

**SLOVENIAN FOLK MUSIC AND
IDENTITY MAINTENANCE IN
PORT LINCOLN, SOUTH AUSTRALIA**

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ABSTRACT

This study investigates how residents of Port Lincoln, South Australia, with Slovenian heritage use music to maintain a sense of cultural identity. This thesis looks in particular at how music can act as a symbol of cultural identity, enabling a person to create a sense of community. Thus, community and imagined community (Anderson 1983) is a focus of discussion in this thesis. A significant finding of the study is that music, or more specifically the memory of Slovenian music, has continued to serve as an important mark of cultural identity even for individuals who rarely listen to Slovenian music in either live or recorded contexts.

The investigation employs ethnographic methods including surveys and interviews among a small core population to explore the issues of localized definitions of folk music and related experiences in remote communities. The main fieldwork took place in Port Lincoln but fieldwork also occurred in Adelaide (South Australia), Trieste (Italy) and in Ljubljana and Lokev (Slovenia). This enabled the collection of data from family and friends of Port Lincoln participants. Qualitative and quantitative data was collected through the use of self-completed questionnaires and semi-structured one-on-one interviews. The collection of data occurred between 1997 and 2004.

In Chapter One definitions of key terms and parameters for this study are established. Chapter Two examines how Slovenians themselves decide on the criteria for defining "Slovenian." It investigates the cultural beliefs of Port Lincoln informants and argues that, for these people, there are essential characteristics that determine what it means to be a Slovenian in Port Lincoln. Chapter Three seeks to define Slovenian music with reference to definitions created by Port Lincoln Slovenian residents themselves and examines the ways Slovenian folk music is used for identity maintenance. It considers musical examples to demonstrate the flexible approach that Port Lincoln people have to define music that can be used for maintaining their identity. It demonstrates that these people rely on memories of music and illustrates how these memories help connect them with a range of communities that in turn

also assists with maintenance of their identity. Finally, it concludes that even when residents do not play music themselves, they use the memory of folk music as symbolic of Slovenian culture in order to evoke multiple imagined Slovenian communities whether founded in Port Lincoln, Adelaide, Italy or Slovenia.

DECLARATION

This work contains no material which has been accepted for the award of any other degree or diploma in any university or other tertiary institution and, to the best of my knowledge and belief, contains no material previously published or written by another person, except where due reference has been made in the text.

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FOREWORD

My journey with ethnomusicology began as an undergraduate in 1990, studying with A. Kimi Coaldrake at The University of Adelaide. Thinking about the issues and concepts related to ethnomusicology opened a new world for me—the contextualization of music. I was intrigued by the idea that musical systems and cultural frameworks impacted on each other—that people discussed these ideas was enticing. I was intrigued by the idea that understanding various cultural frameworks, including but not exclusive to, social, political, legal, educational, religious, medical and scientific frameworks could help me better understand music. I was equally intrigued by the idea that by understanding the music, including but not exclusive to, the rhythms, melodies, harmonies, articulation, dynamics, instrumentation, staging, relationship with its intended audience, the physical environments in which the music is created and the teaching structures could help me better understand the culture.

At the same time I met John Franco whom later became my husband and father of my two children. He embodied what I was learning through ethnomusicology. His family background is Slovenian. Through becoming a part of his life, I was able to personally experience what I was learning intellectually about culture and music through ethnomusicology.

My journey from conception of a Master's proposal through to the submission of this thesis has been long and interrupted, but ultimately, fruitful.

Shortly after being accepted into the Masters program, I won a scholarship with the Slovenian government and due to ill health; my studies were put on hold. When my studies recommenced, I had the privilege of presenting research papers at state, national and international conferences, including the 50th Anniversary meeting of the Society of Ethnomusicology.

While my thesis was initially based on my living in Slovenian for a year, it was altered to focus on Adelaide where I lived for some years. It was subsequently altered when I relocated to Port Lincoln, my husband's home town. It was then that the thesis started to take its current shape. The people I met along the way in Port Lincoln, Adelaide and in Europe have all contributed in some way to this thesis. They have all helped form my beliefs about the way Slovenian folk music in Port Lincoln and Slovenian culture in Port Lincoln interact and shape one another.

May you enjoy the following journey that is this thesis, as much as I have enjoyed its preparation.

CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

This study investigates folk music in a contemporary context not previously documented in ethnomusicological literature. It explores the way a small, isolated group of migrants who do not perform and rarely listen to music of their cultural heritage, nevertheless regard music as an important means for maintaining their sense of cultural identity. While there has been some research carried out on small isolated groups,¹ these studies have focussed on people who are musicians. The Port Lincoln people however are not practising musicians, which has resulted in findings that were unexpected.

The aim of this study is to investigate the role of Slovenian folk music in the identity maintenance of Slovenian people who live in Port Lincoln, South Australia. It examines how these people define Slovenian culture and Slovenian folk music. It also considers the range of ways in which Port Lincoln people use Slovenian folk music for identity maintenance. It highlights how informants use memories of Slovenian folk music as symbolic of Slovenian culture to evoke a sense of membership with multiple imagined Slovenian communities variously situated in Port Lincoln, Adelaide, Italy or Slovenia.

While it may seem unusual to investigate music that is rarely heard, it is important that this type of study goes some way to answering Phillip Bohlman's call "for the study of folk music in the modern world and the incredibly diverse contexts that folk music now freely admits" (1988:xix).

¹ Hirschberg (1992) refers to the size of the community as an important element to consider, Schrams (1989) studied a small community of refugees and Erlmann (1998) advocates for the study of small communities.

1.1 Terms and definitions

Key terms that identify the areas of interest within this project are defined here with reference to use in current literature. The definitions are set out below to introduce the reader to parameters within which the research sits. The reader then gains an understanding of the way the concepts relate to this piece of work in a clear and concise fashion. The chapters that follow, more deeply explore how the concepts relate to the research and findings.

1.1.1 Slovenian Folk Music

Josip Mantvani (1860-1933) was the first Slovenian to collect and systematically study material that is related to the history of Slovenian music (Kovačevic 1970:195). Research into Slovenian folk music, has been undertaken by a number of ethnomusicologists. Strajnar (1979:1) presents “recordings of the original folk music as recorded throughout the Slovene ethnic area” while Zumer (1979:6) highlights how Carinthian singing “produces a full, harmonious and soft sound.” Gobec (1979:1) notes that folk music composer Pavla Kernjaka deserves “great merit in preserving and creating musical tradition in Carinthia” while Vodušek (N.D.:2) would like listeners to “understand the various types of singing, especially part-singing” that Slovenian singers employ.

The preservation of Slovenian folk music has been an ongoing topic of discussion for Slovenian ethnomusicologists and the importance placed on preserving the music has altered over time. In 1935 Marolt stated “It is self-evident that ancient genuine folk songs—i.e. both their melodies and their texts must be preserved as priceless cultural assets and restored to the people” (Cvetko ND:1). Tomc’s views about preservation however allowed for “simple / effective harmonisations of folk tunes” (Cvetko ND:1). Kumer suggested (1979:2) that the post World War II economic boom and the tourism expansion over the previous 30 years had brought money and a changed lifestyle to Slovenia, condemning many an old custom to oblivion. Kumer also noted that these changes had introduced new

habits, in turn, influencing the course of musical traditions in so far as they depend on folk customs. This study accepts that over time, views about the need to preserve Slovenian folk music changes. This study also accepts that the definition of Slovenian folk changes over time.

Other more recent publications about Slovenian folk music publications include those by Mirko Ramovš (1980) who produced an anthology of Slovenian dance *Plesat Me Pelji (Take Me Dancing)* and Marija Vogelnikova (1989) who created a collection of children's songs published with song text and a melody with chord symbols. In Australia, Aleksandra Ceferin (1985) produced a book of twenty-five Slovenian folk songs with lyrics and an accompanying audio cassette. In 1996 Bohlman noted how Slovenian bell ringers use music in symbolic ways. It is important to this study that the focus is on how Slovenian people, who are *not* musicians, use folk music symbolically.

Pribac (2003:612) defines Slovenian folk music as "lively and fast" where the polkas and waltzes resemble the music of adjacent parts of Austria, Italy and other parts of the European Alps. Pribac also notes impromptu singing in three- and four-part harmony where main instruments that accompany dance include the button accordion, piano accordion, clarinet, trumpet, string bass and guitar.

For the purposes of this study, Slovenian folk music is understood in a general sense as that played by the popular Slovenian folk music group Avsenik.² This is due in part to the fact that data collected highlights that the Slovenian folk group Avsenik is the only Slovenian folk music group to which everyone refers. In addition, Avsenik is the only Slovenian music group for which multiple recordings are found in every Port Lincoln family collection. The popularity of Avsenik suggests the music performed by this group best represents what most Slovenian people believe to be Slovenian folk music.

² Information about the Slovenian folk music group *Avsenik* is found throughout the thesis. More detailed information can be found in Chapter Three.

The music produced by Avsenik, as occurs in the collections of music held by Port Lincoln families, usually consists of three- to six-voices singing in three- to four-part harmony using Slovenian language where the text typically describes an element of traditional village rural life. Typically, singers are accompanied by chromatic piano accordion and a tuba or an electric bass guitar provides a bass line. Trumpets and clarinets usually provide counter melodies and rhythmic fills. The music is almost exclusively in a major key with primary chords dominating the harmony. The music is inevitably in a polka or waltz style. The cover photographs on Avsenik's audio-cassettes, long playing records, video-cassettes and compact discs display pictures of the performers wearing traditional folk dress. Avsenik used to perform live on a regular basis but now, due to the age of the founding Avsenik brothers, the music is heard only via commercial recordings. The music of Avsenik, therefore, fits both the literary definition of Slovenian folk music and the definition of Slovenian folk music as understood by the informants.

Scholars have recorded Slovenian folk music in order to document not only musical elements of the genre but also the relationship between the music and the people. Strajnar (1979:2) notes for example, "the folk song and the folk music in general in addition to the language, is [sic] the primary means of preserving the national identity, of awakening and cultivating the national consciousness—and this is especially true of Slovenians living beyond the national border." Strajnar's claim is tested by this research because it investigates the relationship between Slovenian folk music and identity maintenance of people who live in the geographically remote South Australian city of Port Lincoln. This project hypothesizes that indeed, Slovenian folk music continues to play a part in the identity maintenance for residents of Port Lincoln with Slovenian cultural heritage.³

³ Further discussions about Slovenian folk music occur throughout the thesis.

1.1.2 Identity

When defining the term “identity” there may be as many definitions as there are scholarly works on the topic. The various contributors to a volume entitled *Identities* (Alcoff and Mendieta 2003) collectively discuss in excess of twenty-six different types of identities. Some examples of those defined include cultural identity, ethnic identity, global identity, collective identity, national identity, international identity and transnational identity. Clearly then, identity can be defined in a number of ways. In addition, scholars agree that both individuals and groups of people can have an identity. At the same time, individuals and groups of people can be said to have multiple identities as is reflected by membership in various national, religious, cultural, professional and sporting affiliations. One idea upon which scholars agree is that there are a variety of factors that contribute to the formation of identity of a person or group of people. Significant to this study is the idea that “identities are plural, multiple and fluid, merge into one another” (Alcoff 2003:7).

This study considers how a range of experiences contribute to informants’ Slovenian identity. This investigation also explores how each informant uses different types of identities to create a sense of having Slovenian identity. It assesses how each informant defines their Slovenian identity uniquely as an individual while simultaneously identifying more broadly with a range of different Slovenian groups and communities. For Stokes notes that “Australians have had access to and aspired to many different types of cultural...identity and they have understood and represented themselves in multiple...ways” (1997:15). This study thus seeks to demonstrate how Slovenian people use music to understand and represent themselves in various ways.

In an elaboration of this idea, Mach discusses the notion that a person’s identity is formed by their participation in the process of exchange of messages which are sent, received, and interpreted until a relatively coherent image is achieved (1993:5). This research project therefore tests Mach’s definition

on Slovenian people who live in Port Lincoln by investigating how each informant participates in the exchange of Slovenian cultural information with other Slovenian people.⁴

1.1.3 Music and Identity

A large number of publications explore the relationship between music and identity. It is clear from such sources that identity should not be perceived as a general notion, but as a range of subtle representations that change with time and place. "Identity is a means of recognizing those with whom one shares values, experiences and beliefs as well as those considered to be different, whether at the level of self, family or community," (Coaldrake 2005:2). Studies continue to explore the relationship between music and identity including Feld (1982) and Seeger (1987), who studied small communities, and Turino (1993) who looked at the contemporary urban setting. It has also been applied in the search for understanding the contact between musical cultures in the modern age (Stokes 1994; Kartomi and Blum 1994), the consumption of popular culture, for example, through cassette recordings (Manuel 1993), and in relation to the experience of traditional or folk music as an expression of national identity (Rice 1994). More recently it has been used to explore the issue of music and the racial imagination (Radano and Bohlman 2000) and to move beyond the expression of "ethnicity" to a more critical understanding of diaspora and displaced communities, for example in Asia (Lau 2001 and Um 2005). Discussions of issues of identity have also been seen in the broader context of the study of music and nationalism as, for example, in terms of the negotiation of identity through national anthems (Guy 2002 and Daughtry 2003) and in more recent musicological considerations of identity for European nations (for example, Bohlman 2009).

By accepting that identity is a concept that can be constructed and interpreted in such different contexts then identity can be considered as a notion that has the potential to become a lived experience (see, for example, Bhabha 1990). While this view makes the definition of identities

⁴ Further discussions about how informants negotiate their cultural identity occur throughout the thesis.

increasingly complex, it does not “undermine the discursive material or ... political effect even if they are partly imaginary” (Coaldrake 2005:3). People often use the “resources of history, language and culture in the process of becoming rather than being: not ‘who we are’ or ‘where we came from’ so much as ‘what we might become’...” (Hall 1996:4). Thus, when people move away from historical roots they can affect change and explore new ways through which they can use music to create identities as individuals and together as a community. In this process, communities, like all imagined communities (see Anderson 1983), are self-conscious conceptions of identity with culture playing a primary role in constructing the relationship between the individual and the community (see Poole 1999: esp. 10-18; see also, for example, Gellner 1983). Poole, for example, notes: “The freedom of the modern citizens is not that of making the political order to which they are subject, it is rather that of making and re-making the cultural world which sustains their own identity” (1999:109). People do, however, need an appropriate framework in which to evaluate options of identity. It is “only through having a rich and secure cultural structure that people can become aware, in a vivid way of the options available to them, and intelligently examine their value” (Kymlincka in Poole 1999:109). Maintaining links with Slovenian culture and music in Port Lincoln provides a potential for cultural structures for the negotiation of identity.

In this study, therefore, individuals are presumed to relate to music in a number of different ways that create a variety of options for identities that are part of their lived experience in Port Lincoln. It seeks to understand how music provides the means by which people recognize identities and places as well as the boundaries that separate people (Stokes 1994). In accordance with Bohlman’s (1988:xix) persistent call for attention on the individual folk musician as an agent of change, the study highlights how one person’s rendition (RPr)⁵ of Slovenian folk music can alter the definition of the music in the community in which he lives. This study looks at the ways music can be a resource for realizing *personal* identity; and investigates how music can define *group identity* in the manner discussed by

⁵ RPr is an informant referred to here by his initials. For more information about RPr as well as the system of identification used throughout this thesis see Chapter Two.

Cohen (1994), *regional identity* such as posited by Rappoport (2004), and *national identity* such as investigated by Daughtry (2003).⁶

1.1.4 Imagined Community

In his work, Anderson defines an “imagined political community” (1983:15), referring specifically to the way people imagine they belong to a political community in which community members live within a common geographic boundary. He defines such a community as *imagined* because “the members of even the smallest nation will never know most of their fellow-members, meet them, or even hear of them, yet in the minds of each lives the image of their communion” (1983:15). When Anderson’s definition is applied to results of this study, an “imagined political community” can refer to the way Slovenian residents imagine they belong to the Slovenian political community where members of the community live within the common geographic boundary that defines the country of Slovenia. Anderson would define such a community as “imagined” because the members of the country of Slovenia will never meet most of their fellow-members, yet they feel a sense of connection with one another due to living within a geo-political border.

Distinct from Anderson’s definition, this study recognises that for Port Lincoln informants, membership with an imagined Slovenian community is not restricted to membership with either a shared geographic space or shared political community. This means informants can live in political communities as disparate as those found in Australia, Italy or Slovenia and yet maintain strong links with an imagined Slovenian community. This study recognises that Port Lincoln informants therefore can be members of an imagined Slovenian community because of the images they have of their connection with Slovenian family and friends. This means maintaining a sense of Slovenian identity while living in the Port Lincoln context is achievable despite living far from Slovenia.

⁶ Further discussions about how informants use music to maintain a sense of Slovenian identity occur throughout the thesis.

While Anderson coined the term “imagined political community,” recent scholarship takes the words “imagined community” to create terms that refer more widely to a variety of communities to which people believe or “imagine” they belong. (see Poole 2003:272, Mato 2003:282, Featherstone 2003:346 and Mendieta 2003:409). These types of communities include, for example, diasporic, global, imagined, national, political, transnational and trans-community. For this thesis the term imagined community relates to the range of Slovenian communities to which Port Lincoln residents imagine they belong. Informants believe or “imagine” they belong to their respective family’s Slovenian community, the local Port Lincoln-Slovenian community, the regional South Australian-Slovenian community, the national Australian-Slovenian community as well as the international European-Slovenian community.

Breyley connects the ideas of music and imagined community when suggesting that “music offers a medium of imagined community even in the face of real discontinuity” (2005:12). Port Lincoln informants experience cultural discontinuity due to their physical isolation from Slovenia as well as their isolation from Slovenian cultural experiences. Yet despite this disconnection, and despite informants no longer listening to the music, they still use the music as a symbol through which they can maintain a sense of Slovenian identity.⁷

1.1.5 Symbols

Individuals construct communities symbolically and make the construction of their communities a resource to which they can refer to when creating a sense of identity (see Cohen 1985:118). Informants of this study use a variety of symbols in order to construct their own unique Slovenian community. This study acknowledges that each informant uses symbols differently from the way in which another individual uses symbols when constructing imagined Slovenian communities.

⁷ Further discussions about how informants negotiate their imagined communities occur throughout the thesis.

This study considers informant's use of both tangible and intangible symbols. Tangible symbols include Slovenian food, books written in the Slovenian language and photographs of Slovenia that enhance the ways in which informants connect with their Slovenian background. Intangible symbols could include relationships with other Slovenians and memories of times spent in Slovenia. Further, because informants report that they no longer listen to Slovenian folk music, musical cassette tapes, video cassettes and compact discs are considered symbols. In addition, because informants report that they do not listen to music, this study argues that informants can rely on memory of music alone rather than current aural experiencing of music in order to maintain a sense of Slovenian community.⁸

1.1.6 Memory and Music

When discussing music and memory Beaudry reports that when people hear a song it helps them recall events and emotions. Beaudry suggests that it is not the song itself that evokes emotions, but the occasion it recalls (1997:77). In contrast to Beaudry's definition, this study reveals that Port Lincoln informants do not need to hear the song in order to recall events and emotions. This study, instead, demonstrates that when Port Lincoln informants recall Slovenian folk music experiences, it is the memory of Slovenian folk music experience that enables the person to recall aspects such as the place and people they were with as well as emotions and sentiments they felt at the time.⁹

The idea that people use memory in order to create a sense of belonging to a group is investigated by Kong (1999). Kong discusses how a cultural group uses memories to create a sense of belonging to that group. Kong states, "when the past is collectively remembered, and collectively recognised as 'belonging' to a people, it becomes heritage" (1999:21). In contrast to Kong, this study argues that, due to fragmentation of the Port Lincoln Slovenian community, rather than using collective memories to create a sense of belonging to a Slovenian community, each Port Lincoln person creates a sense of

⁸ Further discussions about the way in which informants use music as a symbol occur throughout the thesis.

⁹ Finnegan notes (1992:51) that in oral traditions there is increasing interest in work on the emotions. For this study into the Slovenia folk music oral tradition the emotions that the music invokes in the Slovenian people are an important part of the way in which the music is used as part of identity maintenance.

belonging to their individually created Slovenian community by recalling their own memories, independent of other people.

The idea that people use memory and music in order to create a sense of belonging to a group is also investigated by Shumway (1999). Shumway suggests that music used in films secures a bond between consumer and product while also arousing a feeling of generational belonging in the audience (1999:37). Shumway suggests, for example, that producers choose music for a film so that when audience members hear the music, the music evokes a sense in the viewer that they have a connection with the movie. The producers choose music that will also create a sense in the audience that they belong to a generation of people that share the same sense of belonging to the film. This study incorporates a theory that is similar to that proposed by Shumway; however, there are differences which are discussed forthwith. Where Shumway refers to “consumer,” this study refers to “listener.” Where Shumway refers to “product,” (meaning the film) this thesis refers to a “sense of cultural belonging.” For this study, then, Slovenian folk music secures a bond between the listener and her or his sense of belonging to a Slovenian community.

What is of note for this study is that for the informants, it is not the *sound* of the music but rather the *memories* an individual has of the Slovenian music that creates a bond between the individual and their sense of belonging to Slovenian culture. A further note of difference between Shumway’s investigation and this study relates to the way this study looks at the generational connection between listeners and the music. For this investigation, a listener feels a sense of belonging to Slovenian culture regardless of the generation or age of the informant.

Discussions about music and memory have been related to a sense of nostalgia. In his article, Shumway does not refer to melancholy or longing when discussing the relationship between music,

memory and nostalgia.¹⁰ It is notable that in this thesis, when informants recall memories of past musical experiences, they all report memories of happy times: no-one reported nostalgic sentiments.

A focus of this research is investigating the beliefs and understandings that Port Lincoln informants have about Slovenian folk music and how they use the music for identity maintenance. An unusual feature of this study is that Port Lincoln Slovenian people are non-musicians, rarely listen to Slovenian folk music, rarely engage in community Slovenian cultural experiences or have contact with Slovenian family and friends and live in a small, remote community. One of the findings of this study is that despite infrequent contact with cultural and musical activities, people still use music for identity maintenance purposes. This study highlights that one important way non-musicians use music for identity maintenance is by relying on memories of earlier lived experience. This thesis, therefore, goes beyond a study of Slovenian music and culture to a consideration of how non-musicians use music. In response, this thesis seeks to answer the question: "How do people with Slovenian cultural heritage who live in the remote and isolated city of Port Lincoln who are non-musicians use memories of Slovenian folk music for identity maintenance purposes?"¹¹

1.2 Research Method

This study was conducted during a seven-year period from March 1997 to September 2004. Methods used to collect information included field observations, a survey questionnaire and follow-up interviews with twenty-three informants.

¹⁰ Shumway demonstrates how music plays a central role in the production of nostalgia in the nostalgia film industry (1999:36).

¹¹ Further discussions about how memories of music enable informants to negotiate their cultural identity occur throughout the thesis.

1.2.1 Field Observations

Fieldwork was conducted in the cities of Port Lincoln, Adelaide, Trieste (Italy), Ljubljana and Lokev (Slovenia). Field observations were recorded as field notes. The writing of field notes consisted predominantly of recording the answers people gave to survey questions. These types of field notes are described by Emerson, Fretz and Shaw as field notes that “reproduce dialogue through direct and indirect quotation, through reported speech, and by paraphrasing” (1995:74). Other field notes were generated from broader discussions and recorded more general “member’s stories” (Emerson, Fretz and Shaw 1995:117). These field notes offered opportunity for analysis because they unveiled the different views people have about similar cultural experiences.¹²

1.2.2 The Survey

The Survey (see Appendix One: The Survey) was conducted between January 1998 and September 2001 with follow-up interviews continuing until September 2004. The survey sought to identify peoples’ cultural and musical beliefs. Part One of the survey, *Biographic Details*, focuses on details such as name, age, family, migration and vocational experiences,¹³ and asks interviewees to identify characteristics of their Slovenian cultural heritage. Part Two, *Music*, focuses on the informant’s philosophical and technical understanding of Slovenian music as well as how informants access Slovenian music.

¹² Emerson, Fretz and Shaw discuss how “diverse versions provide insights into the ways different members construct and make meaning of the same event” (1995:118). For this study, while different members do not discuss the same event, they do discuss similar cultural experiences. One example of a cultural experience the older members of the Port Lincoln community share is the experience of migrating from Europe to Australia. This thesis notes that Port Lincoln members construct different meanings to this shared cultural experience.

¹³ The information in this thesis complies with the University of Adelaide Guidelines on the Ethical Conduct of Research. The interviewees were voluntary and were all over the age of eighteen years. They were free to withdraw the information that they provide at any time during the information gathering stage of the study, did not have to give reasons for withdrawing this information and were under no obligation during the interview to divulge information or discuss issues if they did not want. Interviewees are not identified by full names, but rather by initials and gender.

Port Lincoln people received the survey during interviews that were conducted in their private homes. The four Adelaide residents each received the survey through the post, which allowed them time to read the questions and consider their answers before participating in individual interviews via the telephone some four weeks later. The five people resident in Europe were visited by the author, were invited to take part in the study and were presented with the survey during interviews. These informants were provided with the survey questions both in English and in Slovenian translation (see Appendix Two: Slovenian Translation of The Survey).¹⁴

Quantitative and qualitative data was collected through the use of self-completed questionnaires and semi-structured one-on-one and group interviews. The semi-structured interviews also allowed for probing on the specific nature of each person's connection with Slovenian music and Slovenian culture and permitted a degree of flexibility when something unexpected was raised.

1.2.3 Interviews

This study focuses especially on the results of interviews with fourteen people who live in Port Lincoln and self-identify as Slovenian, either because they were born in Slovenia, or because their parents were born in Slovenia. Of these fourteen people, nine migrated to Australia and five are children of people who migrated to Australia. The fourteen people who took part were encouraged to invite a further twelve Slovenian people (their children and friends) known to live in and near Port Lincoln to participate in this project. Advertisements in the local Port Lincoln newspaper also invited the further twelve Port Lincoln Slovenians to participate in the project. These additional twelve people, however, did not take part in this study. Indeed, some of the fourteen people interviewed actively discouraged

¹⁴ These people were interviewed with the aid of English speaking family members who acted as translators.

me from contacting the twelve extra people.¹⁵ The lack of involvement of these further twelve people nonetheless informs the investigation as will be discussed later in this project.

An additional nine participants who live outside Port Lincoln were invited to participate in this study. Inclusion of these nine non-Port Lincoln participants allowed some insights into the cultural and musical beliefs of individuals who for one reason or another serve as 'gate keepers' of Slovenian music in the lives of the Port Lincoln informants. Four of these additional nine non-Port Lincoln participants hold key roles in the Adelaide Slovenian music community, e.g. as a presenter of Slovenian music in Adelaide-based radio broadcasts, musician with the Slovenian Club Choir and teachers of Slovenian folk music. In these role they determine what Slovenian music is heard in Adelaide and therefore impact on the nature of the Slovenian music people in Port Lincoln can use for identity maintenance.

All of the Port Lincoln informants pointed out that contact with Slovenian music through Slovenian family and friends who live in Adelaide and Europe is important in helping them to access music and maintain a sense of Slovenian identity. Five of the nine non-Port Lincoln participants were chosen because of their life-long close relationships (as family or friends) with some of the Port Lincoln informants. These five informants live in the European cities and villages from which some of the Port Lincoln informants migrated. These include Trieste, Italy, (two informants); Lokev, a small village in Slovenia (two informants); and Ljubljana, the capital city of Slovenia (one informant). These five people are close associates (family or friends) of some of the Port Lincoln informants. Responses these nine people gave to the survey questionnaire provide for opportunities for comparing the way Port Lincoln Slovenians and some of their European close relations use Slovenian folk music for identity maintenance.¹⁶

¹⁵ Informants discouraged me because they believed the further twelve people were not interested in their Slovenian cultural identity. This was confirmed by contact made with one of the twelve informants.

¹⁶ Appendix Two and Tables One, Two and Three provide a complete set of information for all of the twenty-three informants in this study.

In summary, twenty-three people with Slovenian cultural heritage whose beliefs and experiences inform this study were interviewed. These people are referred to as informants, interviewees, respondents, Slovenians and community members. In Port Lincoln, the migrants are referred to as first-generation and were older than sixty years of age when interviews concluded in 2004. Informants who live outside Port Lincoln aged greater than sixty years of age in 2004 are also referred to as first-generation Slovenian interviewees. In Port Lincoln, the children of the migrants are referred to as second-generation and were aged between twenty and forty-four years of age when interviews concluded in 2004. Informants who live outside Port Lincoln aged between twenty and forty-four years of age in 2004 are also referred to as second-generation Slovenian informants.

During interviews, people were invited to present their Slovenian musical recordings in order to determine what they listened to and the details of the recordings. A list of recordings owned by each informant was then created in order to determine that the preferred Slovenian music genre for Port Lincoln informants was folk music and that the most popular Slovenian folk music group was Avsenik.

1.2.4 Musical Examples

Recorded and live musical performances of Slovenian and non-Slovenian music further inform this study. There are three musical examples that are particularly noteworthy for this thesis. The first example is an example of a live amateur Slovenian folk song sung live and a *cappella* at the informant's (BFr) kitchen table in 2002. The second example was presented as a video recording produced over ten years ago of an informant (RPr) playing the German Christmas Carol, *Silent Night*, on his Slovenian made diatonic button melodeon. The third example is a commercial recording of music performed by the popular Slovenian folk music group, Avsenik.¹⁷ Comparisons between the three musical examples that Port Lincoln people offered during this study reveal that there is a range of

¹⁷ A recording that represents much of the Slovenian folk music style preferred by Port Lincoln informants can be heard on the audio cassette *Zlati Zvoki II Kvintet bratov Avsenik*.

musical elements the informants associate with the Slovenian folk music they use for identity maintenance. This study documents those musical elements.¹⁸

1.2.5 Matters of Language

This study has been partly hampered by a lack of Slovenian language fluency. I have acquired some language skills through association with my Slovenian family and friends, but my language skills do not extend to the reading of Slovenian text or to complicated conversations. It proved useful, however, that family members could translate interviews that occurred in the Slovenian language.

1.3 The Setting

1.3.1 Port Lincoln

This study focuses on results of investigations in Port Lincoln. Port Lincoln is a sea-side town located at the southern tip of Eyre Peninsula in the state of South Australia in Australia and is found 270 kilometres from the nearest major city, Whyalla. Port Lincoln is some 650 kilometres by road from Adelaide. (See Fig. 1: Map of Australia). The city of Port Lincoln provides facilities for the agricultural and commercial fishing industries which produce various meats, grains and seafood. The town boasts many sporting, community and artistic groups, a good number of which participate in the annual Port Lincoln Tunarama Festival held each January. The three-day festival celebrates the success of the local tuna fishing industry. Music heard live in Port Lincoln throughout the year includes pop, rock and jazz music performed by cover bands in pubs and cafés, while country rock features during Tunarama. Port Lincoln has a population of approximately 14,452 (Australian Bureau of Statistics 2008) people of

¹⁸ A fourth musical example is an audio cassette recording of Swiss folk music (*Schweizer Volksmusik Volume 2*) while a fifth is an excerpt from a compact disc recording of Russian art music singer Rebroff (*Around the world with Ivan Rebroff*). While at first non-Slovenian musical examples may seem unrelated to this investigation, the people who offered them believed the recordings to be important to this study. Due to the importance this study places on the beliefs of the informants, the musical examples have remained part of this project.

whom twenty-six were identified during this project as having Slovenian cultural heritage. The city of Port Lincoln, thus, has a very small population of Slovenian residents and is remote from other major centres.

NOTE:
This figure is included on page 27
of the print copy of the thesis held in
the University of Adelaide Library.

Fig. 1: Map of Australia <http://geography.about.com/library/blank/blxaustralia.htm> (December 12, 2009).

All Port Lincoln informants report that they connect with Slovenian people outside of Port Lincoln in order to maintain a connection with their Slovenian cultural heritage. This investigation in turn extended to these other settings identified by informants: Adelaide, Trieste (Italy) and Lokev and Ljubljana (Slovenia).

1.3.2 Adelaide

As the capital city of South Australia, Adelaide is, among other things, the cultural, social, political and economic centre of the state. Adelaide claimed a population of 1.17 million (Australian Bureau of Statistics 2008) with 1,261 South Australians claiming Slovenian cultural background.¹⁹ Performances of Slovenian folk music can be heard at the Adelaide Slovenian Club²⁰ where amateur Slovenian folk music singing groups such as the Slovenian Club Adult's Choir performed live for Slovenian festivals

¹⁹ Australian Bureau of Statistics 2008.

²⁰ The Adelaide Slovenian Club is situated at 11 La Salle Street, Dudley Park South Australia.

and celebrations.²¹ Slovenian folk music is also broadcast over the Club's public address system, drawn usually from commercial music produced by professional Slovenian folk musicians. The Holy Family Slovenian Mission in Adelaide²² is another source of live Slovenian music where the amateur choir and congregation perform Slovenian hymns during Catholic Mass. In 2004 the choir consisted of around twelve to fifteen men and women who sung the Slovenian song text in three- to four-part harmony. The congregation numbered around fifty people each week. At times, an organist accompanied the choir on an electronic organ.

In addition to live performance in Adelaide, both the Adelaide Slovenian Club and the Holy Family Slovenian Mission broadcast radio programs via EBI-FM during which people can access a variety of recorded Slovenian musical genres. Slovenian community organisations in Melbourne and Sydney also broadcast Slovenian music which can be heard in Adelaide and Port Lincoln households.²³ Investigating such links between Port Lincoln Slovenian community members and the Adelaide Slovenian community is important to this study because Port Lincoln people access Slovenian culture and music when visiting Adelaide. Such links will be reviewed to consider how Slovenian music heard in Adelaide helps Port Lincoln people to maintain a sense of cultural identity.

1.3.3 Trieste (Italy)

Port Lincoln informants also report social, cultural and musical interaction with Slovenian family, friends and associates who live in Trieste (Italy) situated at the top of the Adriatic Ocean (see Fig. 2: Map of Italy) and Slovenia. Notably, for many Port Lincoln people, their Slovenian social, cultural and musical experiences originate from towns along the Italian-Slovenian border region because it is from such towns the majority of Port Lincoln informants migrated. Of particular interest is the city of Trieste, an

²¹ The choir has also produced a compact disc entitled *Slovenian Choir Adelaide Slovenski Pevski Zbor Adelaide* (no date).

²² The Holy Family Slovenian Mission is situated at 51 Young Avenue, West Hindmarsh, South Australia.

²³ While it is possible to tune in to the radio programs broadcast from Sydney and Melbourne the clarity of the program for Port Lincoln residents is dependent on weather patterns. The reception is often intermittent at best.

important Italian port. In 1992, when the population of Trieste was 282,579 there were 49,000 Triestiens (17% of the population) who identified as having Slovenian cultural heritage (Stranj 1992:43).

NOTE:
This figure is included on page 29
of the print copy of the thesis held in
the University of Adelaide Library.

Fig. 2: Map of Italy <http://geography.about.com/od/findmaps/ig/Country-Maps/Map-of-Italy.htm> (July 26, 2009).

1.3.4 Ljubljana and Lokev (Slovenia)

Port Lincoln informants report enjoying Slovenian music during visits to Slovenia. Slovenia is situated on the European Continent situated between four neighbouring countries: Italy to the west, Austria to the north, Hungary to the east and Croatia to the south (see Fig. 3: Map of Slovenia). Slovenian territory covers 20,251 km square, which is about one-third the size of the Australian state of Tasmania. The national language is Slovenian and there are approximately two million people who live in the Republic, most of who are Roman Catholics. The capital of Slovenia is Ljubljana and the country is divided into eight regions. Primorska meaning “before the sea” is the western-most region. It borders Italy and the Adriatic Sea and is the only Slovenian region to border the sea. Gorenjska is to the north of Slovenia as are Štajerska and Kroška. Prekmurje lies in the northeast corner, bordering Hungary.

Dolenjska lies to the south of Slovenia, bordering Croatia and Bela Krajina is the most southern region also bordering Croatia. Notranjska lies to the south west of Slovenia, as does Brikni.

NOTE:
This figure is included on page 30
of the print copy of the thesis held in
the University of Adelaide Library.

Fig. 3: Map of Slovenia <http://geography.about.com/library/cia/blcslovenia.htm> (July 26, 2009).

1.4 Thesis Structure

This thesis is divided into two parts. Chapter Two examines the Slovenian cultural beliefs of the informants and explores the various ways in which they define their Slovenian identity. Chapter Two also demonstrates the variety of ways in which people construct a sense of belonging to a variety of Slovenian communities. Chapter Three explores the beliefs informants have about Slovenian music and the ways in which they define Slovenian folk music. Chapter Three also determines the role memory plays in Slovenian folk music and cultural identity.

The conclusion will demonstrate that residents of Port Lincoln who have Slovenian cultural background use memories of Slovenian folk music for identity maintenance. Further, it shows that memories of Slovenian folk music act as symbols, allowing these people to construct a variety of imagined Slovenian communities which connects them with their cultural heritage.

CHAPTER TWO

THE INFORMANTS: THEIR PROFILES AND CULTURAL BELIEFS

This chapter provides a profile of each of the informants based on their responses to the survey. It also investigates the beliefs they have about Slovenian culture as well as the ways in which they use elements of Slovenian culture in order to identify with their Slovenian ancestry. Such information enables this study to determine how informants identify with their Slovenian heritage and the ways in which informants manage their cultural identity at the level of the individual. In relation to Port Lincoln informants, this chapter also seeks to establish the degree to which people create a sense of Slovenian community within the immediate family context as well as the local context of the city of Port Lincoln. Discussion identifies contact between people from four areas comprising Port Lincoln, Adelaide, Trieste and Slovenia and considers how interaction between individuals resident in these communities helps Port Lincoln informants maintain a connection with Slovenian culture.

2.1 Profiles of the First-Generation Port Lincoln Informants

Table One summarises the responses that first-generation Port Lincoln Slovenian informants gave to Survey Questions 1-5. Column One lists nine interviewees who took part in this project by initial and gender. Five males and four females took part in this project. The sample includes three people (JFa, RPr and JV) who are not married to a person with Slovenian cultural heritage. It also includes three married couples in which all members have Slovenian cultural heritage: the Fr couple (BRr and RFr), the U couple (VU and MU) and the Z couple (DZ and IZ).

Table One: Answers to Survey Questions 1-5 by the First-Generation Port Lincoln Informants

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
NAME	Date Of Birth (Age in 2004)	Date Of Marriage (Age when married)	Date Of Migration (Age when migrated)	Reason For Migration	Region Of Origin	Children
JFa (f)	1936 (68)	1957 (21)	1957 (21)	Follow fiancée to Port Lincoln	Primorska (City of Trieste)	H T G A
BFr (m)	1927 (77)	1960 (33)	16-11-55 (28)	To be with brother	Primorska (City of Trieste)	H JFr
RFr (f)	1938 (66)	1960 (22)	1962 (24)	To be with husband	Primorska (Banne)	H JFr
RPr (m)	1943 (61)	1969 (26)	31-01-62 (19)	Adventure <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • not political • not running from anything • had a good life • my friend asked if I would go with him so I did 	Gorenjska	A MPr WPr
VU (m)	1927-2006 (77)	1955 (28)	10-02-52 (25)	We were poor so we migrated for a better life	Gorenjska Village of Dravo Imo, near Ljubljana)	2 children
MU (f)	1930-2007 (74)	1955 (25)	10-02-55 (25)	To marry VU	Dolenjska (seven kilometres from Ljubljana)	2 children
JV (m)	1928 (76)	1958 (30)	10-02-52 (24)	I was young and silly	Gorenjska (City of Bled)	3 daughters
DZ (m)	N/A	1956	1952	I ran away from the communist system	Primorska	P P M
IZ (f)	N/a-2005	1956	1955	To be with fiancée	Primorska	P P M

Column Two indicates that the age of first-generation informants in 2004 ranged from 61 to 77, an age range spanning 16 years. A span of this size tends to lead to fragmentation of the group because of their different lifestyles. RPr for example, was the youngest at 61 and the only person of this generation in paid employment, while VU and BFr were the eldest aged 77 and had been retired for many years.

Column Three indicates that the first-generation informants married during a 14-year period between 1955 and 1969. When they married and to whom impacts on their opportunity to maintain a sense of Slovenian identity while living in Port Lincoln. It is reasonable to assume that when a Slovenian migrant marries a Slovenian migrant, it is easier to maintain elements of Slovenian culture within the Port Lincoln family home when compared to those where the Slovenian migrant marries someone without Slovenian cultural heritage. This has, however, not been the case for all Port Lincoln Slovenian residents. The Fr, U and Z couples, for example, all have Slovenian cultural heritage yet VU, MU and DZ report that Slovenian culture is not relevant to their lives as migrants to Australia. Instead, for example, they suggest that now they live in Australia, it is the English language that is important. They also report that Slovenian music is irrelevant to their life in Port Lincoln, adding, “my children are not interested in Slovenian music” (pers. com. VU 2001, MU 2001 and DZ 1998). By contrast, BFr and RFr report that Slovenian culture and music is important to them, as do their children (HFr and JFr). That different people place a different value on their Slovenian cultural heritage is examined more closely in later discussions.

In another case, JFa married a man with Italian cultural heritage. This gave the couple an opportunity to maintain a sense of the family’s European cultural heritage. JFa, however, reported (2000) that her children do not believe their European heritage is relevant to their life in South Australia. Thus, marriage to a person with a similar cultural heritage does not necessarily result in a family in which the cultural heritage is valued. By contrast, JV married MV who has Anglo-Saxon background. During interviews, MV made it clear that she shares JV’s interest in his Slovenian cultural and musical heritage (2001), yet despite both these parents valuing Slovenian culture, JV and MV report that their children are not interested in the family’s Slovenian cultural heritage (pers. com. 2001). In a similar way, RPr is married to KPr, who has Anglo-Saxon background and who also made it clear during interviews that she supports her husband’s Slovenian culture heritage (2001). In contrast to the V

family, however, the three children from the Pr family have an affinity for their Slovenian background.²⁴ Marriage to a person who has Slovenian culture heritage, European culture heritage, or is supportive of Slovenian culture does not necessarily result in a family home in which Slovenian culture is valued by all members. Rather, it would seem, valuing one's Slovenian cultural heritage is a choice made by each individual regardless of their birthplace or age.

Column Four indicates that the first-generation informants migrated to Australia over a ten-year period between 1952 and 1962. These dates are important to consider because they correspond with a time in Australia's political history when the government encouraged immigration.²⁵ In order to help boost the Australian economy, one arrangement to help people migrate, involved the Australian government paying the passage of a migrant to Australia with the understanding that in return the new arrival would work, for example, in the Port Lincoln fertiliser factory for two years. This resulted in a number of Slovenian people migrating to Port Lincoln around the same time, affording them the opportunity to maintain contact with elements of Slovenian culture through contact with other migrants. Interestingly, in reality, they did not seek each other's company. It seems that maintaining contact with Slovenian culture within the local Port Lincoln area was not important at the time they migrated.

Prior to 1947 the Australian government did not encourage mass migration of people unless they had British cultural background. During the twenty-six years between 1947 and 1973 the official migration policy shifted from one of assimilation to one of integration then to one of multiculturalism. Significantly, the first-generation informants migrated to Australia during a time in which the Australian Government immigration policy expected them to assimilate into Australian culture. This might go some way to explaining the lack of contact between Slovenian migrants to Port Lincoln.

²⁴ Indeed, these children (MPr, WPr and APr) were all interested in discussing their Slovenian cultural heritage for this study and MPr and WPr were formally interviewed and feature in the second-generation profiles in the thesis.

²⁵ See Jupp (1991) for a more comprehensive discussion about Australian policy in relation to migration.

It seems that for immigrants such as MU, VU, IZ and DZ the expectation that they would assimilate continues to influence them, as they downplay the relevance of Slovenian culture to their lives as Australian citizens. This did change over time and some thirty years later in the early 1990s, the first-generation community members did meet as a Slovenian community for barbecues. There was however no evidence during fieldwork to suggest that these people currently value meeting as a cultural group or any evidence to suggest they plan to do so in the future. This is in contrast to Adelaide, where there is an active Slovenian Club and church.

For JFa, RFr, MU, VU and IZ the years in which they married and migrated occurred within three years of each other. Thus, changes in the status of these people from a single person to that of a married person occurred close to the time that their cultural identities changed from “European citizen” to “migrant living in Australia.” It is likely that the dramatic changes to lifestyles at this time would have impacted on the ability of these individuals to engage in Slovenian cultural and musical practices. Interestingly, four of these people (JFa, MU, VU and DZ) report that maintaining a sense of Slovenian cultural identity in Port Lincoln is not important. Conversely, the fact that BFr, JV and RPr married at a later point, some five, six and seven years after migrating respectively seems to have helped them establish a life in Australia in which they could maintain their strong interest in Slovenian culture and music.

Column Five highlights the reasons informants gave for migrating to Australia. The most common reason that women cite relates to the desire to be with their fiancée or husband. Men cite social reasons such as joining a brother (BFr) or joining a friend (RPr) or for “fun” (pers. com. RPr and JV 2001). Other men suggest financial, political or religious reasons because they were seeking a more financial life (pers. com. VU 2001) and running away from the communist system (pers. com. DZ 1998). Significantly, the two men who seem to believe they *had* to leave (VU and DZ) state Slovenian culture is no longer relevant to their life. Conversely, the three men who give the impression they *chose* to migrate (BFr, RPr and JV) are those who report that Slovenian culture remains an important part of

their life. It seems, therefore, and not unexpectedly, the more positive the view of Slovenia at the time of migration, the more likely it is a person values their Slovenian heritage in the longer term.

Column Six shows that five informants identify with the Primorskan region, three with the Gorenjskan region and one with Dolenjska. The people who identify with Gorenjska or Dolenjska do so because they were born in Slovenia. Five respondents (JFa, BFr, RFr, DZ and IZ) however were not born in Slovenia. Rather, these individuals identify with the region in which their parents were born. In addition, three people (JFa, BFr and RFr) cite their Slovenian heritage as originating in Primorska, but cite a town that is now part of Italy because the Slovenian/Italian border changed after the Second World War. Significantly, five people migrated to Australia as Italian, not Slovenian, citizens and despite the impact Italian culture has had on these Port Lincoln Slovenians, they still report identifying with their Slovenian cultural heritage. From these reports it would seem a person's identification with their Slovenian background then is not based so much on where the first-generation people were born and raised but, instead, is based on where they believe their family ties originate.

This information also offers insights into the interest informants have in Slovenian music. There seems to be a link between the place in which a person was born and the degree to which they are interested in Slovenian culture and music. Notably, JV lived in Bled (Slovenia) and has more Slovenian folk music recordings in his personal collection than any other Port Lincoln Slovenian. Also, RPr, who lived in Strekelja (Slovenia), is the only informant who has shown interest in playing Slovenian folk music in Port Lincoln. By contrast, those who lived in Italy do not demonstrate a similar degree of interest in Slovenian folk music. It would seem therefore that the interviewees who report connecting more strongly with Slovenian folk music are those who learnt about Slovenian folk music as they grew up in Slovenia and are not those who learnt about Slovenian folk music while growing up in Italy.

Column Seven indicates that all first-generation participants have children and there are at least seventeen second-generation people with Slovenian cultural heritage who are connected to Port

Lincoln. This is important because the long-term future of Slovenian culture and music relies on the interest the next generation have in their Slovenian culture and heritage. The profiles of five second-generation interviewees are discussed in the following section.

2.2 Profiles of the Second-Generation Port Lincoln Informants

Table Two summarises the responses that second-generation Port Lincoln Slovenian informants gave to the Survey Questions 1-5. Column One lists the five interviewees who took part in this project by initials and genders. There are three male and two female informants. JFr, MPr and WPr were all born in Port Lincoln but DM and VT moved to Port Lincoln for work.

Table Two: Answers to Survey Questions 1-5 by the Second-Generation Port Lincoln Informants

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
NAME	Date Of Birth (Age in 2004)	Date Of Marriage (Age at marriage)	Date Of Migration Of Parent(s)	Reason For Migration Of Parent(s)	Region Of Origin	Children (Age in 2004)
JFr (m)	1970 (34)	30-03-96 (26)	Dad 1955	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> to be with brother 	Primorska	T(7) G(4)
			Mum 1962	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> to be with husband 		
DM (m)	1964 (40)	Not married	Not Available	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> better life better employment initially for a working holiday 	Sežana	None
MPr (f)	1972 (32)	20-09-03 (31)	Dad 1962	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> not political to be with friend 	where Dad is from Polje (Gorenjska)	none
			Mum Australian born	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> not Applicable 		
WPr (m)	1984 (20)	Not married	Dad 1962	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> not political to be with friend 	Gorenjska where <i>Stara Mama</i> [Grandmother] lives	None
			Mum Australian born	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> not Applicable 		
VT (f)	1960 (44)	17.5.85 (25)	Dad 1949	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> leave communist system 	Sentjernej	E(11) J(6)
			Mum 1955	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> to be with husband 		

Column One reveals the fact that only five second-generation Port Lincoln Slovenian informants took part in this study, even though, as noted above, there are at least seventeen second-generation Port Lincoln Slovenians. This suggests that despite opportunities to contact the researcher through advertisements in the local Port Lincoln newspaper and information gained after interviewing their parents, most second-generation people are not interested in taking part in a project involving the exploration of their Slovenian cultural heritage and beliefs about Slovenian music. This was confirmed during interviews repeatedly by their parents. It may be concluded, therefore that for twelve second-generation Port Lincoln Slovenians, Slovenian culture and folk music currently play little part in their identity maintenance.

Column Two indicates that in 2004 the second-generation informants were aged between twenty years of age and forty-four years of age, an age gap between youngest and eldest of 24 years. This age gap is significant because like the first-generation respondents, the second-generation residents are at varying stages of their lives. One thread that does link the second-generation members relates to the dates their parents migrated to Australia. It is reasonable to assume that because they were all children of European migrants who migrated around the same time, the second-generation people shared similar experiences while growing up in Australia.²⁶ One difference between the second-generation participants is detailed in Column Seven; JFr and VT have young children, while DM, MPr and WPr have no children.

Column Three indicates that three second-generation members are married while two remain single. Of interest, those who are married did not marry a person with Slovenian cultural heritage. As seen earlier, however, marrying a non-Slovenian need not prevent a person with Slovenian cultural heritage

²⁶ Strajnar suggests that the lives of those who left Slovenian after World War I were different from the lives of people who migrated at the end of World War II and those who migrated from the 1960s onwards (2001:96). He states that there are "generally shared life condition" and "specifics that can be considered the markers of particular ethnic communities" (2001:97). This suggests that it is reasonable to assume that the Slovenians who migrated to Port Lincoln after World War II shared similar life experiences including the way they parented their children.

from continuing to use Slovenian cultural elements such as folk music as part of maintaining a sense of Slovenian identity.

Similar to the first-generation informants, for the second-generation interviewees, the range in their ages coupled with different lifestyles impacts on their ability to readily identify with one another. In turn, this affects their ability to meet for the purpose of maintaining Slovenian cultural practices—including those centred on Slovenian music. Such a meeting in fact has never happened and no second-generation respondent suggested they would be interested in such an event. Rather, it seems, like the first-generation residents, second-generation informants do not rely on Port Lincoln Slovenian community members in order to create a Slovenian community. Instead, they rely on themselves as individuals as well as their family to create a sense of Slovenian community and therefore a way of identifying with their Slovenian heritage.

Column Four details the date that parents of second-generation people migrated. The date on which the parents of DM and VT migrated could not be included in Table One because their parents do not live in Port Lincoln. The dates listed in Table Two indicate that the parents of DM and VT (all of whom were born in Slovenia) migrated to Australia around the same time as the Port Lincoln first-generation informants. Column Five lists the reason the second-generation believe their parents migrated to Australia, again, in order to include information about the parents of DM and VT. The information confirms that the first-generation parents of DM and VT migrated for reasons similar to the reasons given by first-generation Port Lincoln residents and include social, economic and political reasons.

Column Six indicates the region of Slovenia to which these community members feel a connection. It is interesting to compare the way the first- and second-generation people identify the place in Slovenia with which they believe their cultural heritage originates because it highlights how differently members of the two generations define the link. Most of the first-generation informants cite a specific village because they have the advantage of having grown-up in and around Slovenia and therefore have

detailed geographic knowledge about Slovenia and their Slovenian family heritage. By contrast, second-generation interviewees are comparatively vague, citing their Slovenian cultural origin as 'near Ljubljana' or 'where grandma lives'. This indicates that for second-generation members the link between Slovenian culture and a specific geographic Slovenian origin is weak. It is important to note, that during interviews, both the first- and second-generation cite places in Europe that enable informants to feel a connection with their Slovenian cultural heritage rather than their current place of residence, Port Lincoln. That is, both generations of Port Lincoln informants seem to accept that the tie between their cultural heritage and Port Lincoln is weak.

From the foregoing, Port Lincoln Slovenian culture may be understood as being affected by deterritorialization (see Tomlinson 1999:29 for a full discussion on deterritorialization). In brief, deterritorialization refers to the way in which people *choose* to weaken the ties of culture to place. Port Lincoln informants, for example, are choosing to weaken the tie between Slovenian culture and the city of Port Lincoln. They can therefore experience a sense of having Slovenian cultural identity without reference to experiences within the city of Port Lincoln.

By preferring to connect with Slovenian culture and people, not in Port Lincoln, but in Europe (Trieste and Slovenia), Port Lincoln informants are engaging in the process of *disembedding*²⁷. In essence, disembedding involves taking ones social relations out of the local context and restructuring them across indefinite spans of time-space (Tomlinson 1999:55).²⁸ It is important to note that for the purposes of this thesis, where Tomlinson refers to "social relations," this thesis takes "social relations" to refer more broadly to "social and cultural relationships." Informants explain that they do not engage in Slovenian social and cultural relationships within Port Lincoln, instead, informants prefer to cultivate relationships and cultural connection with Slovenian family and friends who live in Europe. In other

²⁷ For a more detailed discussion on the process of disembedding see Tomlinson (1999:55-59).

²⁸ Tomlinson (1999) describes how Giddens discusses the relationship between money and disembedding, how Wagner (1994) uses the concept of disembedding when discussing the effects on people who are forced to migrate and how Murdock (1993) uses the term in relation to media. In relation to this study, the concept of disembedding describes very aptly the way in which informants in Port Lincoln create a sense of Slovenian identity.

words, Port Lincoln people take their Slovenian social and cultural relationships, disembed them from the local Port Lincoln context and reconstruct them across space.

It is also important to highlight Tomlinson's reference to "time-space" (Tomlinson 1999:55) because this thesis argues that when informants define their Slovenian cultural identity they not only refer to social and cultural relationships across space, but also across time. Informants for example, refer to memories of Slovenian cultural and musical experiences that are decades old when citing musical and cultural examples that are important to creating a sense of Slovenian identity.

Disembedding Slovenian social and cultural relationships is a powerful tool because it allows informants to maintain a sense of cultural identity despite not maintaining social relationships with Slovenian people in Port Lincoln and not participating in Slovenian cultural activities in Port Lincoln. It is important to reinforce, informants prefer to construct a sense of belonging to the Slovenian community across space by connecting with people across the globe but informants construct a sense that they belong to the Slovenian community across time when they recall memories they have of times in the past when they shared Slovenian social and cultural experiences with Slovenian people who live in Europe. This thesis argues that this creates the sense that they belong to a global Slovenian community in the mind of each informant.

The responses noted in Column Six indicate that for second-generation informants, the ability to link Slovenian culture and music to a specific geographic origin is increasingly irrelevant. At first glance, the lack of specific knowledge about the geographic origin of their families' Slovenian cultural heritage might suggest they have a lack of interest in their cultural background. Nevertheless, while these five informants were vague about the origin of their cultural heritage, especially when compared with responses given by the first-generation interviewees, the fact that these second-generation community members did offer to participate in this study and did state that they identify with their Slovenian heritage provides a different perspective. It is a contrast with the other twelve second-generation

Slovenian people who are reportedly not interested in their Slovenian cultural heritage and did not volunteer to participate in this study. Thus, for the five second-generation Slovenian community members and nine first-generation parents, Slovenian culture and Slovenian folk music continues to play a part in their maintaining a sense of Slovenian identity.

Column Seven details any children the second-generation informants with the child's initials, gender, and then age in 2004 in brackets. There are four third-generation Port Lincoln community members listed in Table Two, three girls and one boy ranging in age from four to eleven years of age. It is important to note that the two families who have children have the opportunity to create Slovenian cultural and musical experiences for third-generation Port Lincoln Slovenians. One can speculate whether the interest JFr and VT have in their Slovenian cultural heritage will transfer to their children. For this study though, these third-generation people are too young to form part of this study.

Now that this study has established a profile of the nine first-generation and five second-generation Port Lincoln informants, it is timely to more deeply explore the beliefs they hold about Slovenian culture and their sense of Slovenian identity.

2.3 Cultural Beliefs of First- and Second-Generation Port Lincoln Informants

This section examines the way informants define Slovenian culture and the role it plays in helping them maintain a sense of Slovenian identity. It reports on answers informants gave to Survey Questions 6 through 10, which were many and varied in length and detail. Question 6, 7 and 8 investigate links between Port Lincoln Slovenian people and their Slovenian family and friends who live in Australia and Europe. Questions 9 and 10 focus on jobs that the first-generation migrants held in Slovenia and Australia and how they established themselves once resident in Port Lincoln as well as interviewees' thoughts on being a Port Lincoln Slovenian.

Responses informants gave to survey questions highlight that every first-generation community member uses elements of Slovenian culture in order to maintain a sense of Slovenian identity. Contact with Slovenia can form part of the process. JV, for example, reports ongoing contact with between 20-30 people in Slovenia (pers. com. 2001) and as previously reported JV demonstrates a strong interest in Slovenian folk music. In contrast, MU reports having contact with no one in Slovenia (pers. com. 2001)—notably she is one of the community members who believes that because she lives in Australia, Slovenian culture is not important. Similarly, JFa reveals that she has no family in Slovenia (pers. com. 2001). For JFa then, the need to have contact with Slovenian culture has become less important. Her focus is now on her children and grandchildren, all of whom reside in South Australia. It is perhaps not surprising that for Port Lincoln informants, the greater number of contacts they have who reside in and around Slovenia, the more likely it is that person will use elements of Slovenian culture as part of their identity maintenance.

It is also evident from responses, that the Port Lincoln Slovenian community is not a close-knit community. For example, only one first-generation person, RFr, reports contact with other Port Lincoln Slovenian families, the Z and Pr families (pers. com. 2001). In addition, second-generation informant, MPr, states there are no second-generation people in Port Lincoln with whom she can meet in order to maintain a sense of Slovenian identity (pers. com. 2002). Notably, despite the increased cost and time associated with contacting people who live in Slovenia, Port Lincoln people choose to interact more often with residents of Slovenia than local Port Lincoln Slovenians.

Further evidence to support the argument that the Port Lincoln Slovenian community is not close-knit is supported by the different opinions the first-generation Slovenian people hold about the political, social and economic situation in Slovenia at the time they left. RPr for example reports “leaving of [his] own free will” (pers. com. 1999) while DZ (pers. com. 1998) and VU (pers. com. 2001) held disparaging views because “there was no future” in Slovenia. This thesis argues that differences between members’ opinions about the value of Slovenia and Slovenian culture create divides between members

of the Port Lincoln Slovenian community. It argues that as a result of this division, interviewees need to rely on maintaining their own unique versions of Slovenian culture individually and within their local family group.

There appears to be a contradiction in the responses of five informants (JFa, DZ, IZ, MU and VU). During various interviews these informants reported “we’re in Australia now, Slovenian culture and music does not count here.” During ensuing discussion, however, they report maintaining regular contact with Slovenia through a variety of means. DZ, for example, reports making a telephone call to Slovenian family once a month to “keep up with news” (pers. com.1998). It would appear, then, that this action of maintaining regular contact with Slovenian family does not match his stated view that Slovenia is not important to his life in Australia. Moreover while contact with Slovenian culture and music is maintained by first-generation people, they have not encouraged their children to have an interest in Slovenian culture and music. It is perhaps the case that it is not what migrant parents’ *do* that encourages their children to have an interest in their cultural heritage. It is instead, what the parents *say* that influences their children’s cultural orientation. These five residents, independent from one another, seem to have made a conscious decision to compartmentalise their Slovenian heritage in their Port Lincoln lives. This decision has no doubt influenced their children’s choice to have little interest in their Slovenian cultural heritage.

By contrast, JV, and the Pr and Fr families openly state that it is important to maintain a sense of Slovenian cultural identity while resident in Port Lincoln. They do so not only by maintaining regular contact with Slovenia, but also by expressing their belief that Slovenian culture is important. However, we have seen in JV’s family, it is not necessarily enough to provide a home environment where Slovenian culture is overtly appreciated in order that the next generation identifies with Slovenian culture. Rather, it seems, the second-generation member needs to be motivated to maintain an interest in and a connection with Slovenian culture and music.

It is important to reflect on the memories the first-generation have with regard to how they established themselves in Port Lincoln. This is because it appears that the people who view Port Lincoln as a suitable permanent home are the same people who report that Slovenian culture and music is important for maintaining a sense of Slovenian identity. Most women said they migrated in order to be with their spouse and were off-handed with their view that Port Lincoln is simply an “OK” place in which to live. Similarly, the two men (VU and DZ) whom felt forced to leave Slovenia, citing no work and no money, reported that Port Lincoln was an “OK” place to live. By contrast, the men who seem to believe they *chose* to migrate (JV, RPr and BFr) became animated with claims of Port Lincoln being “the best spot in Australia” (JV:2001) that “it’s like I was born here” (RPr:1999). This thesis argues that the people who feel they had a choice about whether they should migrate, are the ones who are more likely to view Port Lincoln as a suitable place to live. Further, it is also these people (JV and RPr especially) who indicate most strongly that Slovenian culture and folk music is important to their maintaining a sense of Slovenian identity. In addition, the people who seem to believe they chose to migrate (JV, RPr and BFr) have children who are interested in their Slovenian cultural heritage.

Port Lincoln Slovenian migrants came to Australia via one of two main methods: some migrated under the Australian Government’s work scheme (RPr and JV) while others paid their own way (such as BFr, DM's parent and VT’s parents). It is noteworthy that of these five families, four have children who report an interest in their Slovenian cultural heritage. For example, DM and VT believe the regular contact their parents maintained with Slovenian family has encouraged them to maintain an interest in their Slovenian culture. Furthermore, DM chooses to listen to Slovenian music on audio-cassettes during the 1200 kilometre drive between Port Lincoln and Mount Gambier (pers. com. 2001). In addition, when in Adelaide, VT takes her mother to visit the Adelaide Slovenian club (pers. com. 2004). Also, MPr reports that the ties she has with her Slovenian cultural heritage are strong. She notes contacting family and friends who live in Slovenia more often than she contacts Slovenian friends who live in Port Lincoln (pers. com. 2002). In addition, for WPr, having Slovenian cultural heritage means he is called a “wog” (pers. com. 2002). Rather than interpret this word in the derogatory manner in which it is often

used, he believes being labelled a “wog” simply confirms his European cultural heritage. WPr asserts, he was born Slovenian, Slovenia-ness is in his blood and he is proud of his Slovenian cultural heritage (pers. com. 2002). This highlights the connection between informants who report enjoying life in Australia while valuing their Slovenian cultural heritage.

By contrast, those men who reported that they were forced to migrate for social, economic or political reasons, created homes in Port Lincoln in which they believed “we’re in Australia now, we speak English” (pers. com. VU 2001 and DZ 1998). For these families it seems, the Australian culture became the dominant culture and Slovenian culture became part of a secondary identity. This thesis argues that the Port Lincoln Slovenian migrants who chose to migrate have stronger links to their cultural heritage when compared with those who felt forced to migrate. Further, those families who feel they chose to migrate have children who are more likely to maintain links with their Slovenian cultural heritage.

There is a clear link between the people who report an interest in their Slovenian cultural background and those who invest time and money to travel to Slovenia. The families who invested in travel to Slovenia, (the Fr, Pr, V, M and T families) took their children on family holidays. It is these children who took part in this project as second-generation informants and who report that they value their Slovenian identity. Notably, these same second-generation informants have all travelled to Slovenia independently from their parents. Moreover, they report that it is important to them to maintain contact with Slovenian family and friends their own age who live in Europe but also to maintain contact with their cultural heritage more generally. These informants seem to believe that maintaining a sense of Slovenian identity is a healthy, normal part of their broader cultural identity. Thus, for the second-generation interviewees, having contact with people in Slovenia their own age is a significant part of maintaining their sense of Slovenian identity.

It may be helpful at this point to examine the concept of “globalization” in relation to Slovenian culture and folk music in Port Lincoln. Tomlinson states, “globalization promotes much more physical mobility than ever before” (1999:29). Importantly, for Tomlinson, the key to investigating the impact globalization has on culture rests not just on *global travel* but more importantly on the various ways in which any global link *impacts* on culture and then *transforms* an area (Tomlinson 1999:29).

Significantly, it is the Port Lincoln Slovenian community members who have been physically mobile and have travelled repeatedly to Slovenia (first-generation JV, RPr, BFr, RFr: second-generation JFr, MPr, DM, VT, WPr) who report the strongest connections with Slovenian culture and music. It is clear that Port Lincoln informants participate in the globalization of Slovenian culture and music not just through being physically mobile themselves and travelling to Europe, but also because they ensure elements of Slovenian culture and music are physically mobile.

This link across the globe that Port Lincoln informants maintain manifests itself in a variety of ways. Port Lincoln informants, for example, transport Slovenian artefacts such as wall hangings, curtains, books and magazines as well as cultural knowledge including Slovenian musical recordings. These people link with Slovenia in other ways, including communication with Slovenian family and friends via various means such as telephone calls, letters, faxes, emails and receiving Slovenian magazines, music audio- and video-cassettes, compact discs as well as downloading mp3 files. Thus, for this study, the physical mobility discussed by Tomlinson is not confined to people, but relates to cultural and musical information relayed via various media. For informants of this study, without cultural elements being physically mobile, it would be difficult for informants to maintain a connection with Slovenian culture and music.

Important to an investigation of globalization, is the way the global travel impacts on culture. For this study, the global travel of elements of Slovenian culture impacts on Port Lincoln Slovenian culture, because having cultural elements that are mobile, ensures that Slovenian culture need not be tied to a physical place within Slovenia itself. This means people who live in Port Lincoln, remote from Slovenia,

can access elements of their culture and connect with these elements, thereby maintaining a sense of cultural identity. The transformation of an area, as suggested by Tomlinson, can be seen in Port Lincoln in the mobile nature of elements of Slovenian culture. For this study, however, the “area” does not relate to any physical area in which these people live. Instead, this “area” is the theoretical space, or imagined community (see Anderson 1983:15)²⁹, in which the Slovenian heritage of these people exists.

The process of globalization, then, enables informants to construct their own individually imagined community in which they can negotiate the dynamic nature of their Slovenian/Australian cultural identity with reference to mobile elements of Slovenian culture. Within this imagined community, each Port Lincoln Slovenian person connects with their immediate Port Lincoln Slovenian family but also with Slovenian family and friends who live in various places across the globe. This results in people developing a sense of Slovenian identity that is not connected with a physical territory, but which is a fluid concept in the mind of each individual, neither embedded in the local Port Lincoln territory nor reliant on relationships with Port Lincoln Slovenian people. This study now explores the profiles and cultural beliefs of some of the Slovenian people with whom Port Lincoln people have contact, but who live outside Port Lincoln.

2.4 Profiles and Cultural Beliefs of other First- and Second-Generation Informants

2.4.1 First- and Second-Generation Adelaide (Australia) Informants

EB and VK are two male first-generation Adelaide residents aged in their 70s who play Slovenian folk music. During the 1980s Port Lincoln resident RPr repeatedly visited both men in order to learn how to

²⁹ Anderson defines “imagined political community” as imagined (his italics) because “the members of even the smallest nation will never know most of their fellow-members, meet them, or even hear of them, yet in the minds of each lives the image of their communion” (1983:15). For this study, the imagined community is not linked to the idea that a group of people identify with each other for political reasons, instead, Port Lincoln informants seem to imagine their connection with people who share a similar cultural background – that of Slovenian heritage.

play Slovenian folk music.³⁰ By comparison, RPo is a second-generation single woman aged 36 in 2004 who works for the Australian Defence Force. She also produces the Adelaide Slovenian Radio Program which in 2007 was broadcast on 789.9 FM for 30 minutes twice a week. AV is a second-generation 42 year old father of two: a girl C aged 10 and a boy E aged 8 (ages are as of 2004). AV is married to IV, a woman with Hungarian cultural heritage. AV plays the chromatic piano accordion to accompany the Slovenian Adult's Choir, which rehearses and performs at the Adelaide Slovenian Club.

RPo and AV report feeling strong links with their Slovenian culture heritage (pers. com. 2003). Similar to Port Lincoln second-generation informants, RPo and AV attribute feeling a strong connection to their Slovenian cultural heritage (pers. com. 2003), in part, to the memories they have of the strong links their parents maintained with Slovenian culture as they grew up in Adelaide. In addition, RPo and AV attribute their sense of connection with Slovenian culture and music to their experiences within the Adelaide Slovenian community in their capacity as volunteers with the Radio program and Adult's Choir (pers. com. 2003).

As residents of Adelaide, RPo and AV have the opportunity to participate in Slovenian community cultural and musical experiences more regularly than do Port Lincoln informants. Adelaide residents, for example, can demonstrate their connection with Slovenian culture and music by attending the Slovenian Club while people who live in remote cities such as Port Lincoln do not have the same opportunity. Rather, during interviews, Port Lincoln interviewees referred to their memories of Slovenian folk music performances. At these times, it seems that the Port Lincoln informants were "visiting" these memories in similar ways in which the Adelaide informants visit the Slovenian Club.

³⁰ EB and VK made it clear during interviews that they were happy to be involved in this project if the questions were about music and the discussion did not become personal or political (pers. com. 2000). In order to maintain their trust and thereby access their musical knowledge, questions remained focused on music. As a result, their profiles and information about their cultural beliefs are not available.

2.4.2 First- and Second-Generation Trieste (Italy) Informants

SS is a first-generation man living in the Italian city of Trieste (Italy) with Slovenian cultural heritage who in 2004 was aged 66. He lives with his wife IS who has Italian cultural heritage. His son, BS, is a second-generation man also living in the Italian city of Trieste (Italy). BS was 36 years of age in 2004 and lives with his wife, AK, and mother-in-law, TK, both of whom have Ukrainian cultural heritage.

During the interview process, it became apparent that, independent of one another, SS and BS viewed their Slovenian cultural heritage as essentially peripheral to their sense of identity since any reference to their Slovenian cultural heritage was limited to it being a part of their family history and not relevant to their current lives. This was most strongly shown by SS's reluctance to be interviewed or discuss his beliefs about his Slovenian cultural background. Similarly, during interviews, BS avoided discussion about Slovenian folk music in order to assure me his musical interests were centred on Western European Art music.

2.4.3 First- and Second-Generation Lokev (Slovenia) and Ljubljana (Slovenia) Informants

MFra is a first-generation woman who was aged 79 in 2004 and lives with her son and daughter-in-law in Lokev, a small rural village in Slovenia. MFra talked at length about political changes she had experienced during her life in Slovenia.³¹

JFra (MFra's granddaughter) is a second-generation woman aged 29 years of age in 2004. She is a student and lives in Lokev with her parents and grandmother. PG is a second-generation man who was 43 years of age in 2004 and who lives in Ljubljana with his wife MG and two boys, JG aged 4 (in 2004) and JG aged 2 (in 2004). MFra, JFra and PG report contacting Australian-Slovenian relatives and

³¹ This was in contrast to informants who live in Port Lincoln, Adelaide and Italy, all of whom did not discuss political matters. The political beliefs of people, therefore, play a small part in this discussion.

friends through frequent telephone calls and written communication. They report that the connection with Australian Slovenians is something they value and work to maintain (pers. com. 2001).

2.5 Summary

During the interview process JFr, BFr and RFr translated most of the questions and answers for the author as well as SS, BS and MFra. This prevented the asking of open-ended questions where the informant could take the discussion to unexpected places. In addition, relying on JFr, BFr and RFr to translate was problematic because they were forced to simplify the questions and answers. MFra, JFra and PG were not able to explore their Slovenian identity as deeply as Australian informants. This may be because their Slovenian identity is not something upon which they reflect—they just live it. Their lack of detailed response to questions about identity may also be due to a language barrier.

Despite these limitations of relying on translation in interviews, the sessions were fruitful because they confirm that the Slovenian cultural beliefs of informants who live in Italy and Slovenia mirror the beliefs of people who live in Port Lincoln. For example, MFra values her Slovenian cultural heritage, as do some first-generation residents of Port Lincoln. However, there are also first-generation people in Port Lincoln who believe their Slovenian cultural identity is unimportant in the context of Port Lincoln, which is similar to the sentiments expressed by the first-generation Italian informant, SS, who similarly seems to find his Slovenian cultural heritage largely irrelevant to his life in Italy.

Interestingly, the five Port Lincoln second-generation people who took part in this project reported a connection with Slovenian culture and folk music despite the fact that they hardly ever listen to the music. Yet second-generation informants BS (from Italy), JFra and PG (from Slovenia) report listening to Slovenian folk music regularly (because it is played, for example, in Slovenian shopping centres). PG, however, a second-generation Slovenian resident with a career-based lifestyle, finds any reference to Slovenian “folk” culture irrelevant to his life. The three second-generation European

informants explain that they are not interested in Slovenian folk culture or Slovenian folk music in their everyday life. Further, they do not use Slovenian folk music as part of maintaining their Slovenian identity.

To conclude, this chapter has established that Port Lincoln people not only create their own personal sense of Slovenian identity at an individual level, but also relate their Slovenian cultural orientation to the way their *family* creates a sense of belonging to the Slovenian culture. Furthermore, people reflect on their place in the *local* Port Lincoln Slovenian community and the way they belong to the Slovenian community at the *global* level. At the global level, they negotiate their relationship with Slovenia itself or with what they understand to be “Slovenian places” that are sometimes in Italy. Importantly, each informant negotiates their membership across all these levels simultaneously, enabling each individual to use Slovenian culture and music as part of maintaining a sense of being Slovenian.

This chapter has also established that the cultural values of the first-generation migrants would seem to influence the degree of interest their children have in Slovenian culture. In general, it is members of families where the first-generation migrant believes they migrated of their own free will and value Slovenian cultural heritage and travel back to Slovenia with their second-generation children, who have maintained the strongest Slovenian cultural connection. This seems to be confirmed by the fact that it is the second-generation children of these families who are interested in Slovenian culture to the degree that they volunteered to be involved with this project.

Finally, it is apparent that no matter where the informant lives, be it Port Lincoln, Adelaide, Trieste, Ljubljana or Lokev, they feel a sense of having Slovenian identity. Significantly, it seems, there is no prescription for demonstrating that identity. All regard Slovenian culture as playing a role in their sense of identity.

CHAPTER THREE

THE INFORMANTS: THEIR BELIEFS RELATED TO MUSIC

This chapter analyses the responses of Slovenian informants to Survey Questions 11-21 in order to understand the ways they define Slovenian folk music and use it as part of maintaining a sense of Slovenian identity. The first section turns to residents in Port Lincoln, the second presents responses from residents of Adelaide while the third section reviews participants from Trieste and Slovenia. By reviewing their beliefs, this chapter aims to offer deeper insights into the ways in which these individuals relate to Slovenian folk music.

3.1 Port Lincoln First- and Second-Generation Informants

We now turn to the first- and second-generation informants. Table Three summarises their responses for Survey Questions 11-21. This Table lists informants by initials in alphabetical order in Column One. Column Two documents thoughts regarding what makes Slovenian music important and beliefs about what makes the music distinctly Slovenian. It also records their comments on comparisons of Slovenian music heard in Port Lincoln with Slovenian music heard in Slovenia. Column Three not only lists the recorded music that informants have in their own possession, but also documents their musical knowledge, musical skills and musical interests. Column Four lists how interviewees access Slovenian music and finally, Column Five records how often participants access Slovenian music.

Table Three: Answers to Survey Questions 11-21 by the First- and Second-Generation Port Lincoln Informants

1	2	3	4	5
	Questions 11, 12, 17, 18, 19, 20	Questions 13, 14, 21	Question 15	Question 16
Name of Informant	Slovenian Music – comments and definition	Music Collection and Musical Skills	How accessed?	How often accessed?
JFa	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> It is happy music; it makes you feel young again. It makes you feel like dancing Choir singing is important Slovenian music All music is good. Slovenian or otherwise There is no difference between Slovenian music in Slovenia or Port Lincoln 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> I love music very much I have always loved dancing Slovenian people used to come to my house here in Port Lincoln and sing after tea 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> I listen to audio-cassette tapes My Melbourne friends send tapes to me I borrow video tapes that have Slovenian scenery and Slovenian music as background music from the Port Lincoln library 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Whenever I am by myself I have music on and I listen while I work
RF	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Is part of us and part of life Is our culture for every day and for all nations We were poor and had nothing else Wine, song and music made us happy Didn't have to worry about our troubles Irish and Slovenians like ballads 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> I was always in a choir I was on radio with my school many times I am interested in orchestral, ballet, folk, opera, church music but not jazz 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Radio Audio-cassette Long playing record People gave us music as a gift when we visited Slovenia Took recordings from other peoples music 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Used to listen weekly but lately I'm too busy
BF	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Music makes you happy When you rest in the bar everyone sings The words they use are important because of the way they describe The songs are happy because they talk about girls (not in a bad manner) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> I sing. I'm improving (I really know nothing) I don't ever listen to the new music 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Radio is very important the Slovenian programs from Adelaide and Melbourne Television Audio-cassettes and years ago records Somebody bought or sent or went to a city to buy music 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> In the bar we just sang
RPr	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> When you hear Slovenian music it makes you happy The sound of the button harmonica makes it Slovenian All your worries fall off when you hear the button harmonium It is happy music It lightens the heart 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> I own a button harmonium It is different from a piano accordion Button accordion is Slovenian tradition I sing when I am drunk I like folk music When I turned 50 I practiced everyday then once I got reasonable I stopped 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Audio-cassette tape Long playing record Video tape I have bought some Some are sent from Slovenian family In Australia we take a copy of other people's tapes 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Not as often as I want, life gets really busy I used to listen to audio-cassettes I used to play harmonica
JV	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> I love Slovenian music, music gives a good feeling, reminds me of what I left behind, stirs memories of home (friends and youth) I like vocal and instrumental With the old Slovenian songs every song means something. The song tells a story and the story is important to me 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Records, 45, 78 and 33 RPM My children prefer to watch Slovenian music videos because the video has talking in English I sing along with the recordings I played for a wedding when I was 15 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Listen to the radio every Sunday if the antenna can pick up the signal Watch Avsenik (Gorenjska group) and Slak (Dolenjska group) Listen to audio-cassette tapes brought back from Slovenia Listen to audio-cassette tapes from MU and VU Went to Adelaide to see Slovenian touring group 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Slovenian music is important to me I listen to it weekly
VU	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> I enjoy instrumental and vocal music equally With the old Slovenian songs every song means something. The song tells a story and the story is important to me 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> I own a harmonica I bought in Port Lincoln from RPr 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> I listen to music JV tapes from his collection when he brings back new music from Slovenia 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Weekly
MU	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> I prefer instrumental music because it is getting more difficult for me to understand the lyrics. I 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> We own a harmonica we bought it in Port Lincoln from RPr 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> I listen to music JV tapes from his collection when he 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Weekly

1	2	3	4	5
	Questions 11, 12, 17, 18, 19, 20	Questions 13, 14, 21	Question 15	Question 16
Name of Informant	Slovenian Music – comments and definition	Music Collection and Musical Skills	How accessed?	How often accessed?
	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> need 70 years to catch up on the lyrics 		brings back new music from Slovenia	
DZ and IZ	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> We grew up with Slovenian folk music. What you grow up with you like 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> We own a collection of Slovenian folk music audio-cassettes DZ likes Nana Mouskori We can't play music 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> We listen to music on the radio and from audio-cassettes We get cassettes as gifts from Slovenian family and Port Lincoln Slovenian friends 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> We listen infrequently, not even once a year
JFr	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Music is a universal language Slovenian music is universally known amongst Slovenians as a medium for all Slovenians to acknowledge as their own The music causes emotions and feelings and unifies people The language makes it Slovenian 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> I have no musical skills I have no preference for a particular Slovenian musical style 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> When I do, which is hardly ever, I listen to the radio and audio-cassettes and sing with my parents 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Once every 6 months
DM	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Is a token to keep in contact with Slovenia When I compare the popular Slovenian music I enjoy to the folk music my parents enjoy the thread between popular and folk music is the melody and harmony The text talks about happy times 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> I have an audio-cassette collection My mother has CDs and tourist videos I sing along in private I have a piano accordion my dad bought for me I believe the tapes I have are particular to a region of Slovenia 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> I listen to audio-cassettes when I drive long distances When I visited Slovenian cousins they would give me audio-cassettes as gifts because they are small and easy to transport back to Australia 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Four times a year After visiting Slovenia I would listen to the audio-cassettes a lot to maintain a feeling of contact
MPr	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> I enjoy the music, I was brought up on it It's important because we always need music The language is what makes a song Slovenian The folk music brings you joy even when you can't understand the words Piano accordion is in every culture but the button melodeon is Slovenian 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> I have a couple of recordings Čuke is more modern I went to their concert 10 years ago 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> I use mum and dad's compact discs and audio-cassette tapes 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> I used to listen all the time but now I only listen 4 or 5 times a year The music makes me too emotional I cry when I listen because I get sad, I want to go back to Slovenia, but I can't
WPr	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> You need to experience the music in a Slovenian festival to associate with the people and happy feelings the music produces I've grown up with it, it's in my blood It's not Slovenian without the accordion Nothing changes with Slovenian folk music You hear the first few notes and you know what the song will sound like, either a waltz or a polka 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> I can play the organ a bit and piano If I practiced guitar and accordion more I could play 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> I listen to Dad play I have downloaded 10 songs off the internet onto the hard drive I have audio-cassette tapes at home I went to a folk music festival while I was in Slovenia The music was at parties I went to in Slovenia 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> MPr used to put the audio-cassette tapes on once a month
VT	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> I feel like I bond with the music It bonds me with Dad because he used to always play the audio-cassettes The words make it Slovenian and the rhythm, you can dance to the music It's important to Dad because it reminds him of happy times spent in Slovenia 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Dad had a harmonica, an old button style I used to play piano and guitar 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Mum has lots of audio-cassettes and video-cassettes of concerts Slovenia people have sent her When in was younger we went to the Slovenian club in Adelaide to see visiting bands I listen to the radio 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> When I visit Mum in Adelaide I haven't listened to the music for a long time I haven't heard any in Port Lincoln

The information in Table Three reveals that all Port Lincoln Slovenian community members involved in this project find listening to Slovenian music pleasurable. It shows that they appreciate commercial recordings that are instrumental, have words or are meant to accompany dance. First-generation interviewees also recall fond memories of various amateur live performances performed over ten years ago by amateur Port Lincoln Slovenian performer RPr at Slovenian community barbecues on his diatonic button melodeon. All attendees at the barbecue, independent from one another, highlighted that RPr is the Port Lincoln Slovenian musician because he is the only person who can perform Slovenian folk music using a musical instrument. In addition, they have memories from their youth in Europe when they danced and sang to Slovenian folk songs with other amateur musicians from their village. By comparison, second-generation participants remember fun times spent with cousins in Europe, where amateur performances of Slovenian folk music were part of festive occasions. In addition, MPr fondly recalls times her father (RPr) played his diatonic button melodeon in Port Lincoln at family celebrations such as birthdays and Christmas (pers. com. 2002). While JFr recalls his mother (RF) and father (BF) listened to the Slovenian radio program Sunday lunch times (pers. com. 1998). It seems, therefore, that for Port Lincoln informants a definition of Slovenian folk music incorporates a range of presentations and allows for the variety of skills that musicians bring to a performance.

During interviews, participants were asked whether the music from one region of Slovenia was different from the music of other regions of Slovenia in order to determine whether or not informants could detect regional variation in Slovenian folk music. It soon became apparent that some informants believe they could hear a piece of music and identify certain characteristics in the piece that connected it to a repertoire of folk songs that originated from a particular region of Slovenia. This type of music is referred to here as *regional music*. Other interviewees believe they could listen to a piece of music and hear characteristics that define it as typical of Slovenian folk music as opposed to folk music of other alpine countries. This type of music is defined here as *national music*.

When asked about differences in regional music from around Slovenia, people gave two types of responses. On one hand, they all define music they hear as “Slovenian;” no matter from which region the music comes and regardless of differences in musical characteristics such as rhythm, melody, form and instrumentation. On the other hand, some participants hear differences in the musical characteristics of pieces and identify the Slovenian region from which the music originates. Within this group of people, some were able to use musical terminology to describe the differences. Of the interviewees who use musical terminology when discussing music, there are certain characteristics that they believe help to define the music as belonging to a particular region of Slovenia. These elements include the rhythm of the music, the Slovenian dialect used to sing the words and the instrumentation of song performances. RPr, for example, believes there are differences between the ways in which instruments are played. He also believes there are differences in musical characteristics such as chord progressions, melodic flow, ornamentation and rhythmic feel that can indicate to the listener which region or town the musician and/or song originates. For example, RPr notes that “In the town of Bisnica [which lies in the region of Primorska] they play a little differently when compared to my home town [which lies in the region of Gorenjska], which is different again from the music played in the east of Slovenia” (pers.com.1999). This concept of regional difference is supported by VK (a Slovenian musician who lives in Adelaide) who notes “there are slight variations in rhythm and playing technique within Slovenia” (pers.com. 2000). VK believes music that originates from the Italian coastal region is different from the music that originates in the centre of Slovenia, which is different again from the music that originates from the south of Slovenia (pers. com. 2000).³²

32 Some previous investigations have focussed on regional differences in Slovenian folk music, but these are outside the scope of this thesis. Strajnar (1979) and Kumar (1977) highlight regional differences in rhythm where the timing of music in Resia, Slovenia (near Italy) is best described as a 3+2 / 4 time signature. Strajnar also highlights the quaver crotchet quaver rhythm found frequently in north eastern Slovenia near the Hungarian border. Kumar (1979) highlights the “jumpy alpine rhythm” (1979:2) in the north of Slovenia, which borders Austria. Avsenik, the group who is most popular in Port Lincoln incorporate musical elements such as vocal four part harmony. The use of four part harmony is believed to have originated in the north of Slovenia, near Austria (Vodušek ND). The researcher believes that the content of the song text (the dialect and theme) and the visual presentation of performers in the album art (e.g. the clothes the musicians wear), also highlight regional variation.

Other people who claim to hear regional variation in the music cannot use musical terminology to distinguish the music of one region from another. Instead, it seems that these informants have developed a “sense” that allows them to aurally distinguish between music that is connected with musical traditions from the north, west and east of Slovenia. Whether or not these interviewees can accurately attribute a piece of music to a region of origin is a matter for further investigation. Important to this study is that interviewees seemed to believe they can intuitively identify the regional origin of a piece of music. It may be that when they hear Slovenian music, they have a memory of a piece that used similar musical characteristics. These participants then link the sound of a current performance to the place where they have heard a similar sounding song. Thus, regardless of the method an individual uses to define the regional origin of a Slovenian folk song, informants believe that a defining characteristic of Slovenian folk music is its ability to represent a region of Slovenia.

When informants listen to music that they believe is from a region of Slovenia, they also make a broader connection with Slovenian music as a national style. For example, all informants report that music performed by Avsenik represents a national style of Slovenian folk music. Avsenik is a Slovenian folk music group based in Gorenjska. All interviewees cited Avsenik as a Slovenian folk music group known by people around the world. Due to their international reputation, it is reasonable to assume the music played by Avsenik is used by listeners to represent a national Slovenian folk music style.

Avsenik was formed in 1953 by two brothers Stanko Avsenik and Vilko Avsenik. The ensemble has performed to millions of people selling over 30 million records. Avsenik has amassed 31 gold, 2 diamond and 1 platinum record. Characteristics of the music performed by Avsenik are noted in the Introduction to this study to represent the characteristics of a style of music that many refer to as the national Slovenian folk music.

There are many characteristics that informants believe are inherent to Slovenian folk music, one of which is instrumentation. Instrumentation varies among different Slovenian folk music groups regardless of whether their music is identified “regional music” or “national music:” Avsenik, for

example, use the chromatic piano accordion in preference to diatonic button melodeon.³³ Avsenik also use clarinet, trumpet, tuba and electronic instruments such as electric and bass guitar. Many popular Slovenian folk music groups employ a similar line-up. Some Slovenian people though, such as RPr believe musicians who use the chromatic piano accordion are not using the “true Slovenian” diatonic button melodeon because he believes the true Slovenian folk music instrument is the Slovenian-made diatonic button melodeon (pers. com. 2000). VK concurs with RPr’s view, believing it is inappropriate to use the chromatic piano accordion to play Slovenian folk music. Indeed, VK disparagingly states the piano accordion sounds like a “bumble bee” (pers. com. 2000). The debate about the appropriateness of one instrument over the other is ongoing within the Slovenian community and wider debate (see Smith 1997).³⁴

Informants also believe the use of Slovenian language in Slovenian folk songs is an important characteristic of the music (see Table Three Column Two). This may be because on the few occasions when first-generation interviewees perform Slovenian folk music in Port Lincoln, they readily reproduce the tune and the Slovenian words. For second-generation informants, by comparison, the use of Slovenian language prevents them from understanding the meaning of the songs because they do not understand the language.³⁵ However, no respondent suggested that the use of Slovenian language prevented them either from enjoying the music or from feeling a connection with the music. It is significant that despite not understanding the lyrics, all second-generation people report a bond to Slovenian folk music through the articulation of the language. In addition, while it is noted that Slovenian folk music sounds like German and Austrian music (VK pers. com. 2000) it is the use of Slovenian language that identifies the music as being different from other similar sounding folk music from the neighbouring alpine countries. This study demonstrates that it is not important for the

³³ Charuhas’s book *The Accordion* (1959) is useful when comparing the chromatic piano accordion with the diatonic button melodeon because it describes how the piano accordion is constructed.

³⁴ Smith (1997) for example investigates the relationship between the diatonic button melodeon and chromatic piano accordion and their socio-political meaning within the Irish community in Melbourne, Australia.

³⁵ JFr explained that while he can speak and understand spoken Slovenian language he finds understanding song lyrics more difficult. JFr explained that because the words are used poetically, and are not always used in the literal sense, and because words are sometimes sung in a fashion where one syllable stretches out over many notes, it makes it difficult to distinguish when words begin or end and therefore difficult to understand the story of the song.

informant to understand either the lyrics or the story of a song. Rather, it is the use of the Slovenian language that helps define the music as Slovenian. This thesis concludes therefore that for Slovenian informants language delineates people, geographic and social boundaries and enables people to use the music to identify with their Slovenian cultural heritage regardless of their age, place of residence or understanding of the text.

For many first-generation people it seems that it is not just the presence of Slovenian language that helps them to define a piece of music as Slovenian. It is also the content of the song text. These informants connect with the music because the lyrics describe stories, events and emotions that the listener can associate with their life in Slovenia, not to their life in Port Lincoln. For these participants, the story in the song rekindles memories of their former life in Slovenia. In this way, the lyrics enable interviewees to maintain a sense of connection with their Slovenian heritage while living in Port Lincoln. JFa, for example, notes that hearing Slovenian folk music makes her “feel young again” (pers. com. 2001). The music seems to stir memories of her youth in Slovenia when she sang and danced to Slovenian music. RF also remembers how people needed music, using it to help them forget their troubles (pers. com. 2001). She recalls that life after the Second World War was hard because people had no money and few resources and that music offered an escape from the hardships.³⁶

Table Three also reveals another facet of music in this remote community. First- and second-generation informants report that in general they neither participate in live Slovenian folk music nor listen to recorded Slovenian folk music. The few participants who do report listening to the music, do so only infrequently. One might argue that those who do not listen to the music cannot claim to use music for identity maintenance purposes. This, however, has not been the case for Port Lincoln Slovenians when it is recognised that interviewees took the time to take part in this study which was publicised as a project on Slovenian music, seemingly enjoying the opportunity to engage in discussions about their

³⁶ It is timely to highlight that while the survey questions were opened ended, allowing informants the opportunity to take the discussion where they wished, it was a rare occasion when someone made reference to World War II.

Slovenian cultural heritage, memories of Slovenian folk music and the place it holds in their lives. Moreover, they have collected music and instruments that they regard as Slovenian. It would appear that these people do not need to hear the music in order to make strong cultural associations with Slovenian music. Rather, it is their memory of a Slovenian musical performance which evokes the social event tied with the memories of a performance that enable Port Lincoln informants to use the music for identity maintenance purposes.

Table Three reveals that first-generation Port Lincoln Slovenian people discuss how they regularly participated in live Slovenian folk music events when they used to live in Slovenia, yet only a few live performances have occurred in Port Lincoln. One live performance of Slovenian folk music by RPr that occurred in Port Lincoln took place over ten years ago was cited by all first-generation informants. Other performances of Slovenian folk music that occurred in Australia and noted by informants included amateur performances in private homes for personal enjoyment such as that performed by BFr for his granddaughters (pers. com. 1999). Though JFa refers to community singing that occurred in her Port Lincoln kitchen over twenty years ago (pers. com. 2000), no one else discussed this event. Clearly, the event was memorable to her as it occurred in her own home even if the event was forgotten by other residents. Other references to live performance include those performed in Slovenia by amateur musicians competing in folk music festivals as well as performances in Adelaide and Slovenia by professional Slovenian folk musicians. First generation informants obviously value these live performances because they choose to attend the events. During the period of this study, however, participation in live Slovenian folk music in Port Lincoln was rare and no one expressed an interest in performing or listening to live Slovenian folk music in the future. There is a similar response from the second-generation Port Lincoln community members who report some experience with performing music but none claim to be musicians or expressed interest in performing Slovenian folk music. In the absence of a Slovenian folk musician moving to Port Lincoln performance of live Slovenian folk music is unlikely to occur in the future. It seems appropriate to conclude that live performance of Slovenian

folk music will not be available to the second-generation Slovenian Port Lincoln people to use for identity maintenance purposes.

Live performance is not the only way for residents to access Slovenian folk music. Informants frequently report accessing Slovenian folk music via commercial recordings produced by professional folk musicians who reside in Slovenia. Such recordings include audiocassette, videocassette, long-play record, compact disc and mp3 files downloaded from the internet. Many recordings are purchased by Port Lincoln Slovenians when on holiday in Slovenia while others are presented to Port Lincoln participants as gifts from their Slovenian family or friends. Most first-generation interviewees describe how they exchange dubbed copies of examples of Slovenian folk music among themselves indicating that they value new recordings. The existence of the music in Port Lincoln, therefore, is almost exclusively dependent on its transplantation to Port Lincoln from Slovenia by residents or family connection.

Looking at the responses more closely, it is significant that despite the variety of Slovenian folk music accessed in Port Lincoln, not one interviewee commented on differences in musical style or musical sound between performances by professionals and amateurs. Moreover, participants also did not refer to differences between music performed live as compared with the music that is recorded. Thus, when creating a list of characteristics that define Slovenian folk music for the Port Lincoln Slovenian community, in the absence of active Slovenian cultural practices such as music in Port Lincoln, informants share a willingness and generosity to define any rendition of Slovenian folk music as suitable material with which to identify. This, in turn, accounts for the way interviewees offer a diverse range of musical examples during discussions about Slovenian folk music—including non-Slovenian music.

Returning once more to Table Three, Column Five reveals that Port Lincoln informants believe Slovenian folk music is an important part of their Slovenian cultural heritage. Some people even cite

accessing the music as often as they possibly can, even if, the reality is that the majority may not even access the music once a year. Importantly, the comments suggest that rather than relate to the direct performance of the music they use memories of experiences they have had with Slovenian folk music in order to connect with the music. These memories enable them to continue to negotiate a set of characteristics that they believe define Slovenian folk music. Significantly, these people seem to believe Slovenian folk music is an important part of their Slovenian cultural heritage, a symbol with which they feel a connection that enables them to maintain a sense of Slovenian identity while living in Port Lincoln.

3.2 Adelaide Informants

Despite living 650 kilometres from Adelaide, Port Lincoln people describe various ways they access Slovenian music and culture from Adelaide.³⁷ They note listening to religious Slovenian music when attending mass at the Holy Catholic Adelaide Slovenian Church and listening to Slovenian folk music when they visit the Adelaide Slovenian Club. They also report hearing a range of Slovenian folk music styles when attending formal concerts held at both of these venues. Such concerts are usually performed by Adelaide Slovenian people at the Adelaide Slovenian Club, under the leadership of AV although at other times musicians with Slovenian cultural heritage tour Australia and perform at the Adelaide Slovenian Club and/or church. Participants also access Slovenian folk music from Adelaide by listening to the Slovenian radio programs produced by Adelaide Slovenian resident RPo. In addition, RPr accessed Slovenian folk music through two Adelaide Slovenian folk music teachers, VK and EB, both of whom helped RPr learn to play Slovenian folk music.³⁸

³⁷ This section draws on information from interviews conducted during the survey.

³⁸ Please note, VK and EB did not feature in Chapter Two. It is important to this study that VK and EB were interviewed in order to collect data relating to their musical knowledge (included in this chapter) and not focus on their personal details, (which was the focus of Chapter Two). VK and EB are highly regarded as Slovenian musicians by the Adelaide Slovenian community. VK and EB are able to discuss characteristics of Slovenian music in detail whereas most South Australian Slovenian community members are not. When asked to be a part of this research project through the interview process, VK replied that he was happy to participate in the research because he knew the information that was to be collected would focus on Slovenian folk music, and politics would not be discussed. It was prudent therefore to maintain the trust of VK and EB and ask questions only about music.

The musical beliefs of AV, RPo, VK and EB, four Adelaide Slovenian informants are included here for two reasons. Firstly, their community regards them as authorities on South Australian Slovenian folk music due to their musical knowledge and positions of leadership within the area of Slovenian music. Secondly, the beliefs held by these four people about Slovenian music influence the decisions they make about what Slovenian folk music is played in Port Lincoln and South Australia more generally. In turn, this influences Port Lincoln residents understanding of Slovenian music as well as how they use the music for identity maintenance purposes. Comparisons between the beliefs of Adelaide interviewees and Port Lincoln informants will indicate the degree to which they share similar beliefs about the characteristics that define Slovenian music and how they use music for identity maintenance purposes.

The following section analyses the beliefs that VK and EB, two Adelaide-based first-generation Slovenian folk music teachers, have about Slovenian folk music. It is useful because VK and EB influence the music that RPr learns which in turn impacts on the music RPr performs in Port Lincoln. It is this music which Port Lincoln community members identified as important to them.

3.2.1 VK: First-Generation Slovenian Folk Music Teacher

During an interview with VK, there was much discussion about VK's role as RPr's Slovenian folk music teacher, most of which focused on the difficulties of imparting musical knowledge. One problem VK raised related to the distance between RPr and his teachers (pers. com. 2000). RPr travelled the 1300 kilometre round trip between Port Lincoln and Adelaide a number of times in order to have music lessons, initially with VK and later with EB. However, in an attempt to save RPr time and money VK and EB posted audiocassettes, videocassettes and hand-written transcriptions in order to facilitate the teaching and learning process. The teaching methods that VK and EB developed to help overcome the problem of distance, while ingenious, caused their own set of problems, namely, because the teachers

were not on hand to give RPr the visual and kinaesthetic directions he needed in order to learn the correct playing technique of the diatonic button melodeon, RPr developed a technique playing that was rhythmically and melodically stilted.

VK also cites additional problems with teaching RPr relating to the instruments used (pers. com. 2000). VK owns a Hohner chromatic piano accordion while RPr plays diatonic button melodeon. VK explained that the two instruments are “tuned” differently. More specifically, when a button is held down on either instrument, the bellows are “pushed” or “pulled” in order to produce a sound, but the buttons are in different positions on the chromatic piano accordion when compared to that of the diatonic button melodeon. VK also explained that the instruments are constructed differently. The diatonic button melodeon has rows of buttons on both the left and right side of the instrument, unlike the chromatic piano accordion, which has buttons on the right side and a keyboard on the left. In addition, the diatonic button melodeon has a dual set of reeds where the chromatic piano accordion has a single set of reeds. As a result of the different construction, different playing techniques are required to play each instrument. Significantly, the correct manner in which the musician must press and draw the bellows in order to achieve smooth chord changes while maintaining the correct rhythm of the melody is different for the two instruments. The compound effect of the various differences between the two instruments is most apparent in the stilted playing technique employed by RPr and the awkward rhythms that result. Nevertheless, it remains that RPr’s performances demonstrate the musical characteristics that define live, public Slovenian folk music performance in Port Lincoln.

3.2.2 EB: First-Generation Slovenian Folk Music Teacher

EB was RPr’s second Slovenian folk music teacher. EB proudly announced that he had visited Slovenia eleven times in seven years (pers. com. 2000). His frequent visits to Slovenia indicate his close association with Slovenia and no doubt enhances his reputation within the Adelaide Slovenian community as an authority on Slovenian folk music. EB owns a diatonic button melodeon, which was

made in Germany. It did not seem to worry either EB or RPr that the instrument was not made in Slovenia because neither of them commented on the origin of the instrument. It would seem therefore that the importance placed on the diatonic button melodeon being the “Slovenian” instrument does not relate to its having been made in Slovenia. Rather, when people suggest the instrument is Slovenian they are most likely referring to the look of the instrument, the way it works and the sound it produces not the country of origin.

EB cites Avsenik, Henček and Slavka as noteworthy Slovenian folk music groups because of the superior playing skills of the musicians in these ensembles. He suggests that Slovenian musicians play a range of accordions including diatonic button melodeon, chromatic piano accordion and diatonic piano accordion. For EB, the diatonic button melodeon, Slovenian-made or otherwise, is not a central element of Slovenian music. Rather, EB believes that while Slovenian folk musicians use accordion or melodeon when performing, the type of instrument they choose is not the defining factor that makes the music more or less Slovenian (pers. com. 2000). This does not concur with the beliefs of other South Australian Slovenian musicians.

It is possible to explain these different beliefs because EB has travelled to Slovenia more often than other South Australian Slovenian community members. He has, therefore, had the opportunity to keep in touch with current trends in Slovenia. It may also be that in Slovenia, people do not worry about the nature of the accordion used to perform Slovenian folk music. However, people who live in South Australia remember that during the 1950s when they lived in Slovenia, it was the diatonic button melodeon that musicians used to perform Slovenian folk music. In this way, a person’s memory of past musical performance is an important element to take into consideration when defining characteristics of Slovenian folk music.

The following section of the chapter investigates the beliefs of two second-generation Adelaide people, RPo and AV. The music RPo selects for use on the Adelaide based Slovenian Radio Programs and

the music AV performs with the Slovenian Adults' Choir—when heard by Port Lincoln participants—impacts on the understanding Port Lincoln interviewees have of Slovenian folk music.

3.2.3 RPo: Second-Generation Slovenian Radio Programmer

RPo engaged with Slovenian music at least twice a week when she produced the two weekly Slovenian radio programs broadcast each Sunday and Wednesday during the period of fieldwork. RPo chooses a variety of music styles for these broadcasts, but believes the first-generation prefer to listen to folk music. RPo suggests that listeners do not complain about the range of styles she incorporates into the program because they fear that if they complain, she may cease to be involved in producing the program.³⁹ RPo believes she has broadened her knowledge about Slovenian music because she is exposed to the variety of Slovenian music styles she has been able to access for her program (pers. com. 2003). Her experience with a variety of Slovenian music styles places her in a unique position within the South Australian Slovenian community. While most people focus on the folk music genre, RPo believes that listening to and broadcasting a variety of Slovenian music styles is a good thing. (see Appendix Three for other styles she includes in the radio program).

RPo notes that in Slovenia there is a distinction between contemporary, traditional and folk music. She states that contemporary Slovenian music has “moved on” [from folk] and is comparable to different forms of contemporary music in America and Australia (pers. com. 2003). Interestingly, RPo defines traditional Slovenian folk music as sounding like “oom-pah” music played in the style of a waltz or a polka, with Slovenian lyrics commenting on Slovenian social contexts. RPo believes the themes that are typical of Slovenian folk music include songs about “love gone wrong” and “happy drinking songs.” RPo also suggests that the diatonic button accordion is traditional to Slovenian folk music while the chromatic piano accordion is traditional to folk music from Austria, Germany and Italy. RPo believes

³⁹ RPo suggests that if she ceased editing the Slovenian radio program it is most likely that no one else would take on the role with the result being that there would be no Slovenian radio program broadcast in South Australia.

that Slovenian folk music is more important to the first-generation Slovenians when compared with the second-generation. RPo has also observed the way that the older generation in Adelaide brought with them their memories of what it was like to be a young person in Slovenia including memories of performances of Slovenian folk music. She believes that the first-generation is suspicious of new styles of Slovenian music. She observes in Adelaide, for example, AV will introduce a new song to the Slovenian Adults' Choir, but it will always be in a folk style. RPr believes that AV chooses songs in the folk style in order to cater for the preference that first-generation choir members have for Slovenian folk music (pers. com. 2003). Let us therefore now turn to AV.

3.2.4 AV: Second-Generation Slovenian Folk Musician

AV plays chromatic piano accordion for the choirs associated with the Slovenian Club⁴⁰ and he accesses Slovenian folk music frequently (usually at least twice a week). By contrast, second-generation Port Lincoln people may not even listen to Slovenian folk music once in a year. Clearly, living in an urban setting such as Adelaide gives Slovenian community members more frequent access to performances of Slovenian folk music and therefore greater opportunity to use Slovenian folk music for identity maintenance purposes.

When asked to define Slovenian folk music, AV described three styles of Slovenian folk music (pers. com. 2003). The first style, he suggested, is exemplified by the music that Avsenik perform. AV suggests Avsenik use three musical characteristics he does not usually associate with Slovenian folk music. The first characteristic he discussed involves the way Avsenik use passing chords which AV points out is uncommon in performances of Slovenian folk music. A second characteristic that AV highlights relates to Avsenik's infrequent use of minor chords. The third characteristic AV discussed related to Avsenik using the chromatic piano accordion. AV mentioned that Avsenik are unusual

⁴⁰ AV noted that the fifteen choir members leave AV to speak for them and that the researcher should feel that by interviewing AV, she should feel that she had gauged the beliefs of all the choir members.

because they use a chromatic piano accordion rather than the diatonic button melodeon. However, the Slovenian folk music examples presented to this author suggest that Slovenian folk musicians make their own choice about which of the two instruments they use. It seems that the use of both instruments in Slovenian folk music is increasingly common.

The second style AV describes, he suggests, is exemplified by the Slovenian folk music group, Slaka. AV explains that Slavka use diatonic button accordion and simple chord structures which centre around the primary chords in major keys. AV's description of Slavka's music typifies the majority of Slovenian folk music presented during interviews.

The third style AV describes, is typified by the music performed by Svlado Kreslin. AV believes Svlado is the most successful Slovenian artist in both Slovenian folk and contemporary styles. Svlado lives in the north-eastern part of Slovenia, Prekmurje, which is close to Hungary and Austria, and his music is mainly influenced by Hungarian music. He uses accordions sparingly and instead uses violin, double bass and hammered dulcimer in his performances. It may be that AV's link with music by Svlado—a musician no one else mentioned—is related to AV's marriage to a person of Hungarian descent. As a result they are more likely to have visited Prekmurje and heard Svlado's music. By contrast, most Port Lincoln people identify with and visit the region of Primorska, which borders Italy.⁴¹

AV believes that Slovenian, Austrian and German folk music are similar to one another especially citing the nature of their "oom-pah" music (pers. com. 2003). However, he believes that Slovenian folk music is "lighter" in style than German folk music because of the different ensemble sizes and differences between the instruments used to perform the music. AV explains that the Slovenian ensemble consists of between four and eight performers, which is small when compared with the number of musicians

⁴¹ During interviews, people identified a "village" in which their Slovenian cultural heritage is founded. In the past, these settlements were distinct communities even though they may have been only several kilometres apart. To my eye, when visiting these sites today, what informants refer to as "villages" are geographically connected and look to be all part of one bigger city. In the minds of informants however, they belong to a group of people who live in a "village" that they believe is discrete from neighbouring communities.

who perform in German brass band ensembles. In addition, Slovenian groups use chromatic piano accordion and diatonic button melodeon with a single tuba or string bass accompaniment. This contrasts with German folk music, which AV suggests sounds “heavy” because of the deep timbre of the brass instruments as well as the use of strong accents.

During discussion about the diatonic button accordion AV noted that the instrument has a rich, deep, vibrant sound that suits Slovenian folk music (pers. com. 2003). While he thinks that the chromatic piano accordion has a place in Slovenian folk music, he believes that most Slovenian folk bands prefer to use diatonic button accordion. AV concedes that when he plays his chromatic piano accordion alongside a diatonic button accordion, his instrument neither maintains the same richness of sound nor matches the loud volume of the melodeon. AV explains one of the main differences between the two instruments is related to the diatonic button melodeon having a greater number of reeds. It remains that the diatonic button melodeon is an important characteristic of Slovenian folk music.

AV notes that music recorded by Avsenik is also popular in Germany and Austria, acknowledging that the first Slovenian records to come to Adelaide were Avsenik LPs in the 1960s. He singled out their most famous song *Nagolici*⁴², describing it as a polka instrumental and suggested, “If anything is Slovenian *this is*” (pers. com. 2003). He added, “*Nagolici* is still the most popular song in Slovenia today” and emphasized that “it is not a beginner’s song” (pers. com. 2003).

AV believes that folk music preserves the culture and contains the identity of the Slovenian people (pers. com. 2003). AV believes that when people listen to the music in their Australian homes, they imagine themselves in Slovenia. He thinks that the longer time and further distance that expatriates are away from Slovenia, the more they long to be in Slovenia. Furthermore, AV believes it is this yearning to return to Slovenia that binds the Adelaide Slovenian community, encouraging them to socialize and reminisce.

⁴² Avsenik, Slavko. 2000. *70 let Slavka Avsenika*. Videocassette. Ljubljana. RTV Slovenija. Založba.

Interviews with these Adelaide participants suggest that the first- and second-generation people in Adelaide have similar beliefs and experiences as the first- and second-generation people in Port Lincoln. More specifically, Slovenian music is more important to the first-generation than the second-generation and when first- and second-generation people listen to Slovenian music, they prefer music from the Slovenian folk genre. In addition, the musical characteristics they cite as important for defining Slovenian folk music are similar to those cited by Port Lincoln Slovenian people.

3.3 European Informants

Port Lincoln Slovenian people access Slovenian folk music from Adelaide, but have also reported accessing Slovenian folk music from Italy and Slovenia. Due to the ongoing interaction between Port Lincoln and Europe, Slovenian music from Europe affects how Port Lincoln people understand Slovenian folk music. Thus, responses from European informants are now analysed not only to help understand how they perceive, understand and define Slovenian folk music, but also to help understand how they use the music for identity maintenance purposes.

While all Port Lincoln Slovenian people report cultural and musical interaction with Slovenian family and friends in Europe only interviews with Slovenian family and friends of one Port Lincoln family, the F family are included. This third section of Chapter Three analyses responses to the Survey Questions 11-21 given by two people (SS and BS) with Slovenian cultural heritage. These people live in Trieste (Italy) and are cousins to the Port Lincoln F family. It also investigates responses to the Survey Questions given by three people who live in Slovenia. Two of these people (MFra and JFra) are also cousins to the Port Lincoln F family and a third (PG) is a friend of the Port Lincoln F family. These interviews offer examples of the types of responses one might expect from Slovenian family and friends of other Port Lincoln residents. Comparisons are intended to explore the degree to which they

may share similar beliefs about the characteristics that define Slovenian folk music as well as how they share similar beliefs about how the music is used for identity maintenance purposes.

3.3.1 SS: First-Generation Trieste (Italy)

In his brief interview, SS commented that folk music is a defining aspect of his Slovenian cultural heritage, despite the fact he no longer listens to Slovenian folk music. In addition, he believes the rhythm distinguishes Slovenian folk music from the folk music of other alpine countries. He also believes there are differences between Slovenian music that originates from different regions of Slovenia. Finally, he stated, "If you have a cultural history but no music, you have nothing," (pers. com. 2001).

3.3.2 BS: Second-Generation Trieste (Italy)

BS reported that he does not participate in live performances of Slovenian folk music. However, there is a significant difference between the ease with which Port Lincoln informants can participate in live performances of Slovenian folk music when compared with interviewees like SS and BS who live in the Province of Trieste (Italy) where there are at least 149 Slovenian cultural organizations⁴³ through which they can access Slovenian culture and music. By contrast, Port Lincoln does not have even one Slovenian cultural organization in which people can access Slovenian culture and Slovenian music. Interestingly, despite the large number of local Slovenian cultural organizations, SS and BS choose not to attend a single one. It would seem therefore that for SS and BS, (as occurs for Port Lincoln informants), listening to and participating in *live* Slovenian music is not an important characteristic of the Slovenian music which they use for identity maintenance purposes.

⁴³ www.uoc.es/euromosaic/web/document/eslove/am/i1/i1 page 10.

BS explained that his Slovenian cultural heritage stems from his paternal grandfather. It is interesting to note he did not refer to his own father's (SS) Slovenian cultural heritage. This comment, coupled with the lack of interest that SS showed in this project suggests that SS identifies more strongly the dominant Italian culture in Trieste rather than his Slovenian cultural heritage.⁴⁴ Moreover, BS referred to his Slovenian cultural heritage by citing only his relationship to a Slovenian person (his grandfather), not a geographic Slovenian location. Indeed, BS stated that he could not remember from which part of Slovenia his grandfather came. This is in contrast to all Port Lincoln informants who relate their Slovenian cultural heritage not only to their relationships with a Slovenian parent/grandparent, but also to the geographic area that they believe identifies the origin of their Slovenian cultural heritage. Perhaps the people who live near Slovenia do not dwell on their Slovenian cultural heritage because Slovenian cultural experiences are readily available. By contrast, interviewees who live in Australia, cannot directly access Slovenian cultural experiences so instead value cultural symbols. It may also be that the greater distance individuals are from the origin of their cultural ancestry, the more important it becomes to have knowledge about that ancestry. For Port Lincoln participants therefore, a characteristic of Slovenian folk music is its ability to provide a link between the listener and the geographic area that they believe symbolizes their cultural origin.

BS does not choose to listen to Slovenian folk music but sometimes hears folk music by chance on the radio in Trieste and states that he can hear immediately if the song is performed by Avsenik. When questioned more closely about the characteristics that BS believes define Slovenian folk music, BS states the use of the Slovenian language and traditional Slovenian dress are important characteristics of Slovenian folk music (pers. com. 2001). BS also reports that his connection with elements of Slovenian culture is infrequent. When he does connect with aspects of Slovenian culture, it appears that the connection occurs most frequently in the context of an imagined Slovenian community.

⁴⁴ This is similar to the beliefs held by Port Lincoln participants such as MU, VU and DZ, who choose to identify more strongly with the dominant Australian culture when compared to their Slovenian cultural heritage. These types of responses support the idea that there is no set way to measure the degree to which people use Slovenian culture and music for identity maintenance purposes. Rather, each individual makes their own choice about the degree to which Slovenian culture and music determines their cultural orientation.

3.3.3 MFra: First-Generation Lokev (Slovenia)

MFra watches a Slovenian television station that produces and broadcasts a program entitled *Slovenska Glasba: Zlaki*⁴⁵ every Sunday afternoon. For one hour, Slovenian folk music is performed by Slovenian folk music groups such as Avsenik and Slaka although folk music from Germany and Austria also feature on the program. After watching the program, MFra commented that she thought the harmonica⁴⁶ sounds beautiful and in general is an important characteristic of Slovenian music. MFra believes the “harmonica” is an important element of Slovenian folk music which is in contrast with the beliefs of most of the interviewees (in both Australia and Europe) who feel that it is specifically the diatonic button melodeon that is important to Slovenian folk music.

MFra remembers that in the past people used to get together and perform Slovenian folk music for entertainment, but noted “now young people have cars that can transport them to a variety of entertainment activities” (pers. com. 2001). Her observation, in fact, relates not only to young people but also to all first- and second-generation informants involved in this study. MFra mentioned that it is not her place to judge young people—such as her granddaughter—for not enjoying Slovenian folk music. Rather, she believes that making a judgment against the younger generation for their lack of interest in Slovenian folk culture is inappropriate. MFra has other memories to shape her own beliefs. She recalls her father singing Slovenian folk songs in a choir and being jailed by Italian fascists for using Slovenian language. This personal risk taken by her father indicates the commitment people have had to their Slovenian cultural and musical heritage in the past. After World War Two, people with Slovenian cultural heritage could maintain an interest in their culture and music without such risk.

For this study, MFra is the only non-musician who listens to Slovenian folk music on a regular basis.

Her relatively strong interest may be due to her age because Slovenian folk music was an integral part

⁴⁵ This translates literally as “Slovenian music: folk”.

⁴⁶ In this instance MFra used the word “harmonica” to refer generally to both the chromatic piano accordion and diatonic button melodeon.

of her lifestyle. Her interest may also be due to her living in Slovenia where performances of Slovenian folk music are most readily accessible. This highlights one of the difficulties faced by Slovenian people who live outside the Slovenian border—they do not have the convenience of cultural activities such as a weekly Slovenian folk music television program. It is significant to this study that for MFra (as it is for most participants), an important characteristic of Slovenian folk music relates to the listener relying on music recordings, not live performances when they want to hear the music.

Significant to this study is the notion that first-generation informants, MFra and Port Lincoln migrants do not pass judgment against their children for not engaging in Slovenian culture and music. Rather, the first-generation openly acknowledge without grief or regret that Slovenian folk culture is not central to the identity of the second-generation people. It remains that for the participants involved in this study, maintaining a sense of Slovenian identity does not require regular interaction with Slovenian folk cultural experiences.

3.3.4 JFra: Second-Generation Lokev (Slovenia)

When discussing the importance of music in her life JFra simply states “I need music” (pers. com. 2001). However, she prefers to listen to Italian and English pop music rather than Slovenian music because she believes there are not many good Slovenian pop singers. While JFra reports that listening to Slovenian music is not important, she does however have a few contemporary Slovenian rock albums in her collection.

When discussing the characteristics of Slovenian music, JFra highlighted the language used in the songs as being important because she believes it is the language that is the defining element of Slovenian music (pers. com. 2001). When questioned about regional differences in Slovenian folk music, she noted that the music played in the mountains of Gorenjska sounds quite different from the Slovenian folk music played in Primorska because the melodies of Primorskan folk music sound

Croatian. Her ability to define differences in Slovenian folk music based on the region of origin of the music is unusually keen for a second-generation informant. Perhaps, because this second-generation interviewee lives in Slovenia she encounters a wide range of folk music, and has more detailed knowledge about its musical characteristics when compared with participants who live in a remote non-Slovenian city like Port Lincoln.

JFra reports listening to Slovenian folk music three or four times a year (pers. com. 2001). This is more often than most second-generation interviewees in Port Lincoln, some of whom report listening to the music less than once a year. However, unlike second-generation Port Lincoln people who report an emotional response when they hear Slovenia folk music, JFra does not. This suggests that the role Slovenian folk music plays in the identity maintenance of participants is not linked to the amount of time they experience the music. Rather, it appears, the role music plays in identity maintenance is determined by the value a participant chooses to place on the music.

JFra recalls a music school in Sežana (a Slovenian town close to the Italian border) where young people learn to play Slovenian folk music but, stresses that young people from Sežana attend these lessons – not young people from Lokev (pers. com. 2001). It may be that for JFra, who grew up in the village of Lokev (which is away from borders of neighbouring countries) feels no need to assert her Slovenian cultural heritage by participating in Slovenian cultural activities. For people who live in towns like Lokev, it may be that the residents do not feel that cultural elements from neighbouring countries threaten to impose themselves on Slovenian culture. In a similar fashion, second-generation Port Lincoln informants do not need to be involved with Slovenian folk music or Slovenian cultural groups in order to affirm their Slovenian identity. This is because for Port Lincoln interviewees, the difference between their Slovenian cultural heritage and their Australian cultural heritage is significant enough that they do not need to reinforce the cultural and musical elements of one culture or the other. However, the young people who live in Sežana may feel that Italian cultural elements are influencing

life in Sežana. They may find that being involved with Slovenian cultural and musical groups enables them to increase their sense of having Slovenian, not Italian, cultural heritage.

It seems that JFra believes Slovenian folk music is a part of her grandmother's life and she does not need to connect with Slovenian folk music in order to maintain her Slovenian identity. Most likely, this is because she uses elements of contemporary Slovenian culture in order to maintain a sense of Slovenian identity.

The responses of JFra are generally similar to the responses of the second-generation Port Lincoln Slovenians. The second-generation report listening to music daily but prefer music from 'The top 40 charts' and only infrequently listen to Slovenian folk music. In contrast to JFra, however, when Port Lincoln second-generation informants *do* hear Slovenian folk music, they report enjoying the experience.

Another contrast between the second-generation in Slovenian and Port Lincoln relates to ownership of Slovenian music. Port Lincoln informants own no contemporary Slovenian music. Of the second-generation Port Lincoln people, only DM owns recordings of Slovenian music and most of his recordings are of older Slovenian pop music from the 1960s—not current recordings. This highlights that it is difficult for Port Lincoln residents to access contemporary Slovenian music. Rather, the second-generation Port Lincoln interviewees rely on being able to access Slovenian music from recordings owned by their parents which in most cases are in the folk, not pop, music genre.

3.3.5 PG: Second-Generation Ljubljana (Slovenia)

PG's listening and performance experiences in relation to Slovenian folk music are similar to those of both first- and second-generation Port Lincoln Slovenian informants. He does not often hear Slovenian folk music and does not seek Slovenian folk music experiences but nevertheless reports enjoying the

music when he does hear it. PG cites a lack of interest in Slovenian folk music as the reason he does not listen to Slovenian folk music, which is in contrast to Port Lincoln participants who cite lack of opportunity and time. This would seem to support the suggestion that Slovenian folk music is more important to the identity maintenance of the Port Lincoln second-generation that live far from Slovenia than the second-generation who live in Slovenia itself. To fully substantiate this conclusion, further interviews with greater numbers of informants would be required.

PG was able to discuss regional folk music differences in detail. He believes that folk music in the region of Štajerska is closest to a style of music that represents Slovenian folk music in general (pers. com. 2001). He believes music from this area contrasts with folk music performed in the regions of Prekmurje (which is close to Hungary) where violins are played. He also comments that music from Dolenjska (in the south east of Slovenia) where *tamburica*⁴⁷ and banjo are played is also different, especially when compared to the music from Gorenjska (in the northwest) where people play *sitar*⁴⁸ (pers. com. 2001).

In the context of this study, people living in Slovenia have been the most articulate when describing regional differences in the folk music. This contrasts with many Port Lincoln informants who tend to see Slovenian folk music as homogenous regardless of differences they hear in the musical characteristics of performances. It may be that people who live in Slovenia have greater access to a variety of folk music which enables them to be more articulate about the differences between music from different regions, while Port Lincoln Slovenian interviewees do not regard regional difference in music as a significant characteristic of Slovenian folk music.

47 The *tamburica* is a long necked lute popular in Croatia.

48 The *sitar* is most often thought of with reference to music from the Indian subcontinent.

3.4 Summary

From this discussion of the survey responses the musical characteristics that informants commonly cite as defining Slovenian folk music can now be listed. These characteristics include the use of voice, the presence of Slovenian text, song texts that detail Slovenian experiences and the use of the diatonic button melodeon. They also agree that Slovenian music can occur as recorded or live performance presented by either professional or amateur musicians. Other musical characteristics cited include the use of polka or waltz rhythms, the “oom-pah” sounding style, the exclusive use of primary chords, the preference for music performed in major keys, the lack of passing or minor chords and the use of tuba or string bass. In addition, some listeners are able to define the music as belonging to a specific region of Slovenia or define music as being in the style of national Slovenian folk music. Informants however have different views about the role that music plays in the maintenance of their identity.

Some informants such as MFra, RPr and WPr suggest that the music plays an important role where others such as VU, PG and SS report that the music plays an insignificant role. Such differing views do not seem to be related to how often a person accesses the music, the country in which the person resides, or the generation to which they belong.

Based on responses from informants, it is clear that distance from Slovenia has an impact on a persons' ability to access Slovenian folk music. This chapter argues that when informants access memories of Slovenian musical experiences, it creates a sense that the informant is “re-listening” to the music. This chapter argues that the act of “re-listening” enables the person to renew their sense of membership with the Slovenian community.

CHAPTER FOUR

CONCLUSION

This study has examined how Port Lincoln residents define Slovenian culture as well as Slovenian folk music and the ways they use them for identity maintenance. It has also highlighted how memories of Slovenian folk music are symbolic of Slovenian culture and used by informants to evoke a sense of membership with multiple imagined Slovenian communities variously situated in Port Lincoln, Adelaide, Italy or Slovenia.

We have seen how Chapter One defined key terms that underpinned this project, describing the ethnographic research methods employed throughout the study within the four main locations. Significantly, it was found that the remote location of the city of Port Lincoln required the adoption of a more flexible methodology in order to allow information to be collected from the diverse cities of Adelaide, Trieste (Italy) as well as Lokev and Ljubljana (Slovenia). Consequently, data was collected by such methods as collating audio and audio-visual recordings owned by informants and accessed via the internet, direct interviews, using interpreters, talking over the telephone as well as communication via letters, e-mail and newspaper articles. In the process, this project has demonstrated the ways that ethnographic methods of research can, and indeed must, continue to remain flexible in a world that increasingly relies on technology for communication.

By comparison, Chapter Two highlighted a variety of activities in which Port Lincoln informants participated that enabled them to define their Slovenian cultural identity and continue to identify with their Slovenian cultural heritage. These activities included remembering time spent in Slovenia, active engagement in Slovenian activities such as cooking Slovenian meals, speaking Slovenian language in their homes, hanging photographs and other icons on walls, using linen made in Slovenia, receiving and reading books and magazines published in Slovenia, watching Slovenian television programs, obtaining and listening to Slovenian music from compact discs, audio- and video-cassette tapes, radio

programs. In addition, it showed that maintaining relationships with other Slovenians helps informants maintain a sense of Slovenian identity by, for example, spending time with other Port Lincoln Slovenians, visiting the Slovenian club and church in Adelaide, visiting Slovenian relatives and friends who live in Europe, ringing and receiving telephone calls from people in Slovenia, writing to and receiving letters and emails from people in Slovenia. This study has concluded that involvement with such activities helps informants define elements of Slovenian culture that are important to them and enables them to maintain a sense of Slovenian identity.

From the outset this study has not purported to be a comprehensive guide to Slovenian music. Rather, it has been an investigation of Slovenian folk music as identified by the group of people who have Slovenian cultural heritage and who reside in the regional South Australian city of Port Lincoln. Chapter Three highlighted that informants define the characteristics of Slovenian folk music to include the use of voice—be it a solo singer or multi-part singing—the presence of Slovenian language, song texts that detail Slovenian experiences and the use of the diatonic button melodeon. The music can be recorded or live performance and presented by either professional or amateur musicians. It is usually a polka or waltz rhythm, with an “oom-pah” sounding style, in which primary triads are used exclusively, usually in major keys with a lack of passing or minor chords and utilises tuba or string bass. The music can be in a regional style or national Slovenian style. The performers may or may not wear traditional Slovenian folk dress. This study has confirmed that Port Lincoln informants define Slovenian folk music in ways that they believed made it distinctly Slovenian and in a manner that is similar to Slovenian informants who reside in Adelaide, Trieste, Ljubljana and Lokev.

The study has found that the definition of Slovenian folk music, as understood by Port Lincoln informants, has evolved over time in the context of living in an isolated regional city. By focussing on individuals such as RPr this report documented how performances of Slovenian folk music by a community member altered the definition of the music within the area in which the musician lives. This shifting definition reflected the lived experience of Slovenian folk music of Port Lincoln residents. This

enquiry also demonstrated that the lived experience of Port Lincoln informants with folk music is different from their experiences of the past, but they are able to accommodate these multiple understandings.

This project has also revealed that when informants discussed the role of Slovenian folk music in their life they recalled memories of experiences they have had with Slovenian folk music. During interviews, the first- and second-generation Port Lincoln community members recalled performances of Slovenian folk music from their youth when they lived in Slovenia or when they more recently visited Slovenian communities. This study concludes that these people most commonly access Slovenian folk music not via live performances or recordings, but via memories of that music. These people believe they do not have time to listen to recordings of Slovenian folk music and instead access memories in which Slovenian music played a part in previous Slovenian cultural experiences.

It is interesting to note the variety of ways Slovenian music was accessed. Interviewees recalled performances of Slovenian folk music that occurred in a range of settings when, for example, informants attended formally staged events at a club, church, festival or cabaret. Performances also occurred within the relaxed social setting of the village square and in private homes. In addition, performances occurred in Port Lincoln, Adelaide, Italy and Slovenia. The performances cited were accessed through a variety of media including radio broadcasts, audio- and video-cassettes, compact discs and by downloading mp3 files from the internet. This study has concluded that when Port Lincoln informants have used music for identity maintenance purposes, they valued a range of Slovenian music performances such as staged or casual, amateur, professional, vocal, instrumental, live and recorded events.

Thus, this study has clearly demonstrated that Port Lincoln informants do not believe it is important to have a *live* Slovenian folk music tradition, but are content to rely on recorded music. In Port Lincoln, Slovenian folk music is no longer in the hands of the “folk”—the amateur, everyday person who has

Slovenian cultural heritage. Rather, the performance of Slovenian music is in the hands of the professional Slovenian musicians who record and disseminate their Slovenian folk music arrangements and compositions. This is different from the situation in Adelaide, Trieste and Slovenia where there are regular live Slovenian music concerts performed by amateurs and professionals. Therefore it suggests that the more isolated and smaller the Slovenian community, the more it relies on recorded music from the country of origin rather than local performances of live music. Furthermore, over the duration of this project the access to broadband internet facilities, including mp3 music downloads, became more widely available in Port Lincoln. The research was undertaken at an historical moment when the younger generation started to access Slovenian folk music using this technology, while the older generation relied on memories of music, partly because they did not have such technology or technical knowledge and partly because they did not, and still do not, have any desire to do so. Results from this study suggest that the future of Slovenian folk music in Port Lincoln will rely increasingly on technology including internet technology. Further investigation relating to how people maintain their musical traditions when using only technology and how people in remote locations maintain a sense of cultural identity through such recordings is worthy of future study.

A significant finding of this study is the way that informants have used Slovenian folk music to maintain a range of Slovenian identities. Informants have used the music to reinforce their *personal identity* because it has reinforced the connection each person has had with their own unique interpretation of their Slovenian cultural heritage as relevant to their lifestyle. Informants have also used music to reinforce a sense of *family identity* because the music has linked the individual with their Port Lincoln and European Slovenian family members. Music has also been used to create a sense of *regional identity* because it has created in people a sense of belonging to a Slovenian group, albeit fragmented, within the remote city of Port Lincoln. Informants have also used the music to create a sense of *national identity* where informants who live in Port Lincoln (far from Slovenia) have maintained a sense of cultural membership with the nation of Slovenia. Typically, these people live in Port Lincoln and have family links with Slovenian communities in Port Lincoln, but may also be found in Adelaide, Italy and

Slovenia. It is of particular significance that it is the informants who decide for themselves the ways in which they create and maintain their own sense of Slovenian identity.

In addition, this study has found that the small Port Lincoln community is fragmented in part the result of differences in opinion between community members in relation to political, social and economic beliefs associated with their links to Slovenia. Originating from different villages in Slovenia and Italy, informants have different views about the value and role of Slovenian cultural elements, such as Slovenian language and music to their life in Port Lincoln. Consequently, they have not been able to create a strong sense of belonging to a Slovenian community at the local level in Port Lincoln. In order to compensate for this fragmentation, informants have created a sense of belonging to a range of imagined Slovenian communities. By doing so, Port Lincoln informants have not needed to rely on the physical boundary of a city or even a country in order to create a community. Rather, individuals have defined the boundaries of their unique imagined Slovenian communities that cut across political and geographic boundaries extending to places as far apart as Port Lincoln, Adelaide, Italy and Slovenia.

These shifting behaviours reflect the lived experience of Slovenians in Port Lincoln and unprecedented developments in technology. It suggests that it is necessary to reconsider the way we view the use of music for identity maintenance purposes. This thesis, for example, referred previously to Beaudry's (1997) discussion of memory and music in which he argued that when people hear a song it helps them recall events and emotions (1997:77). This study, however, has illustrated that for Port Lincoln informants, it is not the literal listening to a song, but the memory of listening to a song that has helped to recall events and emotion. They use memories of music as symbols by which they can "listen" to Slovenian music and connect with their Slovenian cultural heritage. Thus while the word *imagine* suggests that an individual is creating something new, something they have never perceived before, something that is not real. By contrast, when an informant uses *memory*, they recall events from their past as something that was a lived experience. Such results may encourage others to review the parameters that underpin current definitions of music and identity maintenance in the future.

Finally, beyond these direct results, this study has highlighted that the ways in which Port Lincoln informants have used music to maintain identity has changed over time. For example, as youths, the first-generation performed Slovenian folk music in the local village square in order to help maintain a sense of Slovenian cultural identity where performing Slovenian music served to distinguish informants from their oppressors. As new migrants to Port Lincoln, they listened to Slovenian folk music to maintain a sense of personal identity and family identity because the music enabled them to connect with their cultural heritage while living in Australia. More recently, they relate to memories of the music in order to feel a sense of connection with the international Slovenian community. Whatever these recent developments, it is clear that the use of music for identity maintenance will continue to evolve in the remote community in Port Lincoln, South Australia.

5.2 APPENDIX TWO — SLOVENIAN TRANSLATION OF THE SURVEY⁴⁹

Please feel free to refuse to answer any part of this survey.

CONTACT DETAILS:

Name: _____
Address: _____
Telephone: HOME: _____ WORK: _____
FACSIMILE: _____ E-MAIL: _____

1. Kako je Družina v Sloveniji. [What is family in Slovenia?]
2. Kako so Prijatelji v Sloveniji. [What is friends in Slovenia?]
3. Kako so Družine in Prijatelji v Australiji. [What is family and friends in Australia?]
4. Razlogi in delo med Slovenijo in Australijo.
5. Delo narejeno v Sloveniji.

GLASBI.

6. Misli o glasbi.
7. Kaj dela glasbo znano.
8. Podrobnost o moji glasbi.
9. Moja znanost in sposobnost glasbe.
10. Vzrok interesa glasbe.
11. Kako najdes program na computerju glasbe.
12. Kako pogost si na computerju na programu glazbe.

GLASBA SLOVENSKA GLASBA ALI MUZIKA

13. Koje misli o Slovenski Muziki.
14. Kaj dela Slovensko Muziko ali glasbo znano.
15. Kaj naredi Slovensko Glasbo.
16. Vzroki in drugacnost med Slovensko glasbo, kje prebivas in drugo Slovensko glasbo.
17. Podrobnost o Slovenski glasbi.
18. Podrobnost o Slovenski glasbi, moja znanost in podrobnost.
19. Moje misli zakaj mi ugaja glasba.
20. Kako najdem na Computerju Domaco Slovensko glasbo.
21. Kako pogosto sem na computerju-na strani-Slovenske Domace Glasbe.

Najlepse hvala,

Kathryn

⁴⁹ Translated into Slovenian by Maria Ban.

5.3 APPENDIX THREE — DETAILED MUSICAL BELIEFS OF ADELAIDE AND EUROPEAN INFORMANTS

5.3.1 Adelaide Second-Generation Informants

5.3.1.1 RPo

RPo names and defines a number of contemporary music forms. The name of the musical form is stated first and RPo's definition follows in brackets. RPo discussed folk rock commentary (with harder beat and protest lyrics), jazz (re-arrangements of Slovenia folk tunes), '*chanteuse*' (female cabaret style), bubble-gum pop (light popular music), 'pidgy' western (which she explained consist of cowboy songs like 'Home on the Range'), punk, techno and hard rock (where the lyrics are about Slovenian experiences). She especially notes Orlek⁵⁰ who composes songs that make social commentary. One Orlek song for example comments on the shutting down of mines that resulted in a loss of jobs. Other songs comment on how migration affects the people who leave Slovenia.

RPo explains that German folk music has tuba and brass, Austrian folk music has yodelling and Slovenian folk music has accordions. She remembers seeing Orlek play accordion and performs "gymnastics" with his fingers because his hands moved so quick, fingers were extended as far as possible and energy was put into the movement of his body during playing. RPo also listens to compact discs and audio-cassettes, sings at church and plays Slovenian hymns on the piano.⁵¹ Her father bought some of the recordings she listens to during his visits to Slovenia and cousins living in Slovenia have sent others to RPo for her birthday. She has always bought music from professional Slovenian folk music touring groups who visit Adelaide and when she visited Slovenia in 2001, she bought a range of music for use on the Adelaide Slovenian radio program.

⁵⁰ Orlek is the name of the founder of the band Orlek.

⁵¹ RPo taught herself to play recorder and was attending piano lessons in 2003.

5.3.1.2 AV

AV learnt accordion, drums and guitar through the Adelaide College of Music for six years. He remembers that due to the influx of migrants, the numbers of children learning accordion was large and the community valued the exam results to such a high degree that they were published in one of Adelaide's major newspapers, *The Advertiser*. AV is now one of the principal musicians and the spokesperson for the Adelaide Slovenian Club Adult's Choir.

AV listens to the radio weekly and Adelaide Slovenian Club choir weekly, performs regularly, and regularly listens to audio-cassette tapes, compact discs and practices playing the accordion fortnightly using sheet music. He owns some videos but no long-playing records. The Adelaide Slovenian Club Adult Choir has one hundred songs in their repertoire and has been involved in writing words to music that AV composes.

5.3.2 European Informants

5.3.2.1 SS: First-Generation Trieste (Italy)

SS used to know how to read music and he played the clarinet for three years but has no musical knowledge anymore—although he loves to sing Slovenian songs when in a group. He listens to audio-cassettes, the radio, compact discs and long-playing records and used to go to concerts when he was younger. His collection of music includes work by Avsenik, Slavka and Slovenski Octet, and an audio-cassette tape of Slovenian Christmas music.

5.3.2.2 BS: Second-Generation Trieste (Italy)

BS listens to music everyday via radio, compact disc or the concert hall. He notes that music is very important to his happiness and that he always works with his radio playing music. He prefers music by Wagner, Beethoven and Vivaldi to pop and rock, which he does not listen to. BS plays guitar and enjoys flamenco. He owns a few Avsenik cassettes that he has had for years. He admits he knows very little about folk music and while he does enjoy what he hears on the radio, he is not a fan of Slovenian folk music.

5.3.2.3 MFra: First-Generation Lokev (Slovenia)

MFra sings in church on Sundays and enjoys listening to the “more interesting music” in church where a retired professor now plays the electronic organ.⁵² MFra also listens to music while she cooks, using the radio or the television.

5.3.2.4 JFra: Second-Generation Lokev (Slovenia)

JFra dances to music and talks about pop stars with her friends. She does not play music but listens to music every day on the radio and accesses music via compact discs, audio-cassette tapes, MTV or at a disco. She has listened to Slovenian folk music on the radio, television and in concerts and attends folk music concerts “not often, [but] maybe three or four times a year” (pers. com. 2001).

5.3.2.5 PG: Second-Generation Ljubljana (Slovenia)

PG was fond of music when he was young but does not have time to listen to music anymore. His most recent music purchases include jazz and classical music and he listens mostly to compact discs and

⁵² The music is “more interesting” because the musician plays a variety of genres, not just the standard Slovenian hymns.

the music that surrounds him during the day such as the radio and recorded music broadcast over public address systems at work and in shops. Slovenian pop music comprises less than 5% of his music collection and he owns no folk music. He believes music is “important but not existential” (pers. com. 2001), that it is rather a part of having fun, relaxing and enjoying life. He sings his sons to sleep but believes he has no predisposition to obtaining musical skills. PG believes that Slovenian popular music is developing and trying to be more profitable but that the quality is suffering as demonstrated by the fact that so many pop songs come and go so quickly.⁵³ While PG states that he has nothing against folk music, he does not choose to listen to folk because it is not his “thing,” although he does hear it on the radio and at traditional weddings.

⁵³ In Port Lincoln the only pop music, owned by DM, was popular in the 1970's when he was a teenager and as such Slovenian pop music does not form a part of this research.

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