I hope, a fairly straightforward structure for working through this critical creative material without re-essentialising these disparate communities or practices, or suggesting they can be considered here individually and not in relation to one another. The book is divided by cultural group, not because of any culturally or ethnically essentialising goal or oversight, but rather because their primary communities of creative practice centre on these subjectivities. These two diverse youth communities are combined together in one work, as I outline in the introduction chapter, because they have known each other, performed together, and in some cases have been classmates for many years, and as such their stories (and mine) are intertwined. Their creative and religious identifications also provide a salient point of comparison and contrast due to them both being Christian, despite my original intention to include religiously diverse groups also. In the end, in conversation we came to decide that it was a good idea to include both Christian groups to see how they imagined and expressed their faiths differently, despite both being Christian.

It is my intention that these young people's voices lead us into a complex interrogation of the very rich ways in which they live the intersections between capitalism, faith-based practices, and creativity in their own lives—lives that are racially and culturally integrated but also productively segregated at times. It is written with a variety of audiences in mind, including the young people

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and their own peers, families, and other youth around the globe. But in it we also attempt to speak to practitioners, service-providers, and researchers in the fields of social work, gender, community arts, cultural and creativity studies, communications, arts and philosophy, sociology, health, and education. I have written it too with the intention of being relevant to policy-makers and practitioners within the voluntary and public sector working on gender, community development, religious studies, and cultural diversity in the fields of international relations, education, and youth work.

I hope this text fills a gap at the intersection between some important recent books on post-secularity (Lassander 2012), youth cultures (White and Wyn 2013), and cultural diversity, globalisation, and religion (Maira and Soep 2005; Rudowicz 2003) on the one hand, and creativity as it intersects with education, culture, and global creative industries on the other (Flew 2013; Araya and Peters 2010; Lubart and Sternberg 1998). Importantly, this book focuses on southern hemisphere and South Pacific perspectives and practices as a site of emergent creative practice, and represents an area of long-standing interest but a dearth of critical texts (Giuffre 2009), especially not self-generated. While not concerned primarily with digital culture beyond its role in the community-making labour of the young people featured here, the book acknowledges the links between DIY maker cultures, participatory and prosumer cultures, and creative communities (for the non-'creative class').

Overall, this text emerges from a rise in interest in recent years about racial, religious, and cultural diversity in youth cultures. It unpacks the social and cultural implications of such diversities, through the lens of creativity. The text's unique focus is on the ways that performance, creativity, and the arts both construct and simultaneously undermine those intersecting identities. It fore-grounds Pacific and southern states geo-political subjectivities that remain under-represented in popular and scholarly discourses, and their influence on the cultural role of creativity globally.

Creativity studies researchers, social scientists, arts practitioners, and activists working intersectionally in intercultural contexts may also find some value between these covers, and it is my express wish that the observations and arguments advanced here will contribute to the very dynamic contemporary conversation about culture and creativity, and that readers will find something to 'speak back' to, with which to engage, and from which to launch their own interventions into understanding contemporary creativity that offer a more holistic and more sustainable way forward than we are seeing at the current time.

Defining Youth

This book spends intentional time defining the notion of 'youth', which in the case of migrant and refugee young people is often misunderstood and inconsistently named (not unlike creativity itself), a fact that too-often goes

unremarked in mainstream western and academic literatures. It is also a category with permeable boundaries depending on cultural contexts, historical contexts, age, and genders. The United Nations delineates youth as those between fifteen and twenty-four years old (see www.un.org), but in the two predominant longitudinal projects featured in this book, the youth have ranged between thirteen and thirty years old. Of course, 'youth' as a category and as a discursive exercise is always culturally situated, and often constructed very differently in western culture than in non-western cultures. So for example the ways in which the category of youth is defined by the Samoan young people in this book is very different from the ways in which youth are defined in South Sudanese culture (both in western resettlement contexts and in Africa, as detailed extensively in my text on ethnocinema and South Sudanese girls, in Harris 2013a). In this book I once again draw on the cultural anthropology of Arjun Appadurai (2013, 2006, 2004, 1999, 1996), on the new materialist work of Erin Manning (2014, 2013, 2009, 2007, 2003) and Brian Massumi (2013, 2011, 2002), on youth and girlhood studies literature especially from Amy Dobson (2015) and Anita Harris (2013, 2008, 2004), and most importantly I draw on the reflections and creative performances of my youth collaborators.

In defining youth though, I also want to make a clear distinction between the youth in this book who have emerged from diverse refugee and migrant experiences, and those who have not. Migrants too often get lumped together, as do people of colour, youth in general, and ethnic-based groupings like 'Africans' and 'Asians'. The South Sudanese and Samoan youth whose voices are featured here, like most of us, go to great pains to distinguish themselves from the others with whom they are overgeneralised and genericised in groupings, and so out of respect for them and for the requirements of vigourous scholarship, so too must we and I strive to do so in this book. The purpose of combining them in a book on religion, culture, and creativity is in order to show two distinct and dynamic groups of non-white western youth who are active in community in cosmopolitan Melbourne, but their pairing is not arbitrary: as mentioned, many of these young people are friends, former classmates, and are fellow Christians. For these and other reasons, there are overlaps and yet distinctions, and both offer rich axes for comparison and contrast.

The many differences between refugee-background and non-refugee-background migration are equally significant: the South Sudanese youth here (or for some who were very small upon arrival or born in Australia, their parents and/or siblings) have suffered unimaginable layers of trauma associated with their refugee experiences. Sometimes these layers are visible in their creative works, and sometimes they are not. The often-violent contexts from which they have emerged are substantively distinct from the migration experiences of the Samoan youth who have not emerged from war contexts. Yet some aspects of their experiences bear similarities too: in living as part of a global diaspora, the fractured and uprooted scattering of families, the racism and othering of brown people in a majority-white country of resettlement, the remoteness of geographic home, the cultural and familial experience of being born outside of one's family's country of origin.¹ The Samoan youth narrate the ways in which just moving from New Zealand to Australia (a small move compared to the initial migration from Samoa to 'the west') has further eroded their cultural and religious knowledges and community cohesion. For the South Sudanese, there are ways in which the migration out of South Sudan has increased the interconnectedness and commitment of their religious and cultural subjectivities, as well as scattered them.

Kathleen Gallagher's (2014) five-year multi-sited ethnography *Why Theatre Matters* similarly tackles some of these issues concerning young people who are most regarded as 'disadvantaged' and 'marginal' by calling her work a 'pedagogy of the real'. I too would consider what these Samoan and South Sudanese youth are doing here as a pedagogy of the real, albeit too often outside of schools. Gallagher takes a 'multi-dimensional' approach to student engagement, one which underscores social context and interpersonal relations, and one of her major contributions to the field is expanding what scholars and practitioners consider to be sites and practices of 'drama education'; similarly, this text asks readers to reconsider what sites and practices of culture might look like in a new global creativity.

What does it mean to 'globalise' the research imagination, as Appadurai and then Dimitriadis have asked us to do? For Gallagher, it is in both the construction of the knowledge created, as well as its circulation. Gallagher's 'data', like the data here, were relational, performative, and embedded in social relations. They included in-class work, live performances, digital performances, focus groups, interviews, and surveys. She deployed mixed methods with the explicit purpose of 'quantitatively exploring' what the richer data seemed to show, as I have done in my current four-nation creativity-in-schools research study (Harris 2015a). Yet what might be the value of global data sets if researchers seek to globalise our imaginations as well as our practices, rather than reduce such diversities into 'emergent themes' and foreclose the rich differences to which they bear witness?

For Gallagher, such a long-term, multi-sited mixed methods ethnographic study, from such vastly different contexts and processes and spaces, revealed the specificities of local practices, as the ongoing creative work of the Samoan and South Sudanese young people in this book does. She has also long drawn attention to what she calls the 'gendered material struggle' of urban youth in precarious employment, juggling various lives, and then having to endure stigmatizing representations of their lives in the popular media. Like the Samoan and South Sudanese youth here, Gallagher's co-participants have resorted to making their own self-representations because they see so few authentic reflections around them. And for every creative victory, these youth carry the weight of feeling responsible for what befalls them, being neoliberally programmed to believe that the global south matters less, is less interesting, less modern, networked, and less relevant to not only creative industries but creative and economic futures. And yet, the young people in this book respond, here we are. They see themselves as part of a global community, even if so many in that global community don't yet see them. They enact that global citizenship every day through social media and other online networks. Their resilience is interwoven into their expressions of culture, religion, and creativity, and the strength of this fabric protects them from the vicissitudes of racist, classist, and euro-centric society, and sustains them when these forces threaten to swamp their subcultural nests. They manage, somehow, to remain firmly rooted in local communities while reaching creative tentacles out into the global mediascape.

Lastly, while both groups of young people here experience racism, the South Sudanese report much more frequent and more aggressive forms of racism, and more directly tied to their skin colour, than the Samoan youth. As my earlier work has noted in detail (Harris 2014, 2013), in Australia the arrival of significant numbers of South Sudanese only dates back to about 2004, and the relatively sudden influx triggered ongoing and often ugly backlash from some sectors of the majoritarian white Australian community and media. In all of these ways, the youth featured in this book represent perhaps a different perspective on 21st-century youth cultures, both as migrant youth who use creativity to celebrate their particular hybrid brand of culture and religion and to speak back to everyday racism, and who connect with the global north for creative and cultural inspiration. These youth, while in some ways very different from their white peers in the global north (and the global south), are in many other ways exactly the same as they navigate adolescence, family, and the future, and I hope to highlight both these differences as well as the universalities of their experiences in these pages.

Defining Religion

At a time of so-called secularisation of the western world, set in a reassuringly neat binary opposite to the so-called fundamentalist rise of the non-western world, these youth groups show a more complex and more integrated picture, in which these supposed polarities meet and mingle in productive overlapping creative lived experience. As recent events in Russia have shown regarding the complexities of sexual/religious intersections, it is more important than ever to separate simplistic re-essentialising discourses of dogmatic religion from evolving global subjectivities and political agendas. The empirical data drawn on in this text, combined with the broad survey of the growing body of critical literature on secularism, religion, gender, and culture, enable this book to comment from both macro- and micro-perspectives on the ways in which these youth activities are powerfully shaping the political and cultural landscape of tomorrow, but also the ways in which simply secular/religious definitions may be missing the potency of faith orientations completely.

In approaching this book and the making of work for that purpose, I did consider and discuss with my youth collaborators whether it would be preferable to include diverse religious orientations as well as cultural ones.

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We agreed that while such an approach would have particular strengths, it also might lend itself to stereotyping about 'Christian' versus 'Muslim' or other youth practices, and we felt that offering two youth perspectives that were both Christian might bring other similarities and differences into sight. Working across well-established relationships on a topic of Christian faith expressions through creativity seemed simple and clear, for a topic that is messy and overlapping. Similarly, discourses themselves can be messy where youth, religion, and creativity are concerned. For example, current tensions between cultural industries and creative industries discourses show the ways that aspirational projects which seek to push forward into more intersectional approaches can become 'muddied' and lose momentum. Similarly, a book of this nature that criss-crosses so many complex realms of experience in the lives of young people points to the need for a more dynamic conversation about the differences between religion, faith, and spirituality-a conversation that (like creativity) often gets collapsed down into secular versus religious.

The role of religion and faith practices is also inextricably linked to aspiration and the ever-narrowing available paths to 'something better' (be that religious or material) for these minoritarian youth. While they sometimes speak explicitly about their Christian practices and beliefs as 'religion', they often consider it a more private 'faith' experience, or the less structured 'spirituality' they value. These nuances are important, and space limitations do not always allow me to explore them fully, but where possible they are noted and at least indicated as areas for further exploration. But I will also problematise the intersection between religious and youth cultures, especially within the Australian context, where greater criticality is indeed called for and can be heard in the voices of the youth themselves.

In another recent study of mine with culturally and linguistically diverse lesbian, gay, bisexual, transgender, and queer (LGBTQ) young people, the distinctions between religion and traditional culture were made by those youth who felt the brunt of homophobia was coming primarily from religious imperatives rather than cultural ones (Harris 2013d, 2011b). And in other work with some of the same youth collaborators featured here, I drew on Halberstam in order to problematise 'success' through her lens of the 'queer art of failure', "a resistance to the ubiquitous neoliberal notion that success and happiness are inexorably tied to individual liberty, achievement, resilience and ability, and that they are part of a liberating agenda in democratic society" (Harris 2013c, 123). By challenging the material success imperatives inherent in our American and Australian contexts, these young women from Samoan and South Sudanese backgrounds offer other kinds of success narratives than the singular one available in capitalist neoliberal discourses.

Some of the discussion here draws on *Culture Shack*, a previous collaborative creative project involving some of both these Samoan and also South Sudanese youth, in which "performers who ended up in the music video chose to sing in multiple languages, primarily English and Arabic. A majority of the lyrics included Christian faith-based content, which was surprising for the coordinators (some of whom knew the participants well) and for Nantali [the hip hop stream facilitator], who has run so many similar workshops in Montreal for the past several years" (Harris 2013c, 129). Such longitudinal involvement through artmaking allows the evolving notion of the intersectionality of the religious, cultural, and creative processes and perspectives of these youth to become clear to readers and sometimes to themselves.

Like Gallagher's multi-sited ethnographic co-participants, these youth speak confidently from 'insider' perspectives, in this case richly demonstrating the ways in which religion is not the constraining dogmatic institutional presence it may have been to their parents but rather the site of their hybrid emerging identities. Their creative activities represent a kind of postpolitical and post-proselytising engagement in which aspiration can be both grounded in lived experiences and communities (including families, church groups, cultural groups, and global youth movements), while at the same time representative of a 'capacity to aspire' (Appadurai) that offers them possibilities beyond their current circumstances. Faith-sharing and the arts offer them these possibilities in ways that more direct political and social activism do not.

It has been argued that a meta-narrative of secularity and extremism of this age masks a range of diverse experiences and relationships with the mundane, the divine, ecological and cultural formations, and social practices of praise (Taylor 2007) across the globe. Dimitriadis and Weis have written extensively about the "contested terrain of education, urban youth and globalization" (2008, 81), which includes popular culture, public pedagogies, and creative expressions of cultural and racial subjectivities. Building upon the southern postcolonial and critical gender scholarship of Connell (2007), Smith (2006), and others, this book highlights perspectives and practices specific to the Asia Pacific and Australia, as culturally, creatively, and spiritually diverse sites of modernity, and extends this scholarship to a critical consideration of the ways in which these social practices and diversities continue to evolve in emerging global digital cultures where young people perform and encounter creative role models, multiple forms of community-building, and material progress (Pollock 2005; Mitias 1985).

Defining Creativity

Since as far back as Stein (1953), scholars have tried to define and measure creativity and its relationship to culture (Niu and Sternberg 2001). Others more recently have highlighted new forms of creative enquiry in research contexts, especially new and emerging social science methods and methodologies (Spencer 2011; Mason and Dale 2010; Banks 2005; Giri 2004; Banks 2001/2005), including performative and digital ones. The power of