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Hybrid Identities: Being a Greek Musicker in Melbourne and in Greece

Renee Georgoulas: ████

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Abstract

This research explores the hybrid identities of Australian and Greek popular and traditional musicians and dancers in Melbourne, Australia and in Greece and finds that identity is complex, changing, and influenced by social and cultural context. All participants are bicultural, bi-musical and bilingual and select their music and dance practices according to personal preference, context, time and place. Cultural hybridity is increasingly common in culturally inclusive countries in a globalized world. The research begins with an autoethnographical study. Subsequently there are three individual and group case studies of Greek Australian musickers (musicians and a dancer). There is a study of Greek jazz musicians. In these phenomenological case studies data reveals negotiations and tensions in identity construction both by individuals and shared with others in groups. The final study explores the understandings of identity and culture held by bicultural Greek Australians and the wider community about public celebrations of Greek culture, specifically the annual Antipodes festival held in Melbourne (Victoria). The formation and development of hybridized identity is a complex lifelong process that may generate tensions for the individual. There are both strengths and challenges for those transitioning between cultures. This study focuses on the musical identity formed by personal, musical and cultural contexts.

Thesis including published works General Declaration

I hereby declare that this thesis contains no material which has been accepted for the award of any other degree or diploma at any university or equivalent institution and that, to the best of my knowledge and belief, this thesis contains no material previously published or written by another person, except where due reference is made in the text of the thesis.

This thesis includes 1 original paper published in a peer-reviewed journal, 2 original papers in press in peer reviewed journals and 3 unpublished publications that have been submitted and are under review. The core theme of the thesis is Hybrid Identities. The ideas, development and writing up of all the papers in the thesis were the principal responsibility of myself, the candidate, working within the Faculty of Education under the supervision of Associate Professor Jane Southcott and with her active collaboration.
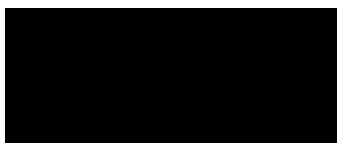
In the case of Chapters 2-7 my contribution to the work involved the following:

Thesis chapter	Publication title	Publication status*	Nature and extent (%) of student's contribution
2	Multiple musical identities: An autoethnographic study of a Greek Australian popular and traditional musician and teacher	Published	70%
3	The 'bitter sweetness' of hybridity: A case study of a bilingual, bicultural Greek	Submitted	70%

	Australian musician		
4	A case study of a Greek Australian traditional dancer: Embodying identity through musicking	Published	70%
5	Greek Musicians in Melbourne, Australia. A Study of Greek Australian bilingual and bicultural musicians who either perform or compose in a variety of musical traditions including traditional Greek and contemporary popular music	Submitted	70%
6	Six Greek Musickers discuss Jazz: Enacting Greek Australian identity	Published	70%
7	The Antipodes Festival	Submitted	100%

I have not renumbered sections of submitted or published papers in order to generate a consistent presentation within the thesis.

Student signature: ███████████   **Date: 7 January 2016**

The undersigned hereby certify that the above declaration correctly reflects the nature and extent of the student and co-authors' contributions to this work.

Main Supervisor signature: ███████████   **Date: 7 January 2016**

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Chapter 1

Exegesis

Introduction

This research explores the hybrid identities of Australian and Greek popular and traditional musickers in Melbourne, Australia and in Greece. The term musicking was coined by Christopher Small (1998) and is defined as:

> To music is to take part, in any capacity, in a musical performance, whether by performing, by listening, by rehearsing or practicing, by providing material for performance (what is called composing), or by dancing. (Small, 1998, p. 9)

The concept of musicking (making music) is highly complex and this one word can encapsulate diverse cultures, styles and practices. This research explores the cross-fertilisation provided by being bilingual, bicultural and in some cases multi-musical. The musickers in this study have complex musical identities influenced by a range of musical genres and styles and by the sociocultural context in which their musicking occurs. Specifically, all the participants in the case studies that form this thesis with publication are Greek or Greek Australian and active participants in music or dance performance. The musical styles and genres encompassed in this study include traditional Greek music and dance, classical Western art music, and popular music in both Greece and Melbourne. In all cases there is a negotiation between various influences on musical and personal identity, often most clearly seen in the language (Greek or Australian English) in which the musicking occurs. All the musicians and dancers in this study self-identify as Greek – some were born in Greece, some in Australia and a few in North America.

All now reside in Melbourne, Australia or in Greece. Some have spent significant amounts of time in both countries. For the musicians and dancers in Melbourne most are bicultural and bilingual and perform in a variety of settings. For the musicians in Greece the research considered issues regarding their engagement with Jazz and Popular music and how they also explore different culturally influenced aspects of identity, musical identity and musicking *per se.*

Since antiquity the Greeks have been and remain a diasporic people. Migration is not a new phenomenon and human mobility has been reported since the beginning of recorded history when "people migrate in search of better life-conditions or of entertainment, as a result of was or love, because of catastrophes or out of curiosity for strange lands and peoples" (Kadianaki, 2014, pp. 1-2). Of increasing interest to scholars, diasporas are major historical dispersions and more recently mass movements of populations (Hall 1991; Ember, Ember & Skoggard, 2004; Brubaker, 2005). Although diasporas predate globalization in recent times these are clearly related. There are common features to diasporas, "each of which does not apply to every diaspora (but which every diaspora must have some of)" (Cohen, 1997, p. 26). These features include expansion from a homeland in pursuit of work, trade or colonial ambitions; the retention of a collective sometimes mythic memory about the homeland (including its location, history and achievements); a sustained strong ethnic group consciousness "based on a sense of distinctiveness, [and] a common history; … a sense of empathy and solidarity with co-ethnic members of other countries of settlement; and the possibility of a distinctive creative, enriching life in host countries" (Nonini, 2004, p. 559). As a diasporic people the Greeks have an extensive presence outside Greece including Asia Minor, North and South America, Australia, Canada and England (Tsolidis,

1995). As stated immigrant populations are rarely homogeneous but may be "bound by common experiences that lead to migration … for individuals in a diaspora, the site of ethnic or cultural origin becomes an important marker of identity, though these concepts are often re-imagined in general and simplified terms" (Chacko & Menon, 2013, p. 99).

Diasporic people are invested in the retention of cultural traditions "arising from the flow of objects, ideologies, cultural commodities, imageries, financial arrangements, and so on and generating innovations via hybridity, … 'crossover' in the new cultural products associated with enhanced connections between locales made possible by globalization" (Nonini, 2004, p. 561). Implicit in the notion of diaspora Greek migrants retain a sense of 'Greekness' or 'Ellenismos', but this

> fractures into myriad realities, not only with regard to destinations but also
> with regard to the places where migration began and the reasons which
> stimulated it in the first (or second) place. Yet, despite this, there is a
> persistent feeling that the differences are bound by similarities. There exists
> an assumption about sameness; a Greekness in places far from Greece.
> (Tsolidis, 1995)

In Australia definition of what it is to be Greek are increasingly varied. There is a long-standing Greek presence in Australia that is now reaching third and fourth generations in relation to post-war migration (Tsolidis, 1995). It is important to recognise that just the term 'Greek' covers a myriad different ways of being and enacting Greekness. For example in Australia there is an "immense diversity of 'Greekness' … in relation to what Greeks came, where from, why and when, and what became of people when they arrived in Australia" (Tsolidis, 1995). Today's

Australian Greek community includes Greeks from Macedonia, Pontus, Asia Minor, Egypt and Cyprus and people who identify as Greek live in all parts of Australia (Tsolidis, 1995). There are diverse ways of defining one's Greekness. For some there is a memory and fierce retention of what was left behind at the time of migration, for others (mainly from subsequent generations) there can by cultural rejection and reclamation with culture itself being influenced by globalization. After announcing a Greek Australian identity, there are many sub-clauses to be added about what part of Greece, how many generations ago, what languages are spoken (and how well), what music and dance is traditional, and so forth. For diasporic people such as Greek Australians diverse forms of cultural production become crucial in the construction of cultural identity both in Australia and in relation to the Greek 'homeland'.

All of the Greek Australian participants in the case studies reported in this thesis with publication speak Greek (with variations depending on what part of Greece they or their ancestors came from) and Australian English (with varying degrees of fluency). Language is the most easily recognised form of cultural connection. Language "mediates and connects the individual identity and the social identity … acts as a powerful symbol, representing affiliation with a community and varied allegiances" (Mills, 2005, p. 259). But language can also be a site of contestation. Papademetre (1994) explains carefully what it is to be Greek Australian:

> In Australia, I speak Australian-English, because I express myself better in English than in Greek. Non-Greek speaking Australians will consider me Greek because of my Greek name, or because my parents come from Greece, or because I tell them so. But some Greeks in Australia call me

afstralogenimeno (Australian-born), not Greek, because my Greek is very

limited. Then, when I go to Greece, I am called *ksenos*, a foreign, or

afstralos because of the way I speak Greek. So, if you ask me what I believe

I am, I'll tell you: I'm Australian-born Greek. (Papademetre, 1994, p. 508)

This explanation reveals the "changing interaction of variables in language use and

self-defined identity" (Papademetre, 1994, p. 508) and the fluidity and complexity

of dynamically-shared and evolving cultures. Language can connect individuals to

their self-identification and "bilingual people draw upon a rich diversity of

linguistic and cultural repertoires which construct their sense of self, to the extent

that many state that they feel as though they are different persons as they manage a

range of registers across their different languages" (Mills, 2005, p. 259). Linguistic

identity is tied to cultural identity, specifically that explored in this research:

musicking.

For the Greek Australian participants in this research, linguistic cultural and

musical identity can be complex (Papademetre, 1994). The identity of an

individual is never simple or fixed but depends on the frame in which we realise

and enact our social roles and display our identity (Kakava, 2003). The self can be

understood as "fluid, fragmented and multiple" (Pavlenko, 2001, p. 339). The

identity of an individual is continuously formed, reformed and transformed in

relation to self representation within a given cultural milieu. The exploration of

our self perceived self identity is of considerable interest to researchers

(Hargreaves & Marshall, 2003) who question the notion of identity as a single

entity, rather now considering it to be a collective term that refers to an active and

constantly reconsidered dynamic organization of sub-identities that may

complement or contradict each other (Mishler, 1999). It is this ongoing negotiation and tension that is the subject of this research, both for the researcher and for her participants. In this changing world where individuals can move between communities and identities, how this group of musickers enact their cultural and individual hybridity can offer insight into the provision of music and music education (and dance and dance education) opportunities for both the Greek Australian community and the wider population. This is particularly relevant to a nation such as Australia that aspires to cultural inclusivity.

Musicking identities are formed by "construction, reconstruction and renegotiation" made increasingly possible and by globalisation (Hargreaves, Miell & Macdonald, 2002, p. 2). And the formation of musicking identities is different for different generations. For example "identity formation amongst second-generation immigrant youth usually reflects their experiences related to otherness, the desire to embrace their heritage, and the inherent hybridity of their existence" (Chacko & Menon, 2012, p. 97). Cultural practices occur in social situations in multiple spaces, including clubs, homes, and public spaces and it is through cultural engagement that unique concepts of cultural and ethnic identity are formed (Chacko & Menon, 2013). Society is understood as a "mosaic of relatively durable patterned interactions and relationships [that are] … embedded in an array of groups, organizations, communities, and institutions and intersected by crosscutting boundaries of class, ethnicity, age, gender, religion, and other variables" (Stryker & Burke, 2000, p. 285).

Cultural and ethnic identities are the shared "factors which bind a group of people together and give them a sense of belonging [and in this] language, system of

beliefs, religion, history, customs, values and traditions are considered important"
(Tsolidis, 1995). Ting-Toomey and Dorjee (2014) define cultural identity as "the
emotional significance that members attach to their sense of belonging and
affiliation with a larger culture" and ethnic identity is "linked closely with the
intergroup boundary maintenance issue across generations" (p. 31). Evolving and
changing cultural identities are created in a complex, multifaceted process that
involves contested and changing attitudes and values, the acquisition of new skills,
and "emotional adjustment to and acceptance of the new environment" (Rosenthal,
Bell, Demetriou & Efklides, 1989, pp. 57-58). As will be seen in several of the
case studies included in this thesis there may also be resistance to evolution and
change – rather individuals seek to reclaim, maintain, preserve and share cultural
heritage. In one of the case studies in this thesis the participants have not migrated
from Greece but could be said to have migrated from traditional Greek music to
become performers of jazz. Thus their traditional forms of are challenged by
modernisation and/or cultural contact (Sorce-Keller, 2010, p. 179). Patterns of
identity are complex and can be "expressed through musical behaviour" (Sorce-
Keller, 2010, p. 182).

Self is developed in interaction with and in response to the reaction of other
people. Interaction itself is shaped by socio-cultural context. An individuals'
identity can shift over time due to personal experiences and choices, and social,
cultural, and historical interactions. Writing of musical identity Frith (1996a)
advances two premises, "first, that identity is mobile, a process not a thing, a
becoming not a being; second, that our experience of music – of music making and
music listening – is best understood as an experience of this self-in-process" (p.

109). Music making and music listening are included in the definition of musicking offered at the outset. The participants in this research may be described as having a hybrid identity, possibly a bicultural, bilingual, bimusical identity but "hybridity is not simply the fusion of two binarized categories of identity; hybridity instead destabilizes the fixity of these categories" (Chacko & Menon, 2013, p. 99). Hybridity emphasizes the exchanges between various cultural and musical identities (Chacko & Menon, 2013).

Identity theory offers an explanation for the link between the individual's conception of self and the socio-cultural context within which he or she acts and thinks (Turner 1978; Burke 1980). Identity *per se* "is generally used to define and described an individual's sense of self, group affiliations, structural positions, and ascribed and achieved statuses" (Peek, 2005, pp. 216-217). Hall argues for a discursive model of identity formation in which discourses have a significant role in the construction of identity. In this study the discourses could be linguistic and/or musical. As Hall (1996) asserts, "identities are never unified and in late modern times, increasingly fragmented and fractured; never singular but multiply constructed across different, often intersecting and antagonistic discourses, practices and positions" (p. 4). Identity formation is both the result of internal process, such as self-reflection, subjective perception, and external circumstances such as the social environment (Peek, 2005). It is no longer tenable to understand identity as unified and fixed. Identity is now considered as 'becoming' rather than 'being', in other words in a constant state of evolution and reconstruction. This process involves both personal and social interaction (Mills, 2005; Brockhall & Liu, 2011). Identity is "bestowed in acts of social recognition" (Brockhall & Liu, 2011, p. 16) and shaped by social processes. Identity is formed by the construction

of reflective self-images *via* experience and communication between individuals in a particular cultural context (Ting-Toomey, 2005). For migrants "identity challenges … are complexly intertwined with the social contexts that immigrants relate to … with the particularities of their personal life-stories and … the process of responding to these challenges depend on their life-histories" (Kadianaki, 2014, p. 2). These are embedded in particular socio-cultural contexts and shaped by the social environment and social interaction (Kadianaki, 2014).

Significance

Music and culture are complex, fluid, changing and cross-fertilizing. This thesis with publication explores different aspects of cultural cross-fertilization and the resultant complex music identities of Greek musickers in both Melbourne and in Greece. The core cultural and linguistic identity of the participants in this thesis is Greek. But how this is enacted in culture music and dance varies between individuals, locations and musical genres. As Chang (2007) asserts, "The cultural meanings of self's thoughts and behaviours – verbal and non-verbal need to be interpreted in their cultural context" (p. 9).

In culturally diverse and aspirationally inclusive countries, hybrid identities are the norm. Hargreaves et al. (2002), define multiple musical identities as the "concept of musical identity [that] enables us to look at the wide spread and varied interactions between music and the individual" (p. 5). Music "is a fundamental channel of communication [and] provides a means by which people can share emotions, intentions and meanings" (Hargreaves et al., 2002, p.1). Having multiple musical identities "culturally defined features as a musician, composer,

performer, improviser or teachers are central to the identities of professional musicians" (Hargreaves et al., 2002, p. 2). Like all identities, musical identities are "mobile, a process not a thing, a becoming not a being, best understood as an experience of the self-in-process when the subjective and collective sides of musical identity are inseparable" (Frith, 1996, p. 110). The importance of different musical cultures has significance for musicians as they can come from difference backgrounds, and perform, dance or compose a variety of different styles of music such as popular music, traditional and using different languages. These different facets of complex identities alter according to the demands of culture, occasion and personal preference.

Contention

Given the aspirational cultural diversity of Australia, a consideration of this musical life can offer insight into the provision of music and music education opportunities for the wider population. All of these concepts (culture, music, and education) encompass vast possibilities and cross-fertilizations. For example, music cannot be considered as a singular practice and common usage now employs the plural 'musics'. Ultimately the contention of this thesis is that musical identity is complex, fluid, and formed by the sociocultural context and musicking preferences of the individual. How we engage with music and enact out culture both forms and explicates our personal sense of self and our positioning in our culture.

Research Questions

There is one driving question that is derived from the research Contention:

How do Musicians/dancers with hybrid cultural and music identities negotiate musical engagement?

This large question sits over a number of secondary question:

1. Which culture, which language?

All of the participants were interviewed in their first language English or Greek depending on their preference. The common language and culture of all the participants is Greek. They integrate English or Greek depending on where they are and to whom they are performing for. The researcher who undertook the interviews speaks fluent Greek and she transcribed the interviews and translated any Greek words used throughout the interviews. The use of language indicates cultural and linguistic preferences. In the initial autoethnographic article the researcher stated that "all my musical experience has created who I am now" but who she is continues to be a negotiation between styles that can influence, infiltrate and enrich each other. This first sub-question is to be posed to all participants in this study.

2. Which music to perform?

The main theme that arises from this study is the cross fertilisation of being bilingual, bicultural, and bimusical. The participants' musical identities reflect a rich, complex musical and cultural life. This is founded on their bilingualism (or multilingualism) and accompanying biculturalism in both Greek and Australian English language and culture. Their Greek musical identities encompass both Greek traditional and popular musics. Bruner (1990, p. 110) describes self-identity

"both as a guardian of permanence and as a barometer responding to the local cultural weather".

Across the participants the musicians in Melbourne perform in a variety of Greek and English settings (clubs, concert venues, etc.) and mostly perform in Greek. In Greece the musicians mainly performed in nightclubs and used Greek lyrics but would also do some performances in English. The Dancers in Greece would perform to areas of Greece and dance the particular dance for that particular part of Greece. The Dancers in Melbourne would perform a variety of dancers according to the part of Greece or they would dance to dances that were from different parts of Greece.

3. Which language to combine with which music?

4. How do the participants negotiate styles and fusions?

At all times the researcher and participants negotiate their musical and cultural identities. They must decide who they are in any given time, place, performance, classroom, studio, and so forth. The first decision must be which language and which culture. From this decision, other decisions stem. For example, if the decision is to engage with Greek language and music, then which musical style will be selected, which instrument(s), what compositions, and so on.

The Greek presence in Australia

It should be noted that in this thesis with publication each of the articles included that discusses Greek Australian participants includes contextualizing information about Greek migration to Australia and Greek Australian culture in Melbourne.

This may appear repetitious but was a necessary component of every paper. Presented here is an overview of this information.

Greeks have been coming to Australia since settlement although some were "transient visitors, seamen or itinerant workers. Many stayed a while, left … returned and then settled down and raised families" (Harvey, 1988, p. 121). Some Greek families may now have reached their fifth or even sixth generation. Beginning in the nineteenth century Greeks have migrated to Australia and have played an increasingly important role in Australian culture (Kanarakis, 2011). Migration has been a constant part of Greek culture since antiquity. At any given time more than 40 per cent of Greeks live outside the national borders of Greece (Tamis, 2005; Cleland, 2013). Tsolidis (1995) explains that the

> diaspora is ingrained in the Greek psyche to the extent that it is quite normal
> for Greeks to talk of the number of their compatriots living beyond the
> shores of Greece almost as though Greek communities in other countries
> were outposts of Greece". Music and dance have always been "essential to
> the family and community life of Greeks and their descendants in Australia
> since they began to form communities in the 1880s. (Tsounis, 2012, p. 306)

Before 1945

Greek migrants have been part of the history of Australia for nearly two centuries (Gilchrist, 1988). The first recorded presence of Greeks in Australia was seven young Greek sailors convicted of piracy who were amongst the convicts sent to New South Wales in 1829, two of who became permanent Australian residents (Greek Care, 2013; Georgiades, 2014). As convict laborers, Greek 'pirates' were

recorded as training grape vines in the garden of Major Mitchell, the colonial Surveyor in 1831 (Gilchrist, 1988). Greeks first began to arrive in the mid-nineteenth century attracted by the Victorian gold rush and by 1910 there were about 900 Greek immigrants in Australia (Smolicz, 1985; Georgiades, 2014). Few Greek women made the trip to the Victorian goldfields and by 1871 there were about 19 Greek-born women and 127 men, mostly from the Ionian islands. After the end of the gold rush most resettled in cities and towns and set up small businesses and became fishmongers, shopkeepers and café owners. These first Greek settlers began sponsoring family and friends (Doumanis, 1999; Cleland, 2013). Greek migration has always been based on "kinship, family, values and loyalties" (Tamis, 2005, p. 40). This is known as chain migration which is undertaken through sponsorship, encouragement or initial financial assistance for fares and accommodation. Essentially immigrants come to "live and work with their more established relatives" (Tsounis, 1988, p. 17). At this time the Greek Orthodox Church in Melbourne was established. Twenty years later the expulsion of Greeks from Asia Minor (1922-23) led to further migration to Australia, primarily to New South Wales although during the 1920s only 100 Greeks were allowed to immigrate each month. By the 1947 census there were 12,291 Greek-born Australians (Greek Care, 2013).

Post World War II

After World War II Europe experienced a "huge emigration movement that was directed overseas. The hostilities in Europe lasted until 1945, except for in Greece where the Civil War which succeeded WWII ended in 1949" (Limnios-Sekeris, 2015, p. 98). Following World War II, Australia embarked on a period of

supported migration to expand the population and supply a workforce for post-war building programs. Because of the turmoil and the chaos of civil war, very few in this generation of migrants had post-secondary qualifications and were in many cases, illiterate or poorly educated (Kapardis & Tamis, 1988). At first Greek law restricted the migration of single women so the first migrants were young single men. This changed into a pattern of 'chain' immigration mostly in Victoria (Pennay, 2011; Angouri, 2012). Single women began to arrive in the late 1950s due to a change in policy that sought to redress the gender imbalance and encouraged migrants to form families (Jupp, 1998). Greek and Cypriot immigrants are one of the "oldest and largest immigrant groups that arrived in Australia after the Second World War" (Brockhall & Liu, 2011, p. 16).

In 1952 the Australian-Greece Assisted Passages agreement offered a financial incentive for Greeks to leave their unstable, destitute and depleted homeland, and emigrate to Australia (Cleland, 2013). However assisted migration only accounts for about a third of the approximately "200,000 immigrants from Greece, and another 50,000 or so Greeks, from outside of Greece, mainly from Cyprus and Egypt" (Tsounis, 1988, p. 18-19). Effectively the Australian Commonwealth government had established new and more extensive migration chains. The majority of Greek migrants found work on farms or in factories in unskilled or semi-skilled positions. Although categorised as 'unskilled', most Greek migrants possessed skills from previous employment and many were well educated (Harvey, 1988, p. 127) but they were hampered by the fact that that most Greek migrants did not speak English. Nearly all jobs were

language dependent. The first party of assisted Greeks found that their lack

of English language skills impeded their employment opportunities [but]

they could harvest fruit without English, but other employers expected them

to have some English even for labouring jobs. (Pennay, 2011, p. 11)

From 1956 to 1965 migration was limited from Greece and "nominations from Southern Europe were restricted to a few categories of dependents of Southern European migrants already in Australia" (Limnios-Sekeris, 2015, p. 99). The majority of Greek immigrants arrived between the late 1950s and the early 1970s. The Greek Orthodox Community and its institutions (including churches, community schools, regional associations, clubs, dancehalls, theatres and restaurants) in the late 1950s became the centre of the social, cultural and political life for the Greek community in each Australian capital city (Tsounis, 1988; Pennay, 2011). Such institutions are pivotal in diasporic communities in "creating and maintaining a repository of the community's capital and discourses associated with the homeland" (Angouri, 2012, p. 98). Tsolidis (1995) argues that the Greek reality in Australia can be gauged by considering the stages by which the community establishes itself in a new locale. First the embryonic Greek community establishes its church besides which is a room where "the children learn the Greek language, history, dances and the scriptures". Subsequently community organisations evolve such as "club rooms, women's groups, welfare organisations, political organisations and professional groups. There may be a Greek-language press, Greek theatre groups, Greek day schools and Greek homes for the elderly" (Tsolidis, 1995). A distinct Greek presence in mainstream organisations and for many, both Greek and non-Greek, such activity

delineates diasporic Greekness. In a city like Melbourne, particularly in

some suburbs, there are clear indications of the Greek presence. This goes

beyond the shop fronts and the languages heard spoken on the streets.

Festivals, cultural events and community institutions which celebrate

Australian Ellenismos are also celebrations of new cultural forms (Tsolidis,

1995).

1960s

By 1961 there were 77,333 Greek-born Australians and in the next five years

140,000 more Greeks migrated, many of who settled in Melbourne (Doumanis,

1999; Kringas, 2001). Initially the culture they found was Anglo-Australian with

English the spoken language. Australia had developed as a white settler society

"closely linked to Britain, and integrated into the economic system of the Empire"

(Castles, 1993, p. 185). Under the prevailing Assimilationist policies differences

were suppressed and there was an expectation that all new migrants would learn

and speak English. It was noted that Greeks were at a disadvantage when

compared to other European migrants as they did not share the same alphabet

(Pennay, 2011). In 1959 with the approval of the Greek government, the vessel

Patris had been exclusively used on the Australian route "by emigrants … [with]

at least three sailings annually" (Limnios-Sekeris, 2015, p. 109). Other Greek

migrants came to Australia by ocean liner, such as the *Kyreneia*, which had begun

regular service between Greece and Australia in 1949. After the law changed in

1962 families dominated the patterns of migration. They were mainly from

mainland, rural Greece, particularly Macedonia and Peloponnesus (Tsounis, 1988)

and "most were from small villages and towns, with similar socio-economic

backgrounds" (Cleland, 2013, p. 482). In 1966 Melbourne supported the "largest

Greek population of any Australian city with 60,793 persons of Greek birth,

constituting 43 per cent of the Greek born population in Australia" (Burnley, 1972). Interestingly by the late 1960s "it was becoming hard to attract southern European workers, and many were returning to their homelands" (Castles, 1993, p. 186). Figure 1 shows that when compared to 62 per cent of the total overseas-born population, 93.1 per cent of the Greece-born people in Australia arrived in Australia prior to 2001. Among the total Greece-born in Australia at the 2011 Census, 0.8 per cent arrived between 2001 and 2006 and 1.1 per cent arrived between 2007 and 2011.
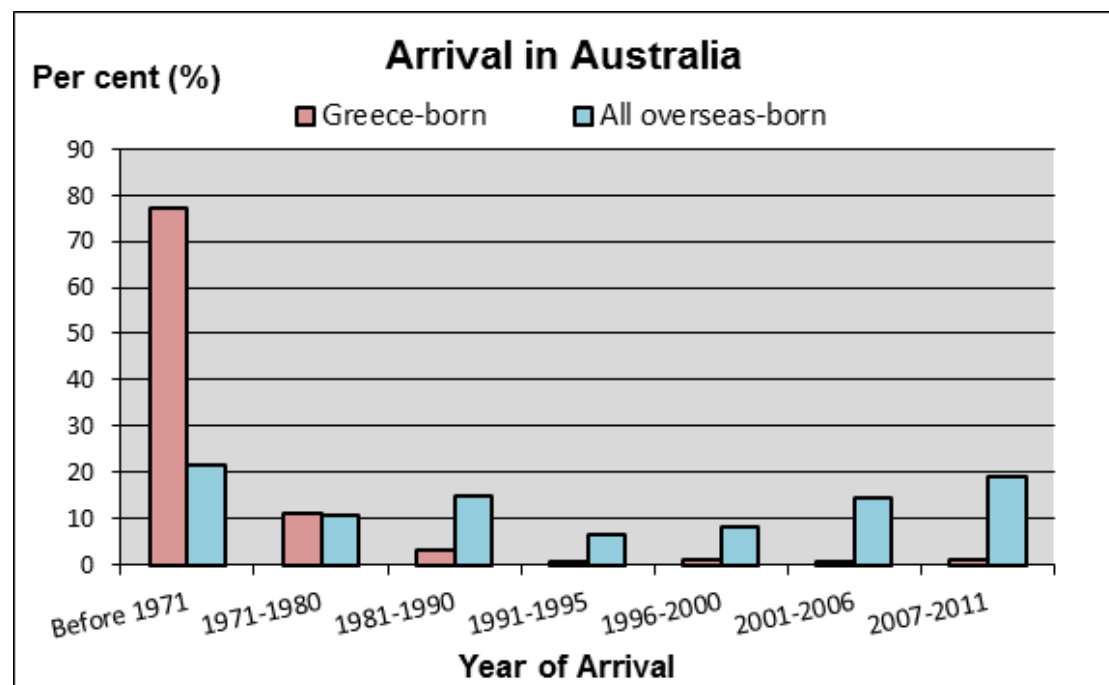

Figure 1: Greek arrivals in Australia pre 1971 to 2011 (Community Relations Section of DIAC Commonwealth of Australian, 2016)

1970s

Prior to 1972 Australian immigration was controlled by the White Australia policy that was "based on the principle that the population of Australia should be white and of European descent. The White Australia policy rated the accepted emigrants according to their adherence to or divergence from the prevailing Anglo-Saxon

culture in Australia" (Limnios-Sekeris, 2015, p. 99). With changing government attitudes and understandings in Australia, in 1972 an official policy of Multiculturalism was introduced in which diversity was celebrated and increasingly encouraged. The new cultural policy recognised that migrants could retain their cultural identity and with support successfully integrate over time. Significantly the Australian Greek Welfare Society (2016) was amongst the first migrant community services that became a

> leading and effective advocate for the creation of a multicultural policy in Australia in the early 1970's as well as a key player in the establishment of the Ethnic Communities Council of Victoria (ECCV) and subsequently the Federation of Ethnic Communities' Councils of Australia (FECCA).

Greek immigration to Australia declined somewhat in the 1970s, although a large number of Greek Cypriots migrated following the Turkish invasion of Northern Cyprus (Georgiades, 2014; Messimeri, 2014). In Victoria, during the 1970s, the Greek population was mainly concentrated in inner-city neighborhoods of Melbourne and close to factories.

1980-1990s

By the early 1980s Australia had "received a quarter of a million Greeks" (Doumanis 1999, p. 65). By the end of the decade many young families had moved to middle and and outer metropolitan suburbs (Danforth, 1995). Gradually community groups, churches, welfare agencies, schools and newspapers were established (Cleland, 2013; Museum Victoria, 2015). In general first generation migrants held manufacturing and retail trades but their children have "experienced a significant degree of upward social mobility" (Danforth, 1995, p. 206).

19

2000s

Migration from Greece to Australia has continued until the present and with the economic crises more and more Greek migrants have been coming to Australia due to the "recent financial collapse of Greece and Cyprus" (Georgiades, 2014, p. 1538). In 2006 there were approximately 54,000 Greek-born Victorians and many more who, although born in Australia claim Greek heritage. Since 2010 approximately eight thousand people have arrived in Victoria (Tsingas, 2014). The largest group within this figure (about sixty per cent) consists of Greek Australian expatriates and their families who are returning having found life in Greece unsustainable. This group has included many who left as children or retain Australian citizenship by descent (Kyriakopoulos, 2014). Georgiades (2014) asserts that the recent "economic crisis in Europe and the associated devastation of the Greek [economy] resulted in unprecedented poverty and unemployment rates" (p. 1). Post-war Greek migrants who came to Australia post-war were mainly from rural areas and were poorly educated, unable to speak English, and unskilled. Those who are leaving Greece today are "urban, educated and middle-class, often arriving with young families" (Kyriakopoulos, 2014).
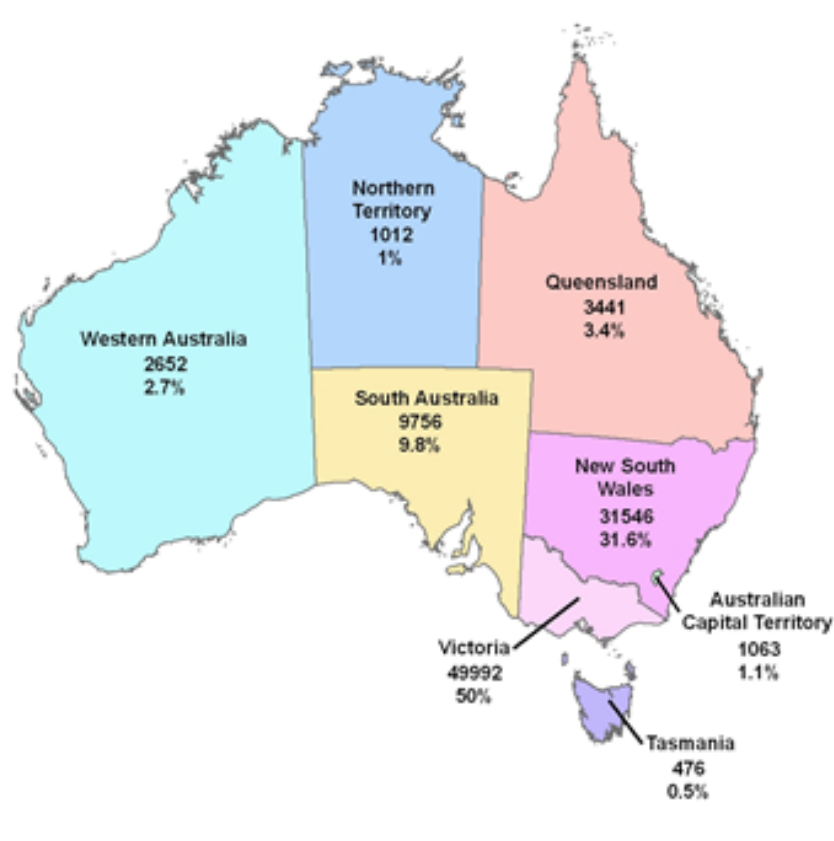
Figure 2: The latest Census in 2011 recorded 99 939 Greece-born people in Australia. The 2011 distribution by state and territory showed Victoria had the largest number with 49 992 followed by New South Wales (31 546), South Australia (9756) and Queensland (3441) (Community Relations Section of DIAC Commonwealth of Australian, 2016)

Approximately fifty per cent of Greek immigrants to Australia settled in the State of Victoria (see Figure 2). Many immigrants first settled in the inner suburbs of Melbourne, notably Northcote, Richmond, Prahran, Brunswick, Fitzroy. They chose Melbourne for a number of reasons, including the increasing provisions of religious and educational institutions within the Greek community and employment opportunities (Kapardis & Tamis, 1988). In inner Melbourne they found low rental and house prices, employment, and Greek-speaking neighbours.

Once settled, they sponsored relatives and friends. Nowadays a lot of Greeks are very proud to have a Greek heritage and Australia aspires to cultural inclusivity. Melbourne has been known as having one of the largest Greek communities in the world, although it is difficult to confirm this fact given the different methods countries use to conceptualise and measure people of particular nationalities (Greek Care, 2013). In 2006, 149,195 persons in the Melbourne Statistical District claimed Greek Nationality, either alone or in combination with another Nationality (Australian Bureau of Statistics, 2007).

In 2011 nearly 50,000 Victorians were born in Greece and many more who, although born in Australia are fiercely proud of their Greek heritage (Georgiades, 2014; Museum of Victoria, 2015). Of the Australian residents who hold Greek citizenship, ninety-seven per cent have chosen to become Australian citizens, the highest proportion of any migrant group. While being fully committed to Australian society, its legal structures, democratic values and institutions, Greeks also seek to preserve their own cultural heritage and they retain "significant attachments to their home culture" (Brockhall & Liu, 2011, p. 17). The recent economic crisis in Greece has the cycle of migration with the educated young leaving for new opportunities as Greece, "with so many trials and tribulations was not in a position to provide for them and their families" (Kanarakis, 2011, p. 1). In 2015 the population of Melbourne includes one of the largest Greek settlements in the world outside of Greece and the city is an important center of Hellenism (Museum Victoria, 2015). The Greek community in Melbourne is "one of the largest in the entire Greek diaspora; it is also one of the most visible and active ethnic communities in a city renowned for its cultural diversity and

cosmopolitanism" (Danforth, 1995, p. 206). In contemporary Australia "the Greek-Australian population of Melbourne is well established in the Australian multicultural psyche" (Piperoglou, 2015, p. 140).

In 2011 the Greek language was spoken in the home by 252,211 Australian residents. Greek-Australian citizens have an exceptionally high rate of return immigration to Greece. At the end of 2001, the Australian Department of Foreign Affairs estimated that there were 135,000 Australian citizens resident in. The Minister for Foreign Affairs of the Hellenic Republic Mr Stavros Lambrinidis announced that they have "commenced the necessary processes for the signing of a reciprocal agreement between Greece and Australia which will allow Greeks and Australians to visit both countries as tourists and work during their period of stay" (Museum Victoria, 2013). While being fully committed to Australian society and its legal structures, democratic values and institutions, Greeks have also sought to preserve their own cultural heritage. They have established churches, schools, and local clubs (Museum Victoria, 2013).

In recent times Greeks have emigrated for socio-economic and political reasons because "Greece with so many trials and tribulations was not in a position to provide for them and their families" (Kanarakis, 2011, p. 1). Currently in Australia the estimated Greek community is more than 600,000 people. Nearly half of these people live in Melbourne which is an important overseas centre of Hellenism and often described as having the largest Greek population in the world after Athens and Thessaloniki (Department of Foreign Affairs and Trade [DFAT], Australian Government, 2013). According to Brockhall and Liu (2011) Greek immigrants

who have relocated from their home country to Australia have always "brought with them significant attachments to their home culture" (p. 17).

Greek society and culture in Melbourne, Australia

Greek migrants who arrived in Australia in the 1950s and 1960s found a country dominated by an assimilation policy that expected new arrivals to adopt mainstream Anglo-Australian culture (Brockhall & Liu, 2011; Georgiades, 2014). While immigrants were aware of the need to adapt to their new social environment, many did not want to abandon the traditions of their homelands. As a result, immigrants of this generation created a dual identity in which "they performed Australian in public while being Greek in private" (Brockhall & Liu, 2011, p. 19). Despite pressure to assimilate Greek migrants largely maintained their culture via formal and informal community groups such as the Greek Orthodox church, Greek schools, Greek language newspapers and music and theatre performances (Kringas, 2001; Georgiades, 2014). A feature of Greek migration throughout the twentieth century has been the formation of communities by

> reproducing familiar institutions from the homeland in order to preserve their traditions and Greek culture. Their ethnic identity was grounded in the various organizations and activities of the ethnic community providing outlets for religious, social, cultural, and political expression. Children in the Greek community would attend Greek language school, Greek dance lessons, Sunday school, and … youth organizations. (Panagakos, 2003, p. 202)

The culture of Melbourne reflects its diverse, multi-layered culture and society, and the city has gained a reputation as the cultural capital of Australia. Greeks are known for their large extended families "that strongly maintain their culture and traditions" (Brockhall & Liu, 2011, p. 17). According to Graber (2013) Melbourne "celebrates a wide variety of major annual cultural events, including local, national and international events particularly for the Greek community of Melbourne" (p. 1). Melbourne is recognised as having one of the largest Greek communities in the world although it is difficult to confirm this fact given the different methods countries use to conceptualise and measure people of particular nationalities (Greek Care, 2013).

Amongst the large number of Greek Australians living in Melbourne there are a variety of different music, dance and cultural events that take place that feature Greek traditional folk musics and modern Greek popular music. Greek Australians also maintain a strong cultural and religious identity whilst playing a prominent part in Australian mainstream society in areas including politics, the arts, education, business and sport. A public example of this is the presence of Hellenic music programs on community FM radio which presents contemporary Greek music as an alternative to the commercial Greek music more readily available and seeks to educate listeners of all backgrounds (Papas, 2012, p. 1). The Greek Music scene in Melbourne offers a range of options that encompasses the varied interests of the Greek (and Australian) community in Melbourne. Amongst the many Greek events there is the annual Antipodes Festival that is "a celebration of Greek culture that attracts thousands of people to the two-day street party in the heart of

Melbourne. Local artists perform at the event, and popular musicians from Greece are also brought in each year to perform" (Graber, 2013, p.1).

Greek music in Melbourne

From the late 1970s the cultural environment of Greek-Australian musicians changed to facilitate increased performance of traditional Greek music. The changes assisted "a number of Greek-Australian musicians to establish venues in tavernas and restaurants for the performance of *rebetika"* (Horn, 2005a, p. 130, italics in original) With increasing cultural and economic stability a small Greek Australian music industry developed. The 1970s and 1980s were seen as an awakening of Greek music and as a time of "'renaissance' for *rebetika* and tradition Greek music in Melbourne" (Horn, 2005a, p. 131, italics in original). Greek music in Melbourne now encompasses a large part of the Greek community and includes a large amount of diversity due to the creative Greek assimilation of different influences and the different regions and cultures of the musickers and their audiences. Graber (2013, p. 1) points out that since ancient times "poetry, dancing and music were inseparable and played an important part in the ancient Greek's everyday life". In Greek society music "became an expression and a testimony of the slavery years, a weapon of opposition against the colonel authority and a way to express love, death, human fears, that accompanied the Greeks in their everyday life" (Graber, 2013, p. 1). Music continues to be an expression of Greek culture and identity in Melbourne. Greek music is by some preserved and shared and by others it is blended with other musics. The experience of migration will challenge cultural maintenance and migrants can choose to abandon traditional cultural activities or to adapt them. In other words, "musical

behaviour can be looked at as an indicator of social adjustment, integration or, on the contrary, of marginality or malaise" (Graber, 2013, p. 1).

Greek Dance in Melbourne

Throughout the Greek diasporic community and in Greece dance events are "a means of socialising and entertainment" (Kalegeropoulou, 2013, p. 59) and through dance an individual is brought closer to his or her roots and country (Kadianaki, 2014). In Melbourne "immigrants and their families from Greece have continued the tradition of Greek dances as part of family occasions like name days, parish festivals and broader Greek Community celebrations" (www.greekcare.org.au, p. 1). Greek dance events incorporate music, dance, song, food and drink and are opportunities for communities to socialise and celebrate. Traditional Greek dancing is primarily a social activity that can unite a community in life cycle celebrations and amongst "region-of-origin fraternities and social gatherings of pan-Hellenic organisations" (Tsounis, 2012, p. 306). Dancing is a prominent part of most celebrations including birthday and name day parties, weddings, and christenings. In Greece dance events "can be seen as ritualistic practices that symbolically bond the cultural collectivity" (Kalegeropoulou, 2013, p. 60). As well as being celebratory, entertaining and participatory, Greek dancing may enhance well being through physical activity. Greek dances may be seen as infusing "a sense of Greekness" (Kalegeropoulou, 2013, p. 61). In Greece and across the Greek diaspora there are more that four thousand traditional dances (King, 2015) that are enjoyed in family gatherings and in the many smaller Greek associations (Riak, 2007). Many Greek dances are either line dances or employ "circular formations and simplicity in their steps (often at a walking pace) [and]

folk dances allow for the participation of every generation, young and old”
(Kalegeropoulou, 2013, p. 61). In circular dances, the dancers “join hands or grasp
one another’s shoulders and circle the floor anticlockwise as together they repeat
the steps and kicks of the particular dance” (Tsounis, 2012, p. 306).

Dance is a dynamic part of Greek musicking. At events musicians accompany a
“core repertory of nine Greek dance rhythms – the regional demotic *kalamatianos,*
syrtos, tsamikos, tik and *kotsari* and the urban *rebetika* dances *chasapikos,*
chasaposervikos, tsiftelteli and *zeibetiko”* (Tsounis, 2012, p. 306, italics in
original). This dance repertoire has developed to suit the preferences of dancers of
diverse ages, regional backgrounds and musical heritage and taste. Over
generations Greek Australians who were born in Australia may request songs from
their grandparents’ regions. There are a number of amateur and semi-professional
Greek dance groups in Melbourne that perform both Greek national and regional
dances. These groups perform at private functions and a variety of festivals across
the year in Melbourne. Horn (2005b) agrees that Greek dance offers a strong,
emotional validation for solidarity and is an important way of expressing the
individual and collective personal and cultural identity.

In Melbourne dance troupes, community organisations and some schools promote
Greek dancing. Dance troupes pay a great deal of attention to “costume,
choreography and choice of music” (Tsounis, 2012, p. 307). However some dance
troupes such as the Hellenic Youth Dances “perform urban *rebetika* dances in
casual dress to the accompaniment of *laïka* music” (Tsounis, 2012, p. 307). The
Hasaposerviko (also referred to as the Zorba dance) is a 6 step dance that is also

danced in a circle with a leader. It is a quick, lively hopping and skipping style

dance that Riak (2007) expains "mythically [captures] a spirit of life" (p. 40).

Often the order of dances is based on tradition and "the variety of Greek dances

and the order in which they are performed … reflect the historical development of

the Greek nation" (Kalegeropoulou, 2013, p. 62). For example some of the dances

are associated with Greek struggles for liberation and "establishment of an

independent state in the 19th century" (Kalegeropoulou, 2013, p. 62).

Contemporary urban dances have entered the national dance repertoire and reflect

the effects of urbanisation and individualism (Loutzaki, 2001).

Methodology

The qualitative phenomenological study attempts to discover how people

understand their experiences. Willig (2001) explains that phenomenology concerns

the "ways in which human beings gain knowledge of the world around them" (p.

49). According to Eatough and Smith (2006) phenomenology is a form of

"analysis which privileges the participant's own accounts and experiences" (p.

486). This research explores participant's lived experiences understandings and

their understandings of their self-identity which is constructed by the individual

but shaped by the relationships and cultures negotiated by the individual within

their sociocultural context. Bruner (1991, 76) understands self-making as very

much affected by "your own interpretations of yourself, but by the interpretations

others offer of your version" thus is may well be incorrect to conceive the

individual self as a single entity, locked inside a person's subjective

understandings. The self is not "hermetically sealed off [but] seems also be

intersubjective or 'distributed' … to include the friends and colleagues to whom one has access" (Bruner, 1991, p. 76).

A phenomenological approach to research emphasises the subjective world of the individual and articulates "our cognitive, meaning-disclosing contribution to what we experience" (Gallagher & Zahavi, 2008, pp. 24-25). This focus on meaning permits the illumination of the often unpredictable personal and psychological insights into the Greek and Greek Australian musicker's engagement with music and dance that can reveal "embodied, experiential meanings" (Finlay, 2009, p. 6). The phenomenological approach employed in this study attempts to discover how I and others like me understand their experiences of hybrid identity that is bimusical, bicultural and bilingual. It should again be noted that the articles that form each chapter each include a discussion of the research methodology.

Informing this phenomenological study is the belief that people are formed by their social and cultural context (Vygotsky, 1978; Crawford, 1996). Vygotsky (1978) believed that community plays a central role in the process of meaning-making and places more emphasis on social factors contributing to cognitive (and in this case musical) development. This sociocultural position focuses on "the roles that participation in social interactions and culturally organized activities play in influencing psychological development" (Scott & Palincsar, 2013). A sociocultural theoretical approach includes the notion of processes through time (Sawyer, 2012) which is important in this study of hybrid identity formation. As is evident for all the participants' identity construction is an ongoing developmental process that will continue to change. A sociocultural approach is helpful in

focussing on process as "Culture is not any collection of things, whether tangible or abstract. Rather, it is a process … and the 'things' that appear on list-like definitions of culture are residua of the process" (Hutchins, 1995, p. 354).

The most common method used in phenomenological qualitative research is a case study. These phenomenological qualitative case studies first investigate me, and then other groups of participants' lived experiences and understandings of various performances as musicians and dancers. Some of the participants are based in Melbourne, Australia and others in Greece. Small-scale qualitative, phenomenological research may be regarded as "more suspect on the issue of reliability than those associated with quantitative procedures" (Orum, Feagan, & Sjoberg, 1991, p. 17) but careful data collection and analysis can counteract such charges. Joseph and Southcott (2014) argue that by adopting a phenomenological position insight into the particular phenomenon under consideration can illuminate understandings. Most of my case studies concern others, but my first concerns me. In Figure 3 I show how the case studies relate to each other.

Overview of Phenomenological Case studies of Hybrid Identities in this thesis by publication

Greek-Aus musician

Greek-Aus musicians

Autoethnography The researcher Hybrid identity

Greek-Aus dancer

Greek festival Performer/Cultural insider/Cultural outsider
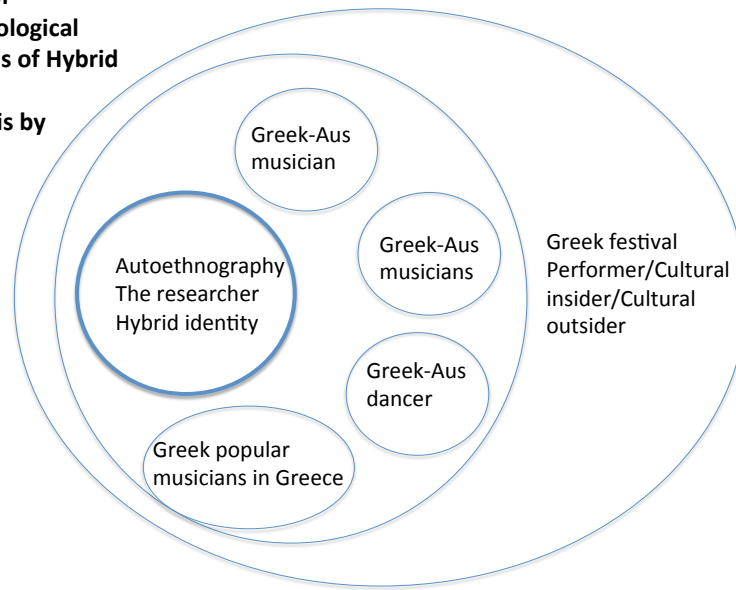
Greek popular musicians in Greece

Figure 3: Diagram of case studies

In the centre and with a heavier outline is the first study, an autoethnographical

exploration of my hybrid identity. In the circle that surrounds me are four more

case studies of people like me. There are two single case studies, one of a Greek

Australian musician and one of a Greek Australian dancer. There are two group

case studies, one of a group of Greek Australian musicians and another of a group

of jazz musicians in Greece. In the outer ring of the diagram is the final study

which extends beyond the Greek and Greek Australian community to explore the

understandings of insiders and outsiders at a Greek festival in Melbourne. I begin

with my autoethnography. I have a rich, complex musical and cultural life. I am

bilingual and bicultural (Greek and Australian English language and culture). My

Greek musical identities include both Greek traditional and popular musics. My

Western musical identities are being a "classically trained pianist" and that of

singer, performer and composer of popular music. Bruner (1991, p. 110) argues that self-identity includes both permanence and change (depending on social and cultural context).

Autoethnography

An autoethnography is a form of autobiographical personal narrative that explores the author's experience of life (Mallet, 2011). Autoethnographers may approach their self-analysis as either ethnography or phenomenology. In adopting a phenomenological stance, if the researcher "were to study a phenomenon rather than a 'cultural place' it would be autophenomenographical rather than autoethnographical" (Gruppetta, 2004, p. 1). Ellis and Bochner (2000) explain that autoethnographies are "autobiographies that self-consciously explore the interplay of the introspective, personally engaged self with cultural descriptions mediated through language, history and ethnographic explanation" (p. 742). Autoethnographical research connects the personal to the cultural, placing the self within a social context in a written form (Reed-Danahay, 1997). To be effective and autoethnography music include reflection and interpretation on what has happened. Such a study has a particular focus and in exploring this a researcher can access data that is not available to anyone else (Chang, 2007). Thus autoethnography is more than biography although it begins with writing and talking about the self, but then particular experiences are chosen according to the research focus. Autoethnography "connects the personal to the cultural, social and political" (Bartleet & Ellis, 2009, p. 7) and is centred on personal engagement. Writing an autoethnography can be somewhat improvisational as there are often unanticipated understandings and moments of revelation. In this autoethnography as understood here is a phenomenological inquiry in which the unexpected is

welcomed and explored. In my autoethnography I extended the perspectives through which my understandings could be perceived by inviting my supervisor to interview me and to analyse the interview. This added depth, authenticity and trustworthiness to my study in which I bring my narrative and my musical and cultural understandings.

Autoethnographic research has "not yet enjoyed the popularity and respect of its ethnographic predecessors" (Duncan, 2004) but autoethnographical research is gaining in popularity in music education (Nethsinghe, 2012; Fung, 2014, Harrison, 2012). Nethsinghe (2012) used an autoethnographical approach to investigate his background that included different modes and genres of musicking and the music education he received, and his journey towards his doctoral study. Fung (2014) recognises that a person's identity is "framed within complex changing sociocultural contexts" (p. 15). Writing an autoethnography is not an easy process and researchers struggle with the challenges of sharing their lived experiences with others. Bartleet and Ellis (2009) assert that, "As these experiences are dynamic, relationally embodied and highly subjective, they are difficult to express, particularly from a musical perspective where words are not the primary form of communication" (p. 9).

Data Collected – Semi Structured interviews

As this phenomenological research explores the participants' lived experiences semi-structured interviews were deemed the most appropriate as they permit flexibility and facilitate rapport and empathy, allow greater flexibility of coverage and make it possible for the interview to go into novel areas, thus they tend to

produce richer data (Orum et al., 1991). Semi-structured interviews permit a "verbal exchange where one person, the interviewer attempts to elicit information from another person by asking questions" (Longhurst, 2010, p.103). One of the biggest benefits of semi-structured interviews is that "they generate representations that embody the subjects' voices minimizing at least as much as possible, the voice of the researcher" (Blee & Taylor, 2002, p. 96). Semi-structured interviews can provide informants an opportunity to express their views freely and describe their experiences in whatever way they wish (Denscombe, 2003) and collecting data via semi-structured interviews is the most common strategy in case studies (Dilley, 2004).

In semi-structured interviews the researcher prepares a list of topics and questions that may function more as a checklist for discussion as "semi-structured interviews unfold in a conversational manner" (Longhurst, 2010, p. 103). Willig (2001) notes that, "it is important that the questions posed to the participant are open ended and non-directive" (p. 53). Orum et al. (1991) confirm that although a list of questions may be prepared, they often remain merely a guide as the interviewer should not interrupt the participants' responses. Such an interruption might destroy the hopefully developing rapport between researcher and interviewees (Smith & Osborn, 2008). The ordering of the questions may change as the interviewer is free to probe interesting responses to further explore respondents' statements. A disadvantage in this strategy might be that this approach to interviewing "reduces the control of the investigator has over the situation, takes longer to carry out and is harder to analyze" (Smith & Osborn, 2008, p. 59).

Having gained ethical approval, semi-structured interviews were then conducted. In all studies (except the autoethnography) interviewees signed a consent form that stated that they agreed to take part in the research, be interviewed by the researcher, and allow the interview to be audio recorded. It is important when undertaking semi-structured interviews to make the respondents feel comfortable thus all interviews took place in familiar public places such as cafés. The interview itself was comparatively informal and sometimes felt like a chat between friends. The researcher who undertook the interviews speaks fluent Greek and English and these languages were used as appropriate and according to the preference of the participants. To maintain privacy the interviewees are identified by pseudonyms selected by the researcher. Several participants have public profiles and are recognisable to members of that world so, to preserve their anonymity information derived from online sites has been altered and the sites are not identified. The interviews were transcribed and then the data were analysed using Interpretative Phenomenological analysis (IPA).

Interpretative Phenomenological Analysis (IPA)

Interpretative Phenomenological Analysis (IPA) was developed in the 1990s "explicitly as a psychological methodology concerned with the detailed exploration of individual experience" (Kirkham, Smith & Havsteen-Franklin, 2015, p. 398). IPA has three key underpinning tenets: phenomenology, hermeneutics and idiography (Kirkham, Smith & Havsteen-Franklin, 2015) and is "an interpretative endeavour and is therefore informed by hermeneutics, the theory of interpretation" (Smith, Flowers & Larkin, 2010, p. 3). IPA "seeks an insider perspective on the lived experiences of individuals" and recognises that researcher

"beliefs are not seen as biases to be eliminated but rather as being necessary for making sense of the experiences of other individuals" (Fade, 2004, p. 648).

IPA is intended to work with small purposive homogeneous participant groups and this allows for deep and fine analysis of a particular phenomenon (Kirkham, Smith & Havsteen-Franklin, 2015). In an IPA study a researcher recognises her position in the research. Smith, Flowers and Jones observe that in IPA thematic analysis begins with a "reflection on one's own perception, conceptions and processes" (Smith, Flowers & Jones, 2010, p. 80). According to Wagstaff, Jeong, Nolan, Wilson, Tweedlie, Phillips, Senu and Holland (2014), an 'IPA researcher employs an empathic but critical hermeneutic process to produce an interrogative account based on experience' (p. 2).

Interview transcripts were analysed thematically. Eatough and Smith (2006) note that with each reading, the researcher should become more engrossed in the data and become increasingly responsive to what is being said. Once transcribed the text is placed in a large column and two columns are "added on the right hand side of the transcript. The closest was used to note what is significant about what the participant said. The next column is used to document in-depth participants' expressions" (Li & Southcott, 2010, p. 22). Emergent themes are identified then organised hierarchically. Prioritizing the data is undertaken by the researcher as part of the interpretative process and "themes are not selected purely on the basis of their prevalence within the data" (Smith & Osborn, 2008, p. 75). After initial coding, the emergent themes are grouped into categories. From these key words and explanatory notes are placed in a table and linked to the original marginal

notes on the transcript (Joseph & Southcott, 2015). Finally author(s) decide on the groupings to prioritise and discard unrelated matters and then the findings are written up under organisation categories.

Authenticity

Trustworthiness is usually interpreted as the ability to replicate the original study using the same research instrument and to get the same results. There could be the danger in qualitative research that it is not as reliable as quantitative due to a lack of (Orum et al., 1991). In order to overcome this I have constructed the interviews to allow the interviewees to give an in-depth description of their understandings. My position as insider as a Greek Australian performer adds my perspective to understanding and recognizing the credibility and authenticity of the interview data. To assure trustworthiness, according to Shenton (2004) there are four criteria for researchers to satisfy trustworthiness: credibility, transferability, dependability and confirmability.

Credibility is used to ensure that "the study measures what is actually intended" (Shenton, 2004, p. 64). This includes the method of triangulation that is the comparison participants to create a multi-faceted understanding and offers a multiple perspective for better understanding. Triangulation offers "cross-validation for the qualitative research" (Le Compte & Schensul, 1999, p. 2). In this study triangulation involves the verification of data by the convergence of data sources from different interviewees and the investigator which adds credibility to the findings. Transferability is in relation to the "which findings of one study can be applied to other situations" (Shenton, 2004, p. 69). Dependability gives the researcher future work to repeat in further research. Confirmability uses the role of

triangulation in promoting such confirmability in the context to reduce the effect of bias (Shenton, 2004, p. 72)

According to Lincoln and Guba (1986) there issues to be considered so that "an inquirer can maintain an objective distance from the phenomena" (p. 75). Generalizability is defined as the degree to which the findings of a case study can be generalized from the study sample to the entire population which is not applicable in this study. In many situations, a small sample size may be useful in order to examine the research in more depth and from various perspectives. As Orum et al. (1991) point out that,

> Although the case study must rely on a good deal of judgment, exercised by the observer, the great strength of this form of research is that it does permit the observer to assembly complementary and overlapping measures of the same phenomena. (p. 19)

At best the findings of my research will be indicative but, from my experience as a Greek Australian music educator, I will be able to ascertain if there is some degree of generalisability.

Structure of Thesis

To explore these issues this thesis by publication is the study of Hybrid identities of Greek Musicians in Melbourne and Greece. The articles that will comprise this thesis are:

Article	Title/subject	Journal
1	Multiple Musical Identities: An	Georgoulas, R. & Southcott,

	Autoethnographic Study of a Greek-Australian Popular and Traditional Musician and Teacher	J. (2014). Multiple Musical Identities: An Autoethnographic Study of a Greek-Australian Popular and Traditional Musician and Teacher. *International Journal of Humanities Education*, *11*(4), 49-60.
2	Case study of a Greek Australian popular and traditional musician: Negotiating identity and musicking	Georgoulas, R. & Southcott, J. (?). The 'bitter sweetness' of hybridity: A case study of a bilingual, bicultural Greek Australian musician. Submitted to *International Journal of Community Music*
3	Multiple case study of Greek jazz musicians in Greece: Negotiating musical style and national identity	Georgoulas, R. & Southcott, J. (2015). Six Greek musickers discuss jazz. *Australian Journal of Music Education*, 2, 151-161.
4	Greek Musicians in Melbourne, Australia This is the study of Greek Australian bilingual and bi-cultural musicians who either perform or compose in a variety of musical traditions including traditional Greek and contemporary popular music.	Georgoulas, R. & Southcott, J. (2016?). Heritage and adaptation: Greek-Australian Musicians in Melbourne. Submitted to *e-Journal of studies in music education* (New Zealand)
5	Case study of a Greek Australian traditional dancer: Embodying identity	Georgoulas, R. & Southcott, J. (2015). A Case study of a

	through musicking	Greek Australian traditional dancer: Embodying identity through musicking. *Victorian Journal of Music education,* 1, 9-17.
6	Enacting Greek Australian identity: The Antipodes Festival	Submitted to *Journal of Arts and Communities*

As five of these articles address the hybrid identity of Greek Australians and as each article was published (or is under review) by different journals, each journal required contextualising data about the Greek experience in Australia. All articles required a discussion of methodological approach. When read as a series, these articles may seem repetitious but it is not possible to reduce this in Chapters 2 to 7 as the article is included as a whole in the thesis. There may also be minor variations in formatting and typographical style, depending on the requirements of individual journals.

The next chapter presents my first article which is an autoethnography about me and my experiences as a bilingual, bicultural and bimusical Greek Australian musicker.

Chapter 2

Multiple musical identities: An autoethnographic study of a Greek Australian popular and traditional musician and teacher

Introduction to article

This first article begins with me and my experiences as a Greek Australian musicker who is bilingual, bicultural and bimusical. The study it is a joint enterprise of both an autobiographer and an ethnographer who together place the life story in the sociocultural context in which it occurs. In this joint endeavour the subject of the study shared her narratives with a fellow musician, educator and researcher and they worked together in a reflective and hermeneutic process. Autoethnography can offer cultural understanding of self and others (Chang, 2007; Kalegeropoulou, 2013). Autoethnography is more than biography, it initially involves writing and talking about self, but then selecting experiences according to the focus of the research. Autoethnography "connects the personal to the cultural, social and political (Bartleet & Ellis, 2009, p. 7) and focuses on personal engagement. The process is somewhat improvisational as there are often unanticipated understandings and moments of revelation. In this study, both the emic and etic perspectives were adopted as I am the researcher and also the subject

of the research, so I bring my cultural understandings to my narrative and its interpretation. It should be noted that, as with all autobiographical work, there are the dangers of the selectivity of memory and the distortions of time. It is hoped that through this shared research, some of those pitfalls can be avoided. I found that using this approach has helped me explore my background incorporating the different types of music engagement, teaching and learning I have received throughout my life to date. Autoethnography is not easy. Bartleet and Ellis (2009, p. 9) point out that, "As these experiences are dynamic, relationally embodied and highly subjective, they are difficult to express, particularly from a musical perspective where words are not the primary form of communication".

A graphic representation was used to describe how I negotiated and understand my position as a musician and as a teacher. The top of the cube is 'Greek language and culture' and the opposing base is 'Australian English language and culture'. The sides of the cube are 'Traditional Greek musician' and 'Classical Western musician'. The remaining two walls of the cube are both understood as being a popular musician either Greek of Western styles. Each facet of the cube is more complex that a single signifier but this model attempts to simplify the cultural and musical influences that frame my complex musical life. If I am singing popular Greek songs in Greek that are influenced by traditional Greek music, I could be shown as a dot within the cube in the bottom left hand corner. Other musicking or music teaching could be shown by a different dot, depending on the strongest influences.

Article

Multiple musical identities: An autoethnographic study of a Greek Australian popular and traditional musician and teacher

Abstract

This is the study of the complex multiple musicking by a Greek Australian bilingual and bi-cultural musician who performs and teaches in several musical traditions. Musicking encompasses the diverse ways in which people engage with music performance. In this exploration these include Greek traditional and contemporary popular music, western 'classical' piano from a conservatoire tradition, and singing in both Greek and English in popular and jazz styles. Further the subject of this study is a music educator who teaches in a range of educational contexts in Australia and in Greece than include classroom and instrumental instruction. This rich, complex and entwined musicking has created a life in music that is constantly exploring the possibilities of multiple musical identities. This autoethnographical personal exploration is shared with a fellow musician, educator and researcher to offer a reflective and hermeneutic stance. Autoethnography is a hybrid that combines ethnographic and autobiographical inquiry, and focuses on reflective exploration of embodied participation and understanding. The main theme that arises from this study is the cross-fertilisation provided by being multilingual, multicultural and multi-musical. Given the aspirational cultural diversity of Australia, a consideration of this musical life can offer insight into the provision of music and music education opportunities for the wider population.

Multiple identities

Identity is a "hopelessly ambiguous idea and a double-edged sword" (Baumann 2004, 76) that is encompasses both the desire for individuality and for membership of a culture or community. Buckingham (2008, 1) confirms the complexity of this "ambiguous and slippery term" which contains a fundamental paradox of both difference and similarity. As will be seen in this article, one individual may have different identities that change over time and circumstance. The identity of an individual is never simple or fixed but depends on the frame in which "social roles are realised and our identities are displayed" (Kakava 2003, 1385). The self can be understood as "fluid, fragmented and multiple" (Pavlenko 2001, 339) which argues for ongoing construction and reconstruction of self-identity. Increasingly researchers have found the ways we perceive ourselves to be of considerable interest (Hargreaves & Marshall 2003) and have questioned the notion of identity as a single thing, rather now defining identity as "a collective term referring to the dynamic organization of sub-identities that might conflict with or align with each other" (Mishler 1999, 8) since "we speak – or sing – our selves as a chorus of voices, not just as the tenor or soprano soloist" (Mishler, 8). Recently there has been exploration of "how different facets of identity manifest themselves through construction, display, or performance" (Katava, 1376). Hargreaves, Miell and Macdonald (2002, 8) define self-identity as "the overall view that we have of ourselves" in which different self-concepts may remain unresolved, whereas self-esteem is the "evaluative component of the self, and has both cognitive and emotional aspects". The complexity and lack of resolution is considered by

Kakava (2003) as a turmoil often encountered by bicultural individuals as they try to reconcile the "tensions and dilemmas an individual who belongs to two worlds can face" (1384). This article explores the identity construction of a Greek Australian bilingual and bi-cultural musician. It is acknowledged that individuals may construct multiple personal identities, depending on cultural circumstance (Nethsinghe 2012) but in this case, we are considering a sense of identity formed by two cultures realised in two music genres. As will be evident this Greek Australian musician and teacher is a complex person who inhabits a range of social and musical places and spaces. Although she operates effectively in both cultural and musical worlds there are times when integration can be a challenge and partial dissonance or disconnect may occur. Mishler (1999) argues that identity construction and development should be seen as an interpersonal process in which we recognise and explore our multiple sub-identities. As will be evident there is, in a bicultural individual, no unified self but a highly fluid one that remains a work in progress. Bruner (1991, 76) describes the self as "highly negotiable, highly sensitive to bidding on the not so open market of one's own reference group". Adopting a social contructionist approach, the self is "formed and developed continuously through conversation and interaction… in effect made up of interactions with others – we are ultimately social and not personal beings" (Hargreaves, Miell & Macdonald 2002, 10). Thus identity is to a large degree derived from a sense of belonging to a particular group or groups and should not be "oversimplified, summarized by a single word or reference" (Campbell 2013, 12). It is through participation in specific and sometimes diverse communities "where meanings of particular positions, narratives and categories must be worked out in practice" (Wenger 1998, 151). Thus is behoves the individual to interpret

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their own thoughts and behaviours, both verbal and non-verbal, in their cultural context (Chang 2007).

This autoethnographical personal exploration begins with autobiographical understandings recounted by Renee Georgoulas . In autobiography, "we set forth a view of what we call our Self and its doings, reflections, thoughts, and place in the world" (Bruner 1991, 67). Amongst bicultural individuals different aspects of linguistic, cultural, gender and class identity become relevant at different points of the narrative. The individual can occupy different identities as they unfold over time and through interactions in different cultural contexts (Pavlenko 2001). Language is vital in this process as it allows the individual to reflect on their own behaviour and the behaviour of others, and plays a central role in social constructionist accounts of identity formation and development (Hargreaves, Miell & Macdonald 2002) and may be understood as a "primary force in identity construction and transformation" (Pavlenko 2001, 321). It should be recognised that the subject of this article is bilingual in Greek and Australian English and although fluent in both, Renee acknowledges giving primacy to the former. With these languages come cultural understandings that are embedded in both the language and in cultural and social practices that accompany the identification of self with social context. Language allows individuals to reflect on and understand their own behaviour but so too does, as in this case, music.

Like all identities, musical identities are "*mobile,* a process not a thing, a becoming not a being, best understood as an experience of the self-in-process when the subjective and collective sides of musical identity are inseparable" (Frith

1996b, 110). The concept of music or musicking (making music) is in itself highly complex and one word encapsulates many cultures, styles and practices. Small (1998, 9) persuasively introduced the concept that the word 'music' should be considered a verb as to music is "to take part, in any capacity, in a musical performance, whether by performing, by listening, by rehearsing or practicing, by providing material for performance … or by dancing". Just as the self is a dynamic construct, our musical identities are formed by "construction, reconstruction and renegotiation" made all the more possible and complex by increasing globalisation (Hargreaves, Miell & Macdonald 2002, 2). Our musical identities are fluid and multiple and in this study made more complex by bicultural and bi-musical understandings. Our musical identities are enacted in how we present ourselves to others. As will unfold the subject of this exploration presents herself as a musician and music educator, performing Western classical music, traditional Greek music, Western popular music, Greek popular music and teaching in all these areas in both Greek and Australian English. These different facets of one complex identity alter according to the demands of culture, occasion and personal preference. Hargreaves, Miell and Macdonald (2002, 2) suggest that musical identities can be understood as "identities in music (IIM) and music in identities (MII)". The latter concerns the use of music as a means of developing other aspects of our personal identity but is not the focus of this article. The former (IIM) are socially defined within cultural context and musical genres and may include such roles as performer, composer, improviser and teacher. Music has, as one of its primary social functions, the establishment and development of self-identity. By exploring the complex musical identity of an individual from an emic perspective it is possible to explain "some of the processes and mechanisms by which individuals

monitor and conceptualize their own musical development" (Hargreaves, Miell & Macdonald 2002, 7). Musical self-image relates to specific domains of music praxis such as 'singer', 'composer', and 'teacher'. In these roles we monitor our own behaviour, make comparisons, and negotiate the powerful influences of social and cultural context. Bruner (1990) suggests that we create ourselves through our autobiographical narratives that we tell ourselves and share with others. But it is not just though language that we communicate about ourselves. Music can be a powerful form of communication that provides "a medium through which people can construct new identities and shift existing ones in the same way as a spoken language. The continual construction and reconstruction of the self through autobiographical narratives can occur in music as well as language" (Hargreaves, Miell & Macdonald 2002, 10-11). As will become evident in this article, Renee inhabits and enacts her musical world as musician and teacher, positioning herself within the different cultural identities that frame her. In different situations she presents herself in different ways depending on which facets of her bicultural and bi-musical identity seem best to match her social and musical context and purpose.

To explore the complexities of bicultural, bi-musical self-identity, an autoethnographic approach was selected. Autoethnography is an increasingly recognised research approach (Campbell 2013) that is a hybrid that combines ethnographic and autobiographical inquiry, and focuses on reflective exploration of embodied participation and understanding. Autoethnography is defined as "a form of self-narrative that places the self within a social context. It is both a method and a text" (Reed-Danahay 1997, 9). An autoethnographic study can be undertaken by an ethnographer or by an autobiographer. In this study it is a joint

enterprise of both autobiographer and ethnographer who together place the life story in the sociocultural context in which it occurs. Through autoethnographic research "a balanced and reasoned set of personal journeys emerged" (Campbell 2013, 12) that is "shaped by historic, social, and cultural conventions of the time and place in which they are produced" (Pavlenko 2001, 320). In this joint endeavour the subject of the study shared her narratives with a fellow musician, educator and researcher and they worked together in a reflective and hermeneutic process.

Methodology

This phenomenological research includes both Renee's autobiography and a hermeneutic study by co-author Jane Southcott. Both align to the idiographic, hermeneutic principles of phenomenology and involve dialogue, reflection and interpretation from both emic and etic perspectives. As such, a rich case study has been developed. Given the personal nature of the narrative and conversation, it was decided to use first names in this article. Initially Renee wrote her autobiography. This was then read and re-read by Jane who then interviewed Renee. Both authors read and re-read the texts and began the interpretation to construct meanings ultimately constructing a three-dimension model of Renee's musical and teaching hybridities. Self-identity is constructed by the individual but also by the relationships and cultures that the individual negotiates. Bruner (1991, 76) states that,

> Self-making is powerfully affected not only by your own interpretations of yourself, but by the interpretations others offer of your version… it is

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probably a mistake to conceive of Self as solo, as locked up inside one person's subjectivity, as hermetically sealed off. Rather, Self seems also be intersubjective or 'distributed' … to include the friends and colleagues to whom one has access.

Ellis and Bochner (2000) define autoethnography as "autobiographies that self-consciously explore the interplay of the introspective, personally engaged self with cultural descriptions mediated through language, history and ethnographic explanation" (742). It includes the interpretation of data by the researcher and how the researcher understands what happened. Researchers can tap into a wealth of data that no one else can access and select memories appropriate to what they are studying. Autoethnography can offer cultural understanding of self and others (Chang 2007). Autoethnography is more than biography, it initially involves writing and talking about self, but then selecting experiences according to the focus of the research. Autoethnography "connects the personal to the cultural, social and political (Bartleet & Ellis 2009, 7) and focuses on personal engagement. The process is somewhat improvisational as there are often unanticipated understandings and moments of revelation. In this study, both the emic and etic perspectives were adopted as the researcher, who is also the subject of the research, brings her cultural understandings to her narrative and its interpretation. It should be noted that, as with all autobiographical work, there are the dangers of the selectivity of memory and the distortions of time. It is hoped that through this shared research, some of those pitfalls can be avoided. Renee found that using this approach has helped her explore her background incorporating the different types of music engagement, teaching and learning she has received throughout her life to

date. Nethsinghe (2012) employed an autoethnographical approach to investigate his background including the different modes of music education he received, and his journey towards his doctoral study. Autoethnography is not easy and researchers grapple with the challenges of sharing their lived experiences with others. Bartleet and Ellis (2009, 9) point out that, "As these experiences are dynamic, relationally embodied and highly subjective, they are difficult to express, particularly from a musical perspective where words are not the primary form of communication".

As stated, texts were generated either as biographical writings or as interview transcripts. The texts were analysed using Interpretative Phenomenological Analysis (IPA) which is defined as "an interpretative endeavour and is therefore informed by hermeneutics, the theory of interpretation" (Smith, Flowers & Larkin 2010, 3). This allows participants to answer questions and tell their own stories in their own words from their own perspectives. The data are then analysed thematically with the researchers identifying emergent themes which are then hierarchically organised. Direct quotes from the participant are included in the text, presenting the authentic voice of the subject. Although this is an autoethnography, the identity of individuals other than the subject has been masked.

This autoethnographical study concerns a Greek Australian and her sociocultural context. It is important to explore how Greek Australian culture was formed, developed and is currently enacted in Australia, specifically the State of Victoria. As will unfold, many of these elements relate to the subject of this study.

Australia formation by continuing migration

Since the beginning of the colonization of Australia by the British in 1788 there has always been a mix of cultures in evidence. Although there were seven Greek nationals amongst the convicts sent to New South Wales in 1829 the first wave of free migrants began in the 1850s at the time of the Victorian gold rush (Greek Care, 2013). Many were sailors who jumped ship but intended to return Greece. Few women joined them so that, by 1871 there were approximately 19 Greek-born women and 127 men, mostly from the Ionian islands. Lured by gold, most resettled in cities and towns where they became shopkeepers, fishmongers and café owners, and began sponsoring family and friends. Greek migration has always been based on "kinship, family, values and loyalties" (Tamis 2005, 40). Chain migration resulting from the assistance of family and friends who have immigrated earlier has always prevailed. This is undertaken through sponsorship, encouragement or initial financial assistance in matters such as fares and accommodation. In 1901 the Greek-born population had risen to 878 with about half living in Melbourne and mainly working in small businesses (Doumanis 1999). At this time the Greek Orthodox Church in Melbourne was established. At that time the census recorded 878 Greek-born Australians. Twenty years later the expulsion of Greeks from Asia Minor (1922-23) led to further migration to Australia, primarily to New South Wales although during the 1920s only 100 Greeks were allowed to immigrate each month. By the 1947 census there were 12,291 Greek-born Australians (Greek Care, 2013).

After the conclusion of World War II, Australia embarked on a period of supported migration to expand the population and supply a workforce for post-war building programs. In 1952 the Australian-Greece Assisted Passages agreement provided a financial incentive for Greeks to leave their unstable, impoverished homeland, and make their way to Australia. Many of these migrants came from Europe so that by 1961 there were 77,333 Greek-born Australians. In the next five years 140,000 more Greeks migrated with many settling in Melbourne (Doumanis 1999). Initially the culture they found was Anglo-Australian with English the spoken language. The majority of the new arrivals found work in factories or farms as unskilled or semi-skilled labours. Under the prevailing Assimilationist policies differences were suppressed and there was an expectation that all new migrants would learn and speak English. Initially Greek law restricted the migration of single women so the first immigrants were overwhelmingly young, single men. After the law changed in 1962 families predominated. Largely from mainland, rural Greece, particularly Peloponnesus and Macedonia, they travelled by ocean liner, such as the Kyreneia, which began regular service between Greece and Australia in 1949, the Patris or the Ellenis. There was a rapid increase in migration so that between 1947 and the early 1980s "Australia received a quarter of a million Greeks" (Doumanis 1999, 65).

Approximately fifty per cent of Greek immigrants to Australia settled in the State of Victoria. Many immigrants first settled in the inner suburbs of Melbourne, notably Northcote, Richmond, Prahran, Brunswick, Fitzroy. They chose Melbourne for a number of reasons, including the increasing provisions of religious and educational institutions within the Greek community and

employment opportunities (Kapardis & Tamis 1988). In inner Melbourne they found low rental and house prices, employment, and Greek-speaking neighbours. Once settled, they sponsored relatives and friends. They found work as semi-skilled and unskilled labourers in smaller inner-suburban manufacturing industries, at the huge vehicle and associated industries, and in public utilities. Because of the turmoil of World War II and the chaos of civil war, very few in this generation of migrants had post-secondary qualifications and were thus, in many cases, illiterate or poorly educated (Kapardis & Tamis 1988).

With changing governmental attitudes and understandings in Australia, in 1972 an official policy of Multiculturalism was introduced in 1972 in which diversity was celebrated and increasingly encouraged. Greek immigration to Australia declined somewhat in the 1970s, in 2006 approximately 54 thousand Victorians were born in Greece. Nowadays a lot of Greeks are very proud to have a Greek heritage. Now Australia aspires to cultural inclusivity. There are approximately 500 thousand Greeks living in Victoria alone. Melbourne has been known as having one of the largest Greek communities in the world, although it is difficult to confirm this fact given the different methods countries use to conceptualise and measure people of particular nationalities (Greek Care 2013). In 2006, 149,195 persons in the Melbourne Statistical District claimed Greek Nationality, either alone or in combination with another Nationality (Australian Bureau of Statistics 2007).

In 2011 the Greek language was spoken in the home by 252,211 Australian residents. Greek Australian citizens have an exceptionally high rate of return

immigration to Greece. At the end of 2001, the Australian Department of Foreign Affairs estimated that there were 135,000 Australian citizens resident in Greece. Presumably most of these returned Greek immigrants now hold dual Australian citizenship. This may also include their Greek Australian citizen children. More recently the Minister for Foreign Affairs of the Hellenic Republic Mr Stavros Lambrinidis announced that they have "commenced the necessary processes for the signing of a reciprocal agreement between Greece and Australia which will allow Greeks and Australians to visit both countries as tourists and work during their period of stay (Museum Victoria 2013). Ninety-seven per cent of Greeks have chosen to become Australian citizens, the highest proportion of any migrant group. While being fully committed to Australian society and its legal structures, democratic values and institutions, Greeks have also sought to preserve their own cultural heritage. They have established churches, schools, and local clubs (Museum Victoria 2013).

A complex musical life

It is common in reflections of a life, identity and musical formation that authors re-visit their childhood (Campbell & Wiggins 2013, 12). Renee was born in 1981. Her grandparents had separately migrated to Australia in the early 1960s for a "better life, better opportunities". Both families came to Australia with four children. Her maternal grandfather arrived with his family in the mid-1960s. Like many Greeks new to Australia, he worked in building construction. On arrival Renee's mother and father were adolescents having migrated at the ages of 12 and 14 years respectively. They learnt English and at home Renee remembers a mix of Greek and English. She stated that, "my mum's English was perfect, better than

me and I'm born here. She just picked it up really easily, my dad's English is not as good but he has learnt over the years and communicates fine". Being Greek was always a major part of the family identity and Renee found that she "used to think a lot in Greek but I had to be able to write and speak English which got difficult at times. Ever since I was a kid all my essays just needed to be fixed and made more succinct – eventually I became aware of it and I do practice it more now". Renee attended 'Anglo Australian' school every weekday but Greek community school every Saturday. She found the activities at the Greek school more engaging as there was "much culture, singing and dancing". Renee attended Greek social events so that her engagement with 'Anglo Australian' culture was less important. She was always interested in music, enjoying singing and listening to the music played in the home, both Greek and Western popular artists (for example Michael Jackson).

Renee began learning the piano when she was seven years old. Hargreaves, Miell and Macdonald (2002) consider that, taking formal instrumental lessons was a critical factor in self-identification as a musician. Renee learnt outside of school. Her first teacher was Mrs Flower and then she moved to a teacher she now describes as a friend and colleague. When asked why she began learning the piano Renee thought that it was "because my music teacher at school said if Renee wanted to learn music the best instrument for the basics is the piano". Like many young children Renee hated practicing but loved playing and "knowing all the works". As musicians and music educators we understand that fulfillment is constructed of both achievement and resistance (Allsup 1997). Music was always a "real hobby" for Renee but at the age of fifteen, after weighing up her future

options, she decided to be a musician. Bruner (1991, 73) highlights the importance of turning points in autobiographical narratives in which the narrator intentionally takes power in their own story. This turning point can be attributed to "a crucial change of stance in the protagonist's story to a belief, a conviction, a thought". In support of this decision, Renee's parents bought her a grand piano as by the end of year 10 at school she decided that she was serious about the piano and music and it "would now turn into my career". The grand piano is her pride and joy and as well as making her own music she began to teach younger students. As an adolescent this support from her parents was a timely and a very positive influence in her self-identity formation and development (Freer 2009). Renee considers her piano playing and learning as foundational to all other music learning and refers to herself repeatedly "as a classically trained pianist". Her piano studies became serious and she completed competitive external instrumental examinations and ultimately undertook a successful audition for tertiary music studies.

In parallel with her piano studies external to her formal schooling, Renee explored new musical engagements at her secondary school. Her teachers introduced her to new styles and she "found jazz". She sang in a choir, learned clarinet and guitar, played in concert band and folk groups. In her two final years of schooling she completed a number of music subjects. And in another parallel, Renee continued to be involved in Greek music making. She listened to Greek radio and music recordings, attended concerts, dances and social events. Greek school remained very important and Renee feels that being Greek "enhances playing music" because of the emotive resonances that accompany her cultural and linguistic understandings. Possibly due to the primacy she gives the Greek language, Renee

feels that songs sung in Greek are more expressive and more emotional than songs sung in English. Renee ended secondary school as a very good piano player, a rounded Western musician with a number of ways of making music, and a Greek singer and dancer. In her tertiary studies Renee continued her piano studies, reaching an excellent standard. Eventually she also completed a teaching degree that qualified her to teach music in both elementary and secondary schools. Renee maintained her practice as a studio teacher throughout this time.

Renee spoke about the importance of "finding jazz". For many young musicians who first learn to play from notated scores, there is an experience in which a new musical vista opens itself that involves popular styles seemingly freer and potentially more exciting than their previous studies. This occurred for both authors of this paper. Initially Renee found that her classical piano training was a hindrance to her ability to improvise on the keyboard but she "learnt to let go of the music". But it was not until later that she found her voice as a jazz singer. Bruner (1991, 74) described turning points in a life as located at points "where the culture in fact gives more degrees of freedom". Renee first performed as a solo singer before her friends and family at her twenty-first birthday party. Before then, no one had recognised her solo abilities. Since that time she has developed her skills as a composer of songs for voice, piano and other instruments. Recently she has recorded her first CD containing five original songs and three cover versions of songs by other composers. Renee's skills in Western popular music have interacted with her abilities as a performer of Greek traditional music and Greek jazz. After completing her initial university degrees Renee spent time teaching in Greece at a music school and a contemporary dance (hip hop) school on the island

of Kos. Her bilingual fluency was a real asset and while there she learnt more about her Greek cultural background and she performed with a number of professional Greek musicians. Greek popular music traverses a continuum that ranges from "folk/traditional songs, *rembétika* and *laïka* songs [to] … global characteristics that absorb Anglo-American popular music … where Greek language remains the crucial signifier of Greek national identity" (Pieridou-Skoutella 2011, 129). After her time in Greece, Renee returned to Melbourne where she continues teaching and performing in all the musical styles and cultural traditions that are encompassed in her musical identities.

As a teacher Renee has been both a studio teacher and taught in both elementary and secondary schools. She is passionate about her teaching and believes that "music is something to be shared". Renee cites the influence of her own teachers at all levels of her educational journey and seeks to emulate their passion in varying musical styles and cultural contexts. She has been the music coordinator in one school with a Greek cultural focus in which she taught class music, organised musical performances and instrumental lessons, conducted the school vocal group, school band and marching band, provided music for all cultural events held at the school, and accompanied many of the students in their instrumental recitals. Renee continues teaching in schools but has also added another role, that of doctoral candidate. Her thesis explores Greek Australian musical and cultural engagement. As is clearly demonstrated, Renee has developed a complex musical and personal identity that connects and negotiates her cultural and musical heritages, both Greek and Australian. At any given time Renee may choose to be a "classically trained" pianist steeped in the heritage of the western keyboard performance

tradition or a singer of contemporary Greek popular songs with a band in a nightclub. Similarly as a teacher, she might be teaching Greek dances and culture to Australian Greek children or Hip Hop dancing to Greek students in Greece.

Hybrid identities

Renee is not unique in her cultural and musical hybridization. In societies such as contemporary Australia complex culturally diverse identities are more the norm than the exception. Sulzer (2001, 221) points out that the current "debate on multi-/inter- or trans-culturality stresses the connection of identity, ethnicity and (trans-) cultural formation of the individual". Renee's musical identities reflect a rich, complex musical and cultural life. This is founded on her bilingualism and accompanying biculturalism in both Greek and Australian English language and culture. Her Greek musical identities encompass both Greek traditional and popular musics. Her Western musical identities have two main foci – that of "classically trained pianist" and that of singer, performer and composer of popular music, highly influenced by her "venture out into jazz". Bruner (1990, 110) describes self-identity "both as a guardian of permanence and as a barometer responding to the local cultural weather". In the negotiations between permanence and responsiveness culture provides guides, processes and understandings on our journeying between stability and change. Culture "exhorts, forbids, lures, denies, rewards the commitments that the Self undertakes. And the Self, using its capacities for reflection and for envisaging alternatives, escapes or embraces or re-evaluates and reformulates what the culture has on offer" (Bruner 1990, 110).

At all times Renee negotiates her musical and cultural identities. She must decide who she is in any given time, place, performance, classroom, studio, and so forth. Her first decision must be which language and which culture. From this decision, other decisions stem. For example, if the decision is to engage with Greek language and music, then which musical style will be selected, which instrument(s), what compositions, and so on. Renee states that "all my musical experience has created who I am now" but who she is continues to be a negotiation between styles that can influence, infiltrate and enrich each other. In discussion we have generated a model that reflects some of these negotiations and frames (see Figure 4). Various diagrammatic representations were considered but ultimately we settled on a three-dimensional figure, a cube with three pairs of opposing faces. This is a graphic oversimplification but we agreed that it is a reasonable way of understanding Renee who may take any position within the cube either as performer or as teacher. The top of the cube is 'Greek language and culture' and the opposing base is 'Australian English language and culture'. The sides of the cube are 'Traditional Greek musician' and 'Classical Western musician'. The remaining two walls of the cube are both understood as being a popular musician either Greek of Western styles. Of course each facet of the cube is more complex that a single signifier but this model attempts to simplify the cultural and musical influences that frame Renee's complex musical life. If she is singing popular Greek songs in Greek that are influenced by traditional Greek music, then Renee could be shown as a dot within the cube in the bottom left hand corner. Other musicking or music teaching could be shown by a different dot, depending on the strongest influences.
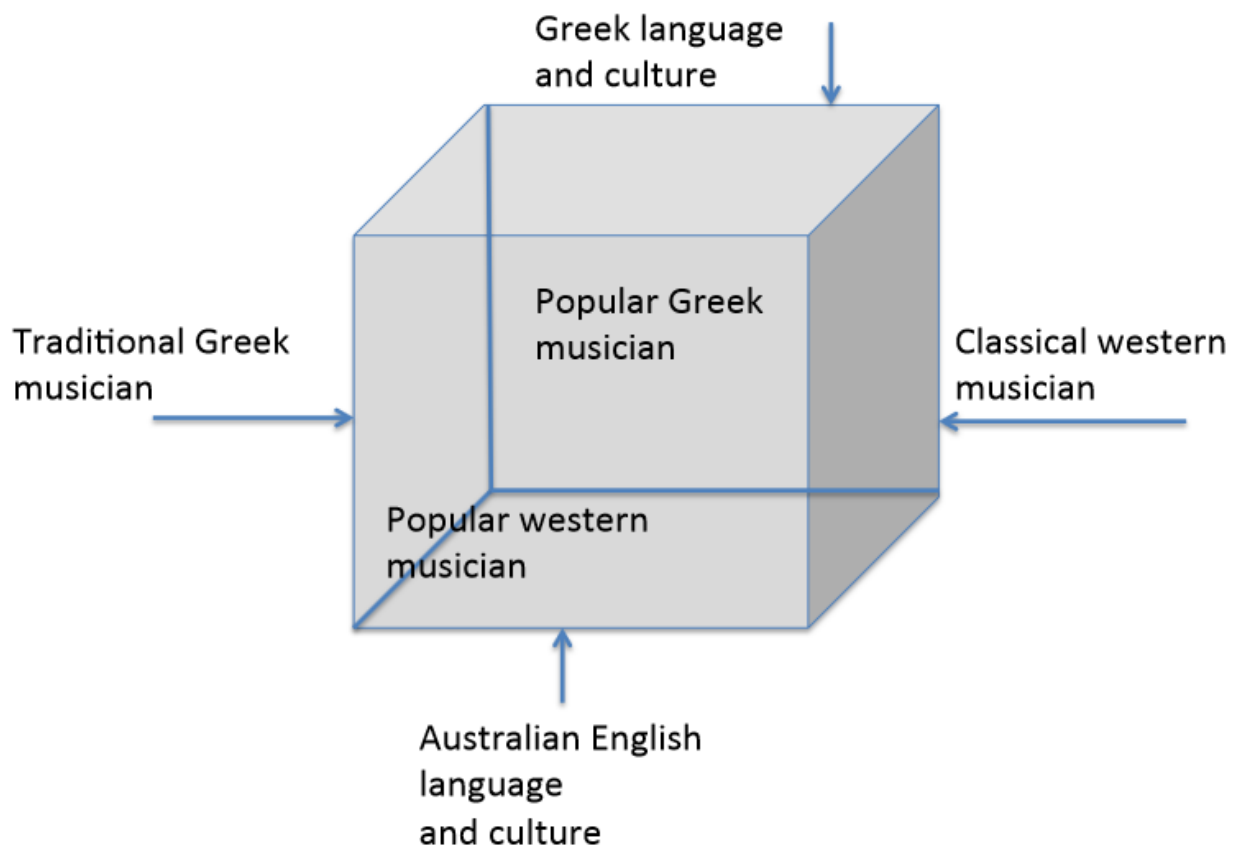
Figure 4: Model of a complex Greek Australian musical identity

Renee considers herself lucky to have the experiences she has had in both cultures. Like many others with similarly rich cultural and musical identities Renee is typified by a rich cultural hybridity and she considers her "ability to negotiate is a blessing". For Renee, music is the core of her personal identity. She states that music is "the sole purpose of the person I am today and the teacher I am today and the performer and composer I am today".

Implications

As Bruner (1991, 77) points out, "the development of the self-concept in different cultures in different conditions of life … is a vast topic, and not very well studied".

It is hoped that this article concerning a bicultural, bi-musical individual contributes to this exploration. A focus of this study is the rich complexity and possible cross-fertilisations provided by being multilingual, multicultural and multi-musical. Given the aspirational cultural diversity of Australia, a consideration of this musical life can offer insight into the provision of music and music education opportunities for the wider population. All of these concepts (culture, music, and education) encompass vast possibilities and cross-fertilizations. For example, music cannot be considered as a singular practice and common usage now employs the plural 'musics'. As this article recognises, even in one person there are many musics and varied cultures that support different forms of musicking. Renee is immersed in musicking in many ways, such as singer, pianist, composer, improviser, and listener. She is actively engaged in music in different ways framed in different linguistic and cultural contexts. As stated, Renee is not unique in a county such as Australia where the recognition, accommodation and celebration of cultural diversity is our aspiration and where hybrid identities are the norm. This is an important lesson for educators to learn. We do not teach in a monocultural society so music programs at all levels of education should encompass diverse musics, taught contextually in a culturally appropriate manner. Renee discovered other musics, such as jazz, when presented to her by her school music teachers. This is not the only way that we discover new musics but it is an important and effective way to broaden horizons that should be an underlying tenet of all teaching and learning.

In this study the importance of parental and familial support in music engagement is very clear. Once Renee made the decision to be a musician, her parents marked

this turning point with the acquisition of a grand piano, thus confirming and supporting her decision. Formation and development of bilingual and bicultural self-identity begins in the home. Social constructionist theories suggest that, "people have many identities, each of which is created in interaction with other people, rather than having a single, core identity" (Hargreaves, Miell & Macdonald 2002, 10). As with Renee such identities can be both complementary and/or contradictory, in negotiation and occasionally in isolation. Identities are continually evolving and each interaction can lead to new understandings and practices. For example, although Renee was a "classically trained pianist" she took these hard won skills and used them in her engagement with Western jazz, as an accompanist of school ensembles, as a composer and as a studio teacher. Each of her musical skills has modified and/or enhanced the others. Although complex, this rich musical identity is a "blessing" that teachers should seek to encourage. Too often musics are separated in silos made by tradition and convention. It is the work of teaching and learning to discover what one music can offer another. Through narrative exploration we can seek a comprehensible understanding of the changing self and recognise concurrence and/or divergence from established cultural patterns. As Bruner (1990, 67) states, "This method of negotiating and renegotiating meanings by the mediation of narrative interpretation is, it seems to me, one of the crowning achievements of human development in the ontogenetic, cultural and phylogenetic sense of that expression" (67). Ultimately this study concerns one rich, complex bilingual and bi-musical person who is but one of many such people. Renee's story, although unique in its combinations, negotiations and complexities, is not by any means the only example of such hybridized identities. It is acknowledged that the development and ongoing

formation of self-identities in different cultures is both worthy of study and comparatively unconsidered. It is hoped that this autoethnographical exploration of a bicultural, bi-musical Greek Australian offers insights and models of practice for the many culturally hybridized people who remain works in progress.

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Chapter 3

The 'bitter sweetness' of hybridity: A case study of a bilingual, bicultural Greek Australian musician

Georgoulas, R. & Southcott, J. (2016?). A case study of a bilingual, bicultural Greek Australian musician. Submitted to *International Journal of Community Music*

Introduction to article

The participant in this second article is also a Greek Australian musicker born in Melbourne who is bilingual, bicultural and bimusical. This article extends my first study of myself to a study of another person with similar influences but from an earlier generation with a different life trajectory. This single case study explores the musicking of 'Calista' a bilingual, bicultural Greek Australian musician in Melbourne, Victoria. The formation and development of hybridized identity is a complex lifelong process that may generate tensions for the individual. There are both strengths and challenges for those transitioning between cultures. This study focuses on the musical identity formed by personal, musical and cultural contexts. Calista enacts her bi-musicality in different musical genres and in different modes of musical engagement. Data were collected by semi-structured interview and by reference to published materials. The findings are reported under three themes: Becoming a Greek Australian musician; Mature musicking; and Teaching and community work. In Australia bicultural and multicultural identities are becoming the norm and this is reflected in our cultural explorations enacted via musicking and in formal and informal teaching and learning.

Article

The 'bitter sweetness' of hybridity: A case study of a bilingual, bicultural Greek Australian musician

Abstract

This single case study explores the musicking of 'Calista' a bilingual, bicultural Greek Australian musician in Melbourne, Victoria. The formation and development of hybridized identity is a complex lifelong process that may generate tensions for the individual. There are both strengths and challenges for those transitioning between cultures. This study focuses on the musical identity formed by personal, musical and cultural contexts. Calista enacts her bimusicality in different musical genres and in different modes of musical engagement. Data were collected by semi-structured interview and by reference to published materials. The findings are reported under three themes: Becoming a Greek Australian musician; Mature musicking; and Teaching and community work. In Australia bicultural and multicultural identities are becoming the norm and this is reflected in our cultural explorations enacted via musicking and in formal and informal teaching and learning. The questions and data for the Greek Musician in Melbourne was discussed in three themes: Becoming a Greek Australian musician; Mature musicking (singer, songwriter and performer); and Teaching and community work.

Key words: Greek Australian identity; bicultural and bilingual identity; Greek Australian singer songwriter; musical identity; hybridized identity

Introduction: Bicultural and musical identity

This research explores the bicultural and musical identities of Calista, a second generation Greek Australian. The basic question for immigrants and their descendants is "how they define themselves culturally (by ethnic cultural heritage or by national identity or both) and how they relate to others in the host country, in particular, the mainstream cultural group" (Liu, 2015, p. 27). This complicates identity construction as individuals negotiate their bicultural environment in search of a cultural home. An individual's past sense of stable cultural belonging has to be re-negotiated in a new cultural context. This continual negotiation occurs as part of daily existence (Liu, 2015) and is undertaken in "relation to specific political and economic circumstances under which particular beliefs and practices are emphasized as boundary markers" (Brockhall & Liu, 2011, p. 17). These boundaries may expand and contract and individuals need to reconstruct and re-negotiate their identity. For example following World War II a policy of Anglo-conformity demanded that immigrants renounce their heritage culture and become 'New Australians'. When this policy was replaced by multiculturalism in the 1970s, new migrants and second generation hyphenated Australians were encouraged to maintain their own cultural practices as well as those of mainstream society (Liu, 2015). Rather than a merging of two cultures, hyphenated identity implies their coexistence in which identity negotiation occurs in the context of communicating with others framed by social expectations and conventions (Hecht, Warren, Jung, & Krieger, 2005). To be considered culturally competent an individual should have developed a strong sense of self identity, have acquired a knowledge of cultural beliefs and values, be able to communicate clearly in the

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language of the culture, and behave appropriately according to their cultural customs (LaFromboise, Hardin & Gerton, 1993). A sense of a cultural home provides a set of "integrated assumptions, values, beliefs, social role norms, and emotional attachments that constitutes a meaningful personal identity developed and located within a sociocultural framework" that is shared with other similar individuals (Vivero & Jenkins, 1999, p. 9). Cultural knowledge involves an awareness of the "history, institutions, rituals, and everyday practices of a given culture. This would include an understanding of the basic perspectives of a culture has on gender roles, religious practices, and political issues, as well as the rules that govern daily interactions among members of the culture" (LaFromboise, Hardin & Gerton, 1993, p. 403).

At the core of the acculturation and adaptation of immigrants is their sense of identity (Liu, 2015). Identity is an ambiguous concept that is difficult to define (Baumann, 2004; Buckingham, 2008; Schilling-Estes, 2004). There is general agreement that identity is a fluid, multifaceted, dynamic construct that is both complex and nonlinear (Pavlenko, 2001; Walters & Auton-Cuff, 2009). The identity of an individual is an ongoing construction, negotiation and re-construction of both the personal and collective sense of self that is shaped by social interaction (Brockhall & Liu, 2011; Kakava, 2003; Liu, 2015). Thus identity can be defined as the way in which an individual manages her self-image "and performs to the expectations of others in everyday life" (Liu, 2015, p. 27). Linguistic and cultural resources underpin the formation of identity that can be understood as "reflective self-images constructed, experienced and communicated by the individuals in a particular interaction situation within a cultural context" (Brockhall & Liu, 2011, p. 17). Identity is formed within relationships and

although the individual is able to create multiple selves, these are limited by personal and social constraints (Markus & Nurius, 1986). Social constructionist theories suggest that, "people have many identities, each of which is created in interaction with other people, rather than having a single, core identity" (Hargreaves, Miell & Macdonald, 2002, p. 10). The individual and her society are inseparable and "identity construction, as a product of social interaction, usually adheres to the expectations of others" (Brockhall & Liu, 2011, p. 17). In this ongoing negotiation, the boundaries between "individual identity and collective identity are constantly moving, at times with an emphasis on individual identity and at others a stress on collective identity, which contributes to the dynamic, fluid nature of identity" (Walters & Auton-Cuff, 2009, p. 757). This process may be influenced by both a desire for individuality and for a sense of belonging to a culture or community (Baumann, 2004). The process of identity construction is influenced by a number of factors that may influence each other and the particular importance of different dimensions depends on sociocultural context (Jones & McEwen, 2000). It can be argued that identity is not a "straightforward, easy to measure concept. It is a journey rather than a destination" (Walters & Auton-Cuff, 2009, p. 757).

It is possible for an individual to understand two different cultures and be able to modify her behavior to fit different social contexts (LaFromboise, Hardin & Gerton, 1993). To achieve this an individual needs to develop bicultural competence and efficacy which is the "belief, or confidence, that one can live effectively, and in a satisfying manner, within two groups without compromising one's sense of cultural identity" (LaFromboise, Hardin & Gerton, 1993, p. 404). For bicultural individuals there may be no contradiction between their two

identities (Berry & Sabatier, 2010). The formation and development of bilingual and bicultural self-identity begins in the home where children learn "basic cultural rules that give guidelines and principles on values and behaviour and these are used as a basis for how one lives as an adult" (Walters & Auton-Cuff, 2009, p. 756). Early conceptualizations of identity posit stages of human development in which progression results from overcoming a challenge or crisis. Although identity formation is a life-long process late adolescence is identified as key point in identity development (Walters & Auton-Cuff, 2009). Interaction with family, peers and school are the main agencies of adolescent socialization and effective sociocultural adaptation implies an individual's ability to function in all spheres of her daily life (Berry & Sabatier, 2010). Adolescence is a time of exploration and identity formation in which the individual may seek greater autonomy. The children of migrants may acquire better language proficiency, accept new cultural values and practices more readily than their parents and seek to adopt mainstream values and lifestyles. This may lead to conflict in the family. Within Western cultures, disagreements between adolescents and their parents are considered a common element of adolescent development that diminishes over time (Stuart, Ward, Jose & Narayanan, 2010). In migrant families parents may adhere to heritage cultural values while their children adopt those of the mainstream culture, but an underpinning sense of family cohesiveness and congruence can "mitigate against identity conflict in migrant youth" (Ward, 2008, p. 108). For those transitioning between two different cultures, this stage of identity formation and the development of cultural competence can be challenging as bicultural individuals may perceive both strengths and incompatibilities between their two cultures (Hanek, Lee, & Brannen, 2014). Despite a common assumption that being

bicultural may result in identity confusion, seminal theorist Park (1928) suggested that starting with the Greeks, human progress has occurred when cultures intermingle and considered that biculturality had long-term benefits for society.

The subject of this study is a Greek Australian musician. Musical identities are just as "complex as identities *per se* – they are complex and are made up of cultural, musical and personal aspects formed by an individual's life experiences" (Georgoulas & Southcott, 2014). Musical identities are formed in interactions between music, the individual and their sociocultural context. Music is a fundamental channel of communication [and] provides a means by which people can share emotions, intentions and meanings" (Hargreaves et al., 2002, p. 1). Musical identities are rarely confined within a narrow musical range as most individuals frequently musick in a range of musical genres and styles. Given this breadth and complexity, musical identities are "mobile, a process not a thing, a becoming not a being, best understood as an experience of the self-in-process when the subjective and collective sides of musical identity are inseparable" (Frith, 1996b, p. 110). For individuals with bicultural personal identities, musicking is formed with two cultural backgrounds and may be enacted as singer, instrumentalist, songwriter, performer, improviser and/or teacher all of which are "central to the identities of professional musicians" (Hargreaves et al., 2002, p. 2). These different facets of one complex identity alter according to the demands of culture, occasion and personal preference. This single case study explores the musicking of a bilingual, bicultural Greek Australian musician in Melbourne, Victoria.

Greek migration to Australia

Migrants have always enriched the social and economic fabric of Australia. This includes a strong Greek heritage and a thriving Greek community. Since the nineteenth century, immigrant Greeks have played an integral part of the history of Australia (Kanarakis, 2011). In 1829 the first Greek migrants to Australia were a small group of young sailors convicted of piracy, two of who became permanent Australian residents. During the gold rush in the mid-nineteenth century more Greeks arrived and by 1910 there were about 900 Greek immigrants in Australia (Georgiades, 2014). Australia is a nation of immigrants and diasporic migration has always been a part of the Greek way of life. In recent times Greeks have emigrated for socio-economic and political reasons because "Greece with so many trials and tribulations was not in a position to provide for them and their families" (Kanarakis, 2011, p. 1). Greek and Cypriot immigrants are one of the "oldest and largest immigrant groups that arrived in Australia after the Second World War" (Brockhall & Liu, 2011, p. 16). After 1952 tens of thousands of Greeks took advantage of the Australian Government's offer of assisted passage (Georgiades, 2014) and Australia began a period of supported migration to rebuild the population and provide a workforce for post-war building programs which brought great cultural diversity. In the immediate post-war years most Greek Australians were engaged in family-owned business, many in the food industry. These shopkeepers "followed a pattern: arduous initial toil; a degree of social alienation; strenuous saving and careful investment; in most cases, modest commercial success; and great efforts to advance their children through higher education" (Gilchrist, 2004, p. 343). By 1961 there were 77,333 Greek-born Australians and in the next five years 140,000 more Greeks migrated, many of who settled in

Melbourne (Doumanis, 1999). Greek migration to Australia declined somewhat in the 1970s, although a large number of Greek Cypriots migrated following the Turkish invasion of Northern Cyprus (Georgiades, 2014). In 2006 there were approximately 54,000 Greek-born Victorians and many more who, although born in Australia claim Greek heritage. Recently there has been an increase in the number of Greeks migrating to Australia due to the financial problems in Greece (Georgiades, 2014). Currently in Australia the estimated Greek community exceeds 600,000 people. Nearly half of them live in Melbourne which is an important overseas centre of Hellenism and often described as having the largest Greek population in the world after Athens and Thessaloniki (Department of Foreign Affairs and Trade [DFAT], Australian Government, 2013). There is a significant Greek presence in Australia. Of those who carry Greek citizenship, ninety-seven per cent have chosen to become Australian citizens, the highest proportion of any migrant group. While being fully committed to Australian society and its legal structures, democratic values and institutions, Greeks have also sought to preserve their own cultural heritage. They have established churches, schools, local clubs, scout groups, newspapers, cultural and voluntary associations and regional brotherhoods, community care and residential care services. Greek immigrants who have relocated from their home country to Australia have always "brought with them significant attachments to their home culture" (Brockhall & Liu, 2011, p. 17).

Greek society and culture in Melbourne, Australia

Greek migrants who arrived in Australia in the 1950s and 1960s found a country dominated by an assimilation policy that expected new arrivals to adopt mainstream Anglo-Australian culture (Brockhall & Liu, 2011; Georgiades, 2014).

While immigrants were aware of the need to adapt to their new social environment, many did not want to abandon the traditions of their homelands. As a result, immigrants of this generation created a dual identity in which "they performed Australian in public while being Greek in private" (Brockhall & Liu, 2011, p. 19). Despite pressure to assimilate Greek migrants largely maintained their culture via formal and informal community groups such as the Greek Orthodox church, Greek schools, Greek language newspapers and music and theatre performances (Georgiades, 2014). With the introduction of multiculturalism in the 1970s emphasis was placed on the maintenance of cultural traditions and it became possible to develop a hybridized cultural identity in which the Greek private persona could be performed in public. Their remained an ongoing sense of negotiation between Greek and Australian identities for long-term settlers, new arrivals and subsequent generations.

The culture of Melbourne reflects its diverse, multi-layered culture and society, and the city has gained a reputation as the cultural capital of Australia. Greeks are known for their large extended families "that strongly maintain their culture and traditions" (Brockhall & Liu, 2011, p. 17). According to Graber (2013) Melbourne "celebrates a wide variety of major annual cultural events, including local, national and international events particularly for the Greek community of Melbourne." Melbourne is recognised as having one of the largest Greek communities in the world although it is difficult to confirm this fact given the different methods countries use to conceptualise and measure people of particular nationalities (Greek Care, 2013). In 2006, 149,195 persons in the Melbourne Statistical District claimed Greek Nationality, either alone or in combination with another nationality

(Australian Bureau of Statistics, 2007). Amongst the large number of Greek Australians living in Melbourne there are a variety of different music, dance and cultural events that take place that feature Greek traditional folk musics and modern Greek popular music. Greek Australians also maintain a strong cultural and religious identity whilst playing a prominent part in Australian mainstream society in areas including politics, the arts, education, business and sport. A public example of this is the presence of Hellenic music programs on community FM radio which presents contemporary Greek music as an alternative to the commercial Greek music more readily available and seeks to educate listeners of all backgrounds (Papas, 2012, p. 1). Amongst the many Greek events is the annual Antipodes Festival that is "a celebration of Greek culture that attracts thousands of people to the two-day street party in the heart of Melbourne. Local artists perform at the event, and popular musicians from Greece are also brought in each year to perform" (Graber, 2013, p.1). The Greek Music scene in Melbourne offers a range of options that encompasses the varied interests of the Greek (and Australian) community in Melbourne.

Greek music in Melbourne

Greek music in Melbourne encompasses a large part of the Greek community in Melbourne. It includes a large amount of diversity due to the creative Greek assimilation of different influences of the Eastern and Western cultures of Asia and Europe. Graber (2013, p. 1) points out that since ancient times "poetry, dancing and music were inseparable and played an important part in the ancient Greek's everyday life". In Greek society music "became an expression and a testimony of the slavery years, a weapon of opposition against the colonel

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authority and a way to express love, death, human fears, that accompanied the Greeks in their everyday life" (Graber, p. 1). Music continues to be an expression of Greek humanity and culture in Melbourne today. It is not possible to really know a musical culture, until it reacts to the experience of migration where people may experience disregard, disrespect, hostility, and discrimination. Further immigrants will by the very act of migrating find their traditional forms of behaviour challenged by the new environment. At this point, migrants have the choice to abandon traditional cultural activities or to adapt them. In other words, "musical behaviour can be looked at as an indicator of social adjustment, integration or, on the contrary, of marginality or malaise" (Graber, p. 1).

The Participant

Calista performs with bands and other solo artists representing different parts of Greece in Melbourne. On her website, Calista describes herself as a daughter of the Australian Greek diaspora. She describes her musical background in the 1960s and 1970s as formed by the music of Greek social and cultural movement known as the New Wave that represented cultural rediscovery about Greek identity in Greece and in Australia. These influences have shaped her musical journey. Calista is a diverse vocalist/performer with a national and international reputation. She has collaborated with many significant performers and composers and performed in Australia and abroad.

Methodology

This single phenomenological case study focuses on a Greek Australian musician in Melbourne, Victoria. The phenomenological approach attempts to discover how

people understand their experiences. Willig (2001) describes phenomenology as concerning the "ways in which human beings gain knowledge of the world around them" (p. 49). Although some researchers may perceive qualitative, phenomenological research as "more suspect on the issue of reliability than those associated with quantitative procedures" (Orum, Feagan, & Sjoberg, 1991, p. 17), the use of careful data collection strategies and data analysis can counteract such charges. This phenomenological research intends to explore the participants' lived experiences so a semi-structured interview is most appropriate as it allows flexibility and "facilitates rapport, empathy, allows greater flexibility of coverage and allows the interview to go into novel areas and it tends to produce richer data" (Orum et al., 1991, p. 19). Orum et al. (1991) suggest that, although a set of questions may be written, they are used more as a guide during the interview that tries to establish a rapport with the participant (Smith & Osborn, 2008). The ordering of the questions is not particularly important and the interviewer is free to probe interesting responses to explore respondents' interests or concerns. The disadvantages could include that this form of interviewing "reduces the control of the investigator has over the situation, takes longer to carry out and is harder to analyze" (Smith & Osborn, 2008, p. 59). Willig (2001) points out that, "It is important that the questions posed to the participant are open ended and non-directive" (p. 53). In this case study the semi-structured interview questions sought the opinions, understanding, and feelings of the participant in regards traditional and popular Greek music in Melbourne. In order for the interviews to be conducted Ethical Permission was applied for and gained. The interviewee signed a consent form that stated that she agreed to take part in the research, be interviewed by the researcher, and allow the interview to be audio recorded. The

interview was conversational and fairly informal but made it possible to gather as much information as possible. To make the interviewee comfortable the interview was held at a café. Such familiar settings encouraged the conversational nature of a semi-structured interview. Both the interviewer and the interviewee speak fluent Greek and English. The interview employed both languages. The interviewee is identified by a pseudonym (Calista) and although cited, her website is not identified.

Once transcribed, the data were analysed using Interpretative Phenomenological Analysis (IPA) (Willig, 2007). IPA is defined as "an interpretative endeavour and is therefore informed by hermeneutics, the theory of interpretation" (Smith, Flowers & Larkin, 2009, p. 3). This allows the participant to answer the questions and tell their own story in their own words from their own perspectives. The transcription of the data was analysed thematically with the researcher identifying emergent themes that are then hierarchically organised. Smith and Osborn (2008) explain that the process of deciding, "which themes to focus upon requires the analyst to prioritize the data and begin to reduce them. The themes are not selected purely on the basis of their prevalence within the data" (Smith & Osborn, 2008, p. 75). The researcher then constructs the case based on their in depth analysis. Direct quotations from the participant are included into the text, presenting the voice of the participant. Thus thematic analysis and the presentation of the research are a "reflection on one's own perception, conceptions and processes" (Smith, Flowers & Larkin, 2009, p. 80).

Findings

The data will be discussed in three themes: Becoming a Greek Australian musician; Mature musicking (singer, songwriter and performer); and Teaching and community work.

Becoming a Greek Australian musician

Calista is a Greek Australian musician, performer and singer songwriter. She was born in Australia but her parents emigrated from Greece in the 1950s. They became public figures in Melbourne. Her father was a member of the State Parliament for over a decade and her mother was the first Greek speaking hairdresser in Melbourne and much in demand in the community. She now considers her bilinguality and bi-culturality a blessing. Calista spoke about being a bicultural hybrid. She understood a difference between those Greeks who were born in Greece and migrated to Australia and those (like herself) who were born here who she termed 'hybrids'. She explained that "We are not Greeks, [although] a thousand people would revolt in hearing me say that because they're so invested in the concept that you are what your lineage says and not where you were born or your current environment". She continued that "in Greece we're foreigners as well and there's a stigma". Specifically Calista states, I'm not a Greek singer *per se* as I'm not from Greece. I am a Greek Australian singer".

For Calista "growing up in Australia has been bitter sweet". At home Greece was idealised as wonderful like a "tired out record" but that is not what she thinks Greece is like today. She described that as a younger Greek Australian musician "the minute I used to walk out the door after hearing that Greece is so nice, I was

faced with the Australian side of me and that is different". Calista early encountered racism, which saddened and hurt her. As her father was a public figure, people would call her home. She recalled,

> I was 12 years old when the phone rang and some guy on the other end asked me where I was from and I said 'Abbotsford' – which was the suburb we lived in – he said where are your parents from – and I said Greece – and then I was told to go back to my country, which confused me as I was born in Australia and told him 'but I am in my country'.

Despite early experiences of racism in Australia, Calista is now "proud of who I am and I can walk the streets proudly because I have been supported and instilled to be proud of my Greek-ness and my Australian-ness".

Calista described that she "was brought up in Greek music … and heavily exposed to Mikis Theodorakis" but was not encouraged to learn this music and so did not embrace it when young. She stated that, "I didn't wear my culture well at all growing up … none of us did at that time… it was not acceptable nor popular to be a Greek or other than mainstream Anglo typecast person". When her parents came to Australia in the 1950s the perception of Greek culture was very conservative which for Calista meant, "girls were seen and not heard". After a neighbour recognised her musical abilities she started learning piano at the age of six from a highly regarded Australian piano teacher and performer. Calista described her teacher as "just wonderful … [and she] was my teacher until the age of 12 it was a good six years and I excelled in that and also learned music theory and so that was my formalization". In her high school years Calista continued piano and was part of the music curriculum at Collingwood Education Centre where she also learnt

guitar. Calista's parents were hard working and were not encouraging of their daughter's desire to be a musician. When she was sixteen, she won a scholarship for a year of singing lessons. Calista was delighted but when she told her mother, the response was "No, I didn't have you to become a theatre singer". Calista was upset and out of revenge started to play the saxophone that "drove my mom crazy". After finishing school Calista pursued music. She attended the Melba Conservatorium for a year where she studied voice with another "brilliant" teacher. However, Calista "lost interest because I really wanted to learn blues and pop music". Calista found voice teachers who would further her soul, blues and jazz singing, one of whom had worked with Aretha Franklin. She also pursued jazz and now feels that the only vocal music she has not yet "done is opera [but] before I die I want to".

Calista did not wish to break away from her parents as a few other young Greek women were doing at the time. She spoke of one who just "up and left", breaking the chains of family and cultural expectation, and another woman who "pushed the boundaries". Calista felt that she could not do that – her family situation was a bit different because her "dad was in politics and he was quite a public figure". But Calista was still drawn to rebellion. She chose rock music "because it had that rebellious nature". In retrospect she understands that "I was really rebelling at not being able to fly … in what I wanted to do. I was born to be a musician and didn't fight hard enough to formalize that." As a young woman in the 1970s and 1980s Calista described her musical influences as "blues, jazz and rock artists" from America, Australia and Greece, thus she was familiar with lyrics in both English and Greek. She was working in cover bands playing the music of Tina Turner,

Aretha Franklin, Etta James, Janis Joplin, Ella Fitzgerald, and Billie Holiday. She was inspired by these singers and also "loved to listen to Marcia Hines and Rene Geyer" both Australian singers, the former a pop, rock and jazz vocalist and the latter has long been regarded as a fine exponent of jazz, soul and R&B. Looking back Calista reflects that at that time she and other musicians of Greek background did not follow Greek music because "they got work in the Australian music industry". Calista became proud of her heritage later on in life and is passionate about the performance of Greek and Greek Australian music and about the transmission of Greek linguistic and cultural heritage. She reflects on her formative Greek influences. Her favourite Greek singers are Marinella, Haris Alexiou, and Maria Farantouri. She also became familiar with the work of pioneering Greek musicians such as Mikis Theodorakis, Manos Loizos, Kostas Hatzi, Manos Hatzidakis.

Mature musicking

Initially Calista played keyboards and sang backing vocals in rock and popular cover bands. Her mother was not happy about this, saying, "I didn't have a daughter to be a singer". This became embedded in Calista's sense of musical self until one night the drummer in the band said, "you don't need this" and threw away her lyrics book. He told her that she had to do the gig on her own, "I had to do Love Child by the Supremes, I turned to him and …[asked] what is the line of the first verse, you've got to tell me … he told me and from then on, it was great". With reflection Calista recognises that without that push she would never have had the confidence to step up. She adds that being bicultural also gave her "double confidence" which relates to the "bitter sweetness" of her experiences as a hybrid.

Calista feels that it is essential to "accentuate the positive … that gives you the confidence to move on and do what you want to do. I am blessed to be cultured, I could not say that 20 years ago, I could not". Calista's first instrument is her voice. She sings in many languages such as Greek, Turkish, Italian, Chinese and English. She also plays keyboards, guitar and a little saxophone. She performed at the fringe festival three times and worked as a project Session Musician.

At the age of nine Calista wrote her first poem which was about feeling isolated from mainstream Australian society because of her Greek name. Five years later she wrote about her parents struggle with migration and this has become a theme in her work. Her song writing has been enthusiastically reviewed. Of particular note is one of her songs that pays homage to first generation Greek migrants has struck a chord with the Greek Australian community. The song is sung bilingually to reflect the intermingling and co-reliance between her two cultural traditions and its chorus "could be an ideology of an entire generation" (website). Calista considers herself a singer-song writer. Her songs have never been pop songs about unrequited love such as "I am sorry he doesn't love me anymore" but were very much about human rights and injustice. Calista was very influenced by Bob Dylan and Joan Baez in the 1960s and 1970s in the USA and by "songs penned of human rights" by Greek musicians "Hatzis, with singer Marinella, Hatzithakis with singer Merlina Mercouri and Theodorakis with singer Farandouri". Calista wrote songs about "the environment and what was moving me inside, in my heart of hearts". She described being aware of "what was happening around the world or on television or movies" and her understandings were informed by her cultural background. All this influenced the music that she performed and wrote from what she described her as her subliminal sense of "Greek Australian Greek" self.

Calista explained that a lot of her music is about human rights. As an advocate she considers music to be the cohesive element, "the glue". Through songs Calista feels that she can connect with her true culture and touch the hearts of her audiences. She expounds that music is subtle – "you can't touch it, music is not tactile". Calista has been a student of spiritualism and metaphysics for a long time and finds that through song and spiritualism she can connect her two cultures. She recognises that culture is complex and comments that "not all Greeks are Greek Orthodox. There's Muslims Greeks, and there's Buddhist Greeks that do yoga, there's evangelists, there's you know, atheist and agnostics in Greece". Calista enacts and embodies her culture as a singer songwriter. Her cultures are inseparable from her identity as musician and performer. She believes that "we can communicate our culture to each and create understanding and so, establish a common ground through food, music and culture therefore dispelling fear which is what wars are made of". Calista explores her identity via her song writing. She constructs thematically related, narrative performances that explore her personal experiences "from being a migrant's daughter, a politician migrant's daughter to cancer survivor to a struggling sing-a-long writer" who manages her own career.

Calista performs in a range of musical genres as a solo artist and in different bands. Her performances range from original one-woman shows to playing with larger ensembles. Calista is a well-known performer in a wide range of public and private events. Public events include large community festivals such as International Women's Day, Australia Day, Harmony Day (celebrating Australia's diversity), Moomba (a large Melbourne community celebration), the Antipodes Festival (one of the biggest and most prestigious events for the local Greek community) and concerts. Private events include weddings, baptisms, and parties

in clubs and various restaurants. Calista values her ability to perform in both Greek and English. Her musical genres are also diverse. When working with a band she is the lead singer and when she is performing Greek Australian music she works with musicians that have just arrived from Greece to third generation Greek Australians. Being Greek was not a determinant for who she plays with – she described a bouzouki player "who also performs in the Chinese Symphony Orchestra because his dad was Chinese, but his dad knew better Greek than my dad and his dad could dance the Greek zeibekiko dance like no other Greek could". Calista considers that having this freedom is a "beautiful part of living in Australia". Calista produces events and collaborates with many other well-established Greek Australian musicians. She stated that, "It is a privilege not a curse to be an Australian-Greek and to actually perform with people that want to play Greek music." Calista explained how she balances the Greek and mainstream cultural and linguistic influences in her performances: "I go from one to the other, that is really bizarre; unconsciously, all my performances are unconscious". Despite her musical training and her years of experience Calista considers herself hindered by her "lack of formality as a musician". When an impressively eulogistic review was published about her that announced her to be worthy of the status of the muse of song, she admits that she does not see that in her work. Calista does note that as a self-managed performer she occasionally finds that it has been "difficult financially to get some of these events going". This has been exacerbated by periods of serious illness that have meant that she has had quite long gaps in her career as a result of which she has had "launches and re-launches".

Teacher and Community worker

Teaching and community work have been important throughout Calista's career and are inextricably linked. She has taught privately over the years and has worked with many young people identified as 'at risk' by youth services. When she worked for a local council as an administrator in their family service and youth department and as a youth officer she created stories through music, produced CDs and art work with clients as what she considered measures of well being. She is self-deprecating about this work and pointed out that she is not credentialed to work in this area. Rather she draws her principles and practices from her own experiences being bicultural. Calista fought hard in her "formative years to walk out the door as an independent woman and now I go into the communities and I am faced with the same problem that I grew up with". Calista explained that she could relate to "these kids … I had to be so understanding, patient, tolerant and I try to understand as I have first hand experienced of being judged". She hopes that her teaching and work with youth services has meant that she has been able to influence others for the better. Her community work is not limited to any particular sector. Different councils have invited her to work in youth services and age services. She has worked Alzheimer's Australia Vic, through its Dementia and Memory Community Centre program. For example Calista ran a special participatory event designed for Greek carers for people with dementia that focused old songs that can "unlock memories and feelings". She presented songs and stories linked to a range of Greek musical genres including rebetika (blues), entekna ('artistic'/folk music) and cantathes (popular pre-war songs). Calista argued for the use of songs and music with people with dementia as reminiscence can be stimulated by a particular piece from their childhood. Calista described

working with clients who have not spoken for many years. She felt that she could clearly see the impact of music on patient's lives. In events like this Calista combines her teaching, community work, hybridity and passion for social justice. Calista has always considered herself a social activist. She described formative experiences as a child in an inner city suburb. In an interview reported in the media she recalled as a child being exposed to the "horrible ways some people treated human beings". She ascribed this to "their colour [and] "because they were poor". Calista gave a particular example of a schoolmate whose parents were so poor that the family lived in a shelter. One day she visited her friend's home and discovered that the walls were made of paper. When she went home she asked her father why they had solid walls and her friend did not.

Discussion and conclusion

This article has explored how being bilingual and bicultural has influenced one Greek Australian musicker. Calista explores, defines and enacts her bicultural and bilingual identity by musicking. She is a singer, songwriter, performer, music teacher and community music worker. The formation of her bilingual, bicultural and bi-musical Greek Australian identity has been lifelong. She asserts that as a "Greek Australian musical artist, I'm proud now, [this] is who I am, I'm proud and I could walk the streets proudly and without fear because I have been supported and instilled to be proud of my Greek-ness and my Australian-ness". As discussed this was not always the case. Growing up in a more racist time, Calista felt that "before we could not do that, we were afraid of our well being, of our parent's well being, of siblings well being, my godchildren … whoever is closest to you". With hindsight, Calista referred to a "very bitter-sweet element of growing up".

Calista's story continues to be relevant and illustrative of generations of Australians. Issues of ethnicity, migration and identity continue to be enacted in Australian political, cultural and social engagement. Very recently in the popular Australian press criticism was made about the behaviour of a second generation migrant and it was suggested that he return to 'where he comes from' (Udabage, 2015, p. 19). The commentator explained that:

> We slip easily between out cultures, sometimes easily, sometimes not. We are open-minded and compassionate because we straddle two worlds, morphing between the two … We have chosen Australia as our home and … we contribute a great deal. Choosing Australia does not disregard our heritage. My heritage is a source of huge pride … You do not see our roots driving deeper into Australian soil and our hand reaching further afield, a web of connections binding us to a shared identity. (Udabage, 2015, p. 190)

For a hybrid Australian who wears her biculturality with pride, the suggestion that she was somehow less that Australian was hurtful. For her Australia is home, there is nowhere to go back to.

Most recent Australian statistics confirm the increasing cultural and linguistic diversity of the population (ABS, 2013). Bicultural and multicultural identities are becoming the norm and this is reflected in our cultural explorations enacted via musicking. Hybridized identities are similarly becoming the norm in formal and informal teaching and learning. There are many insights to be gained from exploring the rich, complex lives of bicultural musickers such as Calista who consider their hybridity a "privilege not a curse to be an Australian-Greek". Being Greek Australian has shaped the type of person, musicker, and educator that she

has become. This has changed as she has evolved, matured, and explored her cultures. Calista now finds it a blessing "to actually perform with people that want to play Greek music" that she can then share with others.

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Chapter 4

A case study of a Greek Australian traditional dancer: Embodying identity through musicking

Georgoulas, R. & Southcott, J. (2015/2016). A case study of a Greek Australian traditional dancer: Embodying identity through musicking. *Victorian Journal of Music Education, 1, 9-17.*

Introduction to article

The participant in this third article is also a Greek Australian dancer (which is included in the definition of a musicker) born in Melbourne who is bilingual, bicultural and bimusical. This article extends my first study of myself and my second study of another musician to a study of another person with similar influences but with a different form of arts practice. This article is a study of a bilingual and bicultural Pontian Greek Australian dancer. His musicking involves performing and teaching dancing. Dancing has been and continues to be a major part of the self-identity of the participant. This phenomenological single case study used interpretative phenomenological analysis to analyse the data collected by interview. The findings are presented thematically and address the formation of identity and its enactment via performing and teaching. Many people carry multiple identities and an understanding of one may inform the provision of opportunities for learning and teaching.

As a Greek Dancer in Melbourne Mithri identifies dance as a "chance to shine". For Mithri dance is the core of his personal identity. He states that dance and culture are "an anchor, something spiritual [and] emotional". For Mithri dance has become a major part of who he was and is. Musicking as a dancer has helped him develop as a boy, young man and adult. Through dance he has also found a way to give back to his community, sharing his love of dance with younger generations. Figure 5 shows a map of Greece with the location of Pontus.

Figure 5: Map showing location of Pontus (retrieved from

https://tracyandmary.wordpress.com/2011/08/06/who-are-pontians/)

<center>**Article**</center>

A case study of a Greek Australian traditional dancer: Embodying identity through musicking

Abstract

This article is a study of a bilingual and bicultural Pontian Greek Australian dancer. His musicking involves performing and teaching dancing. Dancing has been and continues to be a major part of the self-identity of the participant. This phenomenological single case study used interpretative phenomenological analysis to analyse the data collected by interview. The findings are presented thematically and address the formation of identity and its enactment via performing and teaching. Many people carry multiple identities and an understanding of one may inform the provision of opportunities for learning and teaching.

Introduction

An individual's identity is never simple or fixed but depends on the context within which "social roles are realised and our identities are displayed" (Kakava, 2003, p. 1385). The self can be understood as "fluid, fragmented and multiple" (Pavlenko, 2001, p. 339). Researchers find our self-perception of considerable interest (Hargreaves & Marshall, 2003). Identity is now defined as "a collective term referring to the dynamic organization of sub-identities that might conflict with or align with each other" (Mishler, 1999, p. 8). Different aspects of our identity "manifest themselves through construction, display, or performance" (Kakava, p. 1376). Self-identity is defined as "the overall view that we have of ourselves" in

which different self-concepts may remain unresolved (Hargreaves, Miell & Macdonald, 2002, p. 8) and this turmoil often encountered by bicultural people as they attempt to reconcile the "tensions and dilemmas an individual who belongs to two worlds can face" (Kakava, 2003, p. 1384).

We construct and develop our identity by engaging with others (Mishler, 1999) as "we are ultimately social and not personal beings" (Hargreaves, Miell & Macdonald, 2002, p. 10). For bicultural individuals identity remains a work in progress that is "highly negotiable, highly sensitive to bidding on the not so open market of one's own reference group" (Bruner, 1991, p. 76). To a large degree identity is derived from a sense of belonging to a particular group or groups and should not be "oversimplified, summarized by a single word or reference" (Campbell & Wiggins, 2013, p. 12). Participation in community enables the exploration of "particular positions, narratives and categories must be worked out in practice" (Wenger, 1998, p. 151). The individual must interpret his or her cultural context behaviours and, understandings both verbal and non-verbal (Chang, 2007). These different facets of identity in culture may change with occasion and personal preference. Amongst bicultural individuals "different aspects of linguistic, cultural, gender and class identity become relevant at different points of the narrative" (Georgoulas & Southcott, 2014, p. 50). Identities unfold over time through interactions in diverse cultural contexts (Pavlenko, 2001). Language is crucial in this process as it enables individuals reflection on their own and others' behaviour. This is, pivotal in social constructionist accounts of identity formation and development (Hargreaves, Miell & Macdonald, 2002)

and is understood as a "primary force in identity construction and transformation" (Pavlenko, 2001, p. 321).

This article explores the identity construction of a Pontian Greek Australian bilingual Dancer. Although he operates effectively in both cultural and musical worlds there are times when integration can be a challenge and partial dissonance or disconnect may occur. Southcott and Gindidis (2014, p. 2) state that "twenty-first century Australia aspires to support the different cultural identities of all its citizens" and all forms of musical engagement can offer ways for people to expore their own identity within the context of the complex multicultural environment in which they live and what they want future citizens and community to be. This study emphasises the sociocultural environment and the social interaction that occurs within it in the constitution of identity.

Musicking identity

Musicking is defined as "to take part, in any capacity, in a musical performance, whether by performing, by listening, by rehearsing or practicing, by providing material for performance (what is called composing), or by dancing" (Small, 1998, p. 9). The concept of musicking is complex and one word may encapsulate many cultures, styles and practices. Just as the self is a dynamic construct, our identities in music and dance are formed by "construction, reconstruction and renegotiation" made all the more possible and complex by increasing globalisation (Hargreaves, Miell & Macdonald, 2002, p. 2). Our engagement in music and dance may change across the lifespan which is, in this study made more complex by being bicultural.

Our dance and cultural identities are enacted in how we present ourselves to others in performance.

This article focuses on one Greek Australian's musicking identity as a dancer. To adapt Hargreaves, Miell and Macdonald (2002) his engagement in musicking may be understood as identities in dance (IID) and/or dance in identities (DII). The latter is how dance may be used to develop other aspects of our personal identity. The former addressed how identity as dancer is employed and understood. This includes aspects of dance praxis such as 'dancer', 'choreographer', and 'teacher'. These roles are negotiated within the powerful influences of social and cultural context. Dance can be a powerful form of communication that provides "a medium through which people can construct new identities and shift existing ones in the same way as a spoken language. The continual construction and reconstruction of the self through autobiographical narratives can occur in music as well as language" (Hargreaves, Miell & Macdonald, 2002, pp. 10-11). The musicker in this study has a complex identity influenced by a range of musical genres, dance styles and the sociocultural context in which his musicking occurs. The participant in the case study is Pontian Greek Australia.

Research Context: Greek migration to Australia

After World War II over 160 thousand Greeks migrated to Australia, mostly to Victoria in a pattern known as 'chain' immigration in which one person migrates and then assists other members of their immediate family or network to follow (Angouri, 2012). The majority of Greek migrants found work in factories or farms as unskilled or semi-skilled labours. The bulk of Greek immigrants arrived

between the late 1950s and the early 1970s. In 1952 the Australian-Greece Assisted Passages agreement provided a financial incentive for Greeks to leave their homeland that was in economic and political turmoil and move to Australia. As Greek law at that time restricted the migration of single women, the first migrants were overwhelmingly young, single men. With a change in the law in 1962, families predominated. They came largely from mainland, rural Greece, particularly Peloponnesus and Macedonia, travelling by ocean liner, such as the Kyreneia, Patris and the Ellenis which began regular service between Greece and Australia in 1949. Between 1947 and the early 1980s a quarter of a million Greeks came to Australia (Clogg, 1999) but, very few in this generation of migrants had post-secondary qualifications (Tsounis, 1988). From the late 1950s the Greek Orthodox Community and its institutions became the centre of the social, cultural and political life of the Greek community in each Australian capital city (Tsounis, 1988). Angouri (2012, p. 98) notes the centrality of institutions in diasporic communities in 'creating and maintaining a repository of the community's capital and discourses associated with the homeland'. Since the 1960s, Greek immigration to Australia has declined somewhat but despite this, by 2006 approximately 54,000 Victorians were born in Greece. These Greek-born Australians are fiercely proud of their Greek heritage (Museum of Victoria, 2012).

Today there are approximately 500 thousand Greeks living in the state of Victoria. The capital city, Melbourne is known to have one of the largest Greek communities in the world. In 2006, nearly 150,000 people in the Melbourne Statistical District claimed Greek nationality, either singly or in combination with another nationality. Nearly all Greeks have elected to become Australian citizens.

In Australia Greeks seek to maintain their cultural heritage and an important part of this cultural heritage has been the establishment and continued presence of Greek dancing groups that perform and transmit their culture to younger generations. Dance has always been central to community life in Greece.

Greek dance

According to Hunt (2004) Greek dancing has traditionally been one of the most ancient forms of community entertainment that has been maintained to this day. Leonidou (2000) affirms that, "Greece is one of the few countries in the world where folk dances are as alive today as they were in ancient times" (p. 1). References to dances can be found in the writings of Plato and Socrates and others (Hunt, 2004). It is affirmed that, "the greatest men were not above showing their sentiments through their dancing. Sophocles danced around the trophies captured at the battle of Salamis. Aeschylus and Aristophanes danced in various performances of their own plays" (Carnaval.com, 2015). Leonidou points out that, "Greeks would dance at religious festivals, ceremonies, weddings, to prepare for war and celebrate victories. Almost every dance has a story to tell" (p. 1). For the Greeks dance was "regarded as one of the highest forms of art" (Leonidou, 2000, p.1). In the Greek ancient times, dancing was seen for its educational value and it was considered "essential for developing personality as well as preparing for battle" (Leonidou, 2000, p. 2). Dance combined with music, writing and physical exercise was the basis of the educational system. In ancient Athens, "men were taught to dance and pupils would stage an annual display of their accomplished skills which all citizens would attend" (Leonidou, 2000, p. 1).

Throughout the Greek diaspora traditional Greek folk dancing is an important activity (Panagakos, 2003). Greek dancing "reflects the emotional spirit and nature of the Greek culture (Riak, 2007, p. 55). Traditional Greek dancing was passed down from generation to generation. Men and women barely danced together until recently. The order of dances and styles of dances varies from region to region in Greece. The main regions of Greek dancing include Epirus, Macedonia, Thrace, Thessaly, Central Greece and Peloponnesus. The Islands include the Ionian Islands, Aegean Islands, Dodecanese islands including Crete (Leonidou, 2000, p. 2). Riak (2007, p. 39) asserts that, "Dance performance defines a culture. Particular dances and their significance to both cultural conceptions and their contexts that the dances are performed".

It is thought that the strong dancing tradition prevalent among the Greeks was likely inherited from Crete that was conquered by Greece around 1500 BC (Carnaval.com, 2015). Cretan music is dynamic and fast with characteristic springing movement of the feet and legs of the dancers. According to Sfakia (2009) Cretan people are "deeply connected with music and rhythm. Through their music they express their feelings, the joy, the sorrow, the love, the passion for life" (Sfakia, 2009, p. 1). After conquest, the Greeks synthesized Cretan music and dance traditions with established practices. In the case of northern Pontian Greeks this meant that Cretan/Greek styles were fused with Persian dance styles. This single case study concerns a Pontian dancer.

Dance from Pontus is very distinctive and may be recognised by its nervous energy, use of knee bends and shoulder tremors. This style is characterized by

small, quick, precise steps, arm swings, syncopated knee bends and abrupt pauses. The rhythm of these dances is very difficult and it is important that the dancers move as a unit. The leader at the front of the circle calls out signals to the dancers. The music of Pontus is characterized by the sound of the Lyra or lyre that is sometimes accompanied by the large drum (Leonidou, 2000). Traditionally the Pontians had lived in the Pontus region on the shores of the Black Sea and in north-eastern Anatolia. In 1923 as a result of the Lausanne treaty, "along with other Orthodox Christian populations, Pontians were exchanged between Turkey and Greece" (Zografou & Pipyrou, 2011). The Pontians brought their traditions and customs with them and it was from this time that Pontian dances were danced in Greece (Pontus World, 2015). Like other refugees the Pontians "engaged in selective remembrance and forgetting in shaping their identities as simultaneously privileged and disadvantaged members of Greek society" (Zografou & Pipyrou, p. 425). In diasporic communities "various forms of popular cultural production become key in constructing new conceptualizations of cultural identity and the 'homeland'" (Chacko & Menon, 2013, p. 99). The Pontians brought their histories, personal narratives, language, religion and dance and from these constructed their collective identity. In Greece with the advent of a socialist government in 1981 there has been political and cultural shift to celebrate and promote local dance identities and in this "sociohistoric framework, Pontian dance identity started materializing on the national level as a celebration of difference" (Zografou & Pipyrou, p. 441). Pontian dance has been incorporated in the school curriculum and was included in the closing ceremony of the 2004 Olympic Games.

Dance is a vital part of Pontian society. Most of the Pontian dances are danced in a closed circle. There is "no improvisation in the leader occurs. There are also no

solo dances, the bulk of the dances are done in groups of two or more" (Pontus World, 2015). For the participant, "Pontian music has got a very regimental, very regimental break, four steps and it's very specific." In his experience most Pontian dances are now performed with a band or music from a CD that is played by guitar and drums. This is a modern concession to the unavailability of the traditional lyre.

Greek Dance in Melbourne

In Melbourne "immigrants and their families from Greece have continued the tradition of Greek dances as part of family occasions like name days, parish festivals and the broader Greek Community celebrations" (www.greekcare.org.au, p. 1). Dances are a prominent part of celebrations such as weddings, christenings and birthday parties. Greek dancing is seen as celebratory, participatory and entertaining. It is also thought benefit health by helping people be more physically active in an enjoyable shared musicking experience. In Greece and throughout the Greek diaspora (including Melbourne) more than 4,000 traditional Greek dances are performed (King, 2015). Greek dinner dances (hosted by the many Greek associations) are also quite popular in diasporic Greek communities. In Melbourne there are more than "800 smaller Greek associations … thus there are also many Greek dinner dances for Melbourne's Greek population" (King, 2015). Riak (2007, p. 54) explains that, "Greek dance is a strong, emotional validation for solidarity and an importance means of expressing both the individual and collective spirit of personal and cultural identity". There are many Greek dance groups in Melbourne that perform both Greek regional styles and national dances. These groups support people from particular regional backgrounds to get together and dance to their traditional dances. These groups perform at a variety of festivals that occur throughout the year in Melbourne at different venues. Greek dancing is an

effective way to meet new people in a social atmosphere and many clubs and Greek dancing schools offer instruction.

Many schools around Melbourne teach Greek dancing as part of their school curriculum or as an extra-curricular activity. Students can meet other students from their age group and get to dance a variety of Greek traditional dances such as the Kalamatianos, Hasaposerviko, and Tsambiko. The Kalamatianos is a 12 step dance in 7/8 time performed in a circle with a leader (Hunt, 2004). This popular Greek dance is frequently performed at social gatherings. As is the case with most Greek folk dances, it is danced in circle with a counterclockwise rotation, the dancers holding hands. It is a joyous and festive dance. The Hasaposerviko (also known at the Zorba) is a 6 step dance that is also danced in a circle with a leader. It is a fast, lively hopping and skipping style dance. Riak (2007) defines the Zorba dance as "mythically [capturing] a spirit of life" (p. 40). The Tsambiko is a slow and stately dance and is traditionally danced by men. The dance follows a strict and slow tempo. The steps are relatively easy but have to be precise and strictly on beat (Hunt, 2004).

Methodology

The phenomenological approach employed in this study attempts to discover how people understand experiences. Willig (2001) describes phenomenology as "ways in which human beings gain knowledge of the world around them" (p. 49). The most common method in phenomenological qualitative enquiry is a case study. This research explores a single participant's lived experiences understandings. The participant is a very experienced director and performer in a Pontian Greek

dancing group. Southcott (2009, p. 144) points out that "A single case study can provide insights by which the particular can illuminate the general". Data were collected by semi-structured interview that is used commonly used in case studies (Dilley, 2004). According to Longhurst (2010) "a semi-structured interview is a verbal exchange where one person, the interviewer attempts to elicit information from another person by asking questions" (p.103). Semi-structured interviews can give informants the opportunity to freely express their views and describe their experiences and such interviews can provide reliable, authentic data (Cohen & Crabtree, 2006; Denscombe, 2003). In semi-structured interviews the researcher prepares a list of topics and questions that may function more as a checklist for discussion as "semi-structured interviews unfold in a conversational manner" (Longhurst, p. 103). In this study the questions explored the participant's opinions, understanding, and feelings about traditional and popular Greek dance in Melbourne. Ethical Permission to undertake the research was gained. The interview was fairly informal and recorded more as a chat but soliciting as much information from the participant as was possible. To accomplish this, the interviewee needed to be made to feel comfortable so the interviews were undertaken at a café. The researcher who undertook the interviews speaks fluent Greek and she translated any Greek words used throughout the interviews. To maintain privacy the participant selected a pseudonym. He chose Mithri which is short for Mithridates. Mithridates VI ruled Pontus and Armenia Minor in the first century BCE and is often considered to be the greatest king of Pontus.

Once transcribed, data were analysed using Interpretative Phenomenological analysis (IPA). IPA studies typically involve small numbers of participants. The

interview transcripts are analysed in an intensive and detailed manner. Verbatim accounts are "generally captured via semi-structured interviews, focus groups, or diaries, and the analysis then proceeds such that patterns of meaning are developed, and then reported in a thematic form" (Larkin, Watts & Clifton, 2006, p. 103). This allows the participant to answer the questions and tell their own story in their own words from their own perspectives. Data are analysed thematically with the researcher identifying emergent themes by reading and re-reading the interview transcripts. Themes are highlighted, then grouped and connected. This is done in an orderly manner by using a table. Once the transcripts have been analysed the themes are hierarchically presented. Direct quotations from the participant are included into the text, presenting the voice of the participant. It must be acknowledged that thematic analysis is a "reflection on one's own perception, conceptions and processes" (Smith, Flowers & Larkin 2010, p. 80).

The participant – cultural background

Mithri was born in Australia. His Greek Australian mother was also born in Australia. His father was born in Greece, and he is of Pontian descent. His father was heavily involved in a Pontian organization and when Mithri was 4 or 5 years old his father became president of a Pontian club. Being president of the club mean that the family was "heavily committed to football, representing a Pontian club [and] Every Pontian club had a dancing group". Mithri learnt to dance when he was 6 years old. His teachers were professional teachers who were usually daughters of other community members. These women had been taught dances and their cultural contexts. Mithri had 5 or 6 different teachers during his time of learning. He found this interesting as "everyone had their own way of dancing the

same dance. So we invariably got taught the same dance in maybe four or five different ways [which] allowed me to learn early on that dancing is a form of expression." He reflected that it was important to know the steps but then it was important to infuse them with "your personality [but even then] you had to dance in five different ways because everyone is different, and that is all about expression". Ultimately he thought that his dancing was influenced by "being taught differently" by a range of teachers, who used both formal and informal approaches.

Mithri's background very heavily influenced the dances he performed. Up until he was 13 he explained that, "the world that I was used to with regard to Greek dancing was not just Pontian – for me Greek dancing was actually like the Kotsari." The Kotsari (or Kochari) is a type of Pontian folk dance that originated from Kars (north-eastern Asia Minor) (Pontus World, 2015). When he went to a Greek bilingual school he learnt a different dance every week. He then realized that the world of "Greek dances is so rich". Growing up Mithri's parents were very good dancers. His mother did not learn any Pontian dancing before her marriage. His father is the only one who had seen "proper" traditional Pontian dances and thought that it was vital that his family, particularly his son, learn about this tradition. Reflecting, Mithri compared Pontian dancing in Australia and Greece and stated that they were very different. He explained that, "It used to be very different tricks [steps and moves], we had different styles of dancing. Dancing evolved differently, and then we had cross culture, we had one dancer from Greece come down to Australia and then you had the Internet and then you had people,

teachers in Greece producing video content and people from Australia buying that content."

Mithri discussed his musicking as dance performer, as a member of a dance group and as a teacher and community worker. Mithri's first performance was when he was at Greek School. Even though he knew Pontian dancing it was the traditional Greek costumes that he had to learn about, such as the fustanella (skirt) and the Tsarouhi Pom Pom shoes. The tradition male costume from Pontos consists of a black long-sleeved cotton shirt that featured a row of bullets, highlighting the warlike traditions of Pontos. The pants (zipka) were "made from black woolen cloth and ended at the knees. The sash was typically fashioned from wool or silk and was made to be 3-4 meters long. The boots that accompany this costume were called 'tsapoulas'" (The Hellenic Dancers of New Jersey, 2015). Mithri's first performance to a large audience was at the age of about 13, and it was a linear dance at a social function for about 300 people. Dancing and doing well in school were two things that kept him going during tough times growing up as a teenager. Dancing allowed him to deal physically with some emotional issues. For Mithri it was a chance for him to shine and connect with community. He described it as "a joyous thing and it's a strong community thing. You really get to feel it. The real reason why I would dance is that there is an element or connection to the culture which really is linked to my identity."

Performer and teacher

Although Mithri has danced solo and as part of an ensemble, now he sees himself more as a teacher. Despite the regimentation that he recognizes in some of the

dances, he considers his teaching style to be collaborative. He gives students more autonomy and encourages them to take ownership of their performances and "decide what they want to perform, how to bring it all together and then come to me and ask for my opinion". His intention is to "allow them to be able to make their own mistakes and have fun in the process." He described public performances on stage as "a true reflection of the art, of the dance." He described a recent performance that began with someone singing a Pontian song. The community audience enjoyed this but it "wasn't dancing". When the Pontian dancing began, "the whole room of 150 people just lit up and people came to the floor to dance. Mithri considered that Pontian dancing is "really big and catchy" and he thought that even "non-Greeks find Pontian dancing more interesting."

Mithri is President of a Pontian club that he formed for young people where he teaches dancing and culture. He considers himself a non-traditional president as he prefers to focus on the artistic side, mediate and offer direction rather than give instructions. He has other people who help with the group and manage finances, promotion, logistics and events such as taking part in the Antipodes festival that is an annual community celebration of Greek culture. Dance is central to this group as it is in dance that "music is at its fullest performance". Consulting with the club members, Mithri selects dances from different cultures and music from different ensembles. The dancers perform at cultural events and concerts across Melbourne and overseas more than for social gatherings such as weddings and celebrations.

Discussion and conclusion

Mithri strongly identifies with his Pontian heritage and enacts this through his musicking as a dancer and teacher. His involvement with dancing brings him closer to his Pontian and Greek heritage. His self-identity as a Pontian Greek Australian influences how he performs and teaches. This has shaped his career decisions as a dancer and teacher. Initially Mithri was a performer but he soon changed his self-perception to that of being a teacher who maintains and shares Pontian culture and dance. He hopes to instill his love of Pontian dance in his students and to empower them to make their own decisions about their musicking and their cultural engagement. Mithri's teaching has offered him the opportunity to have an influence on young people's lives. In his community work he has worked with people of all ages and he has observed the impact of dance on all he has worked including students, parents and other members of the community. Mithri explained that Greek Australians may not be so "different to our cousins, our brothers in Greece and across the world such as German Greeks and American Greeks". He thinks that, "what makes us unique is that in comparatively small Australian community there is a big Greek community". In Australia "we have a very strong connection with Greece … if I am looking at our dancing it is similar" which contrasts with how Greek culture was celebrated in Melbourne twenty years ago.

Underlying Mithri's understandings are questions of being a bicultural Pontian Greek Australian. He must decide who he is at given times, places, performances and studios. He negotiates his dancing and cultural identity by deciding which dances to perform, which language to speak and teach in. For example if the

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decision is to engage in Pontian dancing then which style of Pontian dancing will be selected, which costume will be selected, which language (Greek or English) to teach the dances and to which background of students to teach and which audiences to perform in front of. Mithri states that Pontian dancing has evolved and "that different regions dance [and] you teach the reasons why these styles are different. You also teach how things have changed, and what they have been told today not be 150 years old."

Like others with similar identities, Mithri identifies dance as a "chance to shine". For Mithri dance is the core of his personal identity. He states that dance and culture are "an anchor, something spiritual [and] emotional". For Mithri dance has become a major part of who he was and is. Musicking as a dancer has helped him develop as a boy, young man and adult. Through dance he has also found a way to give back to his community, sharing his love of dance with younger generations. As a Pontian Greek Australian dancer and dance teacher Mithri is bicultural and bilingual. He is skilled in his chosen mode of cultural engagement and through his performances and teacher he has made an important contribution to the maintenance and transmission of this form of Greek culture in the multicultural society of contemporary Melbourne. This research has attempted to explore one Pontian Greek Australian's understanding of the maintenance of his culture in Melbourne specifically its dancing. The findings demonstrated that to the participant the preserving and sharing Greek culture in Australia is a vital part of embracing complex bilingual and bicultural identities.

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Chapter 5

Heritage and adaptation: Greek Australian Musicians in Melbourne.

Georgoulas, R. & Southcott, J. (2016). Greek Musicians in Melbourne, Australia. A Study of Greek Australian bilingual and bicultural musicians who either perform or compose in a variety of musical traditions including traditional Greek and contemporary popular music. Submitted to *e-Journal of studies in music education*

Introduction to article

The participants in this fourth article are all a Greek Australian musickers born in Melbourne. All are bilingual, bicultural and to varying degrees bimusical. This article extends my first three single case studies to a group of three people who represent a range of ways of enacting 'Greekness' in musical performance. This study explores three bilingual, bicultural Greek Australian musicians in Melbourne, Victoria and their music making and performances. The creation and growth of hybridized musical identity is a complex process for the participants who included two cultures. Cultural identity can be defined as "the emotional significance that members attach to their sense of belonging and affiliation with a larger culture" and ethnic identity is "linked closely with the intergroup boundary maintenance issue across generations" (Ting-Toomey & Dorjee, 2014, p. 31). This complex and multifaceted process involves "changes in attitudes and values and in cultural identification, acquisition of new skills, alignment with new reference groups and emotional adjustment to and acceptance of the new environment"

(Rosenthal, Bell, Demetriou & Efklides, 1989, pp. 57-58). Australia was created by migrants including those from Greece. Diasporic migration has always been a part of the Greek way of life. Diasporic people "identify themselves, or are identified by others – inside and outside their homeland – as part of the homeland's national community" (Cleland, 2013, p. 452). Through cultural engagement diasporic peoples such as the Greeks form hybrid identities that enrich the lives of their host countries and offer communities the benefits of increased social inclusion and cohesion, health and well being. The data from this case study was gathered through semi-structured interviews and analysed using interpretative phenomenological analysis.

This research describes how Australia's complex and diverse bicultural and multicultural musical identities are becoming the norm. Understanding the diverse musical identities of the Greek Australian participants with hybrid identities not only offers insight into how these individuals construct their identity but also reveals how society embraces variance and cultural complexity. Such understanding can assist educators such as the researcher and community musicians assist effective music making, learning and teaching. For the Greek Australian participants in this study cultural and musical identity is complex. Individual identity is never simple or fixed but depends on the frame in which social and cultural roles are enacted (Papademetre, 1994; Kakava, 2003). In this study the participants maintain commitment and allegiance to their cultural identity, holding an affiliation with the wider community and remaining loyal to Greek language and the culture at home. The subject of this research includes the negotiation of Greek Australian musical identity. The individuals interviewed for

this case study positioned themselves within and between communities. The way in which these musicians enact their musical identity can offer understanding into the delivery of music and music education opportunities for the broader population. This is relevant to look into to a country such as Australia that aspires to cultural inclusivity. Over generations Greek identity has been "mediated … by families who grapple with negotiating a potential third identity" of being Greek Australian and central to this is the immediate and extended family that is the core of Greek life (Cleland, 2013, p. 477).

Article

Heritage and adaptation: Greek Australian Musicians in Melbourne

Ms Renee Georgoulas and Dr Jane Southcott

Faculty of Education, Monash University

Abstract

This study explores music making by three bilingual, bicultural Greek Australian musicians in Melbourne, Victoria. The formation and development of hybridized musical identity is a complex process for those who straddle two cultures. Cultural engagement by diasporic peoples such as the Greeks enriches the life of host countries and offers communities the benefits of increased social inclusion and cohesion. Data were gathered by semi-structured interviews and analysed using interpretative phenomenological analysis. The three Greek Australian participants in this study represent a continuum that encompasses the maintenance of tradition

per se with a focus on authenticity and heritage preservation, and the blending and cross fertilization of traditions both Greek and non-Greek. This research describes how Australia complex and diverse bicultural and multicultural musical identities are becoming the norm. Understanding the diverse musical identities of Australians with hybrid identities not only offers insight into how individuals construct their identity but also reveals how our society embraces difference and cultural complexity. Such understanding can assist educators and community musicians facilitate effective music making, teaching and learning.

Key Words: Greek Australian musicians, bicultural identity, musical identity, heritage preservation, cultural negotiation

Introduction

Through cultural engagement diasporic peoples such as the Greeks form hybrid identities that enrich the lives of their host countries and offer communities the benefits of increased social inclusion and cohesion, health and well being. Diasporic communities leave their homeland in pursuit of work or trade and in their new homes share collective memory and stories, maintain a strong ethnic group consciousness, empathy and solidarity and have "the possibility of a distinctive creative, enriching life in host countries with a tolerance for pluralism" (Nonini, 2004, p. 559). Australia was created by migrants, including those from Greece. Diasporic migration has always been a part of the Greek way of life. Diasporic people "identify themselves, or are identified by others – inside and outside their homeland – as part of the homeland's national community" (Cleland, 2013, p. 452). This complex and multifaceted process involves "changes in

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attitudes and values and in cultural identification, acquisition of new skills, alignment with new reference groups and emotional adjustment to and acceptance of the new environment" (Rosenthal, Bell, Demetriou & Efklides, 1989, pp. 57-58). Over generations Greek identity has been "mediated … by families who grapple with negotiating a potential third identity" of being Greek Australian and central to this is the immediate and extended family that is the core of Greek life (Cleland, 2013, p. 477).

Cultural identity can be defined as "the emotional significance that members attach to their sense of belonging and affiliation with a larger culture" and ethnic identity is "linked closely with the intergroup boundary maintenance issue across generations" (Ting-Toomey & Dorjee, 2014, p. 31). In this study Greek Australians maintain allegiance and loyalty both to their ethnic and cultural identity, holding an affiliation with the wider society while remaining loyal to Greek language and the culture of home. For the Greek Australian participants in this study cultural and musical identity is complex. Individual identity *per se* is never simple or fixed but depends on the frame in which social and cultural roles are enacted (Papademetre, 1994; Kakava, 2003). Identity is active, changing, and complex (Pavlenko, 2001; Hargreaves & Marshall, 2003). The negotiation of Greek Australian musical identity is the subject of this research. As individuals position themselves within and between communities, how these musicians enact their musical identity can offer insight into the provision of music and music education opportunities for the wider population. This is relevant to a country such as Australia that aspires to cultural inclusivity.

Background: Greek migration to Australia

At any given time more than 40 per cent of Greeks reside beyond the national borders of Greece and this pattern of migration has existed since antiquity when Greek culture and language spread around the Mediterranean and Baltic Seas (Tamis, 2005; Cleland, 2013). From the nineteenth century Australia has been the destination of Greek migrants who have played an integral part in Australian history (Kanarakis, 2011). Greeks first began to arrive in the mid-nineteenth century attracted by the gold rush and by the beginning of the twentieth century there were about 900 Greek immigrants in Australia (Smolicz, 1985; Georgiades, 2014). Following the Second World War Australia began a period of supported migration to rebuild the population and supply a workforce for post-war building programs. Even before the migration agreement between Greece and Australia in 1952 more than 5000 Greeks had migrated sponsored by Greeks already resident in Australia (Pennay, 2011). From 1952 tens of thousands of Greeks took advantage of the Australian-Greece Assisted Passages agreement (Georgiades, 2014). As Greek law at that time restricted the migration of single women, the first migrants were overwhelmingly young, single men but this changed into a pattern of 'chain' immigration (one person migrates and then assists other immediate family members or close friends to follow) (Angouri, 2012). From the late 1950s single women began to arrive as a change in policy that sought to redress the gender imbalance and encouraged the establishment of family households (Pennay, 2011). In the 1950s Greece was in economic and political turmoil and for many Greeks Australia appeared a promising alternative. By 1961 there were 77,333 Greek-born Australians. Over the next five years 140,000 more Greeks migrated, many of who settled in Melbourne (Doumanis, 1999) (see Figure 1).

From 1947 to 1983 almost a quarter of a million Greeks migrated to Australia as permanent and long-term arrivals (Cleland, 2013) with the highest number arriving in the 1960s (Kringas, 2001).

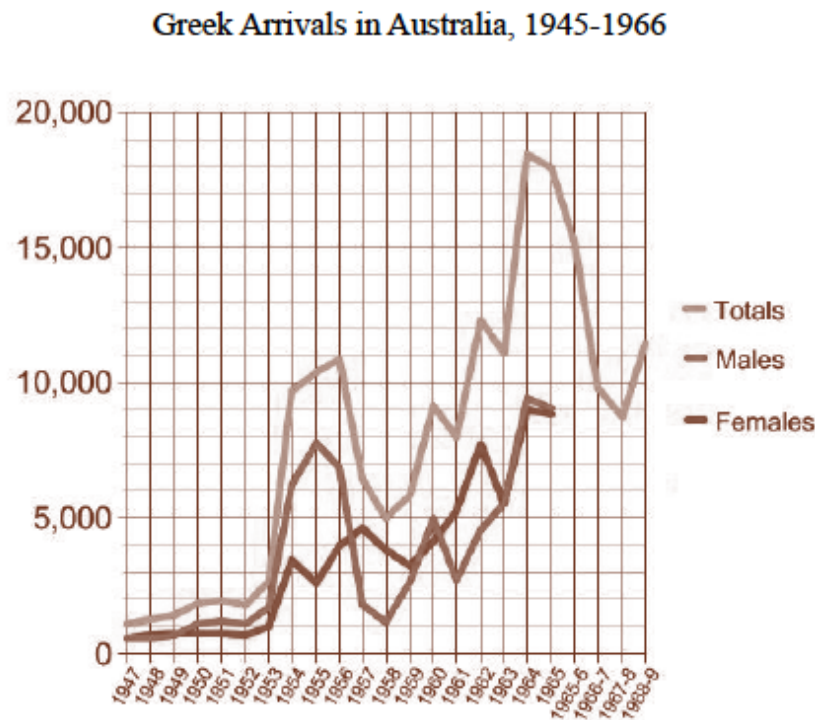**Greek Arrivals in Australia, 1945-1966**

Figure 1: Greek arrivals in Australia 1946-1966 (Pennay, 2011, p. 2)

The majority of the first wave of Greek migrants obtained work as unskilled or semi-skilled labourers as very few had post-secondary qualifications (Tsounis, 1988). These migrants were drawn from a broad geographic area particularly Peloponnesus and Macedonia (Tsounis, 1988) and "most were from small villages and towns, with similar socio-economic backgrounds" (Cleland, 2013, p. 482). Gradually community groups, churches, welfare agencies, schools and newspapers were established (Cleland, 2013; Museum Victoria, 2015). In Victoria during the 1970s, the Greek population was mainly concentrated in inner-city neighborhoods of Melbourne close to factories but by the late 1980s, many young families had moved to middle-distance and outer metropolitan suburbs. In general first

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generation migrants held low-skilled jobs in manufacturing and retail trades but their children have "experienced a significant degree of upward social mobility" (Danforth, 1995, p. 206). In 2011 nearly 50,000 Victorians were born in Greece and there are many more who, although born in Australia remain fiercely proud of their Greek heritage (Georgiades, 2014; Museum of Victoria, 2015). Of the Australian residents who hold Greek citizenship, ninety-seven per cent have chosen to become Australian citizens which is the highest proportion of any migrant group. While being fully committed to Australian society, its legal structures, democratic values and institutions, Greeks also seek to preserve their own cultural heritage and they retain "significant attachments to their home culture" (Brockhall & Liu, 2011, p. 17). The recent unprecedented economic crisis in Greece has led to "substantial increases in the number of people arriving" in Australia (Messimeri, 2014, p. 9) particularly the educated young who are leaving for new opportunities as Greece, "with so many trials and tribulations was not in a position to provide for them and their families" (Kanarakis, 2011, p. 1). In 2015 the population of Melbourne included one of the largest Greek settlements in the world outside of Greece and the city is an important center of Hellenism (Museum Victoria, 2015). The Greek community in Melbourne is "one of the largest in the entire Greek diaspora; it is also one of the most visible and active ethnic communities in a city renowned for its cultural diversity and cosmopolitanism" (Danforth, 1995, p. 206).

Greek culture in Melbourne

On arrival in Australia following Second World War Greek migrants found a country dominated by assimilationist policies that expected new arrivals to adopt

mainstream Anglo-Australian culture (Georgiades, 2014). Despite recognising the need to adapt, many immigrants did not wish to abandon the linguistic, social and cultural traditions they brought with them. The result was that immigrants and their children developed a dual identity in which "they performed Australian in public while being Greek in private" (Brockhall & Liu, 2011, p. 19). A large number of the children growing up in Australia at this time "suffer from living between two cultures" (Kringas, 2001, p. 395). Greek migrants mostly maintained their culture via community groups such as the Greek Orthodox church, Greek schools, Greek language newspapers, and music and theatre performances (Georgiades, 2014). With the official introduction of multiculturalism in 1973 emphasis was placed on the maintenance of cultural traditions, the development of a hybridized cultural identity in which the Greek private persona could be performed in public. There remained an ongoing sense of negotiation between Greek and Australian identities for established residents, new arrivals and subsequent generations. In Melbourne the Greek community has prospered, in part because of the efforts of the earlier Greek migrants who "helped set a community in place; the Greek's perseverance to succeed as a diaspora peoples and finally, their affinity to Hellenism … successfully replanting themselves in foreign lands" (Allimonos, 2001, p. 401).

Melbourne where this study is situated has one of the largest Greek communities in the world (Greek Care, 2013). In 2006 1.3 per cent of the Australian population spoke Greek (the second most common language other than English) and 149,195 persons in the Melbourne Statistical District claimed Greek Nationality, either alone or in combination with another nationality (Australian Bureau of Statistics,

2007). Melbourne has a diverse, complex, and multi-layered society, and the city is often referred to as the cultural capital of Australia. The large Greek community in Melbourne strongly supports and maintains its culture and traditions (Brockhall & Liu, 2011) including local, regional, national and international events (Graber, 2013). Greek Australians living in Melbourne maintain and share the traditions of various Greek regions and there is a diversity of music, dance and cultural events that feature both traditional and modern popular Greek music. Greek singing and dancing conveys social and cultural identity and are ways of enacting a sense of 'Greekness' (Kalogeropoulou, 2013). These events are strongly supported by the wider mainstream community.

Greek music in Melbourne

In Melbourne Greek musicking involves a large part of the diverse Greek community that encompasses traditions influenced by the Eastern and Western cultures of Asia and Europe. Musicking encompasses the diverse ways in which people engage with music. Small (1998) argued that the word 'music' should be considered a verb as to music is "to take part, in any capacity, in a musical performance, whether by performing, by listening, by rehearsing or practicing, by providing material for performance … or by dancing" (p. 9). Music, dancing and poetry have always been and remain an important part of Greek everyday life (Graber, 2013). Music continues to be an expression of Greek humanity and culture. Tamis (2001) states that the "music of contemporary Greek Australian composers, musicians and song-writers illustrates the struggle for the retention of Hellenic identity and heritage, with attempts to blend elements of traditional folkloric and popular music with the classical" (p. 412). Further the act of

migrating to a new environment challenges traditional forms of behaviour. Greek language and music are the most important manifestations of Hellenic culture and through "the music of contemporary Greek Australian composers, musicians and song writers can be observed the struggle for the retention of Hellenic identity and heritage. Their creation blends elements of traditional folkloric and popular music with the classical" (Tamis, 2005, p. 150). Migrants have the choice to staunchly cling to tradition, abandon traditional cultural activities or to adapt them. In this musical behaviours can be understood as an indicator of social adjustment, integration, isolation or malaise (Sorce-Keller, 2010; Graber, 2013).

As well as folk music and dance, Greek urban music has accompanied Greek migrants to Australia. *Rebetika* and even its less controversial and more middle class *archondorebetika* were in the 1950s and 60s "a subject of social and political controversy" but have now come to be regarded as "a national sound icon of Greece" (Horn, 2005b, p. 107). In Melbourne rebetika first appeared in the 1950s amongst immigrant amateur musicians and it was their repertoire, modalities and improvisation practices that formed the basis of the genre in Australia (Horn, 2005b). Their musical persistence eventually found a large audience amongst the Greek Australian community that was able to support "the development of a small, local Greek Australian music industry [that was] lively enough to attract professional rebetika instrumentalists to Melbourne in the 1960s" (Horn, 2005b, p. 107). This continued and by the mid-1970s second generation Greek Australian musicians were emerging in Melbourne who began to discover the repertoire. In subsequent generations this engagement with Greek popular repertoire has continued and here has been a "passion for rediscovering the sound of the older

rebetika tunings and repertoire" (Horn, 2005b, p. 108). This eventual re-engagement was driven by a desire to connect with their Greek musical heritage. In the 1970s and 1980s it was common for young Greek Australians to "deny a Greek heritage but in their young adulthood they sought pathways and connections to their musical traditions through the sound of the older roads" (Horn, 2005b, p. 108).

Methodology

This phenomenological case study focuses on three Greek Australian musicians from Melbourne, Victoria. Phenomenology is a philosophical approach that "aims to produce an account of lived experience in its own terms rather than one prescribed by pre-existing theoretical preconceptions" (Smith & Osborn, 2015, p. 41). Such inquiry is concerned with the "ways in which human beings gain knowledge of the world around them" (Willig, 2001, p. 49). One of the most common ways to capture participants' understandings of their lived experiences is via semi-structured interviews that can be flexible, conversational, facilitate rapport and empathy, provide the opportunity for the exploration of novel areas, and ultimately can produce richer data (Orum, Feagan & Sjoberg, 1991). Underpinning "in-depth interviewing is an interest in understanding the lived experience of other people and the meaning they make of that experience" (Seidman, 2006, p. 9). In semi-structured interviews the open-ended interview questions are not proscriptive but are used more as a guide (Smith & Osborn, 2008). The order of the questions may change in response to the flow of the interview and the researcher is able to pursue interesting responses. The semi-structured interview questions sought the opinions, understanding, and feelings of

the participants about their musical experiences of Greek and other musics in Melbourne. For example participants were asked, "What are your musical influences? "What styles of music to do you perform in which settings?" and "How has being Greek Australian influenced your musicking?" Before approaching potential participants Ethical Permission to undertake the research was gained. Greek Australian musicians based in Melbourne were already familiar to the first author and their contact details were gained from public domain sources. Each of the three participants were interviewed individually by the first author in familiar surroundings such as a café as it is important to make participants feel comfortable. With consent the interviews were audio recorded and notes were taken. Both the interviewer and the interviewees speak fluent Greek and English and the interview employed both languages. The interviewees are identified by pseudonyms.

Once gathered and transcribed, data were analysed using Interpretative Phenomenological Analysis (IPA) that explores the world as experienced by people in particular contexts (Willig, 2007). IPA is an interpretative endeavour informed by hermeneutics (Smith, Flowers & Larkin, 2009) that affords participants the opportunity to answer questions and recount their own stories from their own perspectives in their own words. Verbatim quotations from participants are interpolated in the text, providing the voice of the participant. IPA studies generally involve a small homogeneous group of participants. The first person accounts are "captured via semi-structured interviews, focus groups, or diaries, and the analysis then proceeds such that patterns of meaning are developed, and then reported in a thematic form" (Larkin, Watts & Clifton, 2006, p. 103). In this

process data are thematically analysed. In this study both authors analysed the interview transcripts independently before constructing shared understandings. This contributes to the trustworthiness of the interpretation. In the analysis, transcripts are read repeatedly and emergent themes are identified, then grouped, connected and hierarchically ordered. Direct quotations from the interview transcripts are interpolated in the text to present the voice of the participants. In this study the participants are identified by pseudonyms and identifying details are masked.

Findings

The three Greek Australian participants constitute a continuum between the maintenance of tradition *per se* and the blending and cross-fertilization of traditions both Greek and non-Greek. Each participant will be discussed in turn. All three participants are well known in the Melbourne music scene. Pyrrhus, Dimitrios and Kaliope were all born in Melbourne to immigrant Greek parents. Pyrrhus learnt classical violin from the ages of 8 to 15. He now thinks that learning western music hindered his ability to improvise. Pyrrhus taught himself traditional Greek instruments. He has eclectic popular western music tastes, listening to artists such as Cat Stevens, the Beatles and Credence Clearwater Revival. As a performer he plays in bands with other migrants from Epirus (in northwestern Greece) and earlier in his career played rebetika. Dimitrios learnt classical piano for about five years but disliked formal examinations so discontinued. He learn guitar more casually for a couple of years and taught himself to play the lute. Dimitrios explained that, "the minute I saw it I just thought I wanted to get my hands around it". He plays lute and guitar in bands that

perform regularly at festivals, public and private events. As a child Kaliope was taught 'classical' piano and music theory. As an adolescent she became increasingly interested in Western popular music, particularly blues, pop and later jazz. Her musical identity was also influenced by the music of Greek social and cultural movement known as the New Wave in the 1960s and 1970s in Greece and in Australia. Kaliope is a vocalist, performer and songwriter with a national and international reputation.

Preserving traditions: Pyrrhus

Pyrrhus believes in maintaining the musical traditions of Epirus in north western Greece. He refers to himself and the musicians he plays with as purists. He stated that "we're on a mission of preservation and we will not play songs by other Epirus artists where they've tried to adapt the music or change it". Pyrrhus felt that a lot of Greek composers of the 1960s and 70s "sold out". He explained that they are "actually against people who try to write their own music" and he and his fellow band members seek authentic recordings to reproduce. Pyrrhus and his fellow band members belong to an association from Epirus and they "try to record all of the old masters, and artists who are out here who learnt directly from their masters in Greece, and we're just about to release a CD, with one of the last great clarinettists Haralambos Fakos who has been here for many years playing the traditional music and whose art we feel will be lost, so we're doing that in terms of preservation". Fakos is a legendary clarinet player from Veltsista (Klimatia) in Epirus who emigrated to Australia in the 1960s. Although he has been active in the Greek music scene in Melbourne he had not recorded in a studio until this initiative. Pyrrhus and his fellow musicians hope to capture authentic traditional

music from Epirus that has existed in Australia for half a century. Pyrrhus also particularly mentioned seeking historic recordings such as those of violinist Thymios Karkanakis.

Music from Epirus is unlike other Greek music and even within this region there are stylistic differences. The north is isolated, full of mountains and has unique musical traditions that use pentatonic scales. The polyphonic music is performed by singers, clarinettists, violinists, lutenists, and percussionists. This music is not what is commonly thought to be Greek music, for example Pyrrhus commented that, "there's no bouzouki playing". In contrast he explained that,

> in the south there are more instrumental pieces, and they're quicker, and there's heavy use of the violin picking up the melody. In the north, the violin is basically a drone, in the background keeping the beat, while the other things are happening.

Overall the songs in the south have a melody with harmonies but "as you go north its polyphonic, each person has a different part, and it's a lot more complex, and you actually have to pick up the music, and improve, improvise while you're singing, so that each time something is different".

Learning this music is by immersion and imitation. According to Pyrrhus most of the traditional artists do not read music but play from memory. Further the improvisatory nature of the music makes notation challenging. Pyrrhus explained that the basic melodies can be recorded but in Epirus good musicians

> will take a basic melody, and improvise, and you are regarded in terms of your skill as to how well you can improvise, and what you could do with that

within the bounds of the tradition because there are certain things you can and can't do, in that situation now you're expected to improvise, you have to.

Pyrrhus described his improvising as based in careful study and listening, "where you develop a style of your own, you digest what they've done and come up with something of your own after many years" but this remains "within the bounds of the tradition because there are certain things you can and can't do".

Pyrrhus and his band play Ipirotika (the music of Epirus) at community events such as weddings, parties, baptisms, and "any other events where we get asked to play". They have also performed at multicultural festivals with thousands in the audience. Although the band will play what the community wants "which is how traditional Greek music works – you play, they tell" they do have a fall back set that is traditionally constructed. This begins with a funeral song, the haunting and mournful Mirologia, as this is how all parties in Epirus begin. The tradition is to remember they dead as "they're with you and you play for them". Towards the end of the set are "songs which refer to the famous bandits of the time so you need to know at least three of those because, you know that you'll get asked for one of them" particularly as by the end of the party "people have had lot to drink the want to dance on top of beer bottles". Performing traditional songs and dances encapsulates the history and cultural heritage of a group of people from a particular region and come to represent a shared narrative and cultural understanding (Kalgeropoulou, 2013). Pyrrhus recognised that amongst the Australian Greek community there is a nostalgia for "the rural songs of their youth" whereas when he performs in Greece people mostly live in the cities and

"this kind of music is generally forgotten … [it is] an anachronism in Greece, but is relevant here [in Australia] because people need to hear it". Pyrrhus would "love to pass the music on to my own children not only because it's so significant to me but I don't know to what extent it will be significant to them or whether they'll dismiss it as noise as my sister does who grew up in the same house". The particular music from northern Epirus that he performs can sound "very foreign" to audiences and to those who are not cultural insiders. Pyrrhus feels that "they don't enjoy listening to it, it's a shock when they first hear it because it's not something well known in other parts of Greece". Describing his experiences performing at large multicultural festivals he thinks that non-Greek Australians "found it very strange, it's not the Greek music they they've expected".

Pyrrhus was not hopeful about the long-term survival of Ipirotika in Australia. Pyrrhus does "not believe that this kind of music has a future here because younger generations of Greek Australians who are exposed to a wider range of musical choices generally tend to go with the mainstream or music that sounds mainstream". By this he meant contemporary Greek music coming from Greece that has "adapted to western music sounds and sits more easily on the ear". Despite this Pyrrhus believed that his music should be preserved for its "value, by a culture that respects it, even though they don't always enjoy it, it's the same with other Greek traditional music". He thought that there is a real fear amongst young emerging Greek Australian musicians that "by assimilating into the broad mainstream Australian society we will lose aspects of the Greek culture that we revere, and I think that our adherence to Greek traditional music is a reaction towards that process of assimilation". Pyrrhus did not believe that Australian

music is distinguishable "from English music or American music" as we exist in a "globalized world … where all types of music are bombarded with millions of influences, [with] world music being monopolized by U.S. types of music". Thus traditional music is "on the periphery" in a "sort of enclave that can't be transposed". Pyrrhus did not envisage a place for authentic traditional music in mainstream culture although he thought that there will always "be people who enjoy it for what it is".

Finding a "halfway point": Dimitrios

Dimitrios is in a band with four friends. The core members of the band play bouzouki and percussion. There is no inclusion of electric guitar or bass. Depending on the event, size of venue and the audience this core may be expanded to about ten musicians including accordion players and vocalists. They only sing in Greek and do not include original songs but will try to "spruce up" older songs to make them feel "a little bit more contemporary, just in way the individual musicians hold the pick and use their fingers". Essentially they "try and stay with the original format" but sometimes this can be difficult when they are playing in different environments with a range of musical influences. Their repertoire consists of traditional Greek songs, predominantly rebetika but even then some people want pre-war, others post-war lighter songs. Dimitrios stated that there is "always a discussion as to, which song and how to play it, but it's healthy and it's good fun". For Dimitrios and his colleagues, rebetika is a broad genre with a range of sounds and rhythms. Generally they will play music that is "a bit softer to listen to" but sometimes there are purists in the audiences who

want authentic performances so "you look after them as well". He admitted that it is difficult not to add a "bit of a twist" and that it is impossible to keep everyone happy. Dimitrios and the band occasionally perform "quality" contemporary Greek music "but it is not what we do much, but when we do it, we enjoy it".

Dimitrios and the members of his band are sensitive to the needs of their audiences. For example if the "target audience is not good, you tend to pick a repertoire that is more diverse [and] might have different rhythms and different sounds". At community events they will take requests and at large world music festivals, Dimitrios and his band "contribute the Greek part" and as "they asked us to comeback or whatever they [must] enjoy it, the people who are obviously in tune with listening to world music". Dimitrios and his band are adaptable. For example they performed at an Australian festival that had a theme of island music and they were happy to select Greek songs that were island based. Ultimately, Dimitrios and his friends do what they want to and they consider themselves "stewards of all we love to do". Dimitrios recalled growing up listening to "old, urban rebetika" mainly because he enjoyed listening to it and considered the songs "fantastic" and bouzouki performers "great". He was brought up in the style and always loved its originality.

Dimitrios frequently returns to Greece to perform and immerse himself in the music scene there. He commented that, "a lot of people say that we're more Greek than the Greeks but I never believed that". He suggested that a lot of Greek musicians maintain musical traditions and that "rebetika and folk music in Greece

is alive and kicking" but possibly "we hold on to traditions" in Australia which may be a bit out-dated. This may represent a community desire to hold a nostalgic view of the culture left behind in Greece when they migrated to Australia. When asked about the different musical preferences of the four core members of the group, Dimitrios explained that "we sit around the table and one of us might be more purist than the other one. One of us might be a little bit more modern and then we meet at a halfway point". He considered this to be a good compromise because "it does work. It really does and I think you get along as friends and first and foremost and everything else works".

Embracing hybridity: Kaliope

Kaliope considers herself to be a "daughter of the Greek diaspora". She is the daughter of Greek migrants and rebelled against her Greek heritage as a teenager. Kaliope immersed herself in western popular music as an act of defiance. She explained, "I remember growing up and being very anti Greek, I didn't wear my culture at all well when I was growing up". In retrospect Kaliope thought that she was "born to be musician and I didn't fight hard enough to formalize that, but I went on to perform … in cover bands; embracing of my Greek music came later". Kaliope discussed her musical influences in her formative years in the 1970s and 1980s when she immersed herself in rock, blues and jazz by performers from Australia, the USA and Greece. She sang in all these musical genres in both English and Greek. Kaliope explained that at that time Greek Australian musicians were only able to find work in the mainstream Australian music industry, as there was little support for Greek music in the wider Anglo-Australian community.

Kaliope returned to her Greek roots in her 30s and began performing with Greek musicians in bands. She now has her own band but "everyone's in ten bands". Describing her reality as a performer, she stated that, "I have worked a thousand jobs to survive". Kaliope has performed at weddings, baptisms, taverns, clubs, parties, and restaurants – every conceivable private and public community event. She found it impossible to make ends meet as a musician because "unless you are signed by a record label, you really need to be up there and work in as much diversity as you can". She recounted recently working with a Greek Australian performer who had never worked in a Greek industry. He was a member of a 1970s Australian pop band that had success in the music charts. Although he was Greek Australian, Kaliope felt that his culture was "in the background because it wasn't embraced, in fact we weren't embraced by mainstream Australia". Kaliope named other Greek musicians who had emigrated to Australia who had struggled for acceptance beyond the Greek community but pointed out that Greek Australians are "different hybrids". Over the decades there have been repeated attempts to establish Greek music in Melbourne and only recently has this been possible with increasing interest in multicultural events. Kaliope mentioned a Greek Australian who runs large international events company that manages artists and co-ordinates multicultural and other festivals. She took part in one of these recently and matched the festival theme with one of her original compositions about the experience of migration. Kaliope thought that the Australian government has begun to recognize multicultural artists and support them with a multicultural professional development program.

Kaliope did not consider Greek Australians to be Greeks. She expected that this idea might cause a revolution because many people are "invested in the concept that you are what your lineage says and not where you were born or your current environment". To her having a hybrid identity is a dynamic and changing state of being. Kaliope thought that in Greece Greek Australians are foreigners and there is always as stigma to this perception. She has repeatedly performed in Greece. She stated that, "I'm not a Greek singer *per se* as I'm not from Greece. I am a Greek Australian singer". With the current resurgence of Greek Australian performers Kaliope thinks that, "being bicultural is a privilege".

Discussion and conclusion

The three participants vary in their approach to the performance of Greek music in Australia from seeking authenticity and heritage, through adaptability to embracing hybridity and pragmatism. Pyrrhus and his compatriots recreate authentic performances that preserve traditional music from Epirus. They seek historical recordings and expert music practitioners to inform their music making. Their performances follow traditional programs that recreate and re-enact their cultural history. Dimitrios and the members of his band consider themselves stewards of their musical inheritance. They perform traditional music but often give it a "twist". They are prepared to accommodate the requests and expectations of their audiences and will also perform contemporary Greek music. Kaliope embraced her Greek musical heritage later in life and maintains a dual identity as a performer of western rock and jazz and as a performer of Greek contemporary and traditional music. She is keen to preserve her heritage but realistic about its place in contemporary Australian mainstream society.

All the participants recognize that the music they perform may be a "little outdated" for contemporary Greeks. There is nostalgia within the Greek Australian community that seeks the music of Greece at the time the family migrated. Being Greek Australian is not the same as being Greek, nor is the music. This realization does not inhibit the determination to preserve musical heritage but both Dimitrios and Kaliope are prepared to adapt to varying degrees. Pyrrhus decries the influence of western popular music both in Greece and in Australia, but is aware of its inexorable advance. He and the other participants are realistic but hopeful of the maintenance of their cultural heritage. To varying degrees the participants reclaim, preserve and adapt their Greek musical inheritance. Pyrrhus and Dimitrios are wary of the influences of western popular music on contemporary Greek and Greek Australian music. Kaliope is an experiences performer of western popular music and of Greek Australian music. All understand that Greek Australian music and identity *per se* are a different to Greek traditional identities of previous generations. This is the reality of contemporary multicultural societies where all bear hybrid identities with diverse cultural understandings and musical forms. Migrant musics are rich and represent fluid, dynamic identities. Musical behaviors can indicate social adjustment depending on the degree of challenge migrants experience in their new environment. Initially Greek migrants in Australia found their music disregarded by mainstream society and only preserved within the Greek Australian community but with the passing of time, Greek music has become an established part of Melbourne culture. Thus Greek Australians (as other migrant communities) find that their traditional behaviors have been challenged in their new environment and they have the choice whether to preserve

traditions as authentically as possible or to adapt to influences both contemporary Greek and non-Greek.

In 1989 the differences between Australian and Greek identities were noted. The former were deemed more individualistic. The latter were seen to possess a set of collective principles that focused on family, respectful and respectable community membership and "a concern for their cultural heritage [that] reflects the traditional collectivist values typical of rural, working-class Greeks" (Rosenthal, Bell, Demetriou & Efklides, 1989, p. 67). The participants in this study enact a respectful engagement with their culture and community. For Pyrrhus his adherence to Greek traditional Ipirotika is a reaction against cultural assimilation. Dimitrios appears to be more negotiable. With his friends he only sings in Greek and will modify traditional music to make if feel a little more modern. Kaliope does not consider herself a Greek musician, rather she is Greek Australian which is a hybrid identity. All three participants are contemporary Greek Australians and illustrate how this can be enacted in different ways. Understanding the diverse musical identities of Australians with hybrid identities offers insight into how individuals construct their identity and how our society embraces difference and cultural complexity. This in turn is enact in all community music making, cultural heritage preservation and transmission, teaching and learning.

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Six Greek Musickers discuss Jazz

Georgoulas, R. & Southcott, J. (2015). Six Greek Musickers discuss Jazz.
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Introduction to article

This article extends the research and explores a different facet that relates to my
own musicking when I was in Greece. As discussed in my autoethnography, while
in Greece I perform as a jazz musician singing in Greek. In this article I
interviewed other Greek jazz musicians to explore their understandings of the
place of jazz music in Greece. In this article three different patterns of nationality
and migration are apparent. Several of the participants were born in Greece and
have remained there. A couple of the interviewees spent the early part of their
lives in Australia but when their whole family returned to Greece so did they. One
participant was born in New York but moved to Greece as a young adult. This last
person is only Greek by choice – she has adopted the lifestyle and cultural
understandings, is fluent in the language and has become a member of the Greek
Orthodox church. I believe there are differences between people in relation to
where you live, your upbringing where you grew up and the sort of music you
listen to and perform. For instance for the participant who was born in New York
had very different views towards jazz music than the participants that were born in
Greece or moved back to Greece. Also another participant who was born in
Greece views jazz music as not really well recognised in Greece. Two of the

participants who were born in Australia but moved to Greece have a more open view to jazz music as they have had more exposure to musics from other countries other than Greece. They both like to perform jazz music and have previously studied jazz music and therefore have more knowledge of jazz music and popular music. Another participant who was born in Greece also studied abroad hence having more knowledge of different styles of music and more open opinion when it comes to the views of jazz music in Greece.

For the Greek musicians in Greece jazz, popular music and music education in Greece, when asked about their preferred musical genres, the participants offered a range of responses that encompassed a number of styles. Ioannes stated that he was "not a really big fan of jazz music – I like 50s jazz but not free jazz. I play Greek rock and popular music". Petros plays "pop music and jazz with the orchestra" and as a soloist. He plays mainly Greek music but "a little jazz music as well". Markos explained that 'I play and sing Greek music. I have joined a group where we perform ethnic pieces and some jazz". Vasilios plays "a range of styles of music … including jazz". Leandros identifies first as a jazz player and adds classical and Greek music and Delia has a broad repertoire that includes "folk, ethnic, blues, jazz, rock, hard rock, ballads, big band, Greek concerts, orchestras, standards and Motown". In addition the participants identified a range of other musics that they listen to and know well including disco, blues, and British Pop. All six participants were selected because they are professional musicians who in varying degrees perform and teach jazz. Each gave jazz a different emphasis in their musicking with only one placing jazz first.

Article

Six Greek musickers discuss jazz

Abstract

Musicians and musical genres circulate around the world within the exponentially increasing influence of globalization. This research explores the understandings of six Greek musicians about their musicking, particularly their engagement with jazz. These musickers have complex cultural and musical identities formed by migration and nationalism that are enacted in different musical genres. The participants either play or appreciate jazz. They also play Greek traditional musical styles and a range of Western musics, ranging from 'classical' to rock, blues and pop. The participants are also music educators who work with students in a range of styles. Musical identity is acquired through interaction with others in their cultural group. For these musickers jazz appears to be problematic in their cultural and musical situation. It seems to be less acceptable than other musics. Their insights into the tensions that surround their musicking can inform others with curricular and cultural impositions on musical engagement.

Key words: Greek musicians, jazz performance, jazz education, musical identity, Greek music professionals

Introduction

Musicians and musical genres circulate around the world especially, framed by the exponentially increasing influence of globalization. This production and dissemination of music is complex and produces "asymmetries and inequalities"

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(Toynbee & Dueck, 2011, p. 4). This research explores the understandings of six Greek musicians about their musicking, particularly their engagement with jazz. These musickers have complex cultural and musical identities formed by migration and nationalism that are enacted in different musical genres. The participants either play or appreciate jazz. They also play Greek traditional musical styles (including Byzantine, rebetika, and folk music) and a range of Western musics, ranging from 'classical' to rock and pop. The participants are also music educators who work with students in all these styles. Identity *per se* is acquired through interaction with others in their cultural group (Ting-Toomey, 2005). Jazz appears to be problematic in their cultural and musical situation. It seems to be less acceptable than other musics. It may be that jazz is seen as representative of Western cultural encroachments or that jazz is associated with the same social strata as rebetika. In Greece (as elsewhere) jazz music appears to be culturally and historically meaningful as both an artistic form and as a political statement. Interestingly Pell (2011, p. 131) points out that although jazz is regarded as an "indigenously American music, its roots were … international. The impact of African, South American, Caribbean, and European rhythms and melodies shaped the way … jazz musicians played their instruments, composed songs and invented new chord progressions, and performed before audiences". Understandings of jazz change with time and location. For example it was "in Europe during the interwar period that jazz first acquired a 'legitimate' artistic status, as French promoters … prompted American critics to recognize jazz's merit" (McGee, 2011, p. 203). Like other musics, jazz is complicated musically and culturally. Jazz comes with political and social 'baggage'. Despite that jazz music is a global phenomenon. In the 21st century there is a complex jazz network

"dependent upon mass and mixed media [that are] increasingly determined by historically embedded institutions such as the jazz festival and the music conservatoire" (McGee, 2011, p. 205).

In a rare exploration of these issues in Greece Tsioulakis (2011) undertook an ethnomusicological study of jazz-trained professional musicians in Athens and found that jazz music existed as an "almost invisible subculture" (p. 175). When attempting to arrange interviews he was challenged by the musicians themselves regularly receiving "answers along the lines of 'well, I wouldn't really call myself a jazz musician'" (Tsioulakis, 2011, p. 176). This attitude was apparent in the interviews undertaken for this study where questions were reframed to elicit responses more comfortably. Tsioulakis (2011) identified an apparent inconsistency between characterizing oneself as a jazz musician and actually playing jazz. The participants in this current study also appeared reticent to be called a jazz musician but incorporated jazz into their musicking making when opportunity arose. Tsioulakis (2011) suggested that there are local meanings associated with the appellation 'jazz musician' that go beyond the obvious one of 'a person playing jazz'. These include the importance of playing jazz skillfully, authentically, and

> a wider attitude and way of life that is connected to the imaginary of the jazz musician: living the jazz life. The reluctance of individuals to identify themselves as jazz musicians also resonates with a pervasive aphorism often expressed by jazz-trained professional instrumentalists: 'this country has no room for jazz musicians' (Tsioulakis, 2011, p. 176).

Greek popular music

Greek rebetiko or rebetika songs (derived from the Smyrna style) are the basis for Greek urban laïka (popular music). Rebetika first appeared towards the end of the 19th century and developed to become the most recognised form of the first three decades of the 20th century. Rebetika, sometimes defined as a type of urban blues music, can be divided into two main styles (Aydin, 2014). The first being Oriental style which can be associated with "the Greek refugee population from Asia Minor in the 1920s and 1930s" (Pennanen, 1999, p. 7). Barrett (2015) describes rebetika as music of the Greek underground. The second main style of rebetika is the bouzouki-based Piraeus style that was associated with the urban subculture of Greece. The main instrument used for rebetika was the bouzouki which is a traditional Greek instrument originating from the lute family of instruments. From the early 1950s "the influence of Western popular music on rebetika became more pronounced. This was apparent firstly in chromaticism and the use of non-harmonic tones, secondly in the introduction of new chord forms" (Pennanen, 1997, pp. 97-98). The term rebetika is now applied to much non-Western Greek popular music from before the mid 1950s. Since then the influence of Western popular music including jazz has slowly increased. Pennanen (1999) noted that this spread has been neither continuous not smooth. In particular jazz has remained less popular than other contemporary Western style reflecting the ongoing challenges to the development of popular music in Greece in the twentieth century that was always characterised by peaks and troughs (Papageorgiou, 1997).

The presence of Western popular music in Greece is underscored by the reality that, from "the 6th century BC to the present day, music and politics have been inextricably linked in Greek culture" (Holst-Warhaft, 2002, p. 297). When the first

book appeared about rebetika appeared in 1968 it "was banned almost before it reached the bookshops" (Holst-Warhaft, 2002, p. 317). With the end of the dictatorship in Greece in July 1974, Mikis Theodorakis returned from exile. At that time young Greeks were listening to rebetika and foreign music, reflecting their own "pragmatic cynicism about the nature of society. They were playing electric guitars, listening to rock bands, borrowing chords from jazz … and there was some creative combination of traditional folk material with jazz and rock music" (Holst-Warhaft, 2002, p. 318). Greece was not alone in being influenced by "processes of Westernization, modernization, and globalization [that] are common to various countries around the Mediterranean rim, as well as to those in many other parts of the world" (Pieridou-Skoutella, 2011, pp. 128-129). By the early 21st century there is a "continuum in Greek popular music with local musical characteristics at one end – where Byzantine music, Greek folk/traditional songs, *rembétika* and *laïka* songs occupy a place – and global characteristics that absorb Anglo-American popular music at the other, where Greek language remains the crucial signifier of Greek national identity" (Pieridou-Skoutella, 2011, p. 129). Jazz exists on this continuum but its position is tenuous due to musical and political influences.

Jazz in Greece

Jazz music has spread across the globe but the "story of its intercultural travelling and local adaptation, however, is far from universally consistent" (Tsioulakis, 2011, p. 179). The arrival of jazz impacts local music scenes. Its use of repetitive rhythmic and melodic patterns and its focus on improvisation offer local musicians recognizable and accessible forms and processes. Jazz has been described as an early harbinger globalization but seldom did its "encroachment go uncontested"

(Atkins 2003, p. xv). In different locations and cultures the social significance of jazz as an imported idiom has varied but "the story of jazz's presence in Athens not only negates conformation to a global pattern, but also shows an array of contradictory responses" (Tsioulakis, 2011, p. 179).

In attempting to trace the chronology of jazz in Greece Tsioulakis (2011) found considerable discrepancies between oral data and that included in relatively limited discographies and historical commentary. As early as the 1940s there were performers influenced by jazz and elements of jazz harmony and orchestration can also be found in songs by important composers of the mid-20th century. At this time recordings of big bands and other smaller ensembles show "an adequate competence in jazz playing techniques, especially among brass players. Whilst these musicians remained largely anonymous, their sonic imprint suggests the existence of a network of teachers who were, at least to some extent, familiar with jazz" (Tsioulakis, 2011, pp. 179-180). Contemporary jazz musicians in Athens identify the trio Sphinx as the first group with "a distinct jazz character" and their self titled album in 1979 as the genesis of Greek jazz music (Charonitis, 2006). In 1979 the Half Note Jazz Club was founded in Athens. At this venue well-known international and local jazz musicians have played over the years (USA today 10best, 2015). Not until the early 1990s did an autonomous jazz scene develop in Athens. In 1993 the Jazz FM radio station was founded, the *Jazz & Tzaz* music magazine was first published, and a number of clubs specializing in jazz opened. These outlets "promoted many different kinds of jazz, from swing standards to contemporary experimental pieces, while simultaneously advertising CD releases and concerts in the local scene" (Tsioulakis, 2011, p. 180). A number of clubs specialising in jazz opened.

In 1989 the Philippos Nakas Conservatory (PNC) one of the largest music schools in Greece established a jazz department. The PNC featured a professionally organized facility, and with its base in the center of Athens, its programs highlighted the city as a "natural crossroads between East and West with a significant cultural heritage and musical tradition. Most of the programs of study are geared toward students qualifying for a professional diploma recognized by the Greek Ministry of Culture" (Berklee, 2015). In 1992 the PNC became affiliated with Berklee College of Music in Boston.[1] Today the PNC operates eleven subsidiaries, seven of which are in operation in different areas of Athens and three operate in the cities of Thessaloniki, Ioannina, and Patras. The foundation and development of the PNC gave employment to jazz musicians and offered students the opportunity to receive an education in jazz without leaving Greece. In their studies the students were taught improvisatory techniques, jazz theory and participated in ensembles. In the 1990s the PNC, a single radio station, a dedicated magazine, four specialised music venues, and many "eager students constituted what was the jazz music scene of Athens" (Tsioulakis, 2011, p. 181). This upswelling of activity did not ensure acceptance by the general public.

An overview of advanced music training in Greece stated that it "has traditionally been linked to attending one of its 758 conservatoires that, in their majority, are private organisations; not officially recognised as higher education (HE) institutions; and under the auspices of the Ministry of Culture" (Triantafyllaki, 2010, p. 187). Recently degree specialisations in music performance were established in state HEIs and in two university music departments. Greek conservatoires are "organised around one-to-one instrumental tuition in a range of

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[1] Berklee was founded on the principle that the best way to prepare students for careers in music is through the study and practice of contemporary music.

classical Western, jazz and traditional Greek instruments. Studies include a small number of theoretical subjects, such as harmony, history of music, chamber music and choir practice" (Triantafyllaki, 2010, p. 187).

By the first decade of the 21st century in Athens two of the specialised jazz clubs had closed, only one new one had opened, and one of the largest, the Half Note Jazz Club rarely featured Greek bands (Tsioulakis, 2011). Further the radio frequency of Jazz FM was bought by a pop music station and the magazine *Jazz & Tzaz* increasingly focused on world music. The jazz department of the PNC still exists but no longer employs international jazz artists as teachers and ensembles leaders, having replaced them with former students for fiscal reasons. Tsioulakis (2011, pp. 181-182) observed that

> the audience for jazz has not grown; the only quantity that seems to have disproportionally increased is that of professional skilled musicians. The eager hundreds of the 1990s are now qualified musicians who have either continued their education abroad or learned through obsessive album collecting and endless hours of transcribing improvisations … Musicians gained experience through playing at the few jazz clubs for small audiences that generally consisted of their classmates or fellow musicians, and later on their own students. Along with musical training, they absorbed the frustration of their teachers at the lack of opportunities to play 'proper' jazz music in Greece.

Greek jazz musicians find limited support in the mainstream Greek schools. Before 1990 there was little provision for arts education *per se* within the Greek schools. In 1990 significant reforms to arts education were mooted and in 1995 the

Ministries of Education and of Culture inaugurated the Melina Project, a decade long initiative aimed to raise the profile and quality of art and culture in education at all levels of education. Music was included in this initiative. In primary schools music is an obligatory subject in Grades 1-6. This encompasses singing, playing Orff instruments, music theory and listening. There are music specialists in some secondary schools and there the curriculum includes music appreciation, music history and singing from Grades 7-10. Throughout Greece there are 28 special music schools for Grades 7-12. At these schools the curriculum includes

> individual performance lessons (with an emphasis on Greek traditional instruments such as the kanonaki, santouri, oud, lute, percussions instruments), and lessons in the classical instruments. Also studies in theory, harmony, analysis, form and structure, history of music, solfeggio, counterpoint, and Byzantine music are taught as classroom subjects (Greek index, 2015).

Jazz does not appear in curriculum outlines. In schools and in the community jazz is not widely considered as popular as other musics. Jazz is mainly performed and taught in the large cities such as Athens and Thessaloniki. Throughout this article jazz music will be explored through the opinions of six contemporary Greek jazz musicians and music educators.

Methodology

Having gained ethical approval six popular musicians currently performing and teaching in Greece were interviewed. The semi-structured interview questions explored their opinions, understanding, and feelings about jazz, popular music and music education in Greece. The participants were between 30-60 years of age, half

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being in their fifties. Five out of the six people were interviewed in their first language Greek as most of the participants could not speak English. Only one of the participants spoke fluent English. The researcher who undertook the interviews speaks fluent Greek and she transcribed the interviews and translated them. To maintain privacy the interviewees are identified by pseudonyms selected by the researcher. In several instances the interviewees have very public profiles but to preserve their anonymity information derived from online sites has been modified and the sites are not named. The methodology selected for this research was Interpretative Phenomenological Analysis (IPA) which was developed in the 1990s "explicitly as a psychological methodology concerned with the detailed exploration of individual experience" (Kirkham, Smith & Havsteen-Franklin, 2015, p. 398).

Once translated, data were analysed using Interpretative Phenomenological Analysis (IPA) which is "an interpretative endeavour and is therefore informed by hermeneutics, the theory of interpretation" (Smith, Flowers & Jones, 2010, p. 3). Phenomenological research explores participants' lifeworlds, experiences, understandings, and perceptions (Brocki & Wearden, 2006) and to do so the researcher tries to make sense of the participants' perspectives. Smith, Flowers and Jones (2010) add that in this process "the researcher is engaged in a double hermeneutic because the researcher is trying to make sense of the participant trying to make sense of what is happening to them" (p. 3). This allows participants to answer questions and tell their own stories in their own words from their own perspectives. IPA works with small purposive homogeneous participant groups that allows for deep and fine analysis of a particular phenomenon (Kirkham, Smith & Havsteen-Franklin, 2015). The interview transcripts were analysed thematically

with the researcher identifying emergent themes. These are then hierarchically organised. Direct quotes from the participants are interpolated into the text, presenting the voice of the participants. Being a phenomenological approach, researchers using IPA recognise their position in the research. In this study the first author is a Greek Australian musician and educator and the second author is an Australian music educator and researcher. Smith, Flowers and Jones observe that in IPA thematic analysis is a "reflection on one's own perception, conceptions and processes" (Smith, Flowers & Jones, 2010, p. 80).

The participants and their musical background

Between the six people interviewed for this study, different patterns of nationality and migration appear. Of the six musicians, three were born in Greece – Ioannes and Vasilios were born in Athens and Leandros was born on the island of Kos. Leandros and Vasilios have travelled widely outside Greece. Two of the participants were born in Australia to Greek parents and returned to live permanently in Greece when young – Petros was born in Melbourne and Markos was born in Sydney. The sixth, Delia was born in New York and moved to Greece when she was a young woman to join friends and has adopted Greek ways. Delia is Greek by choice and this decision has led to her becoming a member of the Greek Orthodox church. Where you live, your upbringing, and the sort of music you listen to and perform all influences who you are both generally and musically. Despite the disparity in their geographic origins all participants identify as Greek, speak Greek (the majority as first language) and are all involved in jazz performance and teaching in Greece in some way. Despite most of the

participants' shared commitment to jazz performing and teaching, their formal and informal training in the genre is varied.

Two participants consider themselves to be self-taught musicians. Markos explained, "I'm just a self-taught person, I play guitar. I play and I know piano in order to teach voice. I know chords but I am not an actual piano player. I play a little alto saxophone. I write lyrics." Delia also describes herself as self-taught. She plays guitar, some piano, a little alto saxophone and is a vocalist. Ioannes also describes himself as a self-taught guitarist but he had a piano teacher from an early age. The others all received musical tuition from studio teachers or at a conservatorium. Vasilios stated that, "I was a student at the school of classical music for piano. Then I studied a Bachelor and Masters Degrees of music at the Sibelius Academy in Finland." This instruction covered a range of styles including Western art music and some jazz. Further three of the six the musicians also consider themselves as Greek performers. The participants play a range of instruments. Ioannes plays guitar, piano and traditional Greek instruments such as the bouzouki and the baglama (a lower pitched relative of the bouzouki). Petros plays keyboards and alto saxophone. He teaches clarinet, flute, timpani, drums and a "most instruments". Markos plays guitar, Vasilios plays piano and some bass guitar and Leandros plays piano, keyboard and accordion. Delia plays guitar, some piano and a little alto saxophone.

When asked about their preferred musical genres, the participants offered a range of responses that encompassed a number of styles – often their playing of jazz was disavowed. Ioannes stated that he was "not a really big fan of jazz music – I like 50s jazz but not free jazz. I play Greek rock and popular music". Petros plays "pop music and jazz with the orchestra" and as a soloist. He plays mainly Greek music

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but "a little jazz music as well". Markos explained that 'I play and sing Greek music. I have joined a group where we perform ethnic pieces and some jazz". Vasilios plays "a range of styles of music … including jazz". Leandros identifies first as a jazz player and adds classical and Greek music and Delia has a broad repertoire that includes "folk, ethnic, blues, jazz, rock, hard rock, ballads, big band, Greek concerts, orchestras, standards and Motown". In addition the participants identified a range of other musics that they listen to and know well including disco, blues, and British Pop. All six participants were selected because they are professional musicians who in varying degrees perform and teach jazz. Each gave jazz a different emphasis in their musicking with only one placing jazz first.

Each participant was asked when they first decided that they were musicians (in any style). Delia stated that it was at "a very young age". Petros said that it was when he was 8 years old – he watched "the Philarmonic orchestra and from the moment I want to become a musician and learn music". Vasilios was 16, Leandros 15 and for Markos his musical identity developed as he got older. Given that popular styles such as jazz require improvisatory skill, all participants were asked when they first improvised. All stated that it was when they were teenagers. Vasilios explained that, "it came to me at a young age. I didn't realise I was improvising I just had it within myself". Leandros gave greater detail explaining that, "I started to improvise at the age of 13 years old. I started to get into jazz at the age of 24 I started to play jazz and improvise". When asked when they first took solos as musical performers, the participants offered similar ages, ranging from 9 to 17 years of age. These occurrences were not specifically identified as solo improvisations so they might well have been learnt works.

Within the group of participants are experienced professional musicians who are well positioned to reflect on jazz performance and teaching in Greece. They speak with some diffidence about their musicking but it should be noted that some of them very well regarded internationally and in Greece. For example, Vasilios is recognised as an incredible jazz player by his peers but he is known to keep a low profile. He has played with iconic Greek bands and has toured internationally.

The place of jazz in the participants' musicking

The participants describe a cycle – because jazz is not well known in Greece there was no demand for jazz performance. As there was little demand, jazz was only taught by a very few studio teachers and in a restricted number of institutions. Despite this all participants thought that jazz is important. They asserted that jazz offers freedom from the restrictions of classical rules and allows the performer to play from the heart rather than the notes on the page. Jazz requires effort – it is "difficult" and if people want to learn jazz they should understand what it is about because "in order to improvise you need to understand and know what you are doing". Having all agreed that jazz is important, participants were asked about being Greek and how that influences musical preferences and practices. In answering jazz was not mentioned which is unsurprising as it does not appear to be considered a Greek musical genre. Being Greek is very important to the participants and it plays a "huge role" in the type of music performed and taught. Leandros explained that Greek music is unique in that it possesses "many different kinds of rhythms and timing that are not found in other types of music from around the world". Byzantine music (modal liturgical chant) was mentioned by several participants. Only Vasilios (who had studied in Finland) believed that music is above nationality.

The role of jazz in the participants' musical worlds was explored further. Ioannes seemed to have least engagement with jazz *per se*. He does not play jazz or listen to it at home. He suggested that few Greek artists include jazz in their repertoire. Ioannes cited his musical influences as pop (Michael Bublé, Beyoncé, Alicia Keys, Whitney Houston and so forth) and rock (Jimi Hendrix and Deep Purple). But he also asserted that jazz is important. Ioannes explained that, "People are trying to find a more Greek identity, as there is a very high American influence on the music scene at the moment". For Ioannes, jazz is American music and music in Greece should be Greek music. He sees jazz as even more 'American' than the pop and rock styles that infuse Greek popular music. Markos recounts his musical style as Greek, ethnic "and some jazz". He has a few colleagues who are "quite good" knowledgeable jazz performers and one in particular who plays funk jazz fusion. Markos does not identify himself as a jazz musician but admits to occasionally listening to jazz at home.

Petros plays Greek and pop music and "a little jazz". The latter is usually with another of the participants in this study Leandros who "likes to listen and perform jazz music immensely". Together they play jazz standards and "don't really improvise". Petros' musical listening preferences are orchestral classical music however he will listen to jazz "at certain times, late at night or on a Sunday afternoon" if he wants to relax. He recognised that the lack of jazz being taught on the island of Kos (where he is based) results in a lack of interest in playing jazz amongst students. He believed that more students should learn jazz but as there are no teachers then this is impossible. His musical partner Leandros plays classical music, Greek music and jazz. He has a large collection of jazz music CDs. Unlike his colleagues and students he listens to jazz at home a lot. A few of his students

play jazz but they prefer the jazz standards of the 50s and 60s. He referred to Petros as someone who "likes to perform jazz standards". Petros and Leandros both live on Kos which they both recognise as being less musically rich than the larger cities such as Athens and Thessaloniki.

Vasilios is a jazz musician. He states "jazz is like a language. As a language I understand and perform jazz music". His first musical influences were rock music, then the blues and last the jazz which he thought was the right way to get to know jazz. His favourite artists include Bud Powell, Wynton Kelly, Kenny Barron and his teacher Mark Alexiou but in the same breath he adds that he likes rock and blues. Although he performs it, Vasilios does not listen to jazz at home preferring rock and classical music. His students listen to jazz and he thinks his colleagues also may. Vasilios composes music in "jazz form" and also "composed some classical music for groups". He believed that more artists in Greece are incorporating jazz into their performance repertoires. Vasilios also thinks that recently Greek jazz has become more accessible to audiences and he is seeing more new people at concerts. Delia is different, being Greek by adoption. She is a jazz musician (singer), she performs a lot of jazz fusion and is very well known in Greece. Delia includes jazz in the diverse musical styles she performs and considers that "my essence is jazz, but I'm more blues, I'm a mix". Her favourite artist is Ella Fitzgerald. Delia emphasised fusion styles – she stated that, "clean jazz is rare here. There is not a tremendous call for it. There are jazz musicians but mostly they fuse. There are some clubs that offer jazz". Delia identified the musical connections between styles in Greece "its more funk, rock ballads and there are some riffs you could find in Greek music".

The participants range from having opinions about jazz but not considering themselves as jazz musicians to considering themselves jazz performers, often in fusion styles. All participants decry the lack of venues and opportunities for jazz performance. This may be changing as a search of jazz festivals that incorporated workshops and masterclasses in Greece found events in Horto (Mt. Pelion), Paros (the Cyclades), Zante (Zakynthos), and Mirabello (Crete). Vasilios considered that the coming generations of musicians are very advanced and do not have the "taboos like my generation". He believes they may bring a new era of Greek jazz.

Jazz in Greek music education

In formal schooling Delia and Petros did not have music as a subject at school. Markos had music classes in Year 8 general music "there was some classical music … Byzantine music [and] Greek music", and Leandros recalled no music in primary school and in high school there were two years of "notes, theory and solfa". Only two of the participants, Vasilios and Ioannes received much music because each attended a special music school in Athens. Music *per se* now has a place in Greek education but this does not include jazz. Leandros confirmed this and Markos pragmatically commented that without teachers who know something about jazz it would be difficult to incorporate in schools. Ioannes does not think jazz could be incorporated into the school music curriculum stating, "I believe it won't happen". Petros explained that there was very little jazz in the school music curriculum because Greece has a rich music culture implying that this was more important than popular musics because the "youth of today are very influenced by pop music, television and radio". Vasilios believed that is "important to not only incorporate jazz music but also music in general because it is important just like learning maths or any other subject". It appears that not unreasonably the school

music curriculum focuses on Greek music and the theoretical skills to understand and appreciate it. Students seeking instruction in jazz need to look outside formal schooling to studio teachers.

The participants were asked specifically if they taught jazz music. None of them did, explaining that there was little demand and it was not their musical preference. Two people admitted that their students sometimes played jazz but preferred the styles of the 1950s –"like the older funky jazz" suggesting that as in performing jazz teaching is fused with other styles. There was a difference between the responses of the participants based in Athens and those who taught elsewhere. Learning jazz was considered more difficult in smaller communities. Petros explained that in "the larger cities like Athens, Thessalonika, and Patra there are teachers who teach jazz". Other interviewees confirmed that students who wanted to learn jazz went to the cities. Many students relied on recordings and online resources to advance their understanding and skill. Vasilios stated that technology has had a huge influence on how students access information about jazz as "everything is accessible from the internet".

Vasilios stated that at the universities that offer jazz studies students play jazz because they want to learn jazz. For a teacher to teach jazz they must love the genre so that they can pass that on to their students. The cycle of no knowledge/no demand can only be broken when teachers are familiar with jazz but given the constraints of a school curriculum, change will only occur outside the schools in specialist music institutions and in individual teachers' studios. Leandros made the point that "for people to understand jazz music … it is vital that they listen to jazz to be able to understand it and perhaps perform it". Delia was more succinct. She thought that, "people should not be so ignorant. Offer more studies so they can

learn life is not around Laïko [folk music]". She surmised that, "jazz music is not a forte in Greece".

Discussion and conclusion

This article has presented the perceptions of six experienced Greek musicians and music educators who all believe that jazz should be included in Greek musicking. The participants' engagement with jazz varies but they all agree that students should have the opportunity to pursue jazz. All emphasise the importance of the teaching of Greek music in schools but not to the exclusion of other musics. Outside of school, students have considerable access to many musics and musicking thanks to the internet and the media. To learn jazz instrumental music students have to travel to major population centres in Greece or to other countries. This research confirms the findings of Tsioulakis (2011) who found musicians ambivalent about their identity as jazz performers. In this current study one of the participants is internationally known but was very hesitant to claim the title of jazz musician. There is an interesting balance between the participants' musical identities as Greek musicians or Westernized global musicians. Despite having considerable experience as performers of jazz, almost all participants only listed jazz as their second or third music (after Greek and classical Western). Those who admitted to playing jazz often spoke of fusion styles and referenced rock, blues and pop. The interviewees were of the opinion that people (musicians and audiences) should be more open to performing and learning about jazz music in addition to the traditional Greek music in which they have been schooled and encultured. There was a strong sense that most of the musicians interviewed would like to see more been done about the availability and accessibility of jazz music been taught and performed in Greece.

The complexity of identity and musical identities is compounded for the participants by the politics of Greek nationalism. The participants include those whose identities have been formed by migration and return; others who have remained in Greece during challenging political circumstances. Some of the musicians in this discussion may rather reticently identify themselves as jazz musicians but this is qualified by assertions of Greekness in their musicking. Being Greek musicians is paramount even if their musicking is influenced by Westernization. Adding to this is the notion that jazz is positioned as a 'lower' music that is understood as having the same roots as rebetika. This may be why is appears to have less standing than other popular music styles. It may also be, as stated that jazz is 'difficult' to master. In the understandings of the musicians interviewed jazz is outside the mainstream – it is not Greek and it is not the more esteemed 'classical' music – effectively a double fault that results in musicians appreciating jazz, performing jazz and encouraging others to do the same while still averring their identity as jazz musician. Without recognition of jazz as a legitimate Greek cultural expression musicians such as those in this study will continue to present a public identity that is complex – they might play jazz or appreciate jazz but to be labelled as a jazz player is not their preferred option. This discussion highlights the tensions that surround musicking in countries with strong nationalistic cultural identities. Multicultural societies also face similar issues – in a crowded curriculum, which music should be selected and for what reasons? This is a question facing musicians and music educators everywhere.

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Chapter 7

Enacting Greek Australian identity: The Antipodes Festival

Georgoulas, R. & Southcott, J. (2016?). Enacting Greek Australian identity: The Antipodes Festival. Submitted to *Journal of Arts and Communities.*

Introduction to article

This final article returns to an Australian context and addresses an experience common to all the Greek Australian participants, the Greek festival. I have performed at such events, as have all the participants in my earlier studies of Greek Australian musicking Callista, Mithri, Ioannis, Petros, Markos, Vasilios, Leandros, Pyrrhus, Kaliope and Dimitrios. In this article Zante, Diogenes, Athena and Apollo are added. This article explores the understandings of identity and culture held by bicultural Greek Australians and the wider community about public celebrations of Greek culture, specifically the annual Antipodes festival held in Melbourne (Victoria). Community festivals are celebrated in Greece and in Greek diasporic communities across the globe. Melbourne has one of the largest Greek communities in the world outside of Greece. Identity is formed by multiple understandings gained from a variety of experiences shared within and beyond a particular culture and can alter according to the demands of culture, occasion and personal preference. The participants in this phenomenological case study are participants, organisers and attendees at the Antipodes festival. Semi-structured interviews that explored participants' opinions, understanding, and feelings were analysed using Interpretative Phenomenological Analysis. This research found that

participants held multiple and changing understandings of Greek cultural engagement in Australia. Given the profusion and proliferation of cultural community festivals an exploration of meaning and impact upon cultural insiders and cultural outsiders offers insight. Community celebrations provide a means to support ongoing negotiation of individual and collective identity, particularly amongst bilingual and bicultural people. Many nations aspire to cultural inclusivity and community celebrations add to educational and social engagement by different sectors of the community.

For the performers and attendees for the Antipodes festival all the participants interviewed have a strong connection with the cultural offerings of the Antipodes festivals in one way or another. Whether it is as a performer, involved in the organization of the festival or an observer and attendee, the festival has offered the participants a great cultural experience in Melbourne, Australia. This study presents the rich complexity and possible exchange of ideas provided by being bilingual and bicultural. Zante identifies with his background from the island Zakynthos and mainland Greece. Diogenes not only identifies with his Greek background but specifically his Pontian background and upbringing. Apollo identifies from the positive cultural experiences he has participated in and observed with his family. Athena described her experiences as someone immersed in her Greek culture. She always enjoys connecting with her Greek background and sharing it with others. Having her students perform for the festival "was always an enjoyable experience" both for her and the students.

Article

Enacting Greek Australian identity: The Antipodes Festival

Abstract

This article explores the understandings of identity and culture held by bicultural Greek Australians and the wider community about public celebrations of Greek culture, specifically the annual Antipodes festival held in Melbourne (Victoria). Community festivals are celebrated in Greece and in Greek diasporic communities across the globe. Melbourne has one of the largest Greek communities in the world outside of Greece. Identity is formed by multiple understandings gained from a variety of experiences shared within and beyond a particular culture and can alter according to the demands of culture, occasion and personal preference. The participants in this phenomenological case study are participants, organisers and attendees at the Antipodes festival. Semi-structured interviews that explored participants' opinions, understanding, and feelings were analysed using Interpretative Phenomenological Analysis. This research found that participants held multiple and changing understandings of Greek cultural engagement in Australia. Given the profusion and proliferation of cultural community festivals an exploration of meaning and impact upon cultural insiders and cultural outsiders offers insight. Community celebrations provide a means to support ongoing negotiation of individual and collective identity, particularly amongst bilingual and bicultural people. Many nations aspire to cultural inclusivity and community celebrations add to educational and social engagement by different sectors of the community.

Introduction

Identity is formed by diverse facets of multiple understandings an individual would gain from a variety experiences shared within their culture and/or with other cultures (Beauchamp & Thomas, 2009, p. 178). These different facets of complex identities alter according to the demands of culture, occasion and personal preference (Georgoulas & Southcott, 2015, p. 1). Walters and Cuff (2009) argue that identity is a complex process in which "several dimensions of an individual's identity interact with each other and cannot be taken out of context or separated" (p. 757). Self-identity can be recognised in fluid, fragmented and enacted in multiple ways (Pavlenko, 2001). An individual's identity is never straightforward or set. It depends on the structure in which roles are realised and our identities are displayed in a variety of situations. Identity formation is an active process "that requires the experience of the other, an experience that is necessarily embedded in cultural practice" (Sulzer, 2001, p. 224). Identity also depends on the context in which it is displayed or realised by social and cultural roles in the community. This is not surprising since "culture, and ethnicity are traditionally seen as highly correlated" (Kouhpaeenejad & Gholaminejad, 2014, p. 199). Our identities are publicly enacted in how we present themselves as performers and attendees at community celebrations such as the Melbourne Antipodes festival that is the focus of this article. Berry and Sabatier (2009) confirm that, "cultural identity refers to ways in which individuals conceive of themselves in relation to cultural communities" (p. 194).

The self can be understood as negotiated, divided and diverse. It is not a "straight forward easy to measure concept" seen rather "as a journey rather than a destination" (Walters & Cuff, 2009, p. 757). Researchers have increasingly explored ways we perceive ourselves to be considerably interesting and have examined the concept of identity as a solitary entity. In contradiction identity is also defined as collective referring to the lively establishment of characteristics that might clash with or associate with each other (Mishler, 1999). Self-identity understood as the general view people have of themselves in which diverse self-notions may continue to be uncertain. Self-esteem has to do with evaluating oneself. It has both cognitive and emotive features. The complexity and frequent lack of resolution is confirmed by Hargreaves, Miel and Macdonald (2002) as a confusion often contended by bicultural individuals as they try to resolve the strains and predicaments an individual who belongs to two cultural and language realms faces (p. 1). Cultural realms include music engagement as discussed in this article. Many discussions of identity can be constructed through a "mixture of social practices in which individuals are involved in their daily lives" (Kouhpaeenejad & Gholaminejad, 2014, p. 199). Identity is made up of how people interact with other people and ultimately we are social and collective persons. Identity to a large extent results from a sense of belonging to a particular group or groups and should not be oversimplified and condensed by a single term or indication. It is through participation and performance in particular and varied communities in that meanings of specific situations, descriptions and classification need to be sorted out in practice. Bicultural and bilingual individuals are complex and often have unresolved confusions about identity (Georgoulas & Southcott,

2015). From a social constructivist understanding the self is shaped and established in continual dialogue with self and others.

Identity formation includes linguistic and cultural factors experiences across the lifespan beginning in childhood that lays the grounds for identity in adults. According to Huws and Jones (2015) "social comparison process are important during across the lifespan" (p. 84). It is essential for an individual to understand his or her own views and behaviours in both the verbal and non-verbal sense framed in their cultural perspective (Georgoulas & Southcott, 2015, p. 2). Identity also defines "values beliefs and behaviour and influences our interactions with others" (Walters & Cuff 2009, p. 757). With languages comes the cultural understandings that are embedded in both languages and in cultural and social practices that accompany the identification of self with social context (Beauchamp & Thomas, 2009). Language and cultural engagement allows individuals to reflect on and understand their own behaviour. The identity of self is a dynamic concept, our musical identities are formed by a process of building, and renegotiating that is framed by increasingly complex culturally inclusive social context. This article explore the complex understandings of identity of culture held by Greek – Australians about public celebrations of Greek culture, specifically the annual Antipodes festival held in Melbourne, Victoria.

Research Context: Greek migration to Australia

Australia has been a significant destination for Greek immigrants to travel to since 1945. Since settlement one hundred and sixty thousand Greeks migrated to Australia, mostly to Victoria for various reasons to make a better life for their

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families and to help other people with in the community and network with fellow migrants. The bulk of Greek immigrants arrived between the late 1950s and the early 1970s. In 1952 the Australian-Greece Assisted Passages agreement provided a financial incentive for Greeks to leave their homeland that was in economic and political turmoil and move to Australia. This unfortunately has continued in recent times with the economic crises and more and more Greek migrants coming to Australia. There has been a significant surge in the number people arriving in Australia from Greece since 2010 on temporary and permanent visas, including an increase and rise in family migration (Kyriakopoulos, 2014). The capital city, Melbourne is known to have one of the largest Greek communities in the world (Greek Care, 2013).

An estimated eight thousand people have arrived in Victoria since 2010 according to a report released by the Australian Greek Welfare Society (Tsingas, 2014). The largest stream – about sixty per cent – has been returning Greek Australian expatriates and their families, including many who left as children or are Australian citizens by descent (Kyriakopoulos, 2014). According to Georgiades (2014), the recent "economic crisis in Europe and the associated devastation of the Greek [economy] resulted in unprecedented poverty and unemployment rates" (p. 1). The migrant who migrated from Greek to Australia post-war were largely poorly educated, unskilled migrants from rural areas who did not speak English. Those who have left Greece today are "urban, educated and middle-class, often arriving with young families" (Kyriakopoulos, 2014).

Festivals

Festivals have an important significance within communities. They are "social gatherings convened for the purpose of celebration" (Sharpe, 2008, p. 219). Festivals frequently celebrate group and identity. Festivals have been seen to build a stronger community and more inclusive of all groups within the local area (Hustedde, 1993, p. 1). A working definition provided by Getz (2005) of a festival is "a public, themed celebration" (p. 21). Festivals celebrate both community and collective and individual identity and breathe life into communities (Delamere & Hinch, 1994). Festivals play a significant role in communities lives as they provide "important activities and spending outlets for locals and visitors and enhance local communities image" (Duran & Hamarat, 2014, p. 146). Social interaction occurs at a community festival and provides a "focal point for community members to interact with each other during the festival" (Delamere & Hinch, 1994, p. 28). Festivals often include diverse and varied programming (Getz, 2005, p. 21). A community "celebrating a festival may be geographical, or the community may be based on a shared interest belief, [they] provide opportunities for a sense of belonging, support, empowerment, participation and safety" (Van Winkle & Woosman, 2013, p. 40). During a festival people set aside their usual routines for a while to celebrate those aspects of culture that give meaning to their lives (Delamare & Hinch, 1994). According to Saleh and Ryan (1993) a festival is an "expression of a community's sense of fun or a statement about its existence and its norms" (p. 289).

Festivals represent "a very tangible manifestation of a community and its culture" (Delamare Delamere & Hinch, 1994, p. 26). Globally "festivals are integrated into

community life as a form of expressive culture that allows mass participation at a shared cultural event" (Van Winkle & Woosman, 2013, p. 23). Creating festivals and other events has become popular in urban and rural communities. Events can be designed to attract visitors to different locations and may have a large influence in to developing community pride among local residents (Higham & Ritchies, 2001). Festivals provide opportunities to share a variety of cultures and community values through music, dance, and foods with the larger community in which it is embedded (Hustedde, 1993). Festivals can be "mono ethnic or mono art or multi ethnic or multi art. The festival may be an expression of a community's sense of fun or a statement about its existence and its norms" (Saleh & Ryan, 1993, p. 289).

Festivals are "emerging as one of the fastest growing types of tourism attractions" (Mayfield & Crompton, 1995, p. 37) and continue to receive attention from the tourism industry (De Bres & Davis, 2001; Lade & Jackson, 2004). Festivals are a "destinations prosperity, identity, tourism image and marketing strategies" (Derret, 2003, p.35) and are a growing, vibrant sector of the tourism industry with significant economic impacts for destination or host communities (Arcordia & Whitford, 2008, p. 2). Festivals have been used for a variety of purposes related to tourism. They have also received increasing attention from tourism and those who are interested in looking at the "relationship between festivals and the local community" (De Bres & Davis, 2010, p. 327). Derret (2003, p. 51) explains that,

A growing interest in developing a better understanding of the cultural identities of host communities in tourist destination shows festivals [hold] a significant position in [community identity]. They celebrate a sense of place through organising

inclusive activities in specific safe environments. They provide a vehicle for communities to host visitors and share such activities as representations of communally agreed values, interests and aspirations. Thirdly, they are the outward manifestation of the identity of the community and provide a distinctive identifier of place and people. Festivals have become a regular feature of many communities, such as the Greek community in Australia which is the focus of this article.

Greek festivals

Greek festivals are celebrated in Greece and in Greek diasporic communities across the globe in different ways. There are music festivals as well as food festivals and festivals which combine dance, music and food. Greek festivals are popular with a "tradition of culture and entertainment where you will taste the Greek food, Greek music, Greek culture, Greek dancing and great family fun" (Greece Travel, 2015, p. 1). Festivals offered "points of meaningful connectivity and spectacle for visitors" (Picard & Robinson, 2006, p. 1). Greek festivals have a long history stretching back to ancient times when worshipping the gods would involve rituals, competitions, dancing, singing, drama, athletics and sacrifices. An example of the festivals held in ancient Greece was the Panathenaea festival which celebrated goddess Athena. Festivals such as this were held in outdoor agora and amphitheatres throughout Greece. Banquets were also held in honour of the gods with large areas filled with tables and lots of food and entertainment (What happened at Festivals, 2015). Greek festivals were a vital part of community life in ancient Greece and this has continued until today. People either participate or observe the event. Large festivals that celebrate Greek culture occur wherever

there are significant numbers of Greek people and one of the largest Greek communities outside Greece is in Melbourne Australia.

The Antipodes Festival

This article investigates the Antipodes festival cultural celebration held in Melbourne, Australia annually. Georgoulas and Southcott (2015) argue that given the aspirational cultural diversity and inclusivity in Australia, the provision of festivals can offer opportunities for the wider community to be introduced to specific cultures. Just as people who attend festivals do so from different backgrounds, the participants in this case study are both Greek Australian, and non-Greek Australian. The participants have had a variety of experiences at the Antipodes festival through being participants and organisers of the events and performances as well as being observers and enjoying what the festival has to offer culturally. Some of the participants have attended the Antipodes festival from a young age and others only became involved as adults as their family situations changed. According to Donkin (1988), "Greek Australian connections and relationships are complex" (p. 1). The Antipodes festival is held in the Melbourne Central Business District in the Greek Precinct on Lonsdale Street between Swanston and Russell Streets. This area has been the centre of the Greek Australian community since the 1930s and today is home to Greek restaurants, cafes and cake shops as well as travel agents and music stores. The area is also the focal point of the annual Antipodes festival (City of Melbourne, 2015). Greek food, music and dance are integral part of the culture that is seen at the Melbourne Antipodes festival. It attracts over "100,000 people across the weekend, who head to the street to enjoy two stages of free entertainment, an assortment of food stalls,

children's activities, cooking demonstrations and trader displays" (Greek Orthodox Community of Melbourne and Victoria, 2015). The Antipodes festival has a mixture of local talent and international performers with a variety of children's activities and many types of Greek cuisine. At the festival the Greek community "celebrates with family and friends" (Weekend notes, 2015). Festivals are designed to bring together headline acts and performances from within a community (Jepson, Wiltshier & Clarke, 2008, p. 3). Some of the headline acts come from Greece and are well-known singers and dancers. There are people who perform at this event and there are people who are observers and attend with family and friends. Many dance groups from different clubs around Melbourne perform and local musicians and bands perform as well.

Methodology

This article explores the significance of the Antipodes festival to Greek Australians and non-Greek Australians who perform, participate in the festival or are simply observers. This phenomenological qualitative case study investigates a group of participants' lived experiences and understandings of the Antipodes festival. The participants vary in culture and experience in their time at the festival. Some of the participants participate by performing dance or playing music. Other participants are observers either going by themselves or with other family members and friends. The participants undertook a semi-structured interview to allow people to freely express their views and experiences and provide descriptions of their experiences. The researcher's emic position as a Greek Australian performer provides insights into the credibility and authenticity of the interview data. In semi-structured interviews the researcher prepares a list

of topics and questions that may function more as a checklist for discussion as "semi-structured interviews unfold in a conversational manner" (Longhurst, 2010, p. 103).

The questions in this study explored the participant's opinions, understanding, and feelings about the Antipodes Festival held in Melbourne. Ethical permission to undertake the research was gained. The interviews were fairly informal and recorded as more of a chat but gaining as much information from the participant as possible. To accomplish this, the interviewee needed to be made to feel comfortable so the interviews were undertaken at a café. The researcher who undertook the interviews speaks fluent Greek and translated any Greek words used throughout the interviews. To maintain privacy pseudonyms where chosen for the participants: Zante which is the name of the island Zakynthos, Apollo (the god of the sun, music and medicine), Diogenes (a philosopher) and Athena (the goddess of wisdom and war). The interviews were transcribed and then the data was analysed using Interpretative Phenomenological Analysis (IPA).

This study uses (IPA) to understand the underlying themes that are illustrated throughout the lived experiences of the participants. The phenomenological approaches that were used in this study uncover how people understand their experiences. Husserl (2014) describes phenomenology as immanent descriptions of individual understandings of phenomena. Phenomenology is to do with the way people "experience and interpret events" (Huws & Jones, 2014, p. 2). It also focuses on the "insights into people's interpretation of their experiences" (Huws & Jones, 2015, p. 85). Willig (2001) concurs that phenomenology as "ways in which

human beings gain knowledge of the world around them" (p. 49). IPA case studies typically involve a small number of participants (Smith, Flowers & Larkin 2010). The interview transcripts are analysed in an intensive and detailed manner. Precise explanations and interpretation "generally captured via semi-structured interviews, focus groups, or diaries, and the analysis then proceeds such that patterns of meaning are developed, and then reported in a thematic form" (Larkin, Watts & Clifton, 2006, p. 103). This IPA study directs to deliver an in- depth exploration of understandings of a specific group of people. It is also argued that "although the role of the researcher is to promote an insider perspective, it is acknowledged that analysis [is] influences by the researchers through and understandings" (Huws & Jones, 2014, p. 85). The data is then analysed in a thematic manner and the researcher then identifies emerging themes by reading intensively the interview transcripts. The themes of each transcript are highlighted, grouped and then connected. This is done in an orderly manner by using a table format. Once the transcripts have been analysed the themes are hierarchically presented. Use of direct quotations from the participant included into the text, presented the voice of the participants.

The participants' Greek cultural background

In this section the four participants will be introduced. Zante, was born in Australia. Both his parents were born in a small town called Amaliada, Greece but their background is from the island of Zakynthos, Greece. They came to Australia in 1967. Zante's experience with the Antipodes festival is that he performed and has attended the festival for over twenty years. He have attends to view local Greek club performances. He also has a friend who is a dance teacher and who

runs a Greek Youth Club. This club regularly performs at the festival. He also has another friend who was involved in the festival's organising committee.

Zante performed once as part of the dance group of the Pan-Maniot Youth Union of Australia. It was a mixture of dance and theatre. They dressed in traditional Greek costume and recreated the raising of the Greek flag in 1821 that signalled the War of Independence against the Ottoman Empire. He discussed how "we climbed on stage, raised the revolutionary flag and danced two traditional dances to celebrate. The crowd loved it."

Zante is less involved in participating in the festival now. He is a committee member of a club and a general member of two other clubs. He stated that "all these roles relate to creating opportunity for younger Greek Australians to perform. Generally this relates to liaising with the organising committee of Antipodes and ensuring we have representation. Then it's up to the young people to work out how they would like to use their time on stage." Zante's role in the Antipodes festival involved was within the group that performed with at the festival. The performances are short "specifically from the area of Greece the group is from. However every year the group try to have a new spin on it. I've seen the 'stealing' of a bride and wedding dances, the revolutionary beginning, baptism celebrations and the like." This allowed the group to develop a bit of theatre and then base the dances they are learning on this. The group would then leave the creativity and direction to the dance teacher and the students. Zante thought that adding a storyline was a way to keep "the students involved and encourages them to learn about Greek traditions from their area of Greece."

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Diogenes was born in Australia. His father was born in Greece and has a Pontian background and his mother was born in Australia. He teaches a Greek dancing group of students in Melbourne and they perform every year at the Antipodes festival. Diogenes is the President of a Pontian club that he formed for young people to get together to learn Pontian dancing, culture and history. He deems himself to be a non-traditional president as he prefers to focus on the teaching of the dances and offer direction to the students and people involved in the group who help manage the finance, promotion and logistics of events such as the Antipodes festival . Diogenes also likes to consult with the group members on decisions made for the group. He selects dances from different cultures and music from different musical ensembles. The dance group performs in a variety of events and concerts in Melbourne as well as overseas for social gathering celebrations.

Athena was born in Australia. Her parents immigrated to Australia as teenagers. She is a Greek teacher and teacher education and is the principal of a Greek community school in Melbourne. She volunteered for an organising committee that started in the early 1980s and she also has had students from her school perform at the Antipodes festivals for over many years. Athena attends the Antipodes festival regularly to support the dance groups from her school when they perform. The dance instructor at the school was responsible for managing the groups for the festival performances. The students would rehearse every Saturday in the year at their traditional Greek school in preparation for the annual festival. Athena stated that the "dances are traditional and a medley of dances are always choreographed so that we include dances from different Greek regions". Athena has not performed personally in the Antipodes festival the students at her school

"elect to participate". The dancing teacher's background was from Epirus in the northwest of Greece so much of the music the students would dance to came from Epirus. Athena described the "evocative sounds of the clarinet that is prominent in the music of the region, especially the slow dances." The dance teacher also included dances from Crete as she was part of a Cretan dance group. In this style round dances are traditional. These two styles of dances would be featured.

Apollo was born in Australia. His father's family originate from Wales and his mother's background is Scottish. His experience of the Antipodes festival is comparatively recent. His wife is from a Greek background and he attended the festival over the past ten years. Apollo stated that, "my experience of the Antipodes festival is always positive especially particularly the opportunity to eat some excellent Greek street food." On the whole he describes that the festival has "always had a positive atmosphere. There was good music, lots of people and great food." Apollo has not performed at the Antipodes festival although he has had the "opportunity to see traditional Greek dancing and listen to traditional music." Apollo has never participated just only enjoyed what the festival had to offer. Apollo was not part of a Greek Club but his wife has cousins who have been involved in a dancing groups.

Performing at the Antipodes festival

Zante was one of the performers at the Antipodes festival. The group he performed with performed traditional dances from the Mani region of Greece. These include Kalamatiana and Tsambika. This is the traditional music of the region. He would describe the dances as "quite simple but the art is practising new tricks for the

Tsambika and Kalamatiana." Zante portrayed the festival as having many attractions and entertainment. At the festival there was a main stage where performances occur. The keynote singer is on Saturday night and is generally a respected singer from Greece. During the day Saturday and Sunday this is a stage where other events happen such as the "Zorba 'Til You Drop" competition, performances by comedians and so on" (Greek Centre for Contemporary Culture, 2015). As a performer and being from a Greek background he thinks that "It's important for the elder Greeks as it shows their traditions are being learnt by younger people." He added that, "It's important as it gives younger people something positive to do." With the recent influx of Greeks coming from Greece cultural engagement offers new arrivals "a group they can join so they can feel part of the community too."

Zante's experience of the Antipodes festival has always been a positive one. He would come to the festival from a young age and continued into adulthood. It would cater for all ages and it was a time for Greeks to mix with other Greeks. Many people of all ages perform dancing or music. It showcases "traditional Greece through the dances and poems and foods". He also mentioned that the stalls from different parts of Greece showed everyone "our attempts to stay connected". The culture of these groups is more Greek Australian. Predictably other cultures are not represented at the event though everyone is welcome to attend and view the festival. Zante finds it to be a welcoming event and the "emphasis is very much on celebrating Greek culture". He would enjoy the variety it offered and he would spend time watching the dancing and the musicians and singers. It also would have traditional Greek food. He would also "run into a

lot of friends and this takes some time. Good conversation and good catch-up. It's a great event!" reflecting that there are many social and cultural benefits of festivals that foster community development and cultural traditions while providing leisure opportunities (Getz, 1991).

Diogenes was a teacher and also performed at the Antipodes Festival. He has a dancing group in which is prepares them for all types of performances around Melbourne and Australia including the Antipodes festival. He was not involved in the organization of the Antipodes Festival. Diogenes coordinates with other dance choreographers, maintaining a good rapport with them and mostly coming up with programs that he believes epitomises rich and cultural traditions. His dance group would perform Pontian dances. Diogenes would describe being in the dance group as like being in a "tribe" which he explained as a "Greek tribe, right, you have the old Pontian tribe, which is a little tribe, but we belong to a bigger great Greek tribe." He personally felt that "performing at the Antipodes Festival is the bigger project where Greeks and Greek Australian can contribute to the wider Australian community, our contribution to the Greek community here in Australia. So it is extremely important for us." Diogenes experience of the Antipodes was a positive one. He would attend for "nostalgic reasons" such as he grew up going to the festival all the young kids in the family. He would go to support other dance groups and see friends. He would be influenced by all the different types of performances he would see for his own group. Being a part of this group was very important to him.

Non-Performers at Antipodes Festival

Apollo did not perform at the Antipodes festival and is not part of any dance group. In the past he learnt to dance dances from the Peloponnese as his wife is from there. That was for their wedding, but he has not really had the chance to dance to it since. His wife has performed dances from Peloponnese in a dance group. For her kalamatiano, hasapiko, dances of the region are important to him and his wife. He mentioned that "as an audience member I love watching the different dancing groups. I like how the groups represent different parts of Greece as they are very different." Apollo's experience at the antipodes festival was from the point of view of an observer and non-performer. He went to the festival because his wife thought he would enjoy it and he "liked experiencing different cultural events. I enjoyed the music and the food in particular." His memory of the types of events and activities is rather unstructured but despite the crowds he always thought that it "felt like a safe and warm environment". He thought that it was always so positive to see such a range of ages attending. Apollo remembered lots of activities for children so he felt it was very family orientated. He observed young and older people "doing all sorts of activities such as dancing, food, music. It seemed to allow something for everyone." Apollo from being a non-Greek background thought that the event was welcoming and attracting for all Australians to experience". Apollo then continued to state that it's about experiencing and celebrating that culture which he thought was very important "as someone who does not have a Greek background". On the whole, he the described the festival as having a "great atmosphere that is welcoming of all different backgrounds". He particularly mentioned that the street food is great and seems to

be more 'authentic' than "what you would often get in Greek restaurants and/or taverns".

Athena would not perform at the antipodes festival but would enjoy seeing her students perform. She "loved feeling connected with [her] Greek heritage". She thought that, "the festival catered more for "adults and older adolescents and that younger children were not catered for as much". Most of the groups Athena watched dancing were made up of adults. She mentioned that the festival not only catered for the Greek community but catered for other cultures as well. Athena mentioned that usually the entertainment provided at the festival included a Greek band or musicians from Greece were highlighted although she thought there was emphasis on the dancing. Her view on attending the festival had changed slightly in the last few years as she felt that the performances and entertainment has been quite the same for many years "and now verge on stereotypical". Athena has participated for over 20 years with the schools dance groups involvement in the festival. Being part of the committee also added to her feeling that she was connected to her Greek background and heritage.

Discussion and conclusion

All the participants have a strong connection with the cultural offerings of the Antipodes festivals in one way or another. Whether it is as a performer, involved in the organization of the festival or an observer and attendee, the festival has offered the participants a great cultural experience in Melbourne, Australia. This study presents the rich complexity and possible exchange of ideas provided by being bilingual and bicultural. Zante identifies with his background from the

island Zakynthos and mainland Greece. Diogenes not only identifies with his Greek background but specifically his Pontian background and upbringing. Apollo identifies from the positive cultural experiences he has participated in and observed with his family. Athena described her experiences as someone immersed in her Greek culture. She always enjoys connecting with her Greek background and sharing it with others. Having her students perform for the festival "was always an enjoyable experience" both for her and the students.

As a performer Zante's experience of the Antipodes festival is a positive one. He would perform dances from his background as well as certain regions of Greece. He attended the festival from a young age and this encouraged his performing with the dance group. He considered the Antipodes festival an "important an event as young people can perform at". He thought that this "keeps young people connected to community groups." Delamare and Hinch (1994) argue that "social interaction occurring at a community festival [is] identified as a meaningful social benefit." They are seen as "providing a focal point for individual community members to interact with each other prior to, during and after the festivals" (p. 28). This was certainly the case of the participant in this study.

As a teacher and performer Diogenes has had an immense amount of year of experience of being involved in the Antipodes festival. He identifies with his Pontian heritage and teaches and performs the Pontian style and dance for the festival. It was also a great opportunity for Diogenes to support other dance groups and gain insight and inspiration from other dance groups and performances. He too has had positive experiences at the festival. He grew up going to the festival and it

continued on into adulthood. As a non-performer Apollo's experience was from the standpoint of his wife and her family. He would attend the Antipodes festival with his family observing the Greek culture, tasting the food offered, be in the audience for the performances and observe the different stalls that the festival had to offer from different parts of Greece. He liked "watching the different dancing groups. I like how the groups represent different parts of Greece so you have very different dances for each." He also observed how inclusive the festival was of people from a non-Greek background.

Athena as a non-performer has enjoyed attending the festival and connecting with her background over many years. Unfortunately the students at her school do not elect to perform anymore so she is less connected with the festival. It seems it was a positive experience for her in the past. Being a part of the committee and having student be involved in performing gave Athena a purpose to attend the antipodes festival.

This study looks into the Greek Antipodes festival from the positions of cultural insider and cultural outsider. The cultural insiders are the current and past Greek Australian performers and organisers who have all directly contributed to the festival. The cultural outsider is Apollo who has attended the festival since his marriage to a Greek Australian. The participants enact their cultural identities via varying degrees of participation in the festival. For some this is as a performer, for others it is as an observer. For some being Greek is part of their self-identity, for other from a non-Greek background, it is a question of attitude to a different culture and a choice of degree of involvement. For the performers it is also

includes the decision of which language to perform and music. This includes traditional Greek Music, popular Greek music or Greek music and dancing from different areas of Greece, such as the islands of Crete and different parts of mainland Greece. These choices depend of where there family background is from. Some of the participants chose to perform the main traditional dances from Greece that were familiar to quite a few Greek Australians. Different influences and experiences throughout the participants' lives have lead to their decision to be a part of the Greek festival culture in Melbourne and attend the Antipodes event. Some of the participants grew up attending the festival whilst others began attending the festival later in their lives through the influence of family and friends.

This study has attempted to explore Greek Australians' understanding of the maintenance of their culture in Melbourne through the Antipodes festival. The findings demonstrated that to the participants preserving and sharing Greek culture in Australia is a vital part of embracing complex bilingual and bicultural identities through Greek community cultural events. The participants feel they can explore this by through performance or attendance and observation of the cultural offerings of the Antipodes festival. This study tells the stories of the group of performers and non-performers as they experienced the Antipodes festival. Some of the reasons for attending the festival varied amongst the participants including that the festival provided them with a great deal of entertainment and the opportunity to connect with their culture and background. Some viewed it as a time to catch up friends and family and others to perform music and dance from their culture. Some of the participants felt a sense of pride performing or being

able to observe their culture in a variety of forms. Some were quite positive experiences and others less so for various reasons. Events such as the Antipodes festivals may offer cultural opportunities but it is the individual experiences of the participants and the way in which they were introduced and their perceptions that help piece together their identity as bilingual and bicultural Greek Australians.

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Chapter 8 Discussion and Conclusion

This thesis with publication has explored how Greek and Greek Australian musickers (musicians and dancers) with hybrid bicultural, bilingual, and bimusical identities negotiate their music and dance engagement. This phenomenological enquiry focused on the participants' understandings of the tensions and cross-fertilisations provided by hybridity. The musickers in this study have complex musical identities influenced by a range of musical styles and genres, and also by the sociocultural context in which their active musicking occurred. The musical styles and genres encompassed in this study include traditional Greek music and dance, classical Western art music, and popular music in both Greece and Melbourne, Australia.

In the second half of the twentieth century Greek Australian migrants embellished Australian life and "with the consolidation of the Greek community, the traditional suspicion of local Australian society towards Greek migrants and their linguistic and cultural background evaporate. Suspicion gradually changed to cautious tolerance, and later acceptance" (Tamis, 2005, p. 130). With the emergence of Australian born generations Greek Australians became influential in commerce, industry and the arts but the community retained a determination to "maintain their ethnic and cultural identity via their active involvement in the maintenance and development of Hellenic culture" (Tamis, 2005, p. 143). This culture has changed over time and as Australian scholar J. J. Smolicz pointed out the survival of the cultural heritage of any group depends upon its ability to constantly modify its traditions to meet the needs of successive generations (Secombe & Zajda, 1999).

Negotiations and tensions occur between an ethnic cultural heritage and the ethnically plural society in which it functions. Smolicz explained that in this process members of cultural groups choose specific elements of their group's values and heritage and there are reformulated and reshaped through their contact other groups (Secombe & Zajda, 1999). In this some things may cease to exist while new expressions may arise. In this thesis, some participants have demonstrated both the desire to guard, preserve and share cultural heritage whereas others have maintained a willingness to alter cultural practices and generate original forms. In some ways this is also true of the Greek jazz musicians who are balanced between Greek traditional musical forms and an introduced, Western, global musical practice. Moving between traditions and accommodations provides individuals (and their communities) with opportunities for exploration and expression.

Interviewees demonstrated that they held the view that cultural negotiations were important in the maintenance and evolution of both their musical identity and personal identity. Smolicz, Hudson and Secombe (1998) describe their participants as having "crossed the cultural border to participate in mainstream Australian society, while maintaining aspects of their home languages and culture" (p. 318) labels this as evidence of bivalence. The quotation they include from one of their participants resonates with the statements made by the participants in this research and encapsulates the essence of bivalence:

I have … come to the conclusion that my identity does not have to be static.

Sometimes I feel Spanish and I like to identify with the Spanish culture

while at other times I choose to reinforce my German, Irish-Anglo background. In many ways the two identities have become interwoven. A part of me is expressed through speaking Spanish and singing Spanish songs which is not expressed through speaking English or playing classical music … each language I speak and each music tradition I engage in carries with it a different world of meanings. (Smolicz et al., 1998, p. 330)

Cultural identity it refers to the way in which individuals conceive themselves within the frame of their cultural community (Berry & Sabatier, 2010). The cultural identity of an individual develops from birth and is shaped across the lifespan by the values and understandings prevailing at home and in the wider community. Identity becomes more complex over time, changing as people develop allegiances to different societal groups. Concurrently cultures are not static but evolve as different groups resist or adapt to other cultural influences including the media and popular cultures. In a culturally diverse society like Australia, individuals may possess multiple identities through identification with more than one sub-culture. Such identities may be based on cultural heritage, family or birthplace, religious or social identity, peer groups, and identity as members of Australian society. The participants in the papers included in this thesis placed themselves at different points on a continuum between holding tight to tradition and accepting the influences of other cultural traditions. For some participants this had changed across their lifespan. With the perspectives of age, some participants embraced their previously rejected cultural heritage. Others had been immersed with their culture from a young age in performing (music and dance).

Some of the Greek Australian participants had experienced some form of discrimination and even racism due to their background. Particularly when their families migrated to Australia they needed to assimilate to the Australian way of life, possibly to the denial of their Greek heritage. Although this changed as they got older when Australia changed it laws on assimilation and biculturalism and multiculturalism becoming a norm. In Australia the policy of assimilation was based on a belief in the benefits of homogeneity and lasted up to the mid 1960s which was the formative years for some of the participants. In the process of assimilation individuals develop new cultural identities however acquiring this new identity may involve "some loss of awareness and loyalty to one's culture of origin" (LaFromboise, Coleman & Gerton, 1993, p. 139). But assimilation was for some of the participants a survival strategy as without accommodating mainstream Australian culture they felt themselves to be excluded by the majority. Learning a new language and adopting a new way of life may have come at the expense of their culture of origin. By the time of interview, all participants had found a balance between their Greek Australian culture and that of the mainstream Anglo-Australian culture. Australia now deems itself a culturally inclusive nation in which there is recognition and acceptance that Australia is now, and will continue to be, culturally diverse. There remain many aspects of the Australian way of life that newcomers are expected to accept including the law, democratic government, and English as the national language. But within this "Australian multiculturalism recognises that many migrants and their children will choose to retain many of their customs and cultural traditions, some of which will be adopted by other Australians" (Department of Social Services, 2016). In Australia bicultural and multicultural identities are "becoming the norm and this is reflected in our cultural

explorations enacted via musicking. Hybridized identities are similarly becoming the norm in formal and informal teaching and learning" (Georgoulas & Southcott, 2015, p. 15).

Although the majority of the articles in this thesis with publication concerned Greek Australians, the experiences of Greek jazz musicians in Greece resonate with those of Greeks in Australia. In Greece jazz is not mainstream, it is in some ways a counter culture with less standing that rebetika. The Greek jazz musician participants were hesitant and self-deprecating about their jazz performing. They were quick to assert their identification with mainstream Greek culture. For example, one participant was reluctant to identify himself as a jazz musician although he had an international reputation in that genre. Jazz is not the cultural mainstream in Greece so there is a tension between engaging with the mainstream musical and social context and the rather underground ambiance of urban jazz. With increasing acceptance jazz is moving into the mainstream but it is still not a Greek musical form with the credibility of the traditional.

Conclusion

This research explored the hybrid identities of Australian and Greek popular and traditional musicians and dancers in Melbourne, Australia and in Greece and found that identity is complex, changing, and influenced by social and cultural context. All participants were bicultural, bimusical and bilingual and select their music and dance practices according to personal preference, context, time and place. Cultural hybridity is increasingly common in culturally inclusive countries in a globalized world.

Research Questions

This research posed the overarching question: How do Musickers (musicians and dancers) with hybrid cultural and music identities negotiate musical engagement? Like identities *per se* the answer is complex, multifaceted and fluid and ultimately depends on the preferences and social and cultural contexts in which the individual musicker operates. As an 'insider' researcher I share a musical, cultural, linguistic, and ethnic heritage with my participants. I understand just how complicated it can be to negotiate between different musical traditions and the tensions between the maintenance of heritage and the accommodation of influences from other styles and genres. My insider position has informed my data collection and my analysis and interpretation of my data. I know what it is like to function in two cultures, two musics and two languages. My participants also negotiate this balancing act. As a researcher I am part of a trend as "Nowadays, more and more studies are done on migrants by researchers who have migrated themselves … Migrant researchers often have easy access to migrant groups by virtue of speaking the native language" (Nowicka & Ryan, 2015). All of the interviews in these studies were undertaken in either Greek or English, depending on which language participants felt more comfortable with. Sometimes the interviews employed both languages as some terms do not translate across cultural contexts easily.

The overarching question sat over a number of secondary questions: Which culture, which language, which music to perform, what language will be combined with which music and how do the interviewees negotiate the styles of music and the musical fusions.

The first sub-questions was Which culture, which language? All participants shared Greek language, culture and musicking. In their music and dancing the participants would use either Greek or English languages accordingly, depending on their location, the venue, or the audience they are performing for. All Greek language interviews were translated to English and transcribed. The study that concerned a Pontian Greek Australian dancer did not involve negotiation of performance conventions, traditions or language as the dance was traditional and there was an emphasis on maintaining the Pontian traditions. For the Greek Australians their cultural identity was negotiated between tradition and accommodation. A dynamic cultural identity "allows each succeeding generation to evaluate various aspects of its own heritage, as well as that of other groups in society, in a new way: some parts of it may cease to interest, others take on a new importance" (Smolicz, 1988, p. 147). In the case of the musicians for Epirus, the discovery of heritage gained increasing importance and their engagement with contemporary Greek Australian music diminished. As Markus and Nurius (1986) point out, we are a "colony of Possible Selves, including some that are feared and some hoped for, all crowing to take possession of a Now Self" (p. 954). Kleppestø (2005) points out that, "How an individual or a group would depict themselves in a particular situation is therefore a product of the situation at hand … A more accurate description of the processes of identification is therefore that of a *rewriting* of identities in a new context" (italics in original) (p. 133).

The second question was the music they would perform. As the participants' musical identities reflected a rich, complex musical and cultural life they would make decisions on which type of music they would perform. This was due to their

bilingualism (or multilingualism) and accompanying biculturalism in both Greek and Australian English language and culture. Their repertoires of music could incorporate Greek traditional music, Greek Australian music, popular Greek musics and popular western music. The participants in Melbourne would perform a plethora of Greek and English music in a variety of concert venues, clubs both in English and Greek settings. Mostly they performed in Greek. In Greece the musicians would perform in nightclubs and used Greek lyrics but would also perform songs with English lyrics. The dancers in Greece performed in a variety of locations and they would dance the particular dances from that particular part of Greece. The dancers in Melbourne would perform a variety of dances according to the part of Greece that was their cultural heritage but they would also perform dances from other parts of Greece.

The third question was the language to combine with which music. The researcher and participants would negotiate their musical and cultural identities throughout the interviews and throughout the process of this thesis being put together. Decisions would be made in regards to who they would be at different times and places as well as performances, the classroom and studios. Initially a decision would be made about the language, repertoire and culture that would be presented then other decisions would be made from that. An example of this is that if the decision is to engage with Greek language and music, then a decision of the music style would be taken into account then, which instrument(s), what compositions and so forth. This case study also looked at how the participants negotiated styles and fusions. Identity is a complicated and complex journey not just a destination. At different times, different aspects of identity may be more pertinent at different times and in different ways, depending on the individual's context.

The fourth question was How do the participants negotiate styles and fusions? At times these negotiations are spontaneous depending on time and circumstance, at other times they are informed by extensive reflection and consideration. These negotiations may be taken by the individual alone or as part of a group. It appeared to be more common for the participants in this study to take decisions in consultation with others and with careful consideration of their cultural context. Negotiations occur from a position of mastery. All the participants are expert musickers who are immersed in their chosen culture(s) and from this position decide whether to negotiate or hold firm to tradition.

Summary of Research Questions

The research questions gave insight into the experiences of all the participants interviewed and involved in the case studies presented in this thesis. The main theme that arises from this study is that the researcher and participants negotiate their musical and cultural identities and decide who they are in any given time, place, performance, classroom, studio, and so forth. It was interesting to see how the participants would negotiate their identity through performance as musicians or dancer or how they negotiated their identity through their everyday lives of language, music they listened to or the people they would associate with.

Implications

Identity is a multifaceted term that may be understood from many different perspectives. A functioning multicultural society needs to be built on a delicate balance. Australia is in a "unique position to become an example of multiculturalism to the rest of the world" (Bastian, 2012, p. 56). It is essential for teachers, community practitioners, cultural organisations and government to

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recognise that in Australia bicultural and multicultural identities have become the norm. Culturally and linguistically diverse communities are enacted *via* our cultural explorations that may involve music performance, dancing and festivals in settings that range from the formal to the informal. The development of individual and community self-identity occurs in different cultures under different life conditions. This is a "vast topic, and one not very well studied, though the literature on the subject is voluminous" (Bruner, 2001, p. 36). It is hoped that this research will contribute to understanding of Greek and Greek Australian hybrid musical identities. As these articles recognise, even in one person there are many musics and varied cultures that support different forms of musicking. The musickers were immersed in musicking in diverse ways, such as instrumentalist, vocalist, keyboard player, improviser, composer, dance, choreographer and listener. We do not live in a monocultural society so music and dance programs at all levels of education should encompass diverse musics taught contextually in a culturally appropriate manner.

In this study the importance of parental and familial support in music engagement is very clear. Identity formation is an ongoing process that can occur at any point in the lifespan, but most importantly the formation and development of bilingual and bicultural self-identity starts in the home. Beyond the home there are the influences of other cultures. Social constructionists argue that, "people have many identities, each of which is created in interaction with other people, rather than having a single, core identity" (Hargreaves, Miell & Macdonald 2002, p. 10). As with all the participants such identities can be both complementary and contradictory, in negotiation and occasionally in isolation. The development of a

self-identity can be hard work and challenging to navigate. Identities are in a continual process of evolution and each interaction can lead to new understandings and practices. Although hard won and frequently complex, a rich musical identity is a 'blessing' that teachers should seek to encourage and celebrate. Too often cultures and musics exist in isolation, effectively in silos formed over generations by tradition and convention. Through exploration such as the research that comprises this thesis it is hoped that a comprehensible understanding of changing selves can be revealed and cultural patterns can be delineated. Bruner (1990) asserts that this negotiation and renegotiation shaped by "the mediation of narrative interpretation" (p. 67) is a major human achievement. Ultimately this study begins with one complex bilingual and bi-musical person and extends to include other complex bicultural musickers. The development and evolution of self-identities in different cultures is worthy of study. This exploration of bicultural, bi-musical Greek Australians and Greeks has offered insights and potential models of practice for the multitude of culturally hybridized people who remain works in progress. The findings demonstrated that to the participants the preserving and sharing Greek culture in Australia is a vital part of embracing complex bilingual and bicultural identities.

Limitations of the study

Although some researchers may perceive qualitative, phenomenological research as less reliable than quantitative procedures (Orum et al., 1991), the use of careful data collection strategies and data analysis is able to counteract such charges. The most common method in phenomenological qualitative enquiry is a case study. This phenomenological research used semi-structured interviews to explore in

depth the participants' lived experiences as these allow flexibility and the opportunity to pursue issues raised. Semi-structured interviews facilitate rapport and empathy, and allow the interview to go into novel areas and to produce richer data (Orum et al., 1991). A common concern of choosing a case study is that there could be a lack of consistency in the data collection and interpretation. It is important to make sure that a large amount of information is gathered in the interviews so the use of probing questions from the interviewer is vital so that as much information can be collected as possible for the case study. In addition according to Shenton (2004), to assure trustworthiness, there are four criteria for researchers: credibility, transferability, dependability and confirmability (p. 63). In this study trustworthiness relied on the skill of the researcher to interpret the data which was enhanced by the researcher having an insider perspective.

Credibility concerns whether the study actually addresses what was intended at the outset (Shenton, 2004). Triangulation can create a multi-faceted understanding by approaching a phenomenon from different perspectives and offers cross-validation (Le Compte & Schensul, 1999). Triangulation involves the validation of data from different research methods, for example by the convergence of different data sources and investigator triangulation in which multiple researchers are involved in an investigation. This helps add credibility to the findings of a case study. In this case study the views of the musicians and those of the dancers offer different angles through which to explore this issue. The researcher's perspective added the third lens. Transferability concerns whether "findings of one study can be applied to other situations" (Shenton, 2004, p. 69). In small scale qualitative case studies it is rare that findings are transferable but the findings are indicative and the

individual can illuminate the general. Small homogeneous groups of participants are very appropriate for research in more depth and from numerous viewpoints.

In this research there were some limitations that were beyond the scope of the researcher to overcome. For example, there were difficulties encountered as a result of the data collection with some of the participants located in Greece which entailed travelling to Greece to complete interviews. At times making contact was challenging, particularly when arrangements were being made from Australia.

Suggestions for future research

This research has, like all good research, raised more questions than it answered. There are a multitude of possible directions for future research. This study has focused on musickers with Greek Australian hybrid identities. Australia is a "multicultural nation [with] one in four of Australia's 22 million people were born overseas, 44 per cent were born overseas or have a parent who was and four million speak a language other than English. We speak over 260 languages and identify with more than 270 ancestries. Australia is and will remain a multicultural society" (Australian Government, 2016, p. 5). With such a multitude of cultures there is a wealth of possibility for future research. It would be interesting to explore the experiences of different waves of migration as each culture enriches the whole. Thus it would be insightful and informative to interview musickers from different cultures with hybrids identities.

This study has focused on musicking, specifically music performance and dance. There are other ways to musick such as composition and other musical styles that could be explored. For Small (1998), to musick is "to take part in a music act is of

central importance to our humanness. And to music covers all participation in a musical performance, whether it is active or passive, sympathetic or antipathetic, constructive or destructive, interesting or boring" (p. 9). He continues that, "every human being forms a kind of theory of musicking. That is, an idea of what musicking is and is not, and of the role it plays in our lives… as long as it remains unconscious and un-thought about, it can be both controlling and limiting" (Small, 1998, p. 13). There are many different community music groups formed by people with hybrid cultural identities and it would be interesting to explore their experiences. It would also be interesting to research how cultures are preserved, maintained and shared with future generations. It would also be fruitful to explore further community wide celebrations such as festivals from the multiple perspectives of performers and attendees. There appeared to be little research in this area. As well as musicking there are other forms of cultural engagement that could be explored as expressions of culture, identity and culture. There are many dance styles from diverse cultures that would be a rich area for exploration. Further there are many other forms of cultural expression, such as drama, art, calligraphy, and so forth. For communities like the Greek Australian Community music and dance are inseparable. Future research could include looking at the links between different forms of musicking and between musicking and language. It would be interesting to see how other people with different combinations of hybrid identities operate their different languages and cultures as well as their musicks. Also looking at how musickers negotiate merging two other different music and dance cultures. This would in fact form a personal self or cultural positioning in culture.

This research issue could be approached using other methodologies. Other suggestions could include using different forms of data. Perhaps looking into more structured interviews instead of semi-structured interviews could be used to find out information that is more specific to a specific topic. This would give more control to the investigator over the situation in making sure that the information for the specific topic is found. Also using qualitative statistical research in terms of migration to Australia from Greece and perhaps from other countries and cultures. Using another approach historical research could be undertaken about the development of musicking amongst Greek Australians and other communities. Larger scale qualitative studies could be undertaken to map engagement and range of activities. Narrative inquiries to build shared stories between individuals and researchers.

Other place where members of the Greek diaspora have settled could be the site of future research in countries such as "the United States, Canada, Australia, the UK, Germany, Sweden, Belgium, Italy, Argentina, South Africa, Russia or other countries around the world" (Hellenism.net, 2016). Within these countries there are many particular locations with significant Greek populations, such as New York, Boston and Chicago in America; London in England; and Montreal and Toronto in Canada. It is

> estimated that the number of Greeks living outside Greece and Cyprus are around 7 million. Around 3 million of them live in the US, 700,000 in Australia, 400,000 in the UK, 400,000 in Germany and around 300,000 in Canada. Smaller Greek communities exist in South America, mainly in Argentina, Brazil and Chile, in several other European countries (Sweden,

Italy, Belgium, Switzerland, Netherlands) and other places throughout the

world. (Hellenism.net, 2016)

As is evident there are many Greeks all around the world that would have a

connection with Greece in whichever country they lived. For example either they

may have family in Greece, some sort of connection with Greece whether it be

they have a cultural or spiritual connection or they may have stayed in Greece and

made many connections in Greece as was the case for one of the participants in

this study. There are many stories that are told of how strong these ties are, when

one visits remote places in the world and meets generations of Greeks who cannot

speak the language yet proudly say "I'm Greek! My ancestors were Greeks"

(Hellenism.net, 2016).

There are so many avenues that could be explored concerning bilingual, bicultural,

bimusical hybrid identities. This is a potentially vast and complex topic. Being

able to research what is interesting as a phenomenologist is what drives me as a

researcher in being able to find out about the participants as well as myself as a

hybrid identities has been a pleasing experience. I hope that more research is done

about hybrid musicking identities in the future.

Appendix A

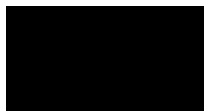**MONASH** University

Human Ethics Certificate of Approval

Date: 25 September 2012

Project Number: CF12/2590 – 2012001403

Project Title: Greek community musicians in Australia

Chief Investigator: Assoc Prof Jane Southcott

Approved: From: 25 September 2012   To: 25 September 2017

Terms of approval

1. The Chief investigator is responsible for ensuring that permission letters are obtained, if relevant, and a copy forwarded to MUHREC before any data collection can occur at the specified organisation. **Failure to provide permission letters to MUHREC before data collection commences is in breach of the National Statement on Ethical Conduct in Human Research and the Australian Code for the Responsible Conduct of Research**.
2. Approval is only valid whilst you hold a position at Monash University.
3. It is the responsibility of the Chief Investigator to ensure that all investigators are aware of the terms of approval and to ensure the project is conducted as approved by MUHREC.
4. You should notify MUHREC immediately of any serious or unexpected adverse effects on participants or unforeseen events affecting the ethical acceptability of the project.
5. The Explanatory Statement must be on Monash University letterhead and the Monash University complaints clause must contain your project number.
6. **Amendments to the approved project (including changes in personnel):** Requires the submission of a Request for Amendment form to MUHREC and must not begin without written approval from MUHREC. Substantial variations may require a new application.
7. **Future correspondence:** Please quote the project number and project title above in any further correspondence.
8. **Annual reports:** Continued approval of this project is dependent on the submission of an Annual Report. This is determined by the date of your letter of approval.
9. **Final report:** A Final Report should be provided at the conclusion of the project. MUHREC should be notified if the project is discontinued before the expected date of completion.
10. **Monitoring:** Projects may be subject to an audit or any other form of monitoring by MUHREC at any time.
11. **Retention and storage of data:** The Chief Investigator is responsible for the storage and retention of original data pertaining to a project for a minimum period of five years.

Professor Ben Canny
Chair, MUHREC

cc: Ms Renee Georgoulas

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