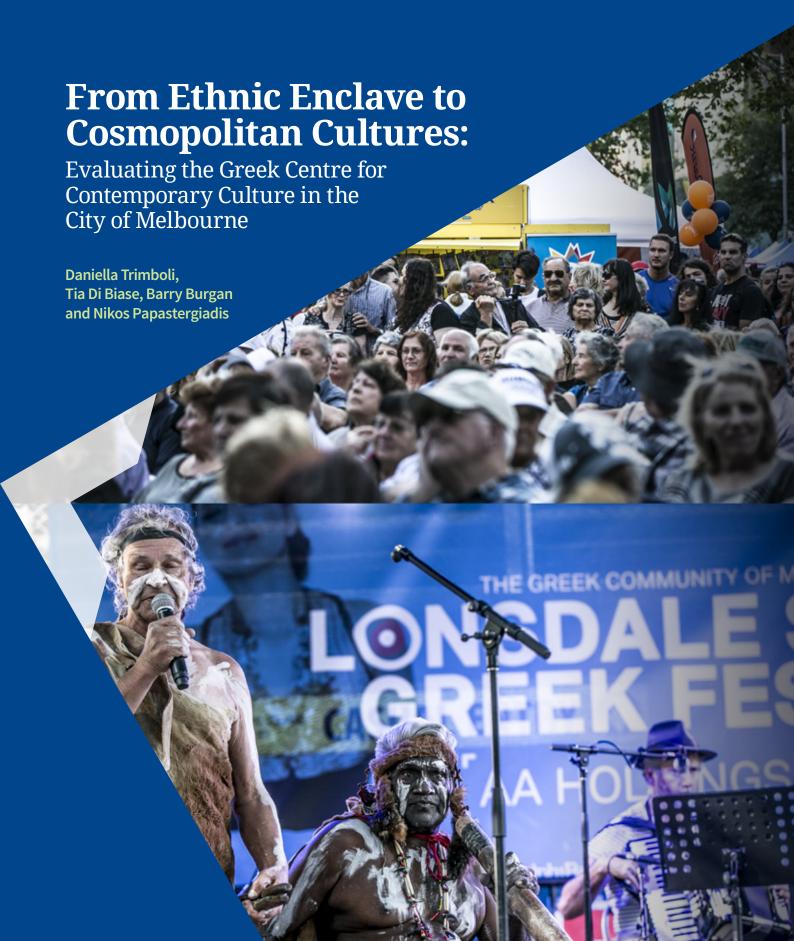
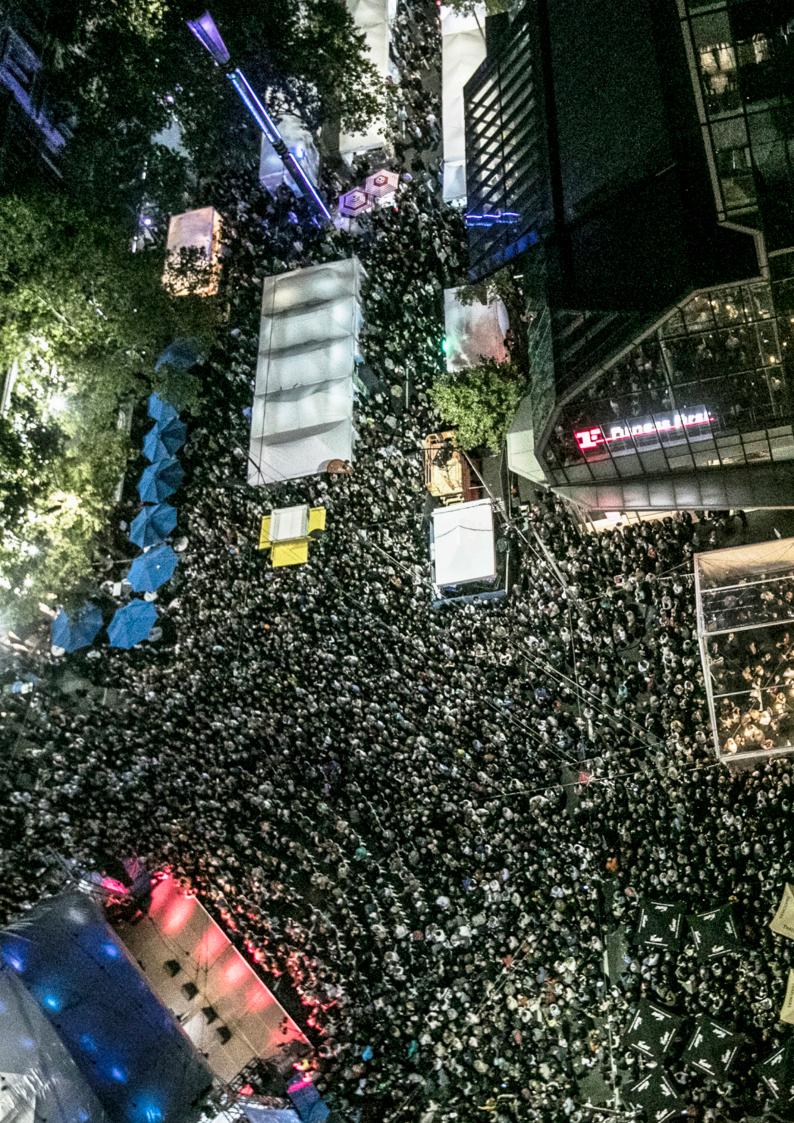


**Research Unit in Public Cultures**Faculty of Arts







# I EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

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# **I** Executive Summary

The Greek Community of Melbourne (GCM) has developed and consolidated its presence in the City of Melbourne primarily through the establishment of a new building. A central part of this building is the Greek Centre for Contemporary Culture (GCCC). The GCCC delivers a number of key events, programmes, and projects on an annual basis. The purpose of this report is to evaluate the socio-cultural and economic effectiveness of these programmes and events. The findings demonstrate that across a wide range of activities, the GCCC has been extremely successful in attracting diverse communities and consolidating the cultural identity of the GCM.

In particular, the Lonsdale Street Greek Festival has been a showcase event, which has been evaluated in more detail in this report. This event attracts over 100,000 people per year and includes performances from prominent Australian and Greek diaspora groups. The event delivers a significant economic contribution to the City of Melbourne.

This report elaborates on the socio-cultural and economic benefits generated by the GCCC. It recommends key strategies that will maximise its own status while also enhancing its capacity to provide leadership for other emerging communities. Following these directions, the GCCC can become a beacon for the cosmopolitan character of the City of Melbourne.

There is no dispute that institutional racism still plays a role in shaping public life in Melbourne. However, the GCM is actively working with both state agencies and its grass-roots members to produce greater forms of participation and equity in our everyday lives. The structure of the GCM is defined around principles of access and democratic engagement. The GCM is composed of members from a number of different generations and perspectives. There are established members who are first generation migrants and their descendants. Since 2009 there has also been a new wave of migration from Greece. Within each of these groups there are competing ideas and agendas on cultural identity. This report demonstrates that while there is no consensus on this vision, there is a great opportunity and rich resources for innovation in the wider field of cosmopolitan thinking.

#### **Key Findings**

#### Core Constitution of the GCM that the GCCC services

As it stands, the two most prominent groups of the GCM are the established migrants and new migrants. Both groups have members with a diversity of cultural outlooks. However, in both groups there is an ongoing tension between people who prioritise cultural preservation over experimentation with contemporary forms of culture and integration with mainstream Australian. These complexities engender some tensions within the GCM, but they also present an incredible opportunity for the GCCC to activate a truly cosmopolitan operation through enhancing dialogue.

#### Positive Economic Impacts

The economic evaluation focuses on the 2017 Lonsdale Street Greek Festival (LSGF), as requested by the GCCC. Much of the data collected for this report was collected at, or in relation to, the festival. Some broader observations were made regarding the innovation and entrepreneurship of the GCCC and associated community. The GCCC represents an innovative economic model, proving that socio-cultural priorities do not foreclose economic benefit. The revenue generated from the culturally significant annual event, the Lonsdale Street Greek Festival, illustrates this.

The evaluation carried out on the LSGF illustrates that the festival is a major asset to both the GCM and the City of Melbourne more broadly. A total of 267 people were surveyed about their experiences and their spending patterns at this year's event, resulting in the following key findings:

- Attendees spent \$6.4 million in total;
- \$5 million represented expenditure in the Lonsdale Street area that would not have occurred without the festival;
- 35 full-time jobs were generated in the Lonsdale Street area because of the Festival;
- Attendees who come to the festival then went on to spend money elsewhere in the State of Victoria. This expenditure generated: \$0.9 million of revenue for the State at large, \$1.1 million of Gross State Product, and the equivalent of 8.5 full-time jobs.

#### Positive Socio-Cultural Impacts

The GCCC is a leading voice in the articulation of the multicultural heritage and cosmopolitan vision of the City of Melbourne. It is an exemplary site of cultural production, particularly strong in areas of cultural maintenance, language, education, and political engagement. The education programme, which occurs throughout the year, is a leading force for cultural knowledge in the CBD. It delivers an impressive range of cultural activities that include:

- Delivery of language classes across 14 language schools with more than 1200 enrolled students;
- 35-40 public lectures every year, as well as regular musical and literary events which attract 50-150 attendees each;
- Many creative events and pursuits, including a venue for the Lonsdale Street Greek Festival, the Melbourne International Comedy Festival, The Antipodes Greek Writers Festival, the Live @ the Greek music series, and provision of space for screen writing, cabaret rehearsal, and theatre performances.
- The Lonsdale Street Greek Festival (LSGF) is the GCCC's flagship annual event and attracts over 100,000 people every year. In 2017:
  - One third of the attendees were new participants;
  - Those who had previously attended had done so, on average, 8 times—indicating an excellent rate of return;
  - Number of attendees with a Greek background was strong, indicating the role of the GCCC and its festival in contributing to intergenerational continuity of culture;
  - A high proportion of attendees were from other cultural backgrounds, indicating the festival's status as a multicultural attraction for the City of Melbourne

- A broadening of the parameters of 'Greekness' was evidenced through the inclusion of Greek diasporic music and dance acts;
- The highest motivation for attendance was "atmosphere", which illustrates the GCCC's capacity to deliver a positive socio-cultural 'feeling' to the City of Melbourne.

The GCCC's social-cultural activities continue to expand and are beginning to incorporate a wider array of identity groups, varying in age, gender, cultural background, and sexuality. For instance, the first Commissioner for Aboriginal Children and Young People, Andrew Jackomos, has expressed a strong commitment to explore the interweaving of his Indigenous and Greek heritage. This is paving the way for mediating between different First Nations' and Greek communities. The GCCC has adopted a willingness to host and collaborate with various creative and cultural practitioners, including:

- Dr Misha Myers, Centre for Theatre and Performance, Monash University;
- Ronny Chieng and Declan Fay, comedy writers for ABC screened television series, The International Student;
- Liquid Architecture, sound art organisation;
- Professor Gary Foley, First Nations' scholar and activist;
- Paul Capsis, cabaret performer; and
- Melbourne Jazz Festival.

This research interviewed the top three listed above, so as to zoom in on some of the lesser-known cultural and creative engagements that the GCCC has enabled.

# **Key Challenges**

The GCCC is at a critical moment in the historical trajectory of the GCM and diasporic groups in global cities more broadly. Its mandate is widening at the same time that the spatial and cultural dimensions of the Greek community expand and fragment. While the GCCC is demonstrating sound financial management, the breadth of challenges that it faces is stretching its limited resources.

As the GCCC steps forward to embrace the complexities of cultural leadership in a cosmopolitan city, it will require careful economic planning and dedicated financial support from government. It needs to utilise its innovative economic model in such a way that meets the key social-cultural and spatial challenges it is currently presented with, summarised below:

#### Socio-Cultural Challenges

- Disparate sense of cultural identity between the different generations among the established members of the GCM and the 'new' Greek migrants;
- Intergenerational differences in Greek identification;
- Increase in hybrid identities and culturally-mixed families;
- Tensions pertaining to other markers of identity, for example, gender and sexuality;
- Changing modes of sociality through new media and Information Communication Technology;
- Aging population.

#### Spatial Challenges

- Decentralisation and fragmentation of the Greek community and associated enterprises;
- Changing rhythms of the central business district (CBD) and the urban culture of Melbourne;
- Reorientation of space in the CBD as a result of the increase of international student presence.

The GCCC's varied creative and cultural engagements have led to an important widening of the Greek community and its impact on the overall character and cosmopolitan appeal of Melbourne. However, closer discussion with members of the GCM suggests a need for further broadening the festival's scope in terms of subcultures, for example, culturally-hybrid identities, youth cultures, and LGBTQIA communities. This wider, multifarious inclusivity must be promoted and enhanced if the GCCC is to ensure its relevance into the future. Additionally, there remain some access limitations. Developmental work is required to enhance public awareness and access to the building, its programmes, and its collaborative potential.



In order to meet its challenges and move itself from a multicultural organisation to a cosmopolitan one, the following strategies are recommended for the GCCC:

# **Key Recommendations**

- Maintain the balance between a) respect and restoration of Greek culture and history; and b) commitment to diversity, innovation, and experimentation.
- 2. Continue service delivery to ensure sustainability of cultural heritage and linguistic viability.
- 3. Enhance and widen the forms of cultural expressions currently engaged with, most notably:
  - a. First Nations cultures of Narrm (Melbourne), in particular the Kulin nations who are the traditional custodians of the land upon which the GCCC is located;
  - Culturally-hybrid forms of Greekness that better reflect the mixed backgrounds of contemporary Greek-Australians:
  - c. Diverse cultural media, for example, filmmaking and other new media forms; and
  - d. Programs developed specifically to engage with the surge of newly arrived Greek migrants.
- 4. Provide opportunities for intergenerational dialogue and mutual understanding between established and new migrant groups to achieve solidarity and establish a complex bonding that enables a more representative community.
  - a. Develop ways for different generations to share knowledge and skillsets so that contemporary Greek culture can be mobilised in immersive, practical ways.
  - Work towards greater gender balance within organisational representations and provide more avenues for women and LGBTQIA groups to engage with the Greek community.

- 5. Continue to offer solidarity with other diasporic groups and petition for multiculturalism at large; though work to deepen the ways the GCM can be an ally to other migrant groups and its neighbour precincts (Chinatown and Lygon Street precinct).
- 6. Ensure strategies are in place that will facilitate the GCCC's rapid expansion, while also seeking to both maintain and widen its membership base so that duties can be shared across more volunteers.
- 7. Continue to seek financial support from both the private and public sector to ensure its human resources are not stretched too thinly. This should be aligned with the State Government of Victoria and the City of Melbourne's commitment to a multicultural agenda and, more recently, to their investment in strategies that build the resilient and cosmopolitan flair of Melbourne. Local and State Governments should continue to ensure funds for new and developing ethnic communities are siphoned through organisations like the GCM and the GCCC.

Overall, the GCCC represents a new approach to ethnic community engagement that, if properly harnessed, will pave the way for other diasporic groups to become genuinely engaged with the City of Melbourne. If the commitment and vision of the people who make up the GCM is matched by the city and State it resides within, there is little doubt that the cosmopolitan vision of the GCCC will be achieved. From a policy perspective, this achievement would lend itself to Melbourne's current goal of asserting itself as an exemplary city of the 100 Resilient Cities movement (see Resilient Melbourne 2016). The GCCC exemplifies resilience, not merely through its significant heritage, but through its use of this heritage as a foundation for openness, adaptability, and a capacity to both expand and diversify cultural knowledge. It is precisely the kind of organisation that a resilient city should invest in and learn from.





# **II Acknowledgements**

This project was funded by the Federal Department of Regional Development and Cities.

We thank the wonderful team at the GCCC and the GCM alike for their enthusiastic facilitation of this research, in particular Jorge Menidis, Penny Kyprianou, Bill Papastergiaids, Costas Markos, and Stavros Messinis. Sincere thanks to the artists and stakeholders who agreed to participate in the research, through interviews, focus groups or survey completion.

Fieldwork carried out at the Lonsdale Street Greek Festival was aided by an excellent and enthusiastic team of graduate students from the School of Culture Communication at The University of Melbourne; notably: Alexa Scarlata, Christopher O'Neill, Felicity Ford, Jessica Marian, and Thao Phan. Thank you for your hard work and insightful contributions.

This research received Ethics Approval from The University of Melbourne – Ethics ID 1748800.1.

# III Research Partners & Evaluation Team

## **Research Partners**

# The Greek Centre for Contemporary Culture

The GCCC is the central hub of the GCM. The GCM is a peak community organisation representing over 250,000 persons in Victoria who are of Greek heritage. It has an extensive network that encompasses approximately 120 Greek organisations with whom the GCM collaborates on matters of national, social, and educational concern. Established in 1897 by some of the first Greek residents of the City of Melbourne, with its roots in the early in 1890s, it is the oldest Greek organisation in Australia. In addition, the GCM is the largest education provider of Greek language and culture within the State of Victoria with its primary goal to enrich Melbourne's Greek and the broader community with an understanding of its heritage and ethos. The GCM's most ambitious project to date has been the development of the GCCC; the largest cultural and financial undertaking by a Greek community group in the global diaspora. The GCCC currently features versatile function areas including a black box performance space, classrooms, and a future exhibition space to house contemporary art, photography, and other multi-media works.

## **Research Unit in Public Cultures**

This evaluation was led by the Research Unit in Public Cultures (RUPC) from the School of Culture and Communication in the Faculty of Arts. The RUPC conducts strategic research projects and tactical interventions in public life. The RUPC examines public culture from artistic expressions generated by individuals to collective formation of principles and beliefs that shape the institutions of everyday life. The RUPC excels in innovative interdisciplinary academic scholarship and engaged research collaborations with creative industries, government agencies, cultural institutions and communities.

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#### Tia Di Biase

Tia Di Biase has a research background in policy evaluation, everyday discrimination, social psychology, and cognitive processes. Her Ph.D. research focuses on barriers to Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander self-determination. Tia's research interests include models of political representation, attitudes toward democratic structures, global self-determination of Indigenous peoples, and approaches to political change. Tia brings expertise in mixed research methodologies, statistical data analysis, and policy analysis pertaining to political representation and participation.

# Professor Barry Burgan (author of 3.1 Economic Impact of the LSGF)

Barry Burgan is Deputy Dean and Professor of Management Business at the Bond Business School. His research expertise is in the area of infrastructure valuation and financing issues, with extensive experience in benefit cost evaluation of major projects and policies, and the application of microeconomic theory at a managerial level; and in applied econometrics. He has extensive applied work in these areas, has numerous academic publications, and has been involved in a number of major academic research projects. He teaches in managerial finance, quantitative methods and applied economics. While researching and consulting on economic development, and infrastructure assessment issues, he has a particular interest in cultural infrastructure and has a large number of academic and applied cost benefit studies and economic evaluations of national and international events, cultural projects, and creative policy issues.

# **Professor Nikos Papastergiadis**

Nikos Papastergiadis is Professor at the School of Culture and Communication at The University of Melbourne. He studied at The University of Melbourne and University of Cambridge. His publications include *Modernity as Exile* (1993), *Dialogues in the Diaspora* (1998), *The Turbulence of Migration* (2000), *Metaphor and Tension* (2004) *Spatial Aesthetics: Art Place and the Everyday* (2006), *Cosmopolitanism and Culture* (2012), *Ambient Perspectives* (2014), as well as being the author of numerous essays which have been translated into over a dozen languages and appeared in major catalogues such as the Sydney, Liverpool, Istanbul, Gwanju, Taipei, Lyon, Thessaloniki Biennales, as well as for national pavilions at the Venice Biennale and Documenta in Kassel.

# 1 Introduction

This report explores the ways in which the Greek community has contributed to the multicultural City of Melbourne and how these contributions have changed over time. By evaluating the various activities and forms of engagement that occur at the GCCC—and Melbourne's Greek precinct more broadly—the project will consider the role of the Greek community in contributing to the cosmopolitan agenda of the city and the State. As the Lonsdale Street Greek Festival is the most significant event run by the GCCC, a large portion of the research focussed on this event, especially for the economic evaluation.

This project will attempt to provide avenues for bridging the perceived gap between the diverse and fragmented everyday encounters occurring in Melbourne's Greek community, and the linear and perpendicular agendas for multiculturalism frequently deployed by local and State governments.

The GCCC operates at the interstices of new and established forms of Greek-Australian cultural production. It is symbolic not only of the renewed importance being placed on cultural precincts by urban planners and governments, but of the increasingly hybrid and cosmopolitan experience of multiculturalism in a globalised context. This project will capture the momentum of these changes in terms of economic, cultural, and social impact, imparting new knowledge for the affirmative growth of cultural sites and precincts, and more refined policy and programming for a Melbourne moving from multiculturalism to cosmopolitanism.

#### **1.1** Aims

#### **Key Research Questions**

- 1. What various forms of engagement are currently occurring at or via the GCCC and what are the motivations for these engagements?
- 2. How has the Greek community changed and spread out, and what are the challenges and opportunities that the GCCC faces over the next 5-10 years?

#### **Sub-Research Questions**

- a. What is the level and shape of the GCCC experience?
- b. What forms of cultural innovation are occurring in the production of culture due to this apparatus (the building and its associated festivals and events)?
- c. How can the changes to the Greek community be used to consider the changing nature of ethnic communities in Melbourne, and the multicultural imagination of the State at large, in the twenty-first century?

# 1.2 Research Methodology

The project utilised a mixed-methods approach. The first stage of the research was a qualitative discourse analysis of relevant policy in the City of Melbourne in relation to scholarly literature on cultural precincts, cultural hybridity, and the history of the Greek community in Melbourne. This analysis informed the design of nine qualitative interviews with key stakeholders and artists.

#### Quantitative Methods

A survey containing mostly quantitative questions was administered at the Lonsdale Street Greek Festival (LSGF), held on the 25-26 February 2017. The survey captured information needed for an economic evaluation of the GCCC, as well as information about the background of participants and their motivations for participating. A slightly tailored survey was sent to everyone on the GCCC e-list to bolster the data. Some basic quantitative data was also collected in the 2 x focus groups held with participants drawn from the LSGF Survey, e.g. age, migrant generation, income. A total number of 267 surveys were completed.

#### Qualitative Methods

- Literature analysis of relevant policy and scholarship on cultural precincts;
- Archival research pertaining to the history of the Greek community in Melbourne (Hellenic Museum, La Trobe Greek community archive, GCCC archive, and The University of Melbourne records);
- Qualitative interviews with 5 x key stakeholders: Juliana Charpantidou (Researcher, GCCC and Athens University), Nick Dallas (Education Committee Member, GCM), Costas Markos (General Secretary and Public Officer, GCM), Theo Markos (Vice-President and Director of Education Unit, GCM), and Bill Papastergiadis (President, GCM);
- Qualitative interviews with 4 x artists connected with the GCCC in varying ways: Declan Fay, Misha Myers, Joel Stern, and Rolando Garay-Matziaris; and
- Two focus groups, the first consisting of six people aged between 18-34; the second consisting of two people aged 35 and over, were facilitated by the researchers so as to gather more in-depth data about LSGF Festival and engagement with the GCM and the GCCC.

#### **Data Analysis**

Analysis of interview and focus-group data utilised a hybrid methodology—that is, a combination of a 'bottom-up', 'grounded' approach (Glaser 2001 in Khan, Wyatt & Yue 2014), and one that is informed by the project's aims and research findings. This approach allowed for identifying areas and modes of cosmopolitanism that are not yet represented in policy. In particular, it sought to thematise ideas and experiences that are otherwise passed over as being too vague, or not yet thought through by participants. These experiences were framed through the concept of ambient awareness. Such an approach also provided a basis that could inform policy and future direction (Khan, Wyatt & Yue 2014). Quantitative data collected in the survey and focus groups was used to build a picture of the participants and their various engagements with the GCCC and the GCM.

#### Limitations

This research project was restricted by a short period for data collection and analysis (six months), and would benefit from extended research, for example, comparative research between the 2017 and 2018 Lonsdale Street Greek Festivals. Additionally, it is important to note the majority of stakeholders and artists interviewed for this report were cis male. Contrastingly, it was mostly cis females who participated in the focus groups. This result is in some ways indicative of enduring gendered divisions within the GCM. More time would have enabled a greater diversity of voices to be interviewed. Language barriers were also present in the survey collection and limited the results. The survey team did not speak Greek, meaning that many attendees—especially older Greek attendees—declined from participating, as they could not speak English well enough.

# 1.3 Diaspora cultures in globalising cities

In a globalising world, there is no such thing as a mono-cultural city. All metropolises face the challenges of rapidly mobile and diversifying populations. Melbourne has been unique in its ability to deal with these challenges earlier than many other cities in Australia and beyond, embracing its cultural difference as part of its identity and actively installing programmes and policies that promote migrant inclusivity and welfare. Indeed, it has recently moved its position from a multicultural city to a cosmopolitan one, as indicated by such documents as Resilient Melbourne (2016). This change in discourse is significant given the legacy of multiculturalism in Australia and also presents an opportunity for the City of Melbourne to move beyond some of the long-standing and by now well-known problems associated with 'official' multiculturalism.

Participation in public space is widely recognised as a means of deepening social inclusion and cultural cohesion (Hou 2013). One of the ways cities are attempting to increase this participation is by investing in cultural precincts (Sassen 2008). This trend is certainly true in Melbourne, which has recognised the importance of precincts and, since 2007, contributed \$22 million to the Lonsdale Street Greek precinct, the Lygon Street Italian precinct, and the Chinatown precinct. It has also moved forward with attempts to develop precincts around its Southbank Arts Hub. Cultural precincts within cities are increasingly sites of public investment (Sassen 2008) and participation. However, in the context of multicultural societies, these trends produce new challenges for understanding the changing role of precincts that remain tied to cultural identities in a state of flux.

These shifts, while necessary and inevitable, produce new challenges for ethnic communities that have historically had to operate according to certain and somewhat separatist modes in order to gain political traction and maintain ownership of heritage space. "Cultural precincts" or "ethnic enclaves" as they have formerly been understood, are thus facing new kinds of pressures as "public assets". The Lonsdale Street Greek precinct is no exception: its present challenge is to manage these new external pressures at the same time that it attempts to navigate the evolution of the community it historically represents.

How then, do we understand the role and needs of precincts tussling with public responsibility, cultural flux, and entrenched ties to cultural identity? Paul Carter (2013) argues that the focus of public design needs to shift from the representation of known rituals and monuments of the past and move towards actively "interweaving" the diversity of cultures. This recommendation is important because, like much arts and cultural policy pertaining to ethnic groups (see, for example, Le, Polonksy & Arambewela 2015), a linear and separatist approach is frequently in operation in dealings with migrant communities and related multicultural organisations and events. The GCCC is an example of this predicament. GCCC management expressed a sense of restraint towards government and policy, arguing that attempts to organically widen its cultural engagement to be more receptive to the fragmented and nuanced embodiment of its community are continuously watered down. Specifically, it is constantly re-positioned within a one-dimensional prism of Greekness in Melbourne, as existing in distinction from other forms of cultural difference and public occupation.

If we are to move to a more productive and positive experience of cultural life, new forms of attentiveness are required in public spaces, whereby fluctuating rhythms can be better understood (Papastergiadis, Carter, McQuire, & Yue 2016, p. 1). Thus, following Ash Amin and Nigel Thrift (2002), this research has attempted to integrate the layered understandings of public cultures and the affective elements associated with them.

# 1.3.1 The History of the Greek Community of Melbourne

There is a long history of Greek migration in Australia and its earlier colonies. Documentation of this history reaches as far back as the late1820s where two convicts of Greek background were brought to Australia (Gilchrist 1992; Alexakis & Janiszewski 1998; Tamis 2005; Avgoulas and Fanany 2016). The peak period of Greek migration to Australia, however, occurred within 1945—1982. Today, Australia holds some of the strongest and densest Greek communities in the world, particularly in Victoria (Museum Victoria 2017; Australian Bureau of Statistics 2016). Greek-Australians have built these communities in spite of a history of racial vilification, discrimination, and socioeconomic disadvantage. Melbourne's Greek diaspora is one of the most significant in the world; indeed, it is home to the largest population of Greek people outside of Greece. After a presence of almost two centuries, the Greek community has become regarded as an exemplary community of multicultural Australia, one that integrated well into the country, while maintaining a robust connection to Greece and Greek heritage. While this is the dominant opinion now; it certainly was not always this way.

#### Pre-multiculturalism

Federally, there have been four waves of cultural policy in Australia that, broadly, have impacted the Greek community in Australia. The first, colloquially known as the 'White Australia policy', (*Immigration Restriction Act 1901*) lasted from Federation until the Migration Act 1958. The founding policy was designed to create an image of Australian identity that was built on values of racial purity by restricting those who were not considered 'white' from entering the country. Those of Greek background, along with many others from Southern Europe and elsewhere did not fit into this image of whiteness.

Throughout Australia's infancy, Greek migrants tended to have little qualifications. Motivations to come to Australia were centred on seeking economic opportunities, including the gold mines. After Federation, the Quota restricting non-British immigrants resulted in very few Greek migrants. Furthermore, during WWI, Greek-Australians received harsh treatment from the public, Australian institutions, and Government. Consequently, immediately after the Qar, more Greeks were recorded leaving Australia than arriving (Jupp 1998, p. 391).

By 1952, with the signing of the Intergovernmental Committee for European Migration, there was a marked expansion of recruitment of migrants from Greece. In fact, around 160,000 Greeks migrated to Australia during this time, propelled by a combination of factors including the Greek civil war and Australia's need for labour and family reunification. Most of these migrants settled in Melbourne (Glytsos 1997; Museum Victoria 2017).

It was during this influx of Greek migration that the Greek-Australians founded strong communities that were economically influential. Those arriving in Australia generally intended their migrancy to be short-term, with a return to Greece firmly intended. Overtime, these aspirations of a return faded for

the majority of Greek migrants, and Australia became their permanent home (Avgoulas & Fanany 2016, p. 2).

It must be acknowledged that, in many ways, Australia remained under the "White Australia" principles throughout this era. The migration policy of 1958 had simply shifted its focus for Australia's economic agenda. Institutional racism towards migrants not considered 'white' in Australia was still rampant, demonstrated through court cases, historical accounts of the workforce, and the remaining importance placed on 'whiteness' in Australia. Nonetheless, the strong element of Christianity embedded within Greek culture was looked favourably upon by dominant Australian culture, ultimately working in its favour. This element helped the Greek community of Melbourne grow its Orthodox churches and in turn enhance its social presence and influence (Charpantidou 2017; Markos 2017a). This period thus marked the birth of influential Greek communities in Australia. By the time the White Australia values began to be dissolved from official government policy in the early 1970s, Melbourne contained one of the greatest concentrations of Greeks in the world, with the obvious exception of Greece. Victoria therefore has become a principle part of the Greek-Australian story.

#### **Multicultural Australia**

The third wave of cultural policy was implemented by the Whitlam Government and termed the 'integration' or 'multiculturalism' policy. Following Canada, Australia's adoption of multiculturalism represented a significant shift away from assimilationist and racial purity principles and towards inclusion of cultural diversity into Australian society and values. While migration from Greece to Australia declined during this time, the Greek community in Australia benefited from this era, which highly valued social inclusion (*Racial Discrimination Act 1975*). In addition, it was throughout this policy era that the Greek community of Australia began to wield their bargaining power for political influence.

Under Australia's multicultural policy agenda, which persisted until 1996, the Greek-Australian community occupationally diversified, while still maintaining a strong labour workforce. In addition, in the 1970s, half of the Greek-Australians resided in Victoria. These communities were distinctly urbanised comparative to other migrant groups. Thus, the majority of Greek-Australians in Victoria resided in the capital City of Melbourne. Approximately, three-quarters of men who migrated to Australia in the post-war period were unskilled, yet, the majority were able to become employers or self-employed (Jupp 1998, p. 392). This story is very true of the Melbourne Greek community.

The spotlight shone on the Greek-Australian community in Melbourne throughout the Whitlam campaign in the early 1970s. The 'Greeks for Whitlam' movement highlighted the influence ethnic communities can have on politics. Many migrant groups were demanding better support, and the Greek community was often at the helm of these petitions (Jupp 1998). Since then, the GCM developed particularly strong relationships with government, which helped promote the needs of the relatively disadvantaged community (Jupp 1988, p. 394). In fact, under Whitlam's reformed cultural agenda that promoted and valued 'integration', the Greek communities transformed into a vibrant, influential cultural community that built many cultural hubs. In Melbourne, one of the main hubs was Lonsdale Street. This area has, as Costas Markos (2017a) notes, long been a gathering site for Greeks in Melbourne, as well as other migrants or members

of the city's working classes. The increase in Greek migrants, together with the proliferation of Greek-owned businesses, has contributed to the area becoming a site of social and labour activity, soon flourishing to become recognised as the Greek precinct.

Throughout this policy era, second generation Greek-Australians were provided with the opportunity to improve their education compared with their parents and grandparents. This opportunity was considered particularly important among Greek migrants, who were keen to see their children benefit from a good education (Markos 2017a). Higher rates of tertiary education attainment over time are thus evidenced. Additionally, the Greek immigrants in Australia became more educated than earlier immigrants with more than twice as many skilled Greek immigrants between 1981 and 1991 (Glytsos 1997).

#### **Nation building**

The fourth wave of cultural policy, 'One Australia', was in some ways a return to earlier ideologies. The Howard Liberal Government rejected the term multiculturalism and preferred policies that reduced immigration and deflected from promotion of multicultural ideals. This rhetoric aimed to unite Australia into one nation but ultimately resulted in more restricted borders and a reduction of support for social inclusion. However, by this time, the Greek community in Australia was already well established and despite reductions of government support for multicultural programmes, the Greek community retained its prominence. Since Howard, Governments have gradually returned to acceptance of multiculturalism and valuing diversity, though the degree to which they have done so is contestable.

The 2016 census data revealed that the Greek language is one of the most common languages spoken at home in Australia, other than English (Australian Bureau of Statistics 2016). At that time, 397, 431 Australians claimed some form of Greek ancestry from their parents reflecting around 1.7 per cent of the population (Australian Bureau of Statistics 2016). The Greek population in Australia remains one of the most urbanised groups in Australia (Australian Bureau of Statistics 2011). Moreover, Victoria remains the home to the largest group of people with at least one parent from Greece, whereby, 170, 451 reside in Victoria, reflecting almost 43 per cent of Greek-Australians (Australian Bureau of Statistics 2016). Additionally, half of Australians born in Greece reside in Victoria with almost all of these (96.6 per cent) living in Greater Melbourne (Australian Bureau of Statistics 2016).

#### **New Arrivals**

Current statistics provide limited evidence of the number of new arrivals. Given that a significant number of new arrivals were people whose family had returned to Greece, and therefore had dual citizenship and access to community support in Melbourne, it is difficult to trace the real number of arrivals. However, new migrants still experience challenges—and, due to the Greek Financial Crisis in 2010, more than 10,000 Greek and Cyprus residents have arrived in Australia in the past seven years. Although the figures are not exact for 2017, in 2014 approximately 6,000 had already arrived (Australian Greek Welfare Society 2014, p. 9), and by 2015 a further 4,000 (The Times, London 2015). A study conducted by the Australian Greek Welfare Society in 2014 demonstrated a range of difficulties experienced by these new migrants and argued that more support was needed in terms of affordable housing, education, employment, health and transport (Tsingas 2014). It further exposed the need for building deeper networks between new

migrants with the already established Greek community in Australia. This remains particularly prominent today as so many have arrived seeking work and opportunities (ABC News 2015; Charpantidou 2017). Furthermore, these challenges are especially important to address in Melbourne, as it remains the main geographic attraction for Greek migrants in Australia. The increase in arrivals places a particular stress on the resources and programmes of the GCM.

#### 1.3.2 The Greek Precinct in the City of Melbourne

In the next decade, it is anticipated that \$250 billion will be spent on the building of arts and cultural precincts around the world (Fairley 2014). In Melbourne, this trend has already started manifesting, as demonstrated by the \$22 million Cultural Precincts Enhancement Fund, administered between 2007 and 2017 through the Office of Multicultural Affairs and Citizenship (OMAC) in partnership with the City of Melbourne and the Greek, Chinese and Italian communities. The objective of the fund was to ensure Melbourne's three long standing cultural precincts—Chinese Little Bourke Street, Italian Lygon Street and Greek Lonsdale Street—would remain 'sustainable and attractive for investment, and cultural and tourism activities' (Victorian Multicultural Commission 2017). A further \$12 million was invested in these sites from 2011-2014.

The key outcome of this investment was the opening of the GCCC on Lonsdale Street in 2014. The building represented a shift in the spatial parameters of Melbourne's Greek precinct, becoming an important anchor site for what has increasingly become a highly dispersed and networked Greek community across Melbourne.

While the GCCC represents an important historical link to the foundation of Greek migration in Melbourne, it is also at the forefront of new kinds of migrant encounters. These encounters are emerging as a result of second-, third- and fourth-generation Greek-Australians in Melbourne, the increased occurrence of mixed-raced marriages and relationships within Melbourne's Greek community, and the contributions of recently-arrived Greek migrants. The recent arrivals carry different understandings of 'Greekness' than those that migrated from Greece in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. Thus, unlike migrant communities of the post-war period, which involved larger, diasporic migration, these new communities of migrants develop from a fragmented mix of people. Like other groups of contemporary migrants, the contemporary Greek community of Melbourne exhibits highly diverse demographics, including varying economic and cultural capital and fluctuating attachments to notions of home (see Ang 2013, 2014; Noble 2011; Yue & Wyatt 2014, p. 224).

The GCCC and the GCM are often seen by new arrivals as the key organisation to turn to for assistance both before and once they arrive in Melbourne. The plight of the new arrivals has seen a fair allocation of GCM and GCCC resources allocated to programmes that speak to new arrivals. These include a dedicated Greek School campus at the GCCC that teaches advance Greek lessons for newly arrived children.





# 2 The Greek Centre for Contemporary Culture

The GCM's most ambitious project to date has been the development of the GCCC; the largest cultural and financial undertaking by a Greek community group in the global diaspora. The original vision for the GCCC was outlined as followed:

a multi-faceted, contemporary facility, which will reinforce the historic link of the Greek community with the Lonsdale St precinct and will act to ensure the continued survival of the precinct. At the same time the centre will attract both Greek and non-Greek Australians to explore the contribution that the Greek community has made to Australia and the way that Australians of Greek origin identify with their culture, heritage and language (Horne, Joyce & Klempfner 2008, p. 5).

Opened in 2014, the GCCC is a 15-storey building located in the heart of the historic Greek precinct in Lonsdale Street. The building was a direct result of the Cultural Precincts Enhancement Fund and replaced the former GCM community centre. The building houses five levels dedicated to Greek events, culture and education and features function spaces, education and meeting suites, as well as the GCM's offices. The GCCC currently features versatile function areas including a black box performance space, classrooms, and a future exhibition space to house contemporary art, photography, and other multi-media works

The building also features eight levels of commercial office space, a street level retail space and a rooftop bar, Melina on the Rooftop. Its principle design feature is the image of the classic 'Discobulus' (Discus Thrower) made by the positioning of shade panels on the building's glass exterior which has recently been accompanied by two replica pieces from the Parthenon's Panethenaic Procession on the building's balcony, with a view to the balcony featuring more of the procession.

# 2.1 Membership Engagement

\*As at 25 July 2017

Total number of GCM members/subscribers: 34,954

Total number of GCM members (2017): 7,341

Online Followers

GCCC-specific Online Sites:

Facebook: 7,507 followers | 7,752 likes https://www.facebook.com/thegreekcentre/

Twitter: 1,896 followers https://twitter.com/greekcentre Instagram: 3,955 followers http://instagram.com/greekcentre

Affiliated Online Sites:

Greek Community of Melbourne Facebook: 7,997 followers | 8,128 likes

https://www.facebook.com/Greekcommunitymelb/

Greek Film Festival, Melbourne
Facebook: 6,258 Followers | 6,388 likes
https://www.facebook.com/GreekFilmFestival/

**E-Newsletters** 

Total number of e-mail subscribers: 11,458

# 2.2 Programming

The GCCC runs a broad annual programme of cultural events as follows.

#### 2.2.1 Education Programme and Language Schools

The GOCM runs an extensive education programme in which more than 2,000 students are enrolled. This programme occurs across the year and includes:

- 14 afternoon and Saturday morning schools:
  - More than 1200 students attended classes at the GCM's schools in 2016. The courses included Greek as a second/primary language, ancient Greek for secondary school students, and the centre for creative drama and arts:
  - Classes begin with preschool through to VCE.
- 1 grammar school (Alphington Grammar):
  - 600 students in a Prep to VCE campus where Greek studies are part of the curriculum.
- The largest provision of classical Greek at secondary school level, giving students more learning pathways.
- Education programmes for non-Greeks on subjects that include: Ancient Greek, Latin, and classics.
  - Modern Greek programme: 60% of students who attended in 2016 were of Greek origin, 40% were non-Greek.
  - Ancient Greek programme: 80% were not of Greek origin, highlighting the GCCC's ability to attract participants beyond the GCM.
- Cultural educational programs that include:
  - Creative Drama and Arts School; and
  - Greek Dance School.
- Training programme for teachers of Greek Victoria: a total of 440 certificates of participation were issued for the 110 teachers who participated in the workshops in 2017.
- Production of 5 children's plays and 1 adult play.
- · School Holiday Programme.

#### 2.2.2 Seminars

The GCCC hosts 35 to 40 public lectures every year that are free for all members of the public to attend. Each seminar is well attended, with many being attended by 100 people or more. In 2016, over 150 people attended the closing lecture.

# 2.2.3 Events - Other

The GCCC facilitates and/or hosts a range of other events, indicative of its role in encouraging public participation in various cultural activities. A few examples include:

- The annual Greek Film Festival, now in its 24th year.
  - 1300 people attended opening night of the 2016 Delphi Bank 23rd Greek Film Festival.
  - This event is now so popular that it has to be staged across two sites—Astor Cinema in St Kilda, and the Como in South Yarra.
- The Melbourne International Comedy Festival is now using the GCCC as a venue. It features up to 20 international artists in 4 venues in the Centre.
- The GCCC also hosts a range of other, smaller events. For example in 2016 it hosted:
  - Wines of Greece event, which featured touring Greek wine makers in a tasting that sold out in minutes;
  - Live music nights that were the precursor to the now wildly successful;
  - Live @ the Greek series;
  - Over a dozen book launches;
  - Theatre performances;
  - Welcome event for the Greek National Football team'
  - Workshops for teachers; and
  - Summer course programme run by LaTrobe University.

# 2.3 Entrepreneurship and Social Justice

#### Innovative Entrepreneurial Model

The GCCC has continued the long history of the Greek Centre as a social centre and informal networking system for migrant welfare. The original building acted as the main site for newly arrived Greek migrants to receive support for jobs, healthcare, and other welfare services. Decades later, the GCCC is still serving as a central node for newly arrived Greek migrants to access resources and welfare services. For example, once a week someone from the Australian Greek Welfare Society is present at the GCCC to provide newly arrived Greek migrants with practical information about settling into life in Melbourne. As the GCM President Bill Papastergiadis (2017) summarises:

"in the '60s and '70s the GCM was the place that people came to on day one on arrival in Melbourne, they would sleep in the building even though it wasn't permitted until they found appropriate accommodation then they would be helped with their day to day needs. We're not offering sleeping facilities these days but we are offering them a range of other services to new migrants."

The GCCC has, however, managed to go beyond the welfare model that is often associated with diasporic communities. Indeed, the building is reflective of an innovative entrepreneurial model, whereby space is carefully utilised to ensure the commercial arm of the organisation financially supports the cultural and educational activities of the organisation. Historically, the GCM's primary focus was for the social justice and public welfare of its members. In its more recent history, as the community has become more established and under the guidance of the President Bill Papastergiadis, the GCM built the 15 storey GCCC so that it could fund its cultural and educational programmes. Ultimately, the GCM sees the civic aspirations being mobilised through commercial success.

Ten storeys of the building are leased to other commercial enterprises, and the revenue earned through this leasing is then channelled back into running the GCM associated activities. In this way, the non-for-profit activities of the GCM are given a physical location—five storeys of the GCCC building are dedicated to these activities—and the activities themselves have the opportunity to grow in form and scope.

It is important to note that the GCM has gone out of its way to find tenants for the GCCC that complement the GCM and add to the vertical precinct that the GCCC has now become. These tenants include: the National Bank of Greece, Greek Lawyers including dedicated Migration Lawyers, ITHEA adult education services, and Greek food outlets in Goody's Burger House and Melina Rooftop bar.

#### Potential Problems

It would be a drastic oversight not to recognise that the activities of the GCCC fundamentally rely on an immense volunteer effort. Further, this entrepreneurship, while commendable, is not without its costs, notably, the stretching of expectations and resources to a potentially unmanageable limit. As stressed by Dr Nick Dallas (2017)—long-time GCM member and current GCM Board Member for Education:

"You know this expectation, that we're supposed to be responsible for all these issues but not ask—most of us are volunteers, we don't really get any significant level of funding

but you know but the—everyone will have an opinion, everyone will be critical and everyone will have sort of expectations about what the community's doing. So, the expectations are like super-high and we've got really limited, limited resources. And you know and we're not professional because we rely a lot on volunteers and everyone is overstretched so we have serious resource issues and - both human resource issues and also material resource issues to meet the expectations that are out there, yeah. 'Cause they know that we can achieve things and do things successfully but you know we've got limited resources."

The report The Journey of New Greek Migrants to Australia: Opportunities and Challenges (Tsingas 2014) outlines how another key community support organisation, namely, the Australian Greek Welfare Society is having to stretch its resource allocations from Government. The arrival of new migrants in recent years has added new demands to these services, running counter to the now entrenched belief within government departments that 'the Greek community is an "established one" (2014, p. 17) and no longer in need of services it was previously provided. Although the GCCC has been excellent at self-sufficiency, the strain is clearly surfacing, as evidenced by Dallas' comments above.

#### Opportunities for Growth

While entrepreneurship is inherent to the running of the GCCC building itself, the GCCC clearly has the capacity to become a site for other forms of entrepreneurship and innovation. Its location in the heart of the CBD means it could be utilised as a meeting and workplace. The GCM is seen as the peak Greek organisation in Melbourne which has helped in the endorsement of the GCCC. Anecdotal evidence suggests people are already utilising the site in this way, but this cannot be commented on rigorously within the parameters of this research project. It is highly recommended that a second stage of research at the GCCC includes ethnography at GCCC hotspots, in particular the lift at Ground Level and Melina on the Rooftop to establish a clearer picture of entrepreneurial activity occurring at and/or via the GCCC site.

# Recommendations for Entrepreneurship and Economic Innovation

- The GCCC should ensure it has strategies in place that consolidate its rapid expansion, while also seeking to both maintain and widen its membership base so that duties can be shared across more volunteers.
- The GCCC should continue to seek financial support from both the private and public sector to ensure its human resources are not stretched too thinly. The State Government of Victoria and the City of Melbourne has continually committed to a multicultural agenda and, more recently, to investing in strategies that build the resilient and cosmopolitan flair of Melbourne. The capacity for the GCCC to adapt in ways that are at once socially, culturally and economically viable warrants more attention from the governments that support it. Drawing on a range of literature (Ethnic Communities' Council of Victoria 2014; Mwanri et al. 2012; Texeira 2011; Sawtell et al. 2010), the AGWS outlines that culturally-specific organisations that have developed an understanding of the settlement process in the new destination are in the best position to assist new migrants and provide welfare services (Tsingas 2014, p. 30). Local and State Governments should continue to ensure funds for new and developing ethnic communities are siphoned through organisations like the GCM and the GCCC.

# 2.4 Creative Engagement

Culture is not just an empty spectacle; a parading exercise of past achievements or former glories. Culture has power when it is understood and activated within everyday life. The aim of the GCCC has therefore been to achieve greater connectivity between Greek culture and the everyday lives of both Greek and non-Greek Australians living in Melbourne. This connectivity has seen the GCCC undertake a balancing act between two commitments:

- 1. understanding and acknowledging the historical trajectory of the Greek identity; and
- 2. translating this history to the current needs and situations of present day Greek-Australians.

More recently, the GCCC has expressed a third commitment; namely, to provide spaces for other voices and experiences to become part of the Greek-Australian trajectory. While all three commitments have been evidenced, the GCCC is most adept at delivering the first two. These cultural achievements are well documented and the City of Melbourne is clearly aware of these.

This section of the report shines light on cultural achievements that are less known, not only by government and the broader community of Melbourne, but by members within the GCM itself. These contemporary forms of practice provide an exciting avenue for cultural adaptation and integration, and as such should be valued and extended upon.

The following art practitioners who have used the GCCC for their practice were interviewed about their experiences for this evaluation:

- Misha Myers, Playwright and Academic, Monash University
- Declan Fay, Screenwriter and Comedian, co-wrote the ABC-produced The International Student with Ronny Chieng
- · Joel Stern, Director, Liquid Architecture

The interviews revealed the following themes pertaining to the GCCC as a site of creative engagement:

 Creative stimulation due to mixed nature of culturally-hybrid activity occurring within and around the GCCC and the simultaneous provision of quiet spaces

The artists described how working in the GCCC provided them with spaces to concentrate and produce content. At the same time, they found the work spaces to be full of creative stimuli due to the different people frequenting the GCCC and the building's proximity to Chinatown and Swanston Street.

"it was like we would be working there and it would be like really quiet and then all the Greek classes would come in and then suddenly it would become extremely vibrant. I sort of really liked it 'cause it's like—you also need something—when you're writing something you need like—I don't know, you need different stimuli and different things to jolt you out of your headspace and [...] I just really like that." (Fay 2017)

"Or like he [my writing partner] would explain some of the characters that have ended up being in the show and so it would get in my mind we would then walk—this sounds weird but we'd walk around Chinatown and he'd go that's what Allen looks like [...] there was immediate visual stimuli [...]—that wasn't how we planned it but it ended up being massively helpful." (Fay 2017)



"Well, it's funny, I hadn't thought about this 'til you asked it but it actually was perfect because you know so much of the story is about an Asian student coming to Australia, it's about Asian culture in Australia and [...] you know, we could walk out the door and, yes, you're on that corner that's extremely Greek, Stalactites down the road and—but you literally would only have to walk one street over and you're in Chinatown and so I would say to Ronnie take me somewhere where students would go ... to a, you know, he took me to a bubble tea shop one day [...]." (Fay 2017)

"Yeah, well, there was always something going on, usually like a language class. There was often a language class I think going on at the same time so we were interacting with that. There'd be talks that were happening, music." (Myers 2017)

"...I think for me, having the city being new to me I always think that was kind of a major accomplishment to think that I could express anything in that [the CBD]—you know I had a team of students working with me who also brought—but a lot of them actually didn't actually spend a lot of time in the CBD, which was interesting 'cause they lived out in the suburbs, went to university at Monash and so in some ways we were all exploring new territory and we just discovered these just really unique and odd places [...] it really kind of changed their perspective about it and they discovered things they'd never seen before and places they'd want to go back to." (Myers 2017)

# 2. Hospitality and 'Gift of Time'

The artists stressed how helpful the GCCC staff were and how welcome they made them feel. They were all pleasantly surprised by how willing the GCCC staff were to take chances on their projects and the enthusiasm with which they did so.

"The atmosphere was very positive and very welcoming. And from my perspective as an organiser, it was a very—it's very easy and very accommodating [...]—I remember conversations where I would say, what time do we have to finish?" [...] And Jorge would just say, 'whenever you like.' I thought, 'well that's really unusual because usually that sort of thing is very strict because the people working there, they're not going to be pay them overtime and they might have to go home or whatever,' but the way he put it, when the Greek community is there seeing music or dancing or whatever, they're having a good time, they're having a drink, they're dancing and he wouldn't dream of telling people that's it's time to go home. So, he wouldn't do that at our event either, that people should – as long as people are having a great time they should stay. And that's very different to what I'm used to. There's a certain approach to the regulation of the event, which was more personal and more flexible." (Stern 2017)



"...it was challenging artistically to kind of bring an audience into a kind of public restaurant space but they were very welcoming and then we built that into the game as a kind of reward, you know you get a discount and—which I rather—I really liked that way of kind of supporting them and trying to bring them some customers or being new and they were really welcoming and warm with that." (Myers 2017)

#### 3. Flexibility and Openness

The artists commended the GCCC for its capacity to listen carefully and make sincere attempts to ensure their visions where met. There was a sense that the GCCC was adaptable and would 'go with the flow' in its collaborations, thus enabling ideas to transform in an exciting way. This is a different kind of approach than that often taken by cultural institutions which follow a template or event management checklist.

"When we first met, him [Jorge] and Penny started by saying, what would you like to do, and listened for quite some time before responding and really wanted to understand what we wanted to do before they told us what they were able to offer..." (Stern 2017)

"I guess there was certain openness that they showed us that I think's really important and kind of think outside the box, which is what it feels like they're doing." (Myers 2017)

"Yeah, and just kind of thinking, yeah, very flexible about what that space could be, like with the installation. They were just so positive and encouraging and excited about it which was—it was something—it felt like something new to them and they were trying out different things with the spaces, wanting to—you know a gallery here and all kinds of different events. So that felt like it could be anything, that space, and they'd kind of designed it in a way that it's very flexible to do that [...] I think that's something, that kind of flexibility and—now, what's the word I'm looking for, something that easily can kind of transform to new ideas, innovation." (Myers 2017)

#### 4. Access

Access can be problematic for individual artists especially, but seemed to be less of an issue for artists who engaged with the GCCC. All interviewed artists stressed how open the GCCC was to their approaches and allowed them to feel part of the creative city in ways they weren't sure they would experience in other art institutions of Melbourne.

"It doesn't always feel easy to access some of the major institutions, quite hard, and I gained that access through Monash but as an individual it feels tough [...] —so that's something I think, you know, slowly starting to make those personal connections and network which makes that access possible, but without that you don't have doors, you know [...] And I felt like the Greek Community Centre was

somewhere where that wasn't a problem, even though I came through Monash I felt like I could have come to them with something [on my own]." (Myers 2017)

#### 5. Centrality and Verticality

All artists highlighted how the physical location of the building contributed to their creative projects in either practical or abstract ways.

"It was just an amazing resource and they were very generous and the studio that we had was one of the corner studios on the second floor, so you're looking out over the city and so we were working in that space. It was really inspiring, that, just to be able to see where we're working and kind of take it in in that way and respond to it as we were working, writing scripts, and they were always kind of immersed in it and yeah, and I think that they were really—I really appreciated the kind of way in which they're trying to connect beyond just the Greek community, but make it a centre for contemporary art, which was a change in the name from when I started there [...]." (Myers 2017)

"...it felt like something new to them and they were trying out different things with the spaces, wanting to—you know a gallery here and all kinds of different events. So that felt like that it could be anything, that space, and they'd kind of designed it in a way that it's very flexible to do that." (Myers 2017)

"Yeah, it was a fantastic venue for the event in many different ways. One of the key ways was that from memory we did—so we did three nights at the Greek Centre and the nights were divided into two sections, the early part of the night was a keynote lecture in a more minimal space with the floor to ceiling windows, rows of chairs and a person speaking at the front. That space could have been in any number of buildings and it didn't really strongly identify as part of the Greek Centre, it was more generic in a way although also very beautiful, and that in a way is necessary for certain lectures which where the emphasis just needs to be on what's being said without too many distractions. But the second part of every evening was in the performance space which had an almost like a cabaret-type setting of the stage then with tables and chairs. And that particularly had a very strong and specific character." (Stern 2017)

#### **Limitations and Opportunities for Creative Growth**

The positive experiences of the aforementioned artists bode well for the type of space the GCCC is creating and has the capacity to enhance. As it stands, it has managed to engage with artists in a rather unplanned, word-of-mouth manner. This engagement creates an organic appeal for creative practitioners, as all the artists interviewed suggested when asked what allows for a good creative space.

Nonetheless, the results are limited in that artists who had already engaged with the site were selected and consulted for this research. What also needs to be considered is: how do creative practitioners find out about the GCCC if they do not have either a) a link to the GCM through familial relationships; or b) a serendipitous crossover?

An interview with Rolando Garay-Matziaris carried out by the research team helped to shed light on this question. Garay-Matziaris is a Melbourne-based emerging artist of Chilean and Greek heritage descent. In his words, his work:

... is informed by his cross-cultural identity, experiences, and reflections on the Australian identity. His practice

incorporates digital collage, drawing and commercial printing techniques in order to explore cultural identities, hybridity, and value systems; found within the context of multicultural Australia. His work utilises ironic and absurd graphic representations of image and text, to display unexpected combinations through humorous juxtapositions (2017a).

Garay-Matziaris' work is indicative of precisely the kind of hybrid cultural experiences that the current generation of Greek-Australians are accustomed to on a daily basis—and the kind of work that a site like the GCCC should seek to showcase.

Rolando felt that the GCCC was offering great events for the community but its accessibility was somewhat limited to an older crowd due to the form of advertising. There was also suggestion that many of the events held at the Centre were targeted to an older crowd.

"I don't feel like it's advertised enough especially within—especially sort of like the younger demographic like I feel like it's always like sort of a bit older crowd, needs to be sort of pushed more to like a younger sort of audience...The events probably are more targeted to older demographics." (Garay-Matziaris 2017b)

Rolando spoke positively about the Centre, though admits he only found out about it through his mother:

"...I didn't know about it, my mum's really sort of connected to the Greek community and she just told me, I didn't even know this was built a few years back, that it was sort of expanded on and developed and that...[I] came to a few things and they just handed out that brochure with the lecture dates and stuff and they just—they got fantastic stuff on." (Garay-Matziaris 2017b)

Given the strong connection with Greekness that Rolando explores in his work, it is perhaps telling that Rolando only came across the GCCC via his mother, as opposed to his own work and social activities. While he appreciated and enjoyed the GCCC's events, he hoped that through greater social media presence and more encouragement in the community, more people would engage with the space.

The need to consider ways to broaden its appeal to younger people, and creative practitioners more broadly, is something that the other three artists interviewed all picked up on. While all artists agreed that Melbourne is, in general, a thriving space for cultural production, they also all commented on the lack of pathways into spaces, especially for young or emerging artists, and increasingly so in the last decade. Declan talked at length about the lack of places willing to take risks on young or emerging artists.

"If we didn't know—if Ronnie and I didn't know Jorge and didn't have that connection then where would we have gone? And where would we have found a spot in the city somewhere near Chinatown and I don't know and so I think that the challenge is definitely finding places that invite artistic people but also like—this sounds odd but for the Greek centre like Ronnie and I are quite a safe bet, they know us, we—at the time because of Ronnie's career and my writing was going well, the—we you know we were—it was looking like it might—if we wrote it well it might be a successful project but I think that the challenge for a lot of spaces is—and I'm sure the Greek centre would be more

than - is more than open to this but I'm speaking like other spaces in Melbourne—the challenge is taking a punt on people when you don't know..." (Fay 2017)

"I'm so glad we wrote it in the CBD and if we didn't I think it would have been harder to write the show but I genuinely don't know where else we would have gone. And so I think it's that you have to again be open and accessible but you also have to take a risk on people, is have to take—like The Storeroom, you have to take people that might fail." (Fay 2017)

Similarly, Misha expressed concern about pathways into the creative scene in Melbourne if you are an 'outsider'; that is, someone who is relatively new to Melbourne or has not been in the arts scene for a long time. She felt that without her affiliation to Monash University it would be difficult to find creative venues willing to take a risk on her projects. Although she commended the GCCC for its openness, it was, as mentioned a fortuitous happening, and it would be fair to say that many creative practitioners are unaware that the GCCC can be used as site of practice. For this reason, Joel Stern stressed that the GCCC is in a position of power and needs to distribute its power thoughtfully and equitably, as below:

"[It is] very hard for independent people to operate in the inner suburbs and produce culture in a sustainable way because of the costs. So, I think there's two aspects to that; one is that the independent and experimental artists and organisations have to operate really fluidly between the lines and have to think about how to work in ways that are temporary, provisional, under conditions of precarity and, where possible, flip those challenges into attributes. For the organisations that are established, like the Greek Centre, that have a space that are financially sustainable, that are well supported, that comes with great responsibilities because it's such a privileged position to be in. As your role in the culture, if you have that level of security, it must be to provide opportunities to—all of the—as many of the groups and artists and individuals and entities, as you can who don't have the privilege of agency over their own space." (Stern 2017)

"So, there's a lot at stake to rethink experimental music as something that could be interesting and urgent to communities across the board, including communities who are not necessarily privileged and secure and that making experimental music might be something of value in expressing aspirations, struggles, concerns. And that's why we've tried to broaden our remit from being just about the production of a certain kind of musical practice to being more about sound and listening more broadly which includes questions like who gets to be heard, who is able to listen, whose voices are loudest and whose voices





are marginalised, and this becomes more a question of the politics of volume or audibility within a culture and it becomes a more politically, I guess, serious question. And so that's been a strategy for us to bring more diverse voices into our programme, and I think in terms of locating at the Greek Centre, what I really hope is that the spaces—the Greek Centre and spaces like the Greek Centre might be safer and more welcoming kinds of spaces than for instance contemporary art galleries or museums for communities who—or even just individuals who haven't been to the VCA or haven't had a studio at Gertrude or haven't got a hundred friends who are artists [...] and it sends the message that this is part of public culture or at least it wants to be." (Stern 2017).

Overall, the GCCC should be commended for its capacity to engage its community in art participation. This engagement is especially the case since attendance at mainstream (non-culturally-specific) arts events by ethnic-Australians is often considered to be conventionally low in comparison to attendance by Anglophile Australians (Le, Polonsky, & Arambewela 2015, p. 382). The recent types of creative enterprises that the GCCC has hosted, and outlined above, should be fostered in order for the original vision of the GCCC to be fulsomely realised:

It is intended that the Centre will be an active place, a hub and inclusive focal point for the Greek Australian community. It will present the history of Greek/Australian culture, language and religion from the perspective of the present through a series of changing exhibitions, events, performances, screenings and multi-media interactive experiences (Horne, Joyce, & Klempfner 2008, p. 5).

It is clear from the artist interviews that the GCCC is emblematic of a 'ground-up' move to carry out what local and State policy is being urged to do. The *Creative State Global City* (2015) taskforce report outlines that in order to make Victoria a Creative State and Melbourne a Creative City, the creative industries ecology must be strengthened—and one way to do this is by 'Expanding availability of spaces for artists and creative practitioners' (2015, p. 8). A more concerted effort from the GCCC, in partnership with the City of Melbourne, to promote its creative spaces and encourage new artistic collaborations and projects will further enhance its contribution to an accessible, cosmopolitan city.

**Creative Spotlight**Nobody's Ocean by Misha Myers

Nobody's ocean

Date/Time: Wed 12 Oct - Thu 20 Oct / All Day

#### **Premise**

An immersive transmedia performance game inspired by Homer's 'The Odyssey'. **Director Dr Misha Myers** reimagines Melbourne through the mythological terrain of this literary masterpiece.

You are invited on an adventure through Melbourne to decipher omens and see through the many disguises and chicanery of our hero and to bring him home.

Evoking Homer's Odyssey, Nobody's Ocean is an immersive performance game for smartphone which takes place in the city and across multiple media platforms.

Directed by Misha Myers and devised with Monash's graduating performing arts students.

#### Authors notes Misha Myers, 4 October 2016

Originally born and raised in Mississippi, I've come from a family where few have moved far from home or even owned a passport. Coincidentally, like Odysseus, I have wandered afar for 20 years and emigrated to two different sea-girt countries, UK and recently Australia, where I find myself more at home on and by the sea. That tension between my culture's immobility and my wanderlust may be what's led me to the preoccupation with notions of home and mobility in my research and artistic practice - what it means to go home, what it takes to make a home, how identity is defined by that place and what has to be in place in order to be in a place called home. The Odyssey speaks to these questions that absorb me and the world and time I am living in, which has been described by many as an age of unprecedented trans-border migration (Berger 1992, Said 2000, Minh-Ha 1994, Levy 1989, to name a few). As sea levels rise and extreme weather events and conflicts over dwindling resources become more frequent with climatic change, that movement will continue to swell and unhome many more in the world. This was made poignant to me when looking back at photos sent by family of familiar places where I grew up along the coast of the Gulf of Mexico, now levelled, erased or displaced by Hurricane Katrina.

Ultimately, as Odysseus discovers upon his return to Ithaca, home is a transient place that cannot be returned to; it becomes strange and/or the wanderer becomes the stranger to it. That place of origin does not stand still in time; home is always in a constant state of change and perhaps we are never arriving at it, but moving towards it. This perception of the stranger in and to the world and the hospitality offered to a stranger are recurrent themes in the text that interest me and it's a text that's written all over the city of Melbourne. In the graffiti on the walls, in windows and billboards—'Real Aussies Say Welcome'. Melbourne is a city built by migrants and the original inhabitants, the Aboriginal people have been made strangers in their own land. Homer's text resonates within this city of displaced and newly-placed communities.

My preoccupation with transnationality, mobility and place also has led to my interest in transmedia, mobile and located forms of performance as exemplified by Nobody's Ocean. I am interested in creating what I call a 'pocket theatre', a theatre that is available affordably for the maker and audiences via the technology that many people carry around in their pockets. I am interested in our relationship to that technology and how it has changed the way we can experience and build relationships with the world around us, how we can conduct our lives and construct narratives about it through disperse and diverse digital platforms. I'm also interested in our relationship to or disassociation from the materiality of that technology, the way information and data travels through underwater cables that cross seabeds; we literally 'surf' it, yet we perceive it as coming out of nowhere, out of a 'cloud'.

In Nobody's Ocean this technology and the human relationship to it is put to use to create a new way of telling stories. It takes place in the space where the worlds of the digital, physical and a well-known classic meet. Melbourne and the audience are at the centre of a journey that navigates through the city's past and present and across multiple media platforms. Where transmedia is a term that's more often used to describe the commercial enterprise of recreating storyworlds of a narrative from one original media to other forms and products, such as the Star Wars film made into a board game, I use it to describe the construction of a storyworld through the navigation and gathering of disperse media and spatial narratives. The audience is putting together this storyworld as they move through it. In this way the performance draws audiences' attention beyond the device to the stories of a specific place and time.

## **Creative Spotlight**

Autotune Everything, Melbourne Art Foundation and Research Unit in Public Cultures

#### Premise

In determining what is signal and what is noise, listening is political—all listening, all the time.

By necessity, we tune in to some signals, and filter others out. In determining what is signal and what is noise, listening is political—all listening, all the time. As is looking: when we focus, we sharpen the subject, and exclude the rest. Consigned to the back, signals nonetheless continue to vibrate, permeating through the social and the architectural, into the atmospheric. We want to stage a conversation about sound, art and public space. What if our own practices echo those of the larger forces that filter, groom and autotune political and aesthetic consensus? What do we hear when our listening is less selective? What processes transmit, in the background, and what alternative tuning would receive them? How might we amplify our own complicity in the correction of rogue expressions? Who is most guilty of saying nothing?

This experimental symposium brings together thinkers and performers across sound and art to consider:

- Disharmony between percept and concept
- Zero-sum games: art v state; non-state art; art's non-state(s)
- Industrial culture in the culture industries
- (Music in) the spaces of art—on galleriability and ambient spectacularity
- Hatred of music; or the more unmusical the better
- Sensoria of the body politic

# Featuring:

Melbourne Art Foundation 2016 Lectures and Forums Program Keynote Speaker:

Ute Meta Bauer, Director of NTU Centre for Contemporary Art, Singapore

Chunyin Rainbow Chan, artist, musician, Sydney

Clocks and Clouds (Kraig Grady and Terumi Narushima), band, The Austronesian Embassy of Anaphoria Island

Megan Clune, artist, composer, Sydney

Dennis Del Favero, artist, researcher, UNSW Scientia Professor, Sydnev

Eric Demetriou, artist, musician, Melbourne

Sam George, artist, Melbourne

Travis John, artist, musician, Melbourne

Hou Hanru, Director of MAXXI, Rome

Evelyne Jouanno, Founder at Ars Citizen and Emergency Biennale

Caleb Kelly, writer, UNSW National Institute for Experimental Arts, Sydney

Seth Kim-Cohen, artist, writer, School of the Art Institute of Chicago, USA

Johannes Kreidler, composer, artist, Germany (no)signal, collective, Melbourne

Matthias Schack-Arnott, composer, artist, Melbourne James Rushford, composer, artist, Melbourne Masato Takasaka, artist, musician, Melbourne Kalinda Vary, artist, Melbourne Makiko Yamamoto, artist, Melbourne

#### Review

See the follow website for an in depth review on the program http://www.realtimearts.net/article/134/12400

# 2.5 Media Engagement

The GCCC has a long history of news interaction with Greece and vice-versa. Engagement is not adequately captured and difficult to determine within the limited parameters of this research project. However, we can ascertain an overall active media presence from the GCM in the following ways:

- High distribution of Greek newspaper Neos Kosmos.
- Coverage of key events in press and radio. For example, wide media coverage occurs around the time of the LSGF. Due to the presence of the Premier, the Mayor, the Archbishop, the Consul-General, among others, media reports occur at a state, national and international level.
- The GCM and events at the GCCC are often profiled on SBS and ABC news.
- 3 radio stations of Greek language programming in Melbourne.
- GCM President Bill Papastergiadis regularly meets with the President of Greece and all the government senior ministers on his annual trips to Greece. On average, he will also conduct a dozen interviews with major news television channels and daily newspapers.

What is clear is that the GCCC's and the GCM's engagement with the media occurs across a range of platforms, places, and time zones. It is indicative of 'global media', a form of media that emerges from migrant and diaspora groups and creates a diverse, fragmented, and non-linear media engagement (Huang & Jiang 2009). This engagement is on one hand about reinforcing cultural ties, tradition, and familiarity with the Greek nation and its news; on the other, it also adds to this continuum in dialogue with Australian news events. As such, the Greek-Australian community is:

Drawn into the network of ambient media which are instrumental in creating cross-cultural audiences, movements, issues, images and lifestyles. The combinational result is a syncretic diaspora culture based on hybridization. (Huang & Jiang 2009, p. 118)

In other words, the GCCC contributes to a global, kinetic narrative of Greek-Australian life, a narrative that goes beyond the parameters of multiculturalism as it is conventionally understood within nation states. This media engagement occurs across a large network, connecting local and global events together, creating an increasingly cosmopolitan account of the world.

# 3 Lonsdale Street Greek Festival (LSGF)

The LSGF celebrated its 30th anniversary in 2017. Since 1987, it has become a well-established part the Melbourne, Greek and non-Greek, community experience. The weekend Summer festival is held annually and run by the GCM based at the GCCC. The festival invites people to participate in Greek culture through dance, music, food, art, and craft.

Lonsdale Street has held particular significance for the Greek community as a precinct for Greek cultural and legal services since mass Greek migration to Australia in the '50s and '60s. Hence, in the early years of the festival, Lonsdale Street was utilised to create a space for Greek people to gather and preserve culture in a communal environment—the Lonsdale Street Greek Festival (Kyprianou in Tsirtsakis & Skoufatoglou 2017). However, recently, it has developed into a more inclusive festival not only to preserve, but to 'share Greek culture with the rest of multicultural Melbourne' (Kyprianou in Tsirtsakis & Skoufatoglou 2017).

Accordingly, those attending the festival continue to grow, with over 150,000 attendees in 2016, up by about 30,000 in 2014 (GCM Annual Report 2014; 2016). In 2016, more than 300 people shared their Greek heritage through performance at the festival (GCM Annual Report 2016). Along with personal entertainment, the festival has attracted political significance throughout its 30 years as many politicians have not only attended, but also addressed the large crowds over the course of the events. With so many attendees and attractions, the organisers aptly describe the festival as 'Melbourne's biggest Greek street party' (Greek Centre for Contemporary Culture 2017).

## 3.1 Estimating the Economic Impact of the Lonsdale Street Greek Festival 2017 (by Professor Barry Burgan)

#### **Summary of Results**

The 2017 Lonsdale Street Greek Festival was held in February 2017. As a significant cultural event, it also has a sizeable economic contribution. This paper presents the modelling and analysis to provide an estimate of the contribution. With respect to the Lonsdale Street area, it is estimated that the Festival had the following economic impact:

- It generated of the order of 100,000 attendances from 68,800 attendees.
- These attendees spent an estimated \$6.4 million linked to their attendance.
- Of this \$6.4 million, it is estimated that \$5 million was expenditure that would not otherwise occur in the Lonsdale area.

• This \$5 million of created expenditure supported 35 full time equivalent jobs. The majority of these jobs would occur "around" the period of the event and generate regional incomes of \$4.2 million (household incomes and gross operating surpluses for businesses).

The expenditure of Victorians attending the event could largely be a transfer from other areas of the state (or a transfer in terms of spend timing). In contrast, the Festival may reasonably be expected to generate new spending from interstate attendees. The economic impact at the state level is estimated as follows:

- It attracted 7,000 out of state attendees, who spent a combined 25,800 nights in the state.
- These attendees spent an estimated \$7.2 million within the state while on their visit.
- Of this \$7.2 million, it is estimated that \$0.9 million was expenditure that would not otherwise be generated in the state without the Greek Festival.
- This \$0.9 million of created expenditure supported 8.5 full time equivalent jobs (though the majority would occur "around" the period of the event, and generate a contribution to Gross State Product incomes of \$1.1 million (household incomes and gross operating surpluses for businesses).

#### **Basis of Evaluation**

This section presents an evaluation of the economic contributions of the 2017 Festival—in terms of its impact on the City of Melbourne and the state of Victoria. This analysis used a consistent methodology to that used commonly in the evaluation of events and Festivals nationally and internationally (Kim et al. 2017; BOP Consulting 2016; Li & Jago 2013; Burgan & Mules 1992; Crompton, Lee, & Shuser 2001). The modelling is based on assessing how expenditures generated through the festival impact in a whole of economy context through the creation of jobs and incomes.

More specifically, the economic contribution of an event to the region which hosts it is understood to be the contribution the industry makes in terms of the generation of gross state or regional product, household income and employment supported by these income measures. Festivals and events have an impact is in two ways:

- By the employment and activity it supports directly.
   A Festival creates jobs and incomes of the conduct of the Festival, both in the Festival administration and in suppliers of services to the Festival (e.g. venues, catering). Visitor spend generation employment and incomes in accommodation, transport, feed and beverage spend etc.; and
- The flow on effects of that which filters through the economy.

An input output model, as used herein is an economy wide model which shows the inter-linkages between industry sectors in the economy. Therefore the change in economic circumstances (specifically a change in final demand) for one sector of the economy (e.g. through a major project) can be traced though to its effect on other sectors, allowing a more comprehensive look at the effects of the project. It is based on assumptions that all changes in final demand can be met by the economy without constraint.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup>The modelling methodology estimates the value added (returns to labour – household incomes) and capital – which is consistent with the national accounting framework concepts of Gross Domestic Product or at the state level Gross State Product.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup>This is measured as gross household income. The modelling process assumes that income taxes on wages are redistributed as welfare payments to other households.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup>The analysis has been undertaken in a consistent format and with consistent assumptions to evaluations of other projects and studies of Festival impacts (for consistency and comparative purposes).

In short, the expenditures generated by an event (e.g. that the expenditure of attendees) will sustain turnover in local industry and specifically this will support local jobs and incomes. It is the jobs and incomes that are taken to be the measure of economic impact or benefit, netting out expenditure on imports etc. And in addition to jobs in direct suppliers of services at the Festival, it is generally acknowledged that this expenditure has a flow on (sometimes called multiplier effect) within the community. It extends the spend effect and the impact through the expenditure of wages and purchases of the direct activity.

The use of multipliers derived from input-output tables has been a prominent process<sup>3</sup> for translating direct created expenditure (a final demand stimulus) of industries or projects into jobs and incomes and establishing the extent of the flow-on impact. There is some level of academic argument about appropriate models for converting increases in external expenditure (final demand) into regional economic impacts. The critics of using input-output tables often argue that multipliers are used to overstate the value of an industry—with the term multiplier taken as ratcheting up the value. This criticism was valid when analysts applied turnover multipliers, but is not valid with more appropriate use of value added multipliers—which translate the expenditure estimates to national accounting framework measures with a whole of economy context. Indeed, value added multipliers (the value added impact—direct and induced relative to a dollar of created expenditure) are often less than

one. Used correctly, multipliers provide a more appropriate measure than expenditure based on the national accounting framework. In short, use of these input-output based multipliers allow for reporting the estimated outcomes of the industry in terms of the effect of expenditure or turnover on value added across a regional economy and in terms of job creation—which is consistent with national accounting frameworks.

The appropriate measure is to consider the incremental economic impact—the extent to which this Festival expenditure is supported by revenues that can be considered new to the state or region. It would include the spending by tourists or visitors to the region/state who attend the Festival, such as accommodation, entertainment, and travel.

# **Survey Results**

In order to inform the assessment of the economic contribution of the Festival a survey was undertaken which attracted 267 respondents. For 36% of respondents it was their first time at Festival, but on average people had attended 8 times. For 7.5% it was their first visit to Lonsdale Street. Figure 1 displays the reason respondents provided for attending, with 28% indicating that it was a food/drinks experience and 22% citing Greek culture.

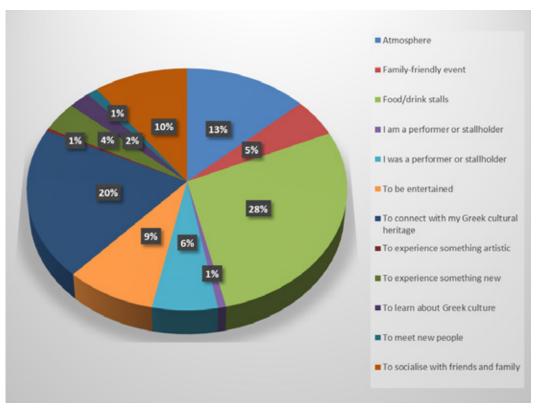


Figure 1: Reason for attending the Greek Festival

A computable general equilibrium (CGE) model is also an economy wide model and has a similar outcome, but differs from input output models in that it includes supply side and macro-economic constraints, thereby limiting the extent that the change in final demand will be fully captured in other sectors (because of market limitations). The labour market is in effect the most significant constraining factor. At the national level such constraints will be critical, and as such national impacts are best assessed in this framework. However at a state level, where supply constraints in the labour market are demonstrably small (responded to by immigration) and there are also limited capital market constraints - the estimates of jobs and GSP outcomes are of a similar order of magnitude at the state level. Both models would generally show a project in one region causing a positive effect in that region. A CGE model would show that project causing negative impacts in other regions to heavily offset the gains. In this analysis we are clearly concerned with the impacts on the state economy.

The characteristics<sup>4</sup> of the respondents as it relates to the economic impact of the event are summarised in Table 1, which indicate:

- The average respondent spent around \$359 relating to the visit, with the group represented averaging 2.1 (1.7 adults and 0.4 children in each group). The major spend was on accommodation, and the major expenditure items were accommodation and meals, food and drink.
- Respondents attended on average 1.5 times over the weekend.
- 88% of attendees were from Victoria (84.3% from Melbourne).<sup>5</sup>

Table 1: Characteristics of Festival attendee respondents with respect to economic contribution, all attendees

	Interstate	Overseas	Victoria	Melbourn	Other Vic	Total
# of respondents	16	16	235	225	10	267
Average Expenditure per responent						
Accommodation	\$831.25	\$2,010.00	\$7.44	\$7.69	\$0.00	\$176.81
Meals, food and drinks in Lonsdale St	\$193.75	\$182.50	\$56.84	\$56.93	\$53.98	\$72.57
Meals, food and drinks elsewhere	\$0.00	\$70.00	\$2.75	\$2.84	\$0.00	\$6.62
Event tickets	\$68.75	\$26.00	\$0.50	\$0.51	\$0.00	\$6.11
Other entertainment costs (in Lonsdale St)	\$18.75	\$50.00	\$4.55	\$4.53	\$5.00	\$8.12
Other entertainment costs (elswhere)	\$0.00	\$29.20	\$3.93	\$4.06	\$0.00	\$5.20
Transport within Melbourne	\$18.25	\$65.00	\$9.54	\$9.78	\$2.50	\$13.38
Transport to other Victoria	\$115.00	\$430.00	\$2.73	\$2.48	\$10.00	\$35.06
Personal services - Lonsdale St area	\$0.00	\$102.00	\$1.24	\$1.28	\$0.00	\$7.20
Personal services - Elsewhere	\$0.00	\$60.00	\$1.24	\$1.28	\$0.00	\$4.69
Other expenditure - in Lonsdale St	\$37.50	\$56.00	\$13.21	\$13.53	\$3.75	\$17.23
Other expenditure - Elsewhere	\$37.50	\$46.00	\$0.83	\$0.85	\$0.00	\$5.73
Spend in area	\$960.44	\$779.76	\$93.30	\$94.27	\$65.23	\$186.40
Total spend	\$1,320.75	\$3,126.70	\$104.77	\$105.79	\$75.23	\$358.73
Other respondent characteristics						
Number of adults	2.2	1.8	1.7	1.7	1.8	1.7
Number of children	0.1	0.4	0.4	0.4	0.7	0.4
Number of days attended	1.5	2.0	1.4	1.4	1.0	1.5
# of nights in Lonsdale district	0.8	1.4	0.2	0.2	0.1	0.3
# of nights in Melbourne	0.6	9.5	0.2	0.2	0.1	0.8
# of nights in Vic	1.0	9.7				0.6

Source: Survey of Attendees

The survey also asked whether respondents had visited Lonsdale Street because of the Greek Festival. 79% of the respondents indicated this was the case.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup>The respondent's data required some "cleaning" – for example respondents often typed train or bus rather than give a dollar amount with respect to local transport costs, or typed hotel rather than their accommodation costs. Where it was clear an expenditure occurred, an indicative estimate was included consistent with the response.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>5</sup> Postcodes in the Greater Melbourne areas up to 3212 (i.e. excluding some outer areas)

Table 2 presents the characteristics of those respondents. As can be seen, those who visited Lonsdale Street specifically because of the Greek Festival spent a somewhat greater amount an average, particularly in the area itself. These respondents were also more likely to be in slightly larger groups.

Table 2: Characteristics of Festival attendee respondents with respect to economic contribution, attendees who visited Lonsdale Street because of the Greek Festival

	Interstate	Overseas	Victoria	Melbourn	Other Vic	Total
# of respondents	11	12	197	187	10	220
Average Expenditure per responent						
Accommodation	\$1,011.67	\$2,400.00	\$9.00	\$9.38	\$0.00	\$189.55
Meals, food and drinks in Lonsdale St	\$233.33	\$165.63	\$61.36	\$61.67	\$53.98	\$75.64
Meals, food and drinks elsewhere	\$0.00	\$37.50	\$3.33	\$3.47	\$0.00	\$5.03
Event tickets	\$91.67	\$16.25	\$0.60	\$0.63	\$0.00	\$6.01
Other entertainment costs (in Lonsdale St)	\$25.00	\$62.50	\$2.00	\$1.88	\$5.00	\$6.45
Other entertainment costs (elswhere)	\$0.00	\$36.50	\$1.75	\$1.82	\$0.00	\$3.56
Transport within Melbourne	\$22.67	\$75.00	\$10.99	\$11.35	\$2.50	\$15.07
Transport to other Victoria	\$70.00	\$500.00	\$3.22	\$2.94	\$10.00	\$33.66
Personal services - Lonsdale St area	\$0.00	\$127.50	\$1.50	\$1.56	\$0.00	\$8.30
Personal services - Elsewhere	\$0.00	\$75.00	\$1.50	\$1.56	\$0.00	\$5.43
Other expenditure - in Lonsdale St	\$50.00	\$70.00	\$15.10	\$15.58	\$3.75	\$19.84
Other expenditure - Elsewhere	\$0.00	\$7.50	\$1.00	\$1.04	\$0.00	\$1.30
Spend in area	\$1,158.42	\$873.00	\$100.55	\$102.03	\$65.23	\$255.14
Total spend	\$1,504.33	\$3,573.38	\$111.35	\$112.87	\$75.23	\$369.84
Other respondent characteristics						
Number of adults	2.6	1.9	1.7	1.7	1.8	1.8
Number of children	0.1	0.5	0.5	0.5	0.7	0.5
Number of days attended	1.5	2.0	1.4	1.4	1.0	1.5
# of nights in Lonsdale district	0.7	1.9	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.2
# of nights in Melbourne	0.5	12.7	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.8
# of nights in Vic	1.0	12.9				0.8

Source: Survey of Attendees



# Modelling: the Impact on the Local Area

#### **Distribution of Expenditure to Industry Sector**

This study of the impact of the Festival on economic activity in the area is undertaken by firstly identifying expenditure related to the Festival, and secondly, applying this to regional inputoutput tables. The approach used identifies the structural context of expenditure and then applies this to industry sectors. Consequently, it is assumed that the general industry production function can subsequently be applied.

The estimated aggregate expenditure by origin of attendee and for event production is summarised in Table 3. These modelled results are based on the following assumptions:

• It is assumed that there are 100,000 attendances at the event. This assumption is based on the information that while the numbers commonly used for attendances at the Festival are in excess of 120,000 patrons, the event plan for the festival speaks of 80,000 patrons over the course of the weekend. The event plan also speaks to 4 peak times over the weekend: Saturday mid-afternoon (3–4 pm), Saturday night (9–10 pm), Sunday lunch time (12–1 pm) and Sunday afternoon (5–6 pm). At any one time, the event plan allows for up 15,000 patrons (at peak) onsite.

- These attendances are divided (for each group by origin) by the average number of attendances from the survey and proportioned based on the identified origin of respondents.
- The total spend estimated to occur in the Melbourne CBD in terms of attendee spend is calculated from this number of attendees, multiplied by the estimated spend from Table 2 (spend in Lonsdale Street area).<sup>6</sup>
- The created spend in the area is estimated using the proportion of respondents who said they came to Lonsdale Street because of the Festival. It is implicitly assumed that Victorian attendees (including residents of the CBD) would have spent their money outside of the CBD if that was the case (and noting it is only the spend they identified in the Lonsdale Street area). The accommodation spend is proportioned based on the nights visitors said they spent in the area versus outside of the area.
- The expenditure on event production is based on the budget provided by the organiser and the created spend is based on the proportion of the revenue that it is assumed would not occur in the area if not for the event (for example, it is implicitly assumed that the funding from the Greek Community would have been spent on an event outside the area if not for the Festival).

Table 3: Estimates of Festival Related Expenditure

	Victorian Attendee Spend	Interstate Attendee Spend	Overseas Attendee Spend	Event Organiser Spend	Total
Total Number of attendees	61,833	3,995	2,996		68,825
Visitor nights in Melbourne CBD	8,823	2,060	3,230		
Total Spend in Melbourne CBD	\$3,127,385	\$1,705,020	\$1,101,365	\$497,821	\$6,431,592
Created Spend in Melbourne CBD	\$2,621,680	\$1,172,201	\$826,024	\$416,163	\$5,036,069

Source: Modelled result based on assumptions and data in Table 2

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>6</sup> The identified spend on tickets by attendees is assumed to be additional to the "sales of the organisers" and related more to stall and operator revenue.

Table 4 indicates the proportion of this expenditure within the area by category or types of spend, based on the survey results. The two major expenditure items are accommodation (especially for attendees from out of the state) and meals, food and beverages—although transport, other entertainment and recreation and general retail (in other expenses) are also significant.

Table 4: Proportion of expenditure by expenditure type

	Victorian Attendee Spend	Interstate Attendee Spend	Overseas Attendee Spend	Event Organiser Spend	Total
Event tickets	0.6%	7.9%	1.9%		2.5%
Accommodation	9.0%	63.5%	40.8%		26.1%
Meals, food and beverages	61.0%	20.1%	19.0%		39.6%
Transport	10.9%	2.0%	8.6%		7.6%
Tourism, entertainment, leisure	3.5%	2.2%	21.8%		5.9%
Any other expenses	15.0%	4.3%	8.0%		10.1%
Construction expenses (SITE)				31.4%	2.6%
Production expenses				18.6%	1.5%
Marketing				8.0%	0.7%
VIP and Hospitality				10.5%	0.9%
Performer Expenses				11.7%	1.0%
Administration and other expenses				19.9%	1.6%
Total	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	100.0%	100.0%

Source: Survey of Attendees

Table 5 reflects the allocation of the expenditure categories from Table 4—allocated to the 18 industry sectors based on assumptions about the characteristics of expenditures. Accommodation and food services was the sector most directly impacted.

Table 5: Industry Expenditure—Allocations to Industry Sector

	Victorian Attendee Spend	Interstate Attendee Spend	Overseas Attendee Spend	Event Organiser Spend
Agriculture, Forestry & Fishing	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%
Mining	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%
Manufacturing	18.3%	6.0%	5.7%	5.6%
Electricity, Gas, Water & Waste	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%
Construction	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	40.6%
Wholesale Trade	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%
Retail Trade	19.4%	6.7%	12.2%	1.2%
Accommodation & Food Services	33.4%	71.6%	48.4%	4.3%
Transport, Postal & Warehousing	10.9%	2.0%	8.6%	3.2%
Information Media & Telecommunications	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%
Finance & Insurance Services	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	21.8%
Property and Business Services	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	12.6%
Public administration and safety	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%
Education & Training	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%
Health care and social assistance	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%
Arts and recreation services	2.7%	9.2%	14.9%	1.2%
Other Services	7.5%	2.2%	4.0%	1.2%
Direct Imports	7.9%	2.4%	6.2%	8.4%
Total	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

Source: Assumptions based on Table 4

# **Adjustment of Expenditures**

These aggregated data are converted from purchasers' prices to basic prices, as the raw data include margins, taxes and subsidies. All monetary values in the input-output models are expressed as basic values. The prime differences between purchaser prices and basic values are:

- basic values exclude the cost of transport and wholesale and retail trade embedded in the purchase price (and allocate these to the transport and trade sectors).
- GST will be allocated to Gross Operating Surplus. In the modelling herein this is then considered to support government expenditure (an implied revenue neutral situation).

The input-output model adopted in this study has been developed specifically for this study using a location quotient approach to derive a table for 2017 for the Melbourne CBD, based on the national 2014/15 table<sup>7</sup> (ABS) and employment data from the ABS census data for 2011<sup>8</sup> with updates for both inflation and labour productivity movements over that time. The core assumptions to make the adjustments from purchaser price distributions to basic values are:

- The average value added in each of the industry sectors is extracted and then the GST component (at 10%, which is only paid on the value added) is deducted and separately identified.
- The purchaser price is adjusted for the average margin for wholesale, retail and transport sectors, as identified in the 2014/15 national input output tables.

Table 6 displays the distributions to industry sectors in terms of basic values. On the assumptions above the sector pays approximately 5% of expenditures as GST.

Table 6: Industry Expenditure—Allocations to Industry Sector- Basic Values

	Victorian	Interstate	Overseas	Event
	Attendee Spend	Attendee Spend	Attendee Spend	Organiser Spend
Agriculture, Forestry & Fishing	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%
Mining	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%
Manufacturing	16.6%	5.5%	5.2%	5.0%
Electricity, Gas, Water & Waste	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%
Construction	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	36.8%
Wholes ale Trade	4.1%	4.1%	4.1%	4.1%
Retail Trade	17.3%	6.3%	11.1%	1.4%
Accommodation & Food Services	29.6%	63.5%	42.9%	3.8%
Transport, Postal & Warehousing	11.5%	3.5%	9.4%	4.6%
Information Media & Telecommunications	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%
Finance & Insurance Services	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	19.1%
Property and Business Services	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	10.8%
Public administration and safety	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%
Education & Training	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%
Health care and social assistance	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%
Arts and recreation services	2.3%	8.0%	12.9%	1.0%
Other Services	6.6%	1.9%	3.5%	1.0%
Direct Imports	7.4%	2.2%	5.8%	7.9%
GST	4.5%	5.1%	5.0%	4.4%
Total	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

Source: Modelled result

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>7</sup> Latest table available

 $<sup>^8</sup>$ 2016 Census data for small area employment by place of work is not expected to be available until October 2017

#### **Results**

The total expenditures at the state level are then distributed to industry sectors and the resultant value added, household income and employment outcomes calculated. It is assumed that GST revenue is directed back to the State and is then used to fund government administration, health and education expenditures in the region of impact (i.e. the CBD).

The direct impacts are the value added, household income and employment in the industries supplying the festival related activity, calculated using the ratios of the various measures for the relevant ANZIC code as identified in the input-output table.

The calculation of the induced or flow on effects—allocated to industry where the impact occurs—is undertaken by running an impact assessment and tracing the whole of economy effect of the expenditure patterns linked to the festival (see Table 7 for results).

In summary, the conclusions are as followed:

- The total new expenditure linked to the festival that is generated in the Lonsdale Street area is estimated at \$5.0 million.
- This expenditure is responsible for creating a total of \$2.3 million<sup>9</sup> value added (or wages income plus gross operating surplus) directly, with gross wages and salaries being \$1.5 million. In addition, there were approximately 24 jobs created (in full time equivalent terms).

However, the flow on effects linked to this expenditure increases the size of the contribution by the sector. The above measure is the direct employment and income generated in entities directly in, or directly supplying, event focussed activities. Including the flow-on effects, the total contribution of the festival to the centre of Melbourne is estimated at \$4.3 million value added (wages income plus gross operating surplus, with wages and salaries being \$2.6 million and approximately 35 jobs (in full time equivalent terms).

Table 7: Estimates of Festival Related Contribution to Melbourne CBD Economic Activity

	Expend-	Value Added (\$m)		Househ	old Income	(\$m)	Employment (FTE's)			
	iture (\$m)	Direct	Induced	Total	Direct	Induced	Total	Direct	Induced	Total
Agriculture, Forestry & Fishing	\$0.000	\$0.000	\$0.015	\$0.015	\$0.000	\$0.003	\$0.003	0.0	0.1	0.1
Mining	\$0.000	\$0.000	\$0.016	\$0.016	\$0.000	\$0.004	\$0.004	0.0	0.0	0.0
Manufacturing	\$0.563	\$0.171	\$0.220	\$0.392	\$0.101	\$0.136	\$0.238	1.3	1.6	2.9
Electricity, Gas, Water & Waste	\$0.000	\$0.000	\$0.099	\$0.099	\$0.000	\$0.031	\$0.031	0.0	0.3	0.3
Construction	\$0.153	\$0.048	\$0.080	\$0.127	\$0.025	\$0.043	\$0.068	0.3	0.5	0.9
Wholesale Trade	\$0.207	\$0.104	\$0.113	\$0.216	\$0.064	\$0.073	\$0.138	0.5	0.6	1.1
Retail Trade	\$0.626	\$0.382	\$0.083	\$0.466	\$0.251	\$0.063	\$0.313	4.4	1.0	5.4
Accommodation & Food Services	\$1.890	\$0.948	\$0.021	\$0.969	\$0.607	\$0.030	\$0.636	11.7	0.3	12.0
Transport, Postal & Warehousing	\$0.441	\$0.199	\$0.152	\$0.351	\$0.099	\$0.080	\$0.179	1.3	1.0	2.3
Information Media & Telecommunications	\$0.000	\$0.000	\$0.100	\$0.100	\$0.000	\$0.038	\$0.038	0.0	0.4	0.4
Finance & Insurance Services	\$0.079	\$0.050	\$0.254	\$0.304	\$0.018	\$0.094	\$0.112	0.1	0.6	0.7
Ownership of Dwellings	\$0.000	\$0.000	\$0.114	\$0.114	\$0.000	\$0.000	\$0.000	0.0	0.0	0.0
Property and Business Services	\$0.045	\$0.023	\$0.563	\$0.586	\$0.015	\$0.380	\$0.395	0.1	3.6	3.7
Public administration and safety	\$0.079	\$0.048	\$0.025	\$0.072	\$0.038	\$0.021	\$0.059	0.3	0.2	0.5
Education & Training	\$0.079	\$0.059	\$0.032	\$0.091	\$0.051	\$0.030	\$0.082	0.5	0.3	0.8
Health care and social assistance	\$0.079	\$0.058	\$0.033	\$0.091	\$0.049	\$0.030	\$0.079	0.5	0.3	0.8
Arts and recreation services	\$0.265	\$0.103	\$0.017	\$0.119	\$0.058	\$0.011	\$0.069	1.1	0.2	1.3
Other Services	\$0.230	\$0.121	\$0.041	\$0.162	\$0.082	\$0.031	\$0.113	1.5	0.5	2.0
Direct Imports	\$0.300	•								
Total	\$5.036	\$2.312	\$1.978	\$4.290	\$1.458	\$1.099	\$2.557	23.8	11.4	35.3

Source: Modelled result

When considering the value-added contribution of \$4.3 million generated by the festival related expenditure, it is important to note that it is made up of:

Direct Value Added (\$2.3 million)—this represents the amount of income included in the direct in-scope expenditure. It is the amount of gross wages and salaries in the Festival Related services, plus the gross operating surplus (profits, interest payment and direct taxes) directly created in supply these services and product. This is also equal to the direct in-scope expenditure less the purchases the provider of the goods and services makes in providing the goods and services (both that supplied from within the region, and that supplied externally (i.e. imported).

Indirect (Induced) Value Added (\$2.0 million)—'Indirect value added' represents the value-added activity (wage and salary and gross operating surplus) generated to support the purchases made in providing the inputs to the providers of the direct services, along with the value-added impact in providing households with goods and services as they spend their wages, and the trickle-on effect of this.

<sup>9</sup> The impact on regional incomes (wages and profits) is less than the direct expenditure, because in estimated incomes, only a proportion of the spend results in incomes directly and indirectly – with a small region, there is a high proportion of leakage in terms of spend on imported goods

# Modelling: the Impact on State economic activity

#### **Distribution of Expenditure to Industry Sector**

It should be recognised when examining the economic impact of an event in the state, that expenditure of Victorians in attending is likely to occur with or without the event and is simply transferred from other activities (or times). Similarly for visitors from outside of the state, some of their estimated expenditure in attending the event would also be diverted from other activities. Furthermore, some of the revenue that funds the event would, from a state perspective, also be spent elsewhere in the state.

Table 8 provides estimates of total and created expenditure in this context. The total spend by attendees from outside of the state is much greater because it includes their expenditure outside the area (i.e. in the rest of Melbourne/Victoria). However, of this aggregate expenditure in the State, only a proportion can be attributable to the event—it is the extra expenditure that the attendee made because of the event that is relevant. To provide an estimate of this, it is assumed that the proportion of visitor nights in the CBD to visitor nights in the total state would be a reasonable basis for proportioning the total spend. It is assumed for organiser spend that sponsorships and the proportion of sales revenue that is underpinned by visitor spend would be new to the state.

Table 8: Estimates of Festival Related Expenditure - State Perspective

	Interstate Visitor Spend	Overseas Visitor Spend	Event Organiser Spend	Total
Total Number of attendees	3,995	2,996		6,991
Visitor nights in state	3,996	21,770		25765
Total Spend in state	\$2,214,145	\$4,508,102	\$497,821	\$7,220,067
Created Spend in Victoria	\$604,312	\$122,571	\$152,467	\$879,350

Source: Assumptions and survey results (Table 2)

Table 9 presents the proportion of this expenditure within the area by category or types of spend, based on the survey results. The two major expenditure items are accommodation and meals, food and beverages—although transport, other entertainment and recreation and general retail (in other expenses) are also significant. Table 10 reflects the allocation of the expenditure categories from Table 9—allocated to the 18 industry sectors based on assumptions as to the characteristics of the expenditures. The sector most directly impacted is accommodation and food services.

Table 9: Estimated Characteristics of Festival Related Expenditure (State Perspective)

	Interstate Visitor Spend	Overseas Visitor Spend	Event Organiser Spend	Total
Event tickets	6.1%	0.5%		4.3%
Accommodation	67.3%	67.2%		55.6%
Meals, food and beverages	15.5%	5.7%		11.5%
Transport	6.2%	16.1%		6.5%
Tourism, entertainment, leisure	1.7%	8.4%		2.3%
Any other expenses	3.3%	2.2%		2.6%
Construction expenses (SITE)			31.4%	5.4%
Production expenses			18.6%	3.2%
Marketing			8.0%	1.4%
VIP and Hospitality			10.5%	1.8%
Performer Expenses			11.7%	2.0%
Administration and other expenses			19.9%	3.5%
Total	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

Source: Survey results

Table 10: Distribution to Industry Sector (State Perspective)

	Interstate Attendee Spend	Overseas Attendee Spend	Event Organiser Spend
Agriculture, Forestry & Fishing	1.6%	0.6%	0.0%
Mining	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%
Manufacturing	6.2%	2.3%	1.9%
Electricity, Gas, Water & Waste	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%
Construction	0.0%	0.0%	40.6%
Wholesale Trade	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%
Retail Trade	1.5%	3.2%	1.2%
Accommodation & Food Services	73.5%	69.4%	4.3%
Transport, Postal & Warehousing	6.2%	16.1%	3.2%
Information Media & Telecommuni	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%
Finance & Insurance Services	0.0%	0.0%	15.8%
Property and Business Services	0.0%	0.0%	12.6%
Public administration and safety	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%
Education & Training	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%
Health care and social assistance	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%
Arts and recreation services	0.7%	3.4%	2.3%
Other Services	1.7%	1.1%	1.2%
Direct Imports	8.8%	4.0%	16.9%
Total	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

Source: Assumptions based on Table 9

Table 11: Industry Expenditure – Allocations to Industry Sector-Basic **Values (State Perspective)** 

	Interstate Attendee Spend	Overseas Attendee Spend	Event Organiser Spend
Agriculture, Forestry & Fishing	1.4%	0.5%	0.0%
Mining	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%
Manufacturing	5.6%	2.1%	1.7%
Electricity, Gas, Water & Waste	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%
Construction	0.0%	0.0%	36.8%
Wholes ale Trade	4.1%	4.1%	4.1%
Retail Trade	1.7%	3.2%	1.4%
Accommodation & Food Services	65.1%	61.6%	3.8%
Transport, Postal & Warehousing	7.3%	16.1%	4.6%
Information Media & Telecommuni	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%
Finance & Insurance Services	0.0%	0.0%	13.8%
Property and Business Services	0.0%	0.0%	10.8%
Public administration and safety	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%
Education & Training	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%
Health care and social assistance	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%
Arts and recreation services	0.6%	2.9%	2.0%
Other Services	1.5%	1.0%	1.0%
Direct Imports	8.3%	3.7%	15.9%
GST	4.4%	4.8%	4.0%
Total	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

# **Adjustment of Expenditures**

The Victorian input-output model adopted has been developed specifically for this study using a location quotient approach to derive a state table for 2017, based on the national 2014/15 table (ABS 2015) and employment data from the Labour Force Survey for 2014/15, updated for inflation and labour productivity changes.

Table 11 indicates the distributions to industry sectors in terms of basic values.



#### **Results**

The total expenditures at the state level are then distributed to industry sectors and the resultant value added, household income and employment outcomes calculated. It is assumed that GST revenue is directed back to the State and is used to fund government administration, health and education expenditures. The assumed expenditure are then used as a final demand stimulus to the input-output table producing estimates of the impact on Gross State Product, household income and employment in net context for Victoria.

In summary the conclusions of the modelling detail provided in Table 12 are:

- The total new expenditure linked to the event within Victoria is estimated at \$0.9 million.
- This expenditure is responsible for creating a total of \$0.40 million value added (or wages income plus gross operating surplus) directly, with gross wages and salaries being \$0.23 million, and approximately 4.2 jobs (in full time equivalent terms).

Including the flow-on effects, the total contribution of the Greek Festival is estimated as \$1.12 million value added (or wages income plus gross operating surplus, with wages and salaries being \$0.58 million, and approximately 8.5 jobs (in full time equivalent terms)).

Table 12: Estimates of Festival Related Activity to Victorian Economic Activity

	Expend-	Va	alue Added	(\$m)	Household Income (\$m)		Employment (FTE's)			
	iture (\$m)	Direct	Induced	Total	Direct	Induced	Total	Direct	Induced	Total
Agriculture, Forestry and Fishing	\$0.009	\$0.004	\$0.025	\$0.029	\$0.001	\$0.005	\$0.006	0.0	0.2	0.2
Mining	\$0.000	\$0.000	\$0.003	\$0.003	\$0.000	\$0.001	\$0.001	0.0	0.0	0.0
Manufacturing	\$0.039	\$0.012	\$0.063	\$0.075	\$0.007	\$0.037	\$0.044	0.1	0.5	0.6
Electricity, Gas, Water & Waste Ser	\$0.000	\$0.000	\$0.030	\$0.030	\$0.000	\$0.009	\$0.009	0.0	0.1	0.1
Construction	\$0.056	\$0.017	\$0.024	\$0.041	\$0.009	\$0.012	\$0.022	0.1	0.2	0.3
Wholesale Trade	\$0.036	\$0.018	\$0.035	\$0.053	\$0.011	\$0.022	\$0.033	0.1	0.2	0.3
Retail Trade	\$0.016	\$0.010	\$0.045	\$0.055	\$0.007	\$0.029	\$0.036	0.1	0.5	0.7
Accommodation &Food Services	\$0.475	\$0.238	\$0.023	\$0.261	\$0.152	\$0.015	\$0.167	3.1	0.3	3.4
Transport, Postal & Warehousing	\$0.071	\$0.032	\$0.043	\$0.075	\$0.016	\$0.021	\$0.037	0.2	0.3	0.5
Information Media & Telecommuni	\$0.000	\$0.000	\$0.028	\$0.028	\$0.000	\$0.011	\$0.011	0.0	0.1	0.1
Finance &Insurance Services	\$0.021	\$0.013	\$0.098	\$0.111	\$0.005	\$0.035	\$0.040	0.0	0.2	0.3
Ownership of Dwellings	\$0.017	\$0.013	\$0.092	\$0.105	\$0.000	\$0.000	\$0.000	0.0	0.0	0.0
Property & Business Services	\$0.000	\$0.000	\$0.133	\$0.133	\$0.000	\$0.087	\$0.087	0.0	0.9	0.9
Public Administration & Safety	\$0.013	\$0.008	\$0.006	\$0.014	\$0.006	\$0.005	\$0.011	0.1	0.0	0.1
Education & Training	\$0.013	\$0.010	\$0.022	\$0.032	\$0.008	\$0.020	\$0.028	0.1	0.2	0.3
Health care & social assistance	\$0.013	\$0.010	\$0.026	\$0.035	\$0.008	\$0.022	\$0.030	0.1	0.2	0.3
Arts & recreation services	\$0.010	\$0.004	\$0.007	\$0.011	\$0.002	\$0.004	\$0.006	0.0	0.1	0.1
Other Services	\$0.012	\$0.006	\$0.017	\$0.023	\$0.004	\$0.011	\$0.015	0.1	0.2	0.3
Direct Imports	\$0.079									
Total	\$0.879	\$0.395	\$0.720	\$1.115	\$0.237	\$0.347	\$0.584	4.2	4.3	8.5

Source: Modelled result

When considering the value-added contribution of \$1.1 million generated by the Victoria Festival Related, it is important to note that it is made up of, direct value added (\$0.4 million) and indirect (induced) value added (\$0.7 million).

# 3.2 Socio-Cultural Impact of the LSGF 2017

#### **Positive Impacts**

- Cultural pride
- Sense of belonging and familiarity
- · Positive, ambient atmosphere
- Very good multicultural attendance (see Tables 13 and 14)
- Encourages cultural sharing and maintenance
- Strengthens familial bonds

#### **Limitations & Opportunities for Growth**

- Higher inclusivity of young people needed
- Contemporaneity could be enhanced in cultural programming
- Participants desire greater sociality and connection
- Diversity of Greek cultural forms could be broadened
- Cultural maintenance could be enhanced through greater participation and interaction
- Tensions pertaining to "Greekness" and belonging surfacing for some participants when at the event

#### Table 13 Identified culture - Festival survey

	Frequency	Per cent
Greek/Macedonian/Cypriot	30	19.7
Other European	30	19.7
Asian	24	15.8
Australian	18	11.8
Greek/Australian	13	8.6
African	2	1.3
South American	3	2
American	3	2
Mixed	3	2
Anglo or western	1	0.7

# Table 14 identified culture - Total

	Frequency	Per cent
Greek/Macedonian/Cypriot	115	39.2
Other European	31	10.6
Greek/Australian	26	8.9
Asian	24	8.2
Australian	20	6.8
South American	3	1
Anglo or western	3	1
American	3	1
Mixed	3	1
African	2	0.7

#### **Discussion**

Two focus groups were held on 27 May 2017 to assess the sociocultural impact of the LSGF. The first contained six Greek-Australian participants aged between 18 and 35 to assess the impact on youth. The second focus group contained one Greek migrant and one non-Greek migrant, both were aged 35 years or older and had attended the 2017 festival. The focus groups aimed to gauge an understanding of the impact of the festival for Greek migrants and engagement for non-Greek communities.

Where participants are quoted in this report they are identified in the following manners for anonymity:

- **F1** (Female, Focus Group 1, 18-35 years old)
- M1 (Male, Focus Group 1, 18-35 years old)
- **F2** (Female, Focus Group 2, 35 years or older)
- **M2** (Male, Focus Group 2, 35 years or older)

There were some common themes among the focus groups that contributed to the recommendations for future LSGFs. The general themes that arose included:

- · diversity of engagement;
- conventionality versus contemporary expressions of Greekness;
- intergenerational knowledge; and,
- the portrayal of Greece to a wider audience.

The common thread among these themes relies on the inclusion of a greater assortment of activities to engage wider audiences, build stronger connections, and express broader notions of Greekness.

The participants of the focus groups generally agreed that they felt a strong sense of belonging at the festival. There was an element of familiarity that is hard to achieve in Australia—outside of the home—that comes with celebrating Greek culture in this way. As explained by one F2: "When I was in the Festival I felt ... everything here is very familiar, the way they communicate, what they say. For a moment, I was back in Greece."

Additionally, the participants felt the festival created an environment outside of home, where they could introduce and educate their non-Greek friends on Greek culture.

"it's nice chance to live Greek culture, pretty close and really understand what it is. That's what I would say. It is a good chance for someone to see how Greeks are, how they communicate and how they celebrate." (F2)

Many of the younger participants communicated that **sharing their culture was of prime importance to them during this festival.** A strong aspect about the festival for the participants was that it created a space to feel proud of and celebrate their culture. While most of the young Greek-Australians in the focus group were born in Australia, they felt a strong connection to Greece as the cultural motherland. The festival provided an environment where they could share this connection with their non-Greek friends.

However, participants still felt that the festival could be more inclusive of non-Greek people in Melbourne.

The participants explained that they did not see much advertising for the festival outside of the Greek community **channels.** They felt it would enhance the festival experience to encourage and target more non-Greek people to share in the celebrations.

Some suggestions included focusing on university advertising and networks to encourage non-Greek youth communities to enjoy in the festivities, and perhaps other social media sources outside the Greek Orthodox Community more visibly.

"And whether that means having more like meetup events, speed dating you know until you know recently I was a committee member for Greek Australian Women's Non-profit and that was really good in terms of having—like engaging with not only like sort of Greek Australians in Melbourne but also with Greeks from all around the world. So we need to work on making people feel more welcome and less judged, things like that." (F1)

"I think these are really—I think we need to work on an engagement with newly arrived Greeks from—not just necessarily from Greece but like from anywhere in the world, I think that there seems to be an antagonism between Greek Australian culture and maybe native Greeks from elsewhere for some reason. I don't know, there's just a bit of hostility that's—a lot of people who come here maybe don't like it or they don't like the Greek community in Melbourne in particular and they—I think we need to work on making people feel more welcome because we are the largest diaspora outside of Greece." (F1)

The participants conveyed the idea that there is a disparity between expressions of conventional Greek culture compared with contemporary Greek culture. For example, conventional Greek culture includes, eating souvlaki, traditional Greek dances and music, whereas, Greek culture is rich in subcultures. Including more modern notions of Greek culture were therefore desired by the participants for future Lonsdale St festivals.

"Yeah, with what you're saying I completely agree like in my kind of generation or people my age it's kind of that expectation, there's these stereotypes and they kind of really stick. Being of Greek descent you know it's like an expectation of—one kind of has of you. Like obviously I kind of fall out of that 'cause I'm not your typical Greek you know I've got piercings, I'm into [metal] ... and I feel like it's not as accepted here as it would be overseas just because of the stereotypes and people's expectations and the way people act towards people." (F1)

"Yeah, yeah, it's kind of like split identity crisis almost between like being into a particular subgenre of music and a lifestyle and being into the whole Greek cultural thing which is—overseas it's more acceptable whereas in Australia it's kind of like a weird mixture because the two cultures don't really clash well together." (F1)

The outlook of established migrants—or "mentality" (F2), as it was referred to—that rejects or excludes the modernisation of Greece and Greek culture was perceived to be adopted by the LSGF in terms of activities. While many agreed that one of the most exciting aspects of the festival were the stage performance acts, the participants still felt that it lacked diversity of culture. They felt that Greece was portrayed "one-dimensionally". The focus groups therefore **fostered the** idea of portraying more of Greece, including the islands. They returned to the earlier idea of including art exhibitions or short films but designed primarily to showcase Greece, in all its diversity. For example, inclusion of contemporary dance acts and Greek theatre productions were mentioned as being needed.

"There wasn't a lot about islands and, okay, what can you do with islands? I don't know, maybe showcase something...?" (F2)

"Yeah, I think they've [the festival organisers] done good like with Zurouna they had which was good 'cause they're a bit more—not entirely Greek, they're kind of a bit more Lebanese and stuff like that so that kind of crossover was a bit interesting and drew some of my friends to come who aren't of Greek background. But yeah, it'd be nice to see more—less traditional kind of Greek stuff and more new age or a different subgenre, something" (F1).

In addition, despite the disparity in perceptions of the quality of food, many participants expressed **desire for more diverse** food options. Souvlaki was the main food attraction but there was discussion about the variety of Greek foods that could be included. Through including more choice in food, participants felt that they would not only enjoy the experience more, but would be given the opportunity to share wider aspects of food culture with their non-Greek friends. As food remains a strong component of Greek culture, they felt that the food options could be more reflective of their cultural expression.

There was further acceptance that the festival could incorporate more stalls and interactive activities that encouraged contemporary notions of building connections.

These ideas included stalls that engage people to learn how to create or craft certain culturally significant things. These activities could be cooking classes or be led by young Greek artists in Melbourne. It was felt that these activities would encourage stronger connections of people and Greek culture, and also help promote young Greek artists in Melbourne. Another participant proposed that there could be activities that resembled speed dating in structure but designed for Greek youth to make connections to other members of their community. This was received well by the focus group as many felt that they would have liked to have made more connections at the festival but did not feel the activities enabled this.

"performances are required quite a lot but more shops to participate, more groups, more like subcultures or inside the culture you know because Greeks are not just Greeks, there are some subcultures also. And yeah so, it's a real festival because like for me, it was just some performances and some food and nothing else, not much activity, not many opportunities to see what Greeks are doing in their like hobbies ... where was the Greek theatres?" (F2).

The youth focus group **emphasised the importance of** intergenerational connections and sharing cultural **knowledge.** They encouraged the inclusion of older Greek women to share their specific knowledges on Greek traditions such as offering teacup readings.

"So yeah, my—like very important to me and like we live close and I love that you know her neighbours come over like that [...] we'll have coffee and stuff but also this was just making me think like at the Festival they're present like they're watching things but maybe having them as educators like they could even be you know—I don't know, teaching like—like I have a friend, she wants to learn Greek and she was like I'd love if your yiayia [grandmother] could teach me like do a language exchange. Or get them involved in telling them you know their stories 'cause they're very knowledgeable you know they've been through a lot to come here and I just—yeah, giving them more voice and—I don't know, say." (F1)

They further **encouraged the inclusion of younger knowledges** to express more contemporary changes to culture through including art exhibitions by Greek youth, and/or having a minifilm festival within the LSGF for young Greek filmmakers.

### 3.3 Recommendations for LSGF 2018 and beyond

The LSGF has the potential to develop deeper forms of engagement and to widen people's social experiences. However, in the context of global cultures, there is also a risk that festivals are dismissed as empty spectacles. To distinguish a festival from a spectacle and turn it into a sustained experience that has a deeper resonance there has to be a deeper connection to place. Attendees at a festival have the opportunity to perform new kinds of identities and relationships and, importantly, new ways of becoming embedded in public spaces. This point is particularly relevant in this instance given the ways in which the LSGF is historically linked to the Lonsdale Street precinct, so that the celebration of Greek culture becomes enacted, maintained, and re-translated spatially.

The LSGF runs for two days of a weekend. As such, there is a potential for people to attend and suspend their normal habits for a relatively extended period of time. However, the data indicates most people come for a few hours on a single day only—even those who attend 'religiously'; and, indeed, even those who attend both days stay only for short stints each time. Research on festivals has shown that:

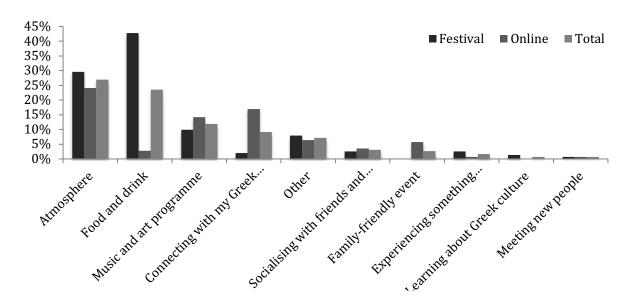
- Adjunct activities in addition to the 'key' attraction are just as important for festival goers as the key attraction itself, e.g. a music festival attendee might attend a festival for the enjoyment of certain music, however, 'the atmosphere' and 'opportunities to socialise' are just as important (Bowen and Daniels 2005; Gelder and Robinson 2009).
- The longer people stay at a festival, the deeper are their social and psychological experiences of the festival (Ballantyne, Ballantyne and Packer 2014, p. 80)

Excitingly, the results from the LGSF survey show that 'atmosphere' is the second-highest thing people listed as enjoying the most, second only to food and drink. Contrastingly, the other adjunct experiences such as 'meeting new people', 'learning new things', and 'connection with culture' resulted much lower (see Table below).

The focus groups held for this research project demonstrated a strong desire for these latter experiences. The GCCC is in an excellent position to connect these currently disparate experiences. Careful planning of the space and programme will enable the excellent atmosphere, food and drink to create a bridge to the latter, deeper experiences of connection, sociality, and interactivity.

### **Favourite aspect**

What did you enjoy about the Lonsdale st festival?



One of the most interesting observations from the ethnographic work carried out during the 2017 festival was the ways in which people continued to huddle together along the Lonsdale Street median strips, the entire length of the street. It was here that most of the surveys were carried out, and ethnographic conversations in general. One researcher spotted someone sitting here sketching the scenes around him, and began chatting to him about it. He reported feeling connected to atmosphere and was thoroughly enjoying being able to immerse himself in the street and experience. This is a type of sociality that involved both direct communication and indirect communication, a type of social osmosis. The GCCC should endeavour to curate the festival space in such a way that these kinds of immersive social experiences become intrinsic to the festival rather than a positive by-product. For example, by ensuring there are areas where people can more meaningfully encounter one another. The following section offers specific strategies for creating these kinds of ambient, interactive spaces.

This research has illustrated that the GCM has successfully created a highly ambient environment that the public of Melbourne and beyond enthusiastically engages with. By homing in on the 'motivations, movements and experiences of audiences and producers' (Papastergiadis et al. 2016, p. 1), this research points to ways that that the GCM could harness this ambient environment of its festival, and channel it into even more fluid and interactive encounters for attendees. The interweaving of cultural forms and public engagement leads to what Papastergiadis et al (2016, p. 1) refer to as 'event-spaces', and the LSGF is well poised to become a genuine place of 'public inhabitation and cultural democratization' (Papastergiadis et al. 2016, p. 1), with the 'capacity to create genuine social connections, cohesion, and cultural legitimacy (Waitt & Gorman-Murray 2008, p. 187).

### **Programming & Activities**

- Include more contemporary displays and activities that reflect wider Greek culture and Greek subcultures, for example, Greek Islands, Greek and Gays clubs, etc.
- Utilise GCCC more, perhaps through use of visual art exhibition.
- Increase interactive activities, for example handmade jewellery making; this would also provide an opportunity for intergenerational engagement and cultural learning.
- Events that are specifically designed for people to talk and meet new people. One example that came up in the Focus Groups was speed dating. Perhaps some thought could go into how phone technologies could be used to connect people, e.g. Yellow Brick Road type interactive game. If carefully designed, new and older migrants could contribute, indicating the differences but allowing the differences to coexist and be threaded together into a narrative.
- Enhance children's programme.

### Infrastructure & Layout

- · More seats.
- · More weather protection.
- The divide between the VIPs and the regular attendees was very uncomfortable for many people, including young people who expressed concern for the older people "on the borders". The VIP area should be more private to ensure a feeling of inclusivity.
- Clearways that allow for better people flow, especially in congested areas near stages. A lot of bottleneck areas.
- Consider how thoroughfare might be made to flow up and down the street or even multi-directionally rather than one way at a time.
- Curate the space to extend attendance duration, consequently creating a deeper connection to place.
   These spaces should allow people to interact, for example, more table and seating arrangements, but also areas where young people can gather and socialise later into the evening.

### **Marketing and Branding**

- · Target advertising to non-Greek communities.
- Focus on building connections within the community.
- Utilise people at the key entrance points, especially the Swanston Street entrance, that act as a welcome/ reassurance anchor for people walking past who are intrigued to go in but are nervous to do so, unsure if they can, and/or simply need an extra 'push'.



# 4 Future Directions for the GCCC

Looking towards the future, the GCCC needs to consider its key challenges in light of the changes occurring within the GCM and the City of Melbourne at large. In line with the GCCC's entrepreneurial model, this report turns now to summarising the two key challenges facing the organisation, namely, the socio-cultural and spatial challenges. The GCCC can thus work to ensure its financial planning is aligned with the key opportunities and threats presented by these new socio-cultural circumstances, and the related spatial dynamics.

### 4.1 Socio-Cultural Challenges

The socio-cultural challenges can be grouped into three categories: 1. Intergenerational Engagement; 2. Sociality and Connection; and 3. Cultural Hybridity, and are discussed below.

### 4.1.1 Intergenerational Challenges

- Ageing population of the GCM.
- Within the 'old' (established) Greek migrant constituency there is a disparate sense of cultural identity between first generation and younger generations; these differences which often relate to cultural preservation and cultural experimentation—are compounded by the arrival of 'new' Greek migrant arrivals.
- Descendants of the established migrants—especially thirdand beyond generations of Greek-Australians—want to engage with new arrivals, contemporise Greek-Australian culture while remaining deeply aware of and committed to their cultural heritage. As such, this group represent a crucial bridge for the GCM.

### Discussion

'It is a well-known fact that Arthur Calwell's new Australians today form part of Australian's bourgeoning ageing community' (Maria Vamvakinou 2016 in Pronia online). The need to provide ethno-specific care to this part of the population is thus increasingly important; however, as Vamvakinou (2016) also notes, government attitudes about the Greek community's needs and related funding requirements shifted in the latter part of the 1990s as the GCM began to be understood as an established community (see also Tsiolidis and Pollard 2009, p. 440). As Theo Markos, a long-time GCM member explains:

Let's not forget that as a Greek community now we have a lot of people that are ageing, they have specific needs so therefore you know when Howard and various other politicians 15 years ago saying look, the Greek community doesn't need special needs anymore, they don't need special services in the ways of translations or translators or interpreters or—in the way of Greek welfare services, it's actually quite the opposite, if anything this is a community now that needs it more so. Because of my profession as an optometrist I work in a university public environment and I see a lot of Greek ... in the '70s and '80s who really battled to have a conversation, a medical conversation in English and they really—they need it more so because what happens

basically with these people, they retire, they stay at home, they—the little English that they have they lose so therefore the need is more... so that's where we have to play an advocacy role, basically. See I mean just recently we wrote a letter to the state government in regards to the fact that they were minimising or not supporting as much as they should be the translators and the interpreters within the state system so we were concerned at that, we sent a letter to the Minister of Multicultural—Minister Scott telling him that there's a need to ensure that those services exist and that these professions that provide these services are adequately catered for, paid properly for the hard work that they do. So, you know there's still a lot for us to do (Markos 2017b)

Intergenerational differences and challenges were deeply discussed in the focus groups. There were clear disparities between how the younger group identified these challenges compared with the older group. However, there was a common interest in the preservation of the Greek language. The younger group, particularly the second, third, and fourth generation participants, felt that they wanted more connection with older Greeks. They desired stronger encouragement of Greek language proficiency in Australia through connections with older Greek-Australians. Additionally, there was a discussion on wanting to learn more about Greek foods and artistic history through building connections with older Greeks. They quite unanimously felt that their primary connection to culture was through their grandparents, but worried about preservation of culture when this connection is lost. Therefore, they wanted to explore other ways of building connections, perhaps through programmes at the GCCC.

- F1: "- there are always generational differences among every sort of ethnic group and I think that that's something that needs to be negotiated very well in the Greek Australian community."
- F1: "Yeah, there needs to be more communication between Gen X and Gen Y and also I think there needs to be more like female representation in the Greek community here."
- F1: "Exactly. Yeah, even for food tech—sorry, going a bit offtopic but my Yia-Yia, she didn't like make "pitta" I went—like I asked my friends like whose Yia-Yia can teach me so like going over there and she felt very—like this other lady felt really valued and just appreciated that yeah, I went to learn her skills so just yeah trying to connect them."
- M1: "Not only that but skillsets as well, I think my Yia-Yia's so capable of so many things that I've never had the chance to pick up."
- F1: "Yeah like there's you know a lot of them grew up without the whole nutrition thing [...] like not knowing how to eat properly, not knowing that you're meant to exercise minimum of three times a week, it was all about money and like marrying and that mentality, it still hasn't left a lot of people. And also there's a real reluctance to access mental health services and to discuss you know mental health issues and things like that, there's a really big stigma surrounding that."
- M1: "Yeah, I mean my grandparents and I'm sure a lot of—oh everyone else—sorry, I'm sure a lot of people here as well also have grandparents that came you know as

first generation immigrants to Australia and they had a very different experience to what we do. So I mean I can remember when I was young—having my grandparents ask me questions like oh do your friends care that you're Greek? Do you get racially taunted? And it's like it doesn't happen anymore, it's really rare. And then you know they'd—you'd hear the stories of how they used to get treated so I think that's affected how they represent their culture compared to how perhaps I would ... And how they sort of repeat that sort of thing about only mixing with Greeks if you know what I mean whereas—I think it is bridged in a sense so like a lot of them have sort of worn off and with their neighbour who's totally different nationality have bridged that but just wide, I think that applies very much so. So like obviously Yia-Yia's got like a neighbour who's like Croatian, they're best of mates but like apart from that I don't think it exists."

F1: "Yeah, I think things that—like with our generation, the older generation, I think—like I'm first gen—I was born here, my parents were born overseas but even seeing my parents and then my aunties overseas who are the same age, they're really struggling to adapt still like my dad still struggles with English or technology, he's useless at it yet overseas they seemed to have moved on and gone with the times whereas here they're kind of still stuck in that old culture and their old expectations of how life was over there..."

The more recently arrived migrants born in Greece expressed similar concerns in how the Greeks in Australia are preserving their culture, though in a way that was different again from the younger generations of established migrants. They felt that older Greek Australians were more concerned with preserving old culture, and lack contemporary modes of thinking and engaging with the community. One such participant was particularly concerned with the lack of integration with older migrants resulting in isolation. Another expressed a sense of disenchantment towards some of the Greek community outposts or 'cliques', such as Oakleigh. In this context, there was an emphasis on language and learning English as a form of integration and reducing isolation, as well as a desire for finding places to interact and 'be Greek' without a need for these places to be 'exclusively Greek.'

This sentiment is hardly surprising given that, as Nikolaos Gkolfinopoulos' (2016) research has found, the vast majority of new arrivals from Greece are what he terms Greek-Millenial Migrants. These migrants are aged 19 to 39 years old, have tertiary levels of education, and often chose to migrate to Australia not simply because of family or friend networks, but because they expected to adapt more easily. It seems that upon arrival, these migrants often clash with the Greek diaspora of Melbourne already established here (Gkolfinopoulos 2016), a sentiment supported by participants in the focus groups. Gkolfinopoulos' research argues that one reason for this clash is that the new migrants feel exploited by the more established migrants when it comes to employment and wages. Our research suggests the tensions are due to differences in cultural understanding and a current inability to translate how Greekness has formed differently in the two contexts (Melbourne and Greece).

"And one comment I'd like to make is that they don't try to integrate themselves in the Australian society much, they want to

keep the Greek culture they bring and preserve it and they think that if they mingle with Australians they will lose that... So, what I'm trying to say to Greeks and every Greek I meet, open up, talk to Australians, talk to everyone, it doesn't matter. You can do your Greek things at home or whatever but you have to integrate into the society otherwise you will end up like your parents that you know 20 years after, all the English you know is hello, goodbye you know the basic." (F2)

There was a discussion of older Greeks in Australia being "homesick" (F2) and thus felt a deep anticipation of Greek cultural events like the Lonsdale St festival. At the same time however, there was concern that these people lacked understanding, or even rejected, how Greek culture has evolved overtime in Greece. Perhaps the feeling of being homesick has resulted in a need to preserve old culture- fearing loss of connection to their ancestral and geographic history. Those in Greece, on the other hand, may not feel this way as they are connected directly to the land, simplifying cultural development. Therefore, the older participant felt that new migrants from Greeks were providing Greek-Australians with a more contemporary understanding of Greek culture.

"I think [new migrants] do want to bring something new and make the Greek Australians that live here realise that things have changed, that they left their villages and towns back in '60s but now so many years have passed and most of them still live in that little village in Greece. So, I think new Greeks coming in, which is of course two, three generations after the ones that are already here, would bring you know fresh mind and at least more modern way of thinking and that would be really good for the Greek Australians that live here which—most of them don't even speak English." (F2)

"I think Greeks feel homesick so—especially old Greeks, they miss their home and the place they were born because first immigrant, the first generation that immigrated to Melbourne are now 60, 70 years old so they miss their hometown a lot and that creates itself an atmosphere in the Festival plus the children and grandchildren that are into this homesick thing, that grew up in this. And Greece and remember in my village and in my town and we did this and we did that so there is some kind of anticipation for every Greek thing that comes to Melbourne. So, all this whole thing, you know, it shows everywhere and I think that's mostly the atmosphere that's around. That's how I understand it." (F2)

"I miss Greek food or something but it's not like I'm very thinking about it and missing it a lot and it affects my day-to-day life, it's—I need the connection, I guess, I don't want to totally be cut off from Greek thing. But also I'm very interested in going to the Aussie culture as well so yes, of course, I mean I live here, that's where we are so it's really important to integrate ourselves in the Australian community and not leaving the Greek community—okay, Greek community's a part of it and that's it, that's how I see it." (F2)

"They've [established migrants] been living here for 20, 30 years and they don't speak English which this on its own tells us something, they are a bit you know isolated." (F2)

"And one comment I'd like to make is that they [established migrants] don't try to integrate themselves in the Australian society much, they want to keep the Greek culture they bring and preserve it and they think that if they mingle with Australians they will lose that, there's a fear under this thing but there's no

fear, actually. I mean I understand the fear but it's not going to happen, we talk with Aussies and Latin Americans and all the cultures from the world because Melbourne if you think about it—you know very well, better than me even, you're standing—Melbourne is—there is—the whole world there is in Melbourne which for me is amazing, I mean I met people from Venezuela, Brazil and I would never have this opportunity... So, what I'm trying to say to Greeks and every Greek I meet, open up, talk to Australians, talk to everyone, it doesn't matter. You can do your Greek things at home or whatever but you have to integrate into the society otherwise you will end up like your parents that you know 20 years after, all the English you know is hello, goodbye you know the basic." (F2 2017).

F1: I used to come to some of the public lectures, I think that they're you know really informative and you know like they have Christmas functions and stuff like that. I think what deters a lot of people is maybe like it's called the Greek Orthodox Community of Melbourne, Victoria so obviously it has religious connotations and that might intimidate a lot of people who aren't religious or don't come from you know like a Greek orthodox background. But like there's no real demarcation between the Greek Centre as like a cultural thing and then the Greek orthodox community. So maybe the title and also the logo like for the community like it's a little bit Golden Dawn—don't put that on the record—it looks a little bit kind of fundamentalist like if you look at—whereas the logo for the Greek Centre is a little bit softer, it's a design issue, yeah.

### 4.1.2 Sociality and Connection

The focus groups also shed light on how members of the GCM create social networks and pursue forms of cultural connectedness. The main points pertaining to this are:

- Changing modes of sociality through Information Communication Technologies and social media platforms.
- Younger Greek migrants feel like their voice is not necessarily registered within the GCM and seek a deeper connection and presence within the community.
- Younger migrants desire a deeper understanding of their ancestors and more opportunities to learn about their heritage in social settings, including historical information and practical skills like cooking, Greek crafts, language, etc.
- Younger people are using digital technology to connect, but this is mostly as a starting point, and they are still seeking face-to-face interaction and social connection.
- M1 "Yeah, I think I've had a missed opportunity to explain a lot of the things to my friends who perhaps weren't Greek and they gave a—like obviously a connection to it, I felt like—not showing off but had a chance to explain things and to share things but I didn't get a chance to speak to anyone one-on-one like anyone who was running the stores and stuff which is a bit of a shame so I can't say if I felt too personally connected to each store for instance but the general idea was there."
- F1: "Yeah so I think the competitions are a really good opportunity for people of all heritage to really engage."

### 4.1.3 Cultural Hybridity

- Increase in hybrid identities and culturally-mixed families.
- Tensions pertaining to other subcultures and markers of identity, for example, gender and sexuality.
  - Younger group concerned that there are few connections between girls and women compared to boys and men.
  - Older participants felt that Greek mothers formed connections while men don't really socialise.
- Stereotypes pertaining to Greekness still influential, even among the younger generations who feel annoyance about some of the 'old-fashioned' ways of first-generation migrations. This is leading in some cases to Greek-Australian identity attachment collapsing with a one-dimensional and/or centrality perspective.

"I know that Greek mothers meet through school because there are Greek schools and have their children build relationships in school and they would also build their relationships with other mothers and that's how they build a social life here because my co-worker was Greek and she was—the only thing she was talking about, she met this girl whose mother of that child and stuff and that's how she became—that's her networking was here in Melbourne because she's also a recent immigrant. And—but the men just—at least there's a new wave of immigrants, that's what we know of because it's who we are. The men will just go to work and come back home and sleep and go back to work so they don't actually socialise much. More with their families or anything." (F1)

"There are a few Greek and gays, a lot of them. And they have the same problem, trying to modernise Greek Australians over here." (F2)

- F1: "I think another area of improvement is maybe like among women and like Greek Australian women who you know have had different and varied experiences among you know during high school years and university years but people generally don't stick together. So maybe like the establishment of more like non-profits or just really informal kind of women's groups I think is something that's really fundamental to that. You know most Greek girls grow up sort of wanting to get married and you know just work and buy a house or whatever but they don't look at everything else that sort of makes them happy in life so I think it's really fundamental that we work on that as well because it's such a patriarchal culture and there's very little division between you know church and state in Greece for example whereas I think there's a very strong religious sentiment to the Greek community in Melbourne."
- F1: "... in my kind of generation or people my age it's kind of that expectation, there's these stereotypes and they kind of really stick. Being of Greek descent you know it's like an expectation of—one kind of has of you. Like obviously I kind of fall out of that 'cause I'm not your typical Greek you know I've got piercings, I'm into metal blah, blah, blah and I feel like it's not as accepted here as it would be overseas just because of the stereotypes and people's expectations and the way people act towards people."

F1: "Yeah, yeah, it's kind of like split identity crisis almost between like being into a particular subgenre of music and a lifestyle and being into the whole Greek cultural thing which is—overseas it's more acceptable whereas in Australia it's kind of like a weird mixture because the two cultures don't really clash well together.

### 4.1.4 Addressing socio-cultural challenges

The GCM is currently moving mostly between two main paradigms of preservation and integration. The GCCC has an opportunity to act as a bridge between these two main constituents and thereby temper the key socio-cultural challenges identified above. Significantly, the younger descendants of Greek-Australian migrants are often doing this type of bridging work in their everyday lives and, as such, should be engaged with more thoughtfully and deliberately by the GCCC. Section 2.0 also illustrated how creative practice can enable the cultural diversity and engagement of the GCCC to be expanded and this should also be pursued as a matter of priority.

## Other ways the GCCC might work to address these challenges include:

- Continuing with plans for the GCM's Bulleen property development, which President Bill Papastergiadis explains is a \$40m project that includes the provision of a Greekspecific aged-care facility (Papastergiadis 2017).
- Work with organisations like Pronia and AGWS to consolidate funding and service planning for ageing members of the GCM.
- Hold workshops whereby older established Greek-Australian migrants can share their historical experiences and skillsets with younger or newer generations of Greek-Australian migrants and vice-versa in a two-way dialogue.
- Curate an interactive exhibition space where history of the Greek diaspora can be documented and thus learnt by new and younger generations, but ensure this exhibition includes temporary, immersive, and culturally-hybrid forms of culture so that the cultural learning is multidirectional and dimensional.
- Create more informal network groups or spaces for connection, for example:
  - language meet-ups for younger migrants and those not enrolled in formal Geek school programmes; and
  - LGBTQIA and women's groups.
- Commit to broadening Board Members to represent a more equitable gender diversity.
- Programme events and activities that allow younger people to connect, particularly women under 35.

### 4.2 Spatial Challenges

The Greek diaspora of Melbourne has undergone rapid changes since the nineteenth century. Spatial changes have been particularly noticeable in the last two decades, brining about new challenges for the GCM and the role of the GCCC.

The spatial challenges confronting the GCCC can be summarised as follows:

- Decentralisation and fragmentation of the Greek community and associated enterprises;
- Dispersed, nodes where activity occurs, e.g. GCCC on Lonsdale Street; Oakleigh; Bulleen;
- Shift from horizontal to vertical occupation in CBD;

- Changing rhythms of the CBD and the urban culture of Melbourne surrounding the GCCC; and
- Reorientation of space in the CBD as a result of the increase of international student presence.

### 4.2.1 Membership Geographic Comparison by Year

Membership details of the Greek Orthodox community of Melbourne were collected. These data show that around 4 per cent of the Greek community in Victoria and 4.5 per cent of the Greek Orthodox community are members of the Greek Orthodox Community of Victoria (ABS, 2016). Sampling members by their suburb of residence were then collected from 1970s and 1980s and compared with 2017. Data from the 1970s and 1980s were collected by selecting a random sample of members in the archives. Data from 2017 were provided by the GCCC. Estimates by district were collated using these data.

The results illustrate that throughout the 1970s, Northcote contained the most members of the Greek Orthodox Community, closely followed by East Doncaster and Kew. By the 1980s, Brunswick held the most members, followed by other Northern suburbs such as Preston and Northcote. Similarly, by 2017, the trend remained similar, specifically, Brunswick remained the suburb with the largest membership sample, followed by Doncaster.

These data were examined to further estimate membership geography over time, figure 1 display these approximate data. The figure demonstrates that the Northern suburbs contained the largest Greek Orthodox Community membership throughout the 1980s and in 2017, followed by the South-Eastern suburbs. While the main suburbs of members remained similar between the 1980s and 2017, members have become more evenly dispersed across the Northern, South Eastern, and Eastern suburbs. However, it appears that the proportional increase of members in the Eastern suburbs has been at the expense of the Western suburbs. The dispersion of these members does not completely align with the dispersion of the Greek migrant community (28 per cent of the Greek Victorian community), as Greek-born migrants are predominately located in the South East of Victoria (ABS, 2011; 2016). This implies that the Greek Orthodox Community membership may not be capturing the Greek-born migrant community holistically.

# 4.2.2 Discovering New Cultural Narratives and Urban Perspectives

Given Melbourne's rapidly changing urban landscape, it is worth considering how the GCCC acts as a node that connects—or could potentially connect—different kinds of people, practices, and stories. Artists can be seen as pioneers in both developing perspectives on urban connections and recognising emerging cultural narratives. All the artist interviewed commented on the physical location of the GCCC and the opportunity it provided to alter their perspective and deepen their engagement with the CBD. The artists meant this both in a literal way—as the location of and impressive height of the building provides unique vistas—and in a more abstract, cultural way. From this vantage point they could not only observe new patterns of flow in urban life, but it also offered the unique opportunity to discover the new narratives of cultural production that were occurring within and around the building. Both Misha and Declan discussed, for example, how physically working at the GCCC allowed them to experience different cultures and subcultures (including but

extending beyond Greek-Australian culture), as well as discover places they'd been unware of previously.

"And it was just really—you know I think being—it was just interesting making those kind of connections with the Greek—Ancient Greek culture and then on the street you're walking through the precinct and you see the shop and the bits of that culture that are there [...] So those kind of became part of the narratives that were also playing with and d of directing peoples' attention to kind of details that kind of came out of that, the travel, Hermes travel. You know, Hermes featured in the piece and so it's the way we were working." (Myers 2017)

The building itself is also becoming an iterative narrative—as the GCCC broadens its programming and more people become aware of the site, different kinds of activities and people 'story' the building. As Declan noted:

"Yeah and so I was in one of these spaces like the preschool space, I went oh this is where this person performed and I was like it's completely different but I just found that really awesome, that it's like oh wow, it's just morphing into these different things ... Yeah, I like that a lot [...] it's how communities grow and how—I don't know, buildings and places have to get their own stories." (Fay 2017)

The changing spatiality of the Greek precinct more broadly is having an impact on the kinds of stories the GCCC is producing. As has been touched upon, the Greek precinct has moved vertically, rather than horizontally, and its 'domain' on Lonsdale Street now interacts fluidly with other cultural activity and precincts, especially the Chinatown precinct. Declan Fay made a particularly striking observation regarding the ways in which Swanston Street connects the precincts together, not only due to the location of the street but the presence of international students:

"I don't know, I just feel like that area, that sort of area in the city, it's so much more charged up culturally now. It was weird, I always felt like you had like Lygon Street was this interesting place, you had sort of around the Lonsdale Street sort of Greek community, you had Chinatown but you always felt like Swanson Street running through the middle like I don't know, it was just like a tram line and no-one was on it because it was this weird walk that nobody walked on. And in recent times it does—I don't know, there's just a—there's more of an energy to it, yeah." (Fay 2017)

Swanston Street has taken on a more distinct Asian influence due to the presence of international students from the Asia region. This has led Swanston Street to become a place where different kinds of people and cultural practices converge, becoming a type of axis that the other precincts swing from. This presents the GCCC with an opportunity to design a programme that more directly interacts with new kinds of demographics and attract new audiences.

Moving forward, the organisation should consider how it might develop a deeper connection to the activity on Swanston Street—perhaps beginning with a rethinking of the entry into the Lonsdale Street Greek Festival.

Additionally, the GCCC also needs to consider how it acts as a site of 'relief' or otherwise for people in the city. Urban tensions such as growing homelessness in the CBD are more pronounced, adding another layer to the CBD narrative. As Misha relected:

- "...there was a memorial to someone in the back of—in a back alley that, I don't know how that death occurred, but you could see there's violence in this, you know, this is the darker side and we're going down alleyways. I mean we spent a lot of time in the alleyways and mostly in the daytime but there were some kind of darker afternoons when it got dark and, I don't know, it just never—I never experienced that I saw the traces of, the edge, the kind of edgy dark side. You see the homelessness [...] a lot of homelessness. So yeah, so you could see those tensions, all those tensions are there [...] I mean that's part of—my work is thinking about how do we deal with those tensions." (Myers 2017)
- "...it's interesting because, yeah, the CBD is different, it's everything's kind of layered and then you have [the fact] that this is a colonised land." (Myers 2017)
- "...I've been thinking a lot about [...] what are the points of tension, and how is it geographically?" (Myers 2017)

How might the GCCC work with the City of Melbourne to identify and address these points of tension and accommodate the multifarious, and sometimes conflicting, narratives?

Drawing on the lectures by the Aboriginal activist and scholar, as well as Andrew Jackomos's account of the history of Greek and Aboriginal partnerships, the GCCC is in a unique position to not only acknowledge its location on the country of the Wurundjeri people of the Kulin nation, but also lead in the formation of links between cosmopolitan and Indigenous perspectives.



# 5 Multiculturalism and Melbourne

### 5.1 Word Cloud Analysis: Policy, Practice, People

This section took a survey of policy documents pertaining to multicultural Melbourne and compared key words to those emerging from the interview transcript data. This is a simple and obviously limited analysis, but can be useful in indicating common themes and disparate understandings of the role that the Greek community has or should have in the City of Melbourne. In particular, the comparative word analysis allows some conclusions to be drawn about the way that public rhetoric relates to public perception and experience.

### Rhetoric → Perception → Experience

### Policy → Practice → People

### **Policy Wordcloud**

The following wordcloud is drawn from the following documents:

- 1. Multicultural Access and Equity Action Plan 2016-17
- 2. Victoria's Multicultural Policy Statement
- 3. Australia Government 2017 Multicultural Australia: United, Strong, Successful



The most prominent words in the policy wordcloud emphasise place names, e.g. Victoria and Australia. The words "support", "access", and "health" feature prominently and point to the service role that government plays or aims to play for migrant communities. The words "safe" and "violence" allude to some of the troubling realities of multicultural communities, and the fact that words like "respect", "equality", and "every" appear so often acts as a reminder that there is still a lot of energy being channelled into promoting the worth of cultural difference. In many ways, this circumstance of diversity sits in tension with the nationalistic rhetoric that is surfacing in the policy documents, as revealed by words like "values", "nation", and "contribute". This indicates that while there is an adherence to the values of "CALD", "opportunities", and "access", there was little evidence of subjective experience

### **Stakeholder Wordcloud**

The following wordcloud is drawn from the transcripts of the five stakeholder interviews carried out for this project.



In this worldcloud "Melbourne" and "Greece" feature more prominently than "Australia". This goes some way to illustrating the way that Melbourne as a city is distinct as a place of identity and also connected to Greece. "Street" and city also feature prominently, reflective of the on the ground ways in which these stakeholders are thinking about and experiencing life in Melbourne. This observation is complemented by the presence of the word "ways", namely, the doing or practice of multicultural life and Greekness. There is a strong "people" element in this wordcloud—the word people features, but so too do the words "Greeks", "we", and "we're". The cloud is much more temporal, hardly surprising for a diasporic group, whose sense of time is always somewhat disjointed between past and present; for example, the words "time", "back", "now", and "always" feature prominently. There is a possible interpretation that the nation is bypassed as a site of identification, as both local civic and diasporic links seem more prominent.

### **Artist Wordcloud**

The following wordcloud is drawn from the transcripts of the four artist interviews carried out for this project.



The priority given to the word "Greek" reflects the fact that the artists were discussing the Greek Centre as a site of their art practice. Interestingly, the word people features more prominently than things like "music", "idea", or "art". This pattern alludes to the ways in which art practice at the GCCC enables a very hospitable and people-oriented type of work; in such a way that the people or public involved are placed at the forefront. The words "space", "place", and "city" are frequent and indicative of the importance that artists have on the location of their work. "Time" is also a strong feature of this wordcloud, though is likely to be more linked to the temporal process of artmaking, as opposed to migration, as seen in the stakeholder wordcloud. This suggests that relationships are vital means for not just preserving but also developing cultural heritage.

### **Focus Group Wordcloud**

The following wordcloud is drawn from the transcripts of the two focus groups facilitated for this project.



The concerns of the focus groups lay with the "community". When discussing the "festival", they often referred to things that made themselves or the community feel at "home". They connected with ideas that helped "kids" and "older" people thrive in the community. The word cloud highlighted the ease in which the members of the focus groups expressed their ideals for the Greek community through their personal experiences, such as "want", "feel", and "sense". The word "never" is featured and it seems to be expressive of an ambivalence. It suggests that something that was previously unnamed is now thought of, or, it strikes out to announce a break with traditional claims on identity. Similarly, the words "meet" and "community" are about the desire for more opportunities for connection. Together, they articulate an openness for different encounters, and a desire to take the time to deepen connections with others.

### Discussion

Overall, the word clouds show the ways in which desire for belonging and involvement continues to play a significant role for the people associated with the GCCC. The central location in the CBD also provides a lever for people to explore and develop wider connections with the city. The festival is seen as a platform for enhancing and expanding their sense of belonging in the city as a whole. It also suggests that access and demand for public and community spaces continues to be sought after and not satisfied as fulsomely as policy documents envision. The GCCC building is a significant step in the right direction and should be nurtured as such.



### 6 Conclusion

In 2011, the Office of Multicultural Affairs Commission, in partnership with the City of Melbourne, dedicated \$10 million to the city's three long-standing cultural precinct: Chinese Little Bourke Street, Italian Lygon Street, and Greek Lonsdale Street. A further \$12 million was committed to these precincts between 2014-2017. As a direct result of these contributions, the Greek Lonsdale Street precinct was able to refurbish its long-standing community centre, opening the new 13-storey GCCC in 2014. Three years on, and the GCCC has been awarded funding to evaluate its role; in particular, to consider how it acts as a conduit for social, cultural and economic contributions to the City of Melbourne.

The GCCC employed the RUPC at The University of Melbourne to undertake this evaluative research. In order to evaluate the contributions of the GCCC, it was important for the RUPC to understand the ways in which the Greek community has contributed to the multicultural City of Melbourne historically, and how these contributions have changed over time. The RUPC utilised a mixed-methods approach that included festival participant surveys, stakeholder interviews, focus groups, and qualitative archival research. By evaluating the various activities and forms of engagement that occur at the GCCC—and Melbourne's Greek precinct more broadly—the project considered the role of the GCCC and Greek community more broadly in contributing to the cosmopolitan agenda of the city and the State.

The GCCC delivers a wide umbrella of cultural events for development, cultural history of both Greek and beyond as well as the multicultural community hybrid. The purpose of the LSGF is to provide an intensive experience of the programme, showcasing 'Greekness' and cultural hybridity. This report has demonstrated that the festival's socio-cultural and economic impact were affirmative. The GCCC successfully attracted diverse communities and consolidated the cultural identity of the GCM. Nonetheless, the GCCC has the opportunity to maximise its impact by creating deeper dialogue and mutual understanding between diverse social groups, beginning at the LSGF.

The GCM community, through the establishment and contributions of GCCC, is deeply connected to the city and is an example of what the city proclaims to be—cosmopolitan. The intergenerational complexities engender some tensions within the GCM, but they also present an incredible opportunity for the GCCC to activate a truly cosmopolitan operation. Indeed, the third- and fourth- generations of Greek migrants present one of the greatest opportunities for bridge building within and beyond the GCM.

The resilience of the GCM must pivot on its dual commitment to past and the future; and by consolidating its successes and challenges, with an underlying focus on creative practice, the GCCC will become a true cosmopolitan beacon for the City of Melbourne. As such, the GCCC should:

- Continue to refine its scope to ensure the subtleties of past, present, and potential forms of 'Greekness' can surface more frequently;
- Actively pursue its vision for greater participation of culturally-hybrid creative practices;
- More purposively include younger generations of established Australian-Greek migrants into its programme (as this group is highly adept at negotiating the multiplicities of Greek-Australian culture); and
- Facilitate spaces for deep, collaborative reflection on the ways in which cultural stereotypes circulate within and around the GCM, and how it might work to unpack these in a way that allows greater inclusivity and fluidity.

## 6 Key Recommendations

- Maintain the balance between a) respect and restoration of Greek culture and history; and b) commitment to diversity, innovation, and experimentation.
- 2. Continue service delivery to ensure sustainability of cultural heritage and linguistic viability.
- 3. Enhance and widen the forms of cultural expressions currently engaged with, most notably:
  - a. First Nations cultures of Narrm (Melbourne), in particular the Kulin nations who are the traditional custodians of the land upon which the GCCC is located;
  - b. Culturally-hybrid forms of Greekness that better reflect the mixed backgrounds of contemporary Greek-Australians;
  - c. Diverse cultural media, for example, filmmaking and other new media forms; and
  - d. Programs developed specifically to engage with the surge of newly arrived Greek migrants.
- 4. Provide opportunities for intergenerational dialogue and mutual understanding between established and new migrant groups to achieve solidarity and establish a complex bonding that enables a more representative community.
  - Develop ways for different generations to share knowledge and skillsets so that contemporary Greek culture can be mobilised in immersive, practical ways.
  - Work towards greater gender balance within organisational representations and provide more avenues for women and LGBTQIA groups to engage with the Greek community
- 5. Continue to offer solidarity with other diasporic groups and petition for multiculturalism at large; though work to deepen the ways the GCM can be an ally to other migrant groups and its neighbour precincts (Chinatown and Lygon Street precinct).
- Ensure strategies are in place that will facilitate the GCCC's rapid expansion, while also seeking to both maintain and widen its membership base so that duties can be shared across more volunteers.
- 7. Continue to seek financial support from both the private and public sector to ensure its human resources are not stretched too thinly. This should be aligned with the State Government of Victoria and the City of Melbourne's commitment to a multicultural agenda and, more recently, to their investment in strategies that build the resilient and cosmopolitan flair of Melbourne. Local and State Governments should continue to ensure funds for new and developing ethnic communities are siphoned through organisations like the GCM and the GCCC.



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