What Village Are You From?
An Archaeology of Objects and Identity in the Australian Lebanese Community

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In Loving Memory of Salwa Nassim

Cover image: The Dining and Formal lounge room of participant Peter Abboud Senior (Abboud, 2013)
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Abstract

This thesis intends to study the practices of material culture within an Australian ethnic community. The focus will be placed on objects within the household, in order to examine whether or not material culture plays a role in constructing an ethnic identity for three generations of Lebanese migrants living in Australia. To achieve this, six participants from my immediate family were interviewed while the objects within their homes were catalogued. A combination of qualitative and quantitative research methods were employed, in order to consider and understand the importance and meaning people attach to objects in the domestic sphere. Data from the three generations was then compared.

The results yield a large variety of objects found within each households ranging from cooking and drinking utensils to decorative, religious and musical ornaments. Spatial analyses also revealed that a large portion of the objects were located in communal areas such as the kitchen, living and dining room. The results from the three generations indicated that the relationship and practices of material culture had changed throughout the generations. There was a shift from consolidating tangible practices of ethnicity in the form of objects, to intangible practices of language, food, traditions and religion.
Chapter One

Introduction

INTRODUCTION

Objects play an important role in society. They can produce meaningful social relations and significant connections between family members, friends and social networks (Money, 2007:355). Material culture has always played a central role in our understanding of individuals and societies. Recent studies on contemporary material culture studies have provided a unique aspects as to the importance and impact objects have on individuals (Buchli, 2010; Miller, 2008; Money, 2007). Through incorporating ethnographic studies into the discipline, the identity of contemporary communities can also be evaluated by studying the relationship they have with material culture, with the latter often shaping their daily life and the way customs and traditions are carried out. By studying the objects within the domestic sphere of these contemporary communities, it is evident that they are represented in numerous ways and are viewed differently by individuals.

Therefore this thesis aims to study the practices of material culture to see whether or not objects play a role in constructing an ethnic identity for three generations of Lebanese migrants living in Australia. The thesis aims to shed light on the relationship between contemporary ethnic communities and material culture which has rarely been discussed within the discipline of archaeology. The results will be compared against each other generationally.
Participants of the Study

The data for this thesis comprises of interviews and object catalogues from six members of my immediate family: one male and one female from each generation. This sample range will indicate whether or not the answers, or objects chosen, will differ based on gender and generation. The first generation’s participants will consists of Salwa Nassim and Peter Abboud Senior. While the second generation’s participants are Vivienne and Sam Abboud and the third generation’s participants are Marian and Peter Abboud Junior. Each of the participants has been chosen because of the unique relationship they have with their ethnic identity and the material culture found within their households.

Why study the relationship between material culture and ethnic communities?

Material culture has helped highlight expressions of ethnicity within archaeological records. It has contributed to the construction and formation of identity within ethnic groups (Jones, 1997:73). The role of material culture is extremely important as it consolidates the relationships individuals have with one another and the ethnic community/ies they belong to. The study of these relationships has always been overlooked by the need to define ethnicity and ethnic groups as oppose to understanding how individuals self-construct their own ethnic identity. Therefore, the investigation into the study of the relationship between material culture and ethnic communities, will highlight how individual identities are formed and whether or not material culture has played a central role in consolidating them.
Research Aims

The broader aim of this thesis is to see whether or not objects play a role in constructing an ethnic identity for three generations of Lebanese migrants living in Australia. A breakdown of the aims can be seen below.

1. What sorts of object form cultural identities for three generations of Lebanese migrants and do these change over time?
2. Is it material culture which relates to ethnicity or the context in which it is used?
3. Is Lebanese heritage reflected in objects?

A multidisciplinary approach has been employed in order to address the aims, borrowing theories from sociology, archaeology, anthropology and material culture studies. These aims will be addressed with a combination of qualitative and quantitative research methods in the forms of interviews, object catalogues and spatial analyses. The results will then be compared against each other in order to understand the relationship that each individual has with material culture within the domestic sphere.

Thesis Structure

Chapter 2: Objects, Ethnicity and Archaeology: This chapter will focus on positioning the thesis in its theoretical context, and will conclude by examining three perspectives of material culture studies, object biography, ethnicity and home cultures.

Chapter 3: Migration, Settlement and The Family: This chapter will contextualise the thesis in its historical context, by focusing on village chain migration and settlement patterns of the Australian Lebanese Diaspora. My family’s journey to Australia will also be described.
Chapter 4: Methodology: The research design and methodology is explained as well as the approaches used for the collection of data.

Chapter 5: Results Part I: First Generation: This chapter will present the results taken from the first generation’s object cataloguing, interviews and spatial analysis. Focus will be placed on four objects and their significance.

Chapter 6: Results Part II: Second Generation: This chapter will introduce the results taken from the second generation’s data collection, with particular attention paid to examining the significance of four objects.

Chapter 7: Results Part III: Third Generation: This chapter will present the findings from the third generation’s data collection. Additionally, the importance of four specific objects found in the process of data collection will be explored.

Chapter 8: Discussion and Conclusions: In this final chapter, the data and results collected from each generational study will be compared. The aims of the thesis will be reiterated and answered, and overall concluding statements will be made.

Appendices: This section will contain all the transcripts, object cataloguing tables and any additional raw data collected.
Chapter Two

Objects, Ethnicity and Archaeology

INTRODUCTION

The purpose of this chapter is to discuss the theoretic concepts involved, contextualising the thesis. The chapter discusses material culture from three different perspectives, object biography, ethnicity and home cultures. The historical background of the origins and major concepts that characterise material culture studies is outlined and discussed. The concluding section ties the three different perspectives on material culture together and will reiterate the aims and unique contribution of this research project.

Material Culture Theory

Over the last 20 years material culture studies have undergone an enormous transformation, being among the most dynamic fields in the human sciences (Tilley, 2006:61). The field has been developed to include a range of theories, including marxism, phenomenology, home cultures, ethnicity and object biography (Tilley, 2006:62). A combination of disciplines such as anthropology, archaeology, sociology and consumer studies have impacted the development of this discipline (Money, 2007:355). Material culture studies have been described by Buchli (2002:4) as ‘the undisciplined discipline’, as it is continually changing, especially in terms of what is understood by materiality (Woodward, 2007, Tilley, 2006, Buchli, 2002).

Material culture as a term and academic field of study originates from the early 20th Century of colonial expansions. Vast projects were carried out by prominent museums to display collections of former ‘primitive societies’ (Buchli, 2002:2). The study of
material culture itself became one of the cornerstones of the emerging discipline of anthropology. At this time the concept of material culture was considered to be entirely inseparable from anthropology (Buchli, 2002: 2). Structural functionalism was the primary theory in anthropology during the 1920s, and anthropologists such as Franz Boas and Radcliffe Brown focused on the social relationships between individuals and objects. A limitation emerged in this approaches as it was seen that it only informed anthropologists about the basic technological descriptions of the object and not the culture that was being studied (Tilley, 2006: 68). The study of objects became the focus of museums to catalogue and display; as the focus was on representing nationhood, rather than academic pursuits (Buchli, 2002: 4).

Prior to the introduction of New Archaeology in the 1960s, material culture studies was heavily embedded in Anthropology; neglecting to incorporate archaeological theories. By not combining the two disciplines there was an overall lack of ethnographic studies of material culture. This was a source of frustration to many archaeologists, who wished for such studies to help them analogically in their interpretation of material culture (Knappett, 2005: 108). Ultimately this led to archaeologists seeking out their own ethnographic field studies of contemporary groups in an effort to understand the dynamics of material culture patterning. During this time, that ethnographic methods were integrated into archaeology in order to create an ethno-archaeological study of material culture (Tilley, 2006:67).

Since the 1980s the study of contemporary and modern material culture has helped the development of material culture studies. Scholars such as Daniel Miller and Victor Buchli have conducted a number of studies, each providing a unique aspect of contemporary material culture study. Miller, for example, has carried out studies on
Blue Jeans (2012), the Sari (2003), Coca-Cola in Trinidad (2002) and the council estates in the UK (2001). Each of these studies focused on viewing how individuals interacted with material culture in different social contexts. These types of studies allowed the combination of different theories to be incorporated into the discipline. Buchli has taken another perspective and carried out many studies on home culture and the domestic sphere (2001, 2002, 2010). Buchli examined the role of the domestic sphere to see whether or not this impacts on the relationship individuals have with each other and the objects that surround them in their domestic sphere. Both Miller and Buchli have used a combination of theories taken from multiple disciplines; but this has provided a gateway for archaeologists and anthropologists to further explore the notion of materiality as a cultural process (Buchli, 2002:12).

**Object Biography**

Theories of object biography revolve around the way in which artefacts relate to the identities of individuals, groups and cultural systems (Tilley, 2006:61). This theory has undergone many changes and influenced the development of material culture studies in both archaeology and anthropology since the 1980s. The current emphasis in material culture studies is on object biographies and was prompted by the edited book Appadurai published in 1986 titled *The Social Life of Things*. Appadurai focused on the notion that objects have their own life histories and that they play a vital cultural role. A paper in the same edited book by Kopytoff, ‘The *Cultural Biography of the Things*’ (1986), examines objects from a biographical perspective. This body of work evaluates the social nature of objects by analysing and questioning them in a similar fashion to what we would ask of people (Kopytoff, 1986:70). The study of the biography of things can
make what is obscure and unknown salient. In certain situations, according to Kopytoff (1986: 72), such an examination can emphasise what has been stressed by anthropologists: that the adoption of alien objects is significant not because they are embraced, but the way they are culturally redefined and put to use. Thus this type of biography focuses on how objects are embedded with cultural meanings and how this changes throughout different cultural contexts (Kopytoff, 1986:75).

Object biographies investigate the relationship between individuals and objects and examine how people may reflect their world through material practices. Through making, using, exchanging, consuming, interacting and living with objects the identity of an individual transforms in the process. According to Tisseron (1999:12, cited in Dant, 2005:108) ‘Objects are for us, often without our recognising it, the companions of our actions, our emotions and our thoughts. They accompany us from the cradle to the grave’. The object world is thus central to our understanding of the identities of individual persons and societies. Object biographies have become a recognised research area investigating the relationship between people and things (Gosden & Marshall, 1999; Hoskins, 2006; Brower Stahl, 2010). This has led to two dominant research methods of biographical objects: the first being that the biographical object is initially researched ethnographically, providing a narrative of how people are linked to the object (Hoskins, 2006:78); the second is an interrogation of the objects themselves with historical research contextualising and providing supplementary comparison and information (Hoskins, 2006:78). Following this particular framework it can be argued that objects do not have biographies of their own, but rather through human interaction individuals reflect their own biographies onto the objects (Hoskins, 2006:78).
The notion of object biographies focuses on how meaning is formed and accumulated between individuals and objects throughout time and different contexts (Hoskins, 2006:76). This indicates that there are a variety of relationship between people and objects and this becomes apparent in different cultural contexts, only through these differences will a variety of biographies be revealed and understood. This idea combined with the use of ethnoarchaeology provides researchers with the ability to study a variety of present society in order to understand past societies and individuals and the relationships they may have had with objects. Material culture has always been studied for its own unique properties, but with the development of object biography the focus has now shifted to the relationship between people and objects (Joy, 2009:541). According to Miller (2008:5) objects help constitute the relationships that individuals have with each other and the world around them; the meaning and significance of an object is hard to identify and ultimately depends on the context and the individual.

**Ethnicity**

The identification of ethnic groups in the past has always played a major role within archaeology (Jones, 1997:1). Ethnicity involves the subjective construction of identity on the basis of assumed shared culture and/or common descent (Jones, 1999:224). These groups have been studied by anthropologists, sociologists and archaeologists on the basis of self-determination and definitions by other groups. Only certain cultural practices are involved in the perception and expression of ethnic differences, whilst other cultural practices and beliefs are shared across ethnic boundaries. By focusing on the nature of ethnicity and its relationship to material culture, archaeologists have attempted to identify past ethnic groups.
By the early 19th Century, the emphasis in both archaeological and anthropological research shifted away from social evolution towards particular histories of specific racial groups and their diffusion (Earle, 2008:189). German scholar Gustaf Kossinna (1926-1927) argued that artefact types could be used to identify and distinguish certain cultural groups and reflect the settlement patterns of past tribes or ethnic groups (Trigger, 2006: 214). Throughout the 20th Century the study of ethnicity faded within the discipline of archaeology, but returned to the limelight during the 1960s and 1970s. At this time ethnographic accounts were being drawn together in order to produce new theories of ethnicity and the processes involved in the maintenance of group identity (Jones, 2009:326). The limitations to this theory are that identity is fluid and flexible and is an aspect of a person’s self-concept that results from identifying with a broader group; making it hard to identify in the archaeological records. By the 1970s and 1980s, developments in social anthropology affected two main areas of archaeological research. The first consisted of studies concerning the relationship between material culture and ethnic symbolism. While the second main area of research focused on the role of ethnicity in the structuring of economic and political relationships (Jones, 2009:327).

In the past three decades, archaeologists have started to challenge the very existence of ethnic groups as being defined as bounded, monolithic and territorial based entities. Currently, it has been argued that the construction of ethnicity is a dynamic process that can take diverse forms in different contexts of social interactions (Emberling, 1997:327). One approach that has come to be prevalent amongst historical and prehistoric archaeologists, is that the study of ethnicity requires access to people’s self-conscious reflections of identity, and that written records provide authoritative sources
of information about self-reflections (Jones, 1999:223). Archaeologists have also focused on identifying material evidence that correlates with particular groups; known as ethnic markers (Jones, 1999:221). Material evidence of ethnic identity provides the most direct archaeological reflections of boundary maintenance, but for a number of reasons are extremely scarce in the archaeological records. Therefore it cannot be assumed that there is a fixed relationship between material types and particular identities. But rather the importance of material culture and its relationship to ethnicity changes depending on different social contexts (Trigger, 2006: 273). As ethnic groups not only live with their culture, but also reflect, evaluate, discuss, modify and dispute it (Rowlands, 2002, Jones, 2009, Fowler, 2010).

Material culture has helped recognise expressions of ethnicity, as it contributes to the formation and structure of it. Certain aspects of material culture are involved in the construction of ethnicity and the consolidation of identity (Jones, 1997:73). This indicates that material culture can embodied cultural ideas and that people’s identities are shaped as they produce, experience, exchange, and consume the objects that surround them (Fowler, 2010:360).

**Home Cultures**

Home cultures are defined as using the domestic sphere as location to the disciplinary investigation into the home (Buchli, 2002:502). The concept of home embraces both the physical and social space, and the social relations within it. Ideas of what constitutes a proper family have shaped the ways in which individuals relate to one another in the intimacy of their domestic life, and the same ideas have influenced the physical design
of housing within which these social relationships are lived (Madigan, & Munro, 1999:107). The material culture within the domestic sphere is an appropriation of the outside, public world and the representation of the private, inside world (Miller, 2001:3).

Within anthropological archaeology, the rise of New Archaeology in the 1960s reintroduced the importance of the archaeological study of modern material culture within the home (Buchli, 2002: 209). The study of material culture of the home in the 1960s and 1970s was based on structural and symbolic analyses, whilst in the 1980s and 1990s a new wave of studies arose, which emphasised the home as a point of consumption, with more emphasis on domesticity (Miller, 2001: 9). The home was a focal point for do-it-yourself activities, where people transformed their home interior as a mode of self-expression. The home came to be seen as backdrop, a means by which people constructed themselves and their ideologies (Miller, 2001:15).

Investigating material culture within the home can be sourced to Miller’s (2001, 2002, 2008) extensive ethnographic work that focused on understanding the relationship between individuals and objects within the domestic sphere of the home. This is evident in Miller’s (2008) monograph titled ‘The Comfort of Things’, which examines how objects produce and help maintain meaningful social relationships; through interviewing and observing the everyday lives of thirty individuals. Miller focused on how individuals interacted with the world around them, their homes and family members. Miller concluded that by not having any material objects; it could in fact indicate that a person was void of any type of social relationships as objects help consolidate those relationship (2008:3).
Susan Kent’s (1990) work on the ethnological study of dwellings refocused attention on the detailed empirical study of the domestic space as the most immediate material context in which to understand human societies. The study of the home offered rich comparative data for the study of cultures, as in many cultures the home is seen as a microcosm of important cognitive categories. According to Gullestad (2001:87) when studying home cultures ‘the researcher must focus on; the physical structures of the house and environment, the object found in the house and its surroundings, how these objects are arranged and grouped and the use of the objects the house and the surroundings’. Often material culture can repair and rewrite the narratives of an individual’s own personal biography and also the way their relationship with others has formed part of the objects biography.

Similarly Money (2007) examines the importance and meaning people attach to domestic decorations and surroundings via the exploration of the material culture of the living room. Money argues that ‘things’ (2007:355) act as the embodiment of meaningful relations and significant connections between family members, friends and even wider social networks, and often offer a way of understanding material consumption within the home. Money furthers argues that the home operates as a transnational space for the household, imbued with creating meaning and identity for those who reside therein; and also as a space for selective contact with the outside world. This paper employs a multidisciplinary approach, as Money attempts to encompass a variety of participants in order to obtain a wider understanding of the role of material culture. The combination of interview and object narratives supports capture how material culture has manifested within the home. This is because the objects of the home are mementoes and reminders of the past (Miller, 2002:240). The study of home
cultures focuses on the development of material and social relations within the home and allows researchers to see the world through the perspectives of others.

CONCLUSION

The discipline of material culture has developed theoretically since its inception; there have been a number of sub-disciplines that have branched out, in particular object biography, ethnicity and home cultures. The combination of these sub-disciplines allows for material culture, to be acknowledged as it provides an understanding of individuals, societies and their relationships with each other (Miller, 2008, Money, 2007, Hurdley, 2006). Empirical studies of the interactions between people, their homes and material culture suggests that there is an active meaning-making process in which all three play a role. As material culture can be explored and represented in numerous interesting ways depending on the unique setting of the material and the way it is view by the individual. The combination of these three theoretical frameworks offers a unique perspective, as the study provides a glimpse of the personal, interactive and on-going aspects of domestic life and culture. By using an ethnographic approach, this has provided a narrative as to how people and objects are linked. As objects have always played a central role in our understanding of individual persons and societies. By focusing on object biographies, ethnicity and home culture, this provides the researcher with a frameworks which enables them to examine the importance of objects to individuals in a cultural context in the domestic sphere of their homes. This combined with an ethnoarchaeological approach allows the researcher to interview participants in order to
understand their relationship with material culture, by analysing their living rooms to observe how objects are displayed. By doing this, it would indicate whether or not material culture plays a significant role in the social relationships that occur between family members, friends and the community.

To reiterate the thesis aims to address whether or not object play a role in constructing an ethnic identity, for three generations of Lebanese migrants living in Australia. The data collected from six interviews will be compared. The scope of this thesis will be focused on the importance of objects in both a domestic and cultural setting.
Chapter Three

Migration, Settlement and The Family

INTRODUCTION

Over the last 120 years Lebanese emigrants have settled in different parts of North and South America, Australia, Europe and Africa. Each of these migrants has experienced the processes of migration differently. This chapter will contextualise the study in its historical context, by focusing on village chain migration and the settlement patterns of the Australian Lebanese Diaspora. This will be followed by an introduction of the family and participants who have been chosen for the study.

Migration: The Australian Lebanese Diaspora

Like many migrants before, the Lebanese who emigrated to New South Wales (NSW) have made numerous contributions to the cultural landscape of the state. The Lebanese began to arrive in increasing numbers during the 1880s and 1890s due to economic and political reasons; this is discussed in the section below. While they emigrated to many parts of Australia a majority settled in NSW (Burnley, 1982:105). The largest proportion of the Lebanese community in Australia including those born overseas and those who refer to themselves as having Lebanese ancestry live in the Sydney Metropolitan area (Convoy & Monsour, 2008:1).

Lebanese immigration to Australia can be divided into three main phases:

1. From 1880 to the outbreak of World War Two
2. From 1947-1975 and was part of Australia’s great post World War Two immigration programme (the context of this thesis stems from this phase of migration)

3. From 1976-1990 which spanned the period of the Lebanese Civil War (Convy & Monsour, 2008; Hyndman-Rizik, 2008).

Only recently has a fourth phase been added, which focuses on the return visits of Australian Lebanese to Lebanon in the 1990s for family reunions and tourism (Batrouney, 2005 cited in Convy & Monsour, 2008:3).

The early stages of Lebanese migration to Australia have been linked to political and economic conditions (Khalaf, 2009: 103). Until the 1920s, the first Lebanese migrants were referred to as ‘Syrians’, or ‘Ottomans’, which classified them under the White Australia Policy as Asiatic (Rizik, 2008:41). This also meant that during the First World War, they were regarded as potential enemies within, which led to many Lebanese anglicising their names in attempt to assimilate. The Lebanese were not treated by the Australian Immigration authorities as being pure Asiatics, as they were referred to as being part of a large element of pure whites in Syria, the so-called ‘Mediterranean strain’ (Convy & Monsour, 2008:8). This enabled many Lebanese/Syrians to enter and settle within Australia. Nevertheless, many of the early settlers referred to themselves as having come from Mt Lebanon and towns surrounding the Biqua Valley as shown in Figure 3.1. By the 1920s, in response to political changes declaring Lebanon a semi-autonomous state, many began to refer to themselves as Lebanese.
Some of the earliest Lebanese settlers became wholesalers, importers and small manufacturers, while the majority were involved in commercial activities such as hawking and shop-keeping as illustrated in Figure 3.2 (Convy & Monsour, 2008:14). Migrants found it difficult to find employment, as many did not speak English, had little money and possessed few marketable employment skills. Discrimination made it impossible to find employment in industries dominated by Anglo-Celtic labouring classes. This left only one option, to hit the road as hawkers of fancy goods and haberdashery in suburban and rural areas throughout the state. McKay (1989 citied in Kayal, 1990: 617) argues that Lebanese/Syrians warehousemen in Redfern played a major role in introducing newly arrived migrants to hawking, this explains why for most this was their first form of occupation, as shown in Figure 3.3. These warehouse businesses often provided Lebanese hawkers with a suitcase of credit to get them started. While many of the early settlers relied on the Lebanese/Syrians wholesalers and

![Figure 3.1: Map of Lebanon, this shows the region and towns in which the first Lebanese migrants came from (Google Images, Maps of Lebanon, 22/08/13).](image-url)
kinship networks for employment, their children were educated in local schools, giving them opportunities to work in non-Lebanese/Syrian businesses.

Those who immigrated to Australia before World War Two were heavily involved in first hawking goods and then setting up shops within rural areas. The migrants who followed post World War Two settled in suburban Sydney and had wider employment opportunities. The end of the White Australia Policy and the changes made in migration policies led to an increase of Lebanese migration to Australia in the 1960s (Convy & Monsour, 2008: 4). Many of these migrants had friends or family living in Australia and were accepted; thus a pattern of chain migration and clustered settlements within geographical regions was entrenched. These cluster settlements usually occurred because family and friends from the same village would settle near each other. The settlement patterns indicate the strength of family and village ties, as the settlement of newly arrived migrants was often the responsibility of relatives or voluntary agencies (Humphrey, 2004:40).

**Figure 3.2: Stanton Melick Established 1889**, Melick’s old warehouse in Elizabeth Street Redfern, was one of the largest manufactures and provided employment (Convy & Monsour, 2008:15).
The Australian Lebanese Diaspora has formed over the last 120 years, however over the past 40 years the return connections have grown stronger as migrants have had to deal with both loss and feelings of unconditional belonging to Lebanon. The Diaspora presents the strength of tradition and a sense of resilience that has exceeded past the first generation. Migration lag as defined by Hyndman-Rizik (2008: 37) is the longing for a return to old values and morals and this is evident in the Australian Lebanese Diaspora. This has caused problems for returning migrants, who are considered Australian rather than Lebanese. Migrants have now become trapped in the migration processes, where they are considered neither Lebanese nor Australian.

**Figure 3.3:** Stanton Melick’s staffed assembled behind his warehousing business in Elizabeth Lane Redfern (a majority of the staff were newly arrived migrants), c. 1900, (Convy & Monsour, 2008:1).
Settlement: The Early Days

By the 1880s a majority of Lebanese migrants had settled around the inner city suburbs of Redfern, Surry Hills and Waterloo, and had formed their own communities. This became known as the Lebanese Quarters and was often referred to as ‘Little Beirut’ or ‘Little Lebanon’ (Convy & Monsour, 2008:20). Those involved in hawking and clothing industries encouraged many to settle in rural areas either as individual families in country towns or within small clusters as part of a large rural settlement. Prior to the 1950s the Redfern Lebanese Quarter ran along a north to south axis of Elizabeth Street and was opposite Redfern Park, this became an important recreational space for the community. Adele Moriatry (cited in Convy & Monsour, 2008:20) who grew up in Redfern in the 1930s describes it as ‘being like a little part of Beirut, as the smells and sounds were of Lebanon and business was undertaken in Arabic’.

The importance of the Redfern quarters to the Lebanese community began to erode. The Pre-World War Two era saw many rural businesses rely less on the Redfern warehouses and wealthier members of the community began to move into grander suburbs in the east. By the 1950s, the heart of the quarter was destroyed and many Lebanese began to settle in the Western suburbs (Burnley, 1982:107). The pressure of this continual migration led to a shortage of accommodation that forced many migrants to move to areas such as Parramatta, Harris Park and Granville. Once the Lebanese migrants established themselves they began to sponsor relatives to migrate to Australia. This led to the suburbanisation of the population; and one of the outcomes of this was the production of new kin village groups within Australia (Hyndman-Rizik, 2008:47). Many of these migrants chose to stay in these areas because of language barriers and
close family ties. The settlement patterns throughout Lebanese migration indicates that religious symbols and places such as churches, mosques, business and village associations made them stay close to home.

The Village

Lebanese migration to Australia was the result of strong village chain migration (Humphrey, 2004:40). Settlements within Sydney led to many different religious and village clusters based strongly on kinship ties, rather than Lebanese ethnic bonds. Village clusters occurred all around the Metropolitan area, for example Maronite migrants from the Village of Baan settled in Thornleigh, the Village of Karm-el-mohr and Becharree settled in Redfern and Harris Park (Burnley, 1982: 107). An example of this can be seen with Anthony Peter Baynie, who emigrated with his family in 1925 from the Village of Bann and settled in Thornleigh. Over the years he helped sponsor over 100 of his relatives and village kin to come to Australia, which in turn led to them sponsoring many others (Convy & Monsour, 2008:24). This reflects the importance and strength village identification had in the composition and origins of the Lebanese local community as urban areas began to reflect villages. This is also seen in Harris Park, which became a major focus of settlement for people from the Village of Kfarsgahb, and currently there are over 10,000 people who can trace their ancestry back to this small village in Lebanon, having a population of only 1000 people (Convy & Monsour, 2008:24).

A common reoccurrence with second-generation migration (whose ancestors came via village chain migration) are they attempt to strengthen their links back to Lebanon and to the village. Currently there are over 250 village organisations in Australia, which
meet yearly to celebrate village saints (these saints usually have a church named after them), with example of Figure 3.4 (Humphrey, 2004:40). The irony is that once the second-generation returns back to Lebanon they become positioned as Australian or moghtarebee (return immigrant), but not as locals. The village identity and the dialect of Arabic in which they identify with have become out-dated in Lebanon.

Religion

The Lebanese who migrated to Australia prior 1947 were predominately Christians, mainly Maronite, Melkite and Antiochian Orthodox; with a small number of Druzes who settled in South Australia and a small handful of Muslim’s (Convy & Monsour, 2008:28). In the Post War era, especially during the 1970s, saw a large influx of Lebanese Muslim’s begin to settle in NSW. Currently the Lebanese community is not a single harmonious and united community; rather it is a collection of distinctive religious communities. They are bound together by the natural understanding that each religious community is different (Convy & Monsour, 2008:28). These differences are evident as Lebanese prefer not only marriage within the Lebanese community but also within their own sub-group or religious community; as the woman tends to follow the faith of her husband once married.
Redfern became both a cultural and religious centre for the first Christian Lebanese. However the Lebanese, who settled in country areas, still went to great lengths to return to Sydney to fulfil major religious obligations and celebrations in their respective churches (Convy & Monsour, 2008:29). The three predominate branches of Christianity had churches in Redfern and the congregations were normally comprised of several villages, an example being the Orthodox from Btarram, Maronites from Kfarsgahb and the Melkites from Ain Bourday (McKay, 1985:322). The increasing number of Maronites, Melkites and Antiochian Orthodox saw the establishment of new churches in the western suburbs. The Lebanese Christians at this time began to use their values and shared cultural religious ideas to accumulate a sense of whiteness in order to belong to the Australian community, a form of acculturation (Hyndman-Rizik, 2008:43).

Saint Maroun Cathedral was the first Maronite Catholic Church to be built in NSW; it was completed and opened on the 10th of January, 1897 (Convy & Monsour, 2008:30). Due to the demands of a growing community, a new Saint Maroun Cathedral was built replacing the original church in 1964 (Figure 3.5). This site is also the current premises for the Maronite Heritage Centre.

Figure 3.5: Saint Maroun Cathedral, Elizabeth Street, Redfern (Abboud, 2013).
Religion has always played an important role, as the Lebanese identity has constantly focused around the family, the village and the church (McKay, 1985:320)

**The Family**

Family plays a major role within the Lebanese community, as family values, relations, traditions and behaviour has always differentiated them from Anglo-Australian (McKay, 1985: 330). Migration to Australia changed the family dynamics, especially the role of women. The impact of the husband leaving enabled women to take a central role in looking after the family, especially the money making decisions (Khalaf, 2009:114). Those who immigrated with their husbands worked in factories in order to make a better life for themselves and their family. According to Humphrey (2004:42) family ties have stopped extreme assimilation from occurring within the Australian Lebanese community, as the family provides mementos, memories and stories in which they can relive. The Lebanese identity is rooted and confined to family ties and traditions. The family plays a central role in the development and consolidation of cultural traditions (Humphrey, 2008:42).

The participants of this thesis are migrants and descendants of those who immigrated to Australia as a result of village chain migration. The Abboud family journey begins during the late 1940s to the early 1950s, when brothers Joe, Antoun and Nagib Abboud emigrated to Australia from a small village in the North of Lebanon as shown in Figure 3.6. The early years of settlement in Sydney were hard, as the Lebanese community had not yet established itself. There were not many migrants from the Village of Basloukit and after four years Nagib Abboud returned to his family in Lebanon. Following this, in 1964 Antoun sent word to his first cousins Salwa and Peter Abboud about the economic
opportunities that Australia could provide for them. It was then agreed by the two siblings in Lebanon that Salwa would come out first and work for a year and then sponsor her brother, so that he could follow her and bring out his family. Antoun Abboud began the paper process in Sydney, to sponsor Salwa with the intent to marry her (this was the reason given to the Australian government for the visa application). However once arriving here, Salwa was told by Antoun that he did not want to marry her, but all he wanted was for her to repay him the money that was spent on the visa applications. Salwa then spent a year working until she had enough money to repay her cousin and sponsor her brother. A year later Peter arrived in Sydney and the two of them worked hard, saved every dollar they made, in order to have enough to bring out Peter’s wife and five children as shown in Figure 3.7. Three years later, the siblings bought a house in Rosehill and had enough money to bring Peter’s family to Australia. Peter’s family arrived at the end of 1969, and this is where their story begins. Each participant will be individually introduced in the following chapters.
Figure 3.6: Map of Lebanon, location of the Village of Basloukit (highlighted in red)  
(Google maps, Villages in the North of Lebanon, 22/08/2013).
Figure 3.7: Salwa and Peter Abboud’s Family Tree (participants of this thesis are highlighted in red).
CONCLUSION

This chapter has contextualised the study in its historical context, by elaborating on the migration and settlement patterns of the Australian Lebanese Diaspora. The importance of the village, family and religion in the construction of the Lebanese identity is explained, indicating how relevant these aspects are in today’s society. A brief history on the Abboud’s Family journey to Australia has been provided, however an in-depth introduction will be featured in the following chapters.
Chapter Four
Methodology

INTRODUCTION

This chapter will describe the methodology employed in this thesis. A combination of qualitative and quantitative research approaches, in the form of interviews and object cataloguing was used for the collection of data. This chapter also discusses the analytic approaches, in order to assess the validity and limitations of this project.

Research Design: Qualitative and Quantitative Research Approaches

This study was completed in the homes of six family members in the suburbs of Putney, Rosehill, Granville and Merrylands and between the months of June and August. The six participants consisted of one male and one female from three generations of my immediate family. The study was undertaken using a mix methodology, both qualitative and quantitative research methods. There are two main sets of data; the first focused on cataloguing specific objects in their context with a quantitative approach, while the second approach focused on the six interviews. These were conducted qualitatively and undertaken in order to discuss and assess the opinions and attitudes each participant had toward their household items. The two approaches were combined so that an analytical approach on object biographies and home cultures could be formed. Material culture presents the relationship between people and thing, by viewing it within the home. It is
evident that an individual’s subjectivity and the context of the object helps to create meaning, and this ensured that a combination of both approaches was needed (Kopytoff, 1986; Hurdley, 2006; Money, 2007). To achieve this study objectively, the objects were compared in the context of the homes of each of the six participants.

The data collected was organised based on three categories:

- Location and context of each object
- The importance of memories and attitudes that are associated with the objects
- The similarities and differences found between the three generations

**Methods of Data Collection**

There are two main forms of data which were collected throughout the study, object cataloguing and interviews. Selected items from each household were chosen and analysed in greater detail with the collaborated of interviews. Each participant had two objects which were researched, in an attempt to compare the generations against each other. The objects were chosen based on their importance and significance to the owner. The objects range from cooking and drinking utensils, cooking ingredients, decorative and religious ornaments. The methods of data collecting are described and justified individually in the sections below.

**The Abboud Family Home Collection**

The object are located in the homes of the participants, predominately in their living room and kitchen. The origins and age of the objects vary, as in some cases they have been stored and displayed since the 1970s. There were two methods that were employed to investigate these objects. The first focused on cataloguing the objects themselves and
then entering the information into tables; simple descriptions were given to each object. The second method was to interview the six participants, Peter Abboud Senior, Salwa Nassim, Sam, Vivienne, Marian and Peter Abboud; in order to understand their attitudes toward Lebanese culture and the objects within their household. Once the data was collected, the location of each object was recorded and placed on map, depicted the spatial layout of the home. The map indicated which rooms were communally used within the household and whether or not the objects were used for everyday or display purposes.

**Collection Cataloguing**

The field work for this study was carried out between the months of June and August, 2013. Selected objects were catalogued and photographed, for which recording tables can be found in the appendix. The objects were catalogued under the category of documents, each receiving an identification number, description, quantity, details of origin and significance as evident in Table 4.1.

The cataloguing was completed in order to observe whether there were any similarities between the three generations that were being studied. Further data was need for the chosen objects and therefore interviews were conducted to gain a thorough interpretation of their importance. The individual objects are discussed in the following chapters.
Table 4.1: Example of a brief cataloguing table, recorded at the home of Peter Abboud.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Artefact Number</th>
<th>Artefact Class/Type</th>
<th>Location</th>
<th>Quantity</th>
<th>Significance to the Owner</th>
<th>Origin</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>P001</td>
<td>Drinking Utensil Abriee</td>
<td>Kitchen</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>Australia</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>P002</td>
<td>Drinking Utensil Arak Shot Glasses</td>
<td>Kitchen</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>Lebanon</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>P003</td>
<td>Drinking Utensil Everyday coffee cups</td>
<td>Kitchen</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>Australia</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>P004</td>
<td>Ornament Cedar Tree wall hanging</td>
<td>Hallway</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>Lebanon</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>P005</td>
<td>Ornament Village Saint for Basloukit</td>
<td>Living Room</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>Lebanon</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>P006</td>
<td>Religious Ornament Incense Burner (Bakhour)</td>
<td>Living Room</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>Lebanon</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Interviews**

Semi-structured interviews were a major component in the collection of data as it allowed the researcher to understand the role and importance of objects within the household. Interviews were conducted with one male and female family member from each generation. This particular methodology enabled comparisons between the two
genders. My grandfather and great aunty were chosen as they were the first members of my immediate family to emigrate to Australia, and have play a major role in passing down all cultural and family traditions. From the second generation, my uncle and mother were chosen as they were both born in Lebanon, but emigrated to Australia as children; each having unique perspectives of both countries. From the third generation, my brother and cousin were chosen as they are the eldest grandchildren and first generation of the Abboud Family to be born in Australia. In order to conduct these interviews, ethics approval was first granted by HREC at the University of Sydney.

An interview guide was written and used for each participant, and is available in the appendix of this thesis. Multiple interviews were conducted with both Peter Abboud Senior and Salwa Nassim due to language barriers, which ultimately led to the revision of the interview guide. The structure of the interviews was influenced by Hennink and colleagues’ (2011) *Qualitative Research Methods*. As a researcher it was important to note that all participants were family members, and must acknowledge the issue of subjectivity, coercion and social desirability affect (where participants provide slanted views of themselves or others around them) (Hennink et al, 2011:130). The issue of my own subjectivity and assumption must also be acknowledged.

The use of semi-structured interviews enabled participants to discuss their views with little input from the researcher. The researcher followed an interview guide, but was not restricted to it as questions may have been adapted based on the information that was provided from prior responses. Table 4.2 gives examples of the questions asked during the interviews conducted for this thesis.
Table 4.2: Example of Questions asked during interview.

According to Hennink (2011:128), interviews provide a situational and interactive production of meaning between the researcher and interviewee. The interview is filled with the subjectivity of the interviewee, which provides an understanding of their background and stories; and which in most circumstances leads to a well-rounded interview. To ensure this would occur, the participants were asked to describe themselves, their homes and the objects within their households. The interviews were recorded and transcribed in August 2013, and inductively analysed for information in the following chapters.

Spatial Analysis

The spatial layout of the home played a crucial role in understanding the significance and importance of the objects. Each of the participant’s homes was mapped in a 2D birds-eye type plan layout; the location of each of the objects was then placed onto the layout in the context in which they were found. The spatial layout played a fundamental role in the analysis of whether or not the location of the object impacted the social relationship the participant had with the home. According to Miller (2008:3), the
context and location of the objects within the home impacts the relationships individuals have with each other, as very often the object are used in a communal process. However, the methodology did not focus on the spatial layout and organisation of the furniture within the home, but rather on the objects.

**Analytical Methods**

The analyses of the data taken from the interviews focused on the significance and importance that objects have on the individual. The inclusion of interviews, object cataloguing and spatial analyses provided enough information for a comparison between the three generations. Recurring themes in the interviews were noted and shared between multiple participants, especially themes surrounding family and cultural traditions. Similar questions were asked to each participant, which identified any deviations in the answers and helped validate the project. The analyses of the interviews were important in uncovering the relationships between the participants and the objects. However, the analysis was plagued by the need to create a balance between visual and verbal narratives; the combination of the two would provide a validation of importance and meaning, which was attached to certain aspects of material culture. As noted by Hurdley (2006:721), the narrative accounts provided by the participants help to understand the construction and performance of the self. However the limitation of the interviews are evident as in some cases the interview questions were met with brief or broken responses.
CONCLUSION

This chapter has described the qualitative and quantitative research methods which were used to collect the data. The combination of object cataloguing, interviews and spatial analyses, has allowed for three generations of my immediate family to be compared, based on the material culture present in their households. The following three chapters explain in detail the data collected generationally and the results that have been discovered.
Chapter Five

Results Part I: First Generation

INTRODUCTION

This section presents the findings from the analyses of the first generation’s object cataloguing and interviews. The data provides an insight into each participant’s relationship with material culture in the domestic setting. The findings for each participant will be divided into three categories: the person, the home and the objects. It should be noted that the analyses will be limited, as a large number of objects needed to be eliminated from the analysis due to the quantity that were found.

The Person, the Home and the Objects

The first section of data focuses on providing a biographical profile of each participant. While the second section explains the history and spatial layout of their domestic setting. Lastly the third section emphasise the importance and significance of the objects. Due to the vast variety of objects, two were chosen for each participant, based on the reoccurring themes that became evident throughout the interviews.
Participant One: Salwa Nassim

The first participant of this study, Salwa Abboud Nassim, was born on the 15th of December 1933, in a small village in the North of Lebanon called Basloukit (refer to Figure 3.6). Salwa was the third youngest in a family of eleven children, eight girls and three boys (refer to appendices). Up until the age of thirty-one, Salwa spent most of her childhood living in the mountains with her mother and younger brother. The 1940s and 1950s saw many of her first cousins (from the paternal side) emigrate to both Australia and America, in search of a better life. Over the years, many letters were sent between families informing them of the great economic opportunities there were to be found in Australia. An agreement was then made between Antoun, Salwa and Peter Abboud; this entailed Salwa emigrating to Australia under the guise of being engaged to Antoun (who had migrated in the 1950s) and to then sponsor her brother and bring him out as well. Looking after her brother was the main reason why her mother allowed her to migrate to Australia as she was a single unmarried women. Salwa emigrated to Australia on the boat *Patris* and arrived in Sydney on the 2nd of December, 1964 as shown in Figure 5.1.

Upon arriving in Sydney, she was greeted by her cousins Antoun and Phillip Abboud. Salwa lived with her cousins for three years, she was not asked to pay rent but contributed to the running of the household. She was consider to be like a sister, as her cousin Antoun would constantly say to her ‘you are..."
like a sister to me, you came to Australia when we asked you to and my own sister did not even come, we begged her to come and instead she went to America’ (Nassim. S., 15/08/2013). The early years saw Salwa working in factories such as Davies Group; where she was able to save up enough money to not only pay off her boat fare, but also sponsor her brother to migrate. Peter Abboud arrived in Sydney a year after Salwa, and for the most part she looked after him while he worked and sent money back to their family. The siblings came from a poor, uneducated mountain family and Salwa took hold of the economic opportunities in Australia, as way to better her family’s life in Lebanon. With new found freedom, Salwa was able to socialise and break away from the rigid structured life she lived in Lebanon as evident in Figure 5.2.

The siblings worked very hard for three years, but in 1968 they received word that Peter’s family would be joining them in Australia. They combined their money together in order to receive a loan from the Commonwealth Bank. The loan enabled them to buy a house in Rosehill. They both worked to pay off the mortgage, additional income came from renting rooms to newly arrived migrants who paid board. Once

Figure 5.2: Salwa and her cousin getting ready for a night out in the city in 1966 (Abboud, 2013).
Peter’s family arrived in Australia, Salwa not only cared for his children, but also continued to run the household; making her the matriarchal figure of the family. Salwa lived with her brother and continued this role until 1971, when she met and married Jacob Nassim. She was married for 10 years, but then later widowed. Whilst married and widowed she has made five trips back to Lebanon, to visit her family and the homeland she left behind.

**The Home:**

Following her marriage in 1971, her brother refinanced the house in Rosehill and bought out Salwa’s share. She received $12,000 and proceed to use this money as a deposit to buy a house for Jacob and herself in Merrylands (Nassim, S, 15/08/2013). The area was geographically close to both her family and the Maronite Catholic Church in Rosehill. Salwa has lived on her own for thirty years, but occasionally has had family stay with her, especially those who have recently migrated to Australia. Salwa lived in this house until 2000, when it was demolished and replaced with a newly build duplex (built by her nephew Mounir) as shown in Figure 5.3.

![Figure 5.3: Front of Salwa Nassim’s home (Abboud, 2013).](image-url)
The double storey home is divided by two different layouts, the top level has three bedroom and a bathroom, while the bottom level is open. The living room, dining room and kitchen are all adjoined to each other. A large portion of the furniture was bought new for example; the couches and the bedroom set, however all the cooking and drinking utensil were taken from her old home. While the layout is different from her old home, the spatial arrangement of objects in each room is exactly the same (Nassim S, 15/08/2013). The focal point of the home is the living room, a place where family members and visitors interact with one another. Figure 5.4 shows how the furniture in

Figure 5.4: The spatial layout of Salwa Nassim’s living room (Abboud, 2013).

the living room has been organised; the couches have been pushed towards the walls, the floor has been covered with a Persian rug, while in the right corner is a religious shrine (on top of the TV).
There are only a few religious icons and souvenir ornaments which hang along the walls. Many of the objects within her home have been placed on shelves or in cabinets to be displayed while the rest are stored in the kitchen cupboards. The open space which connects all three rooms allows for this to be a communal area, where individuals are able to the view a large portion of the objects which are on display.

**The Objects:**

Each participant has a large range of objects within their households and in some cases there are too many to catalogue. This section analyses two objects because of the overall themes that were presented in the interviews which classifies their importance to the participant. However, in stating this we should not diminish the role of the rest of the objects which were not chosen. Salwa Nassim has objects ranging from drinking utensil, decorative and religious ornaments as shown in Table 5.1.

![Salwa Nassim's Object Catalogue](image)

**Table 5.1:** The overall number of objects catalogued in Salwa Nassim’s home (Abboud, 2013).
From the objects which were recorded seven were decorative ornaments, six were drinking utensil and three were religious ornaments. The decorative ornaments mainly consisted of souvenirs which were collected on Salwa’s travels around the world and in Australia. The drinking utensils were comprised of coffee cups and pots and arak glasses. While the religious ornaments mainly depicted Lebanese Saints and the Christian faith (cataloguing table shown in appendices). The objects were all located in the vicinity of the kitchen, dining and living room as shown in Figure 5.5. Each of these objects has a special meaning and function within the domestic setting. The two objects chosen for this analyses are the Rakweh and coffee cups and the Saint Assia icon.
Figure 5.5: Spatial layout of the bottom level of Salwa Nassim’s home, artefacts have been plotted into the layout (Abboud, 2013).
The Rakweh & Coffee Cups

The Rakweh (traditional name for a coffee pot), is made from white copper and is covered in swirl like decorative designs as shown in Figure 5.6. The diameter of the base is approximately 8cm with a height of 10cm. The Rakweh is stored in the kitchen cupboard beneath the sink.

![Figure 5.6: White Copper Rakweh; traditional coffee pot (Abboud, 2013).](image)

The coffee cups are displayed in a cabinet in the dining room; there are twelve in total, each made from porcelain with a diameter base of 2cm and a brim of 4.5cm. The cups are adorned with gold decorative lines, while a triangle shaped design covers the bottom as shown in Figure 5.7. Both the Rakweh and coffee cups were purchased in Australia, but originally imported from Lebanon. There are five rakwehs and over five different types of coffee cup sets, totalling over sixty cups. These objects were not all recorded, but are displayed in a cabinet as a means to present them to visitors; they do not have monetary value but rather sentimental value.
These two objects were chosen because they were most frequently used by Salwa for both entertainment purposes and personal use. They were used every morning as Salwa would indulge in a coffee after she had completed her daily prays. Salwa believed in order to have an authentic experience, the right utensils and ingredients needed to be used; thus adding to their value and importance (Nassim. S, 15/08/2013). The making and serving of Lebanese coffee is an important practice taught to every women and was instilled into Salwa from an early age making these objects extremely important.

![Everyday Lebanese coffee cups](image)

**Figure 5.7:** Everyday Lebanese coffee cups (Abboud, 2013).

**Saint Assia Icon**

The icon of Saint Assia, located in the living room is approximately 30cm x 20cm; the image depicts the patron saint of Toula (the neighbouring village to Basloukit) as shown in Figure 5.8. The image originated from Lebanon but was later reproduced in Australia. Salwa received the image over thirty years ago from her brother and has remained hanging in her home since. The image hangs directly above her front door,
just as it did in her old home. Salwa believed that the image protected everyone who lived and left her home (Nassim. S, 15/08/2013).

The image of Saint Assia is extremely important to Salwa as it depicts an integral part of her Christian faith. The object also provides memories of her childhood in Lebanon. One memory that Salwa fondly remembers, is how their home in Lebanon overlooked the Saint Assia church and that each morning she woke up to see the church and hear the bells ring (Nassim. S, 15/08/2013). This memory has stayed with her throughout all these years; as whenever she returns to Lebanon she attends mass at this church. Praying to Saint Assia has become a daily practice and has influenced her for most of her life; indicating that religion has become an important attribute to her Lebanese identity.

Figure 5.8: Saint Assia icon, which hangs directly above the front door (Abboud, 2013).
Participant Two: Peter Abboud Senior

The second participant of this study, Peter Abboud (senior) was born on the 17th of February 1935, in a small village in the North of Lebanon. Peter was the second youngest in a family of eleven children (youngest male). Most of his childhood was spent in the mountains (refer to Figure 5.9) and at the age of twenty-one he married Salma Farah (who lived in Toula). Peter worked occasionally as a labourer, butcher and handyman; but he did not have any educational qualifications. By the age of thirty Peter had five children, four boys and one girl. In 1963, he received word from his cousin Antoun about the great economic opportunities that were to be found in Australia. The siblings agreed that Salwa would migrate first to Australia and then after a year Peter would follow her.

Peter Abboud emigrated to Australia on the 3rd of January, his journey took eighteen days. He arrived aboard a Greek ship named the Fredreco, which stopped in three Australian ports, Fremantle, Melbourne and Sydney (Abboud, P, 03/08/2013). Upon arriving at Sydney Wharf, Peter was greeted by his sister Salwa and

![Figure 5.9: Peter as a teenager hugging a sheep in the mountains (Abboud, 2013).](image)


cousins Antoun and Philip. Peter lived in a rented house with his sister and cousins in Ashfield and then Dulwich Hill as shown in Figure 5.10. The early years of his settlement saw Peter seeking employment in factories, for example; the Colitex factory located on Parramatta Road. A large portion of the money which was earned was sent back to Peter’s family in Lebanon. Peter embraced the Australian way of life, learning the language, frequently visiting the pub and occasionally making trips to Manly Beach.

Figure 5.10: Peter walking through the streets in Ashfield, 1966 (Abboud, 2013).

But in late 1968, Peter realised that his family was in a worse economic state then before, his children were in a private school and his wife was continuously borrowing money; so he decided to bring them to Australia. Four years later his family arrived in Australia and by this time he had established himself as a member of society. Once his family arrived in Australia, Peter enrolled his children into private Catholic schools. He worked in factories up until 1976, when he began to open up fruit shops with the help of
his son Mounir. Since emigrating to Australia, Peter and his spouse have visited Lebanon yearly. The first return visit was made in 1976, to attend to his dying mother and since has gone back for holidays to oversee the renovations done to his ancestral home. Currently Peter is the proud grandfather to seventeen grandchildren.

The Home:

After living with his cousins for three years, in 1968 Peter decided to bring his wife and children to Australia. While preparations were being made for multiple visas, he began the strenuous task of find a house. Salwa had saved over $3,000 while Peter only had $200; they decided to put their money together to apply for a loan from the Commonwealth bank (Abboud. P, 03/08/2013). They received the loan and bought a house in Rosehill. The house was in a prime location, as it was close to the Maronite Catholic Church, but also attached to a big piece of land. Numerous extensions were done to the home as the family grew. The exterior of the home received the most work as the entire front was gutted; terracotta brick walls and an archway replaced the fibro shaped circular entrance, a veranda

Figure 5.11: Peter Abboud and his nephew Tony Abboud standing outside the front of his house with the old exterior, 1968 (Abboud, 2013).
was added as well as white plaster columns as shown in Figures 5.11 and 5.12. An extra two bedrooms were added to the back as well as a renovated kitchen, carport and sectioned off area designated for a garden. Both the formal lounge room and the living room had extensive structural work done, the rooms were also refurbished. The major renovation to the home was done in 1976 and since then little has been updated. This is clearly evident in the formal lounge room, which is furnished with velvet couches, crushed velour curtains and flocked damask wall paper, which adorns the wall as evident in Figure 5.13. This room has not been used for entertainment purposes in over thirty years, but has been left in mint condition for display purposes. The layout and refurbishment of the room was done to cater to what was in fashion in Australia during the 1970s. However the layout of the living room is less formal, with the wall being

**Figure 5.12:** The renovated exterior of Peter Abboud’s home in Rosehill (Abboud, 2013).
covered with family photos, religious icons, rosaries and a miniature plaster grotto as evident in Figure 5.14.

Figure 5.13: Formal Lounge room in the home of Peter Abboud (Abboud, 2013).

Figure 5.14: The everyday living room in the home of Peter Abboud (Abboud, 2013).
A large portion of the objects represents Lebanese heritage, with coffee cups, religious statues and objects adorned with the Lebanese flag displayed within the home.

According to Peter, visitors have frequently comment ‘on how Lebanese his house looks in Australia, while in the Lebanon others comment on how Australian his house is over there’ (Abboud, P, 02/08/2013). The layout and organisation of his home can be attributed to the objects which he brings back with him from his yearly trip to Lebanon.

The Objects:

This participant has a large range of objects within his household. The objects in the home are examples of the types of customs that the participant practices. Peter Abboud has well over hundred items in his home, ranging from drinking utensils to decorative and religious ornaments as shown in Table 5.2.

![Peter Abboud’s Object Catalogue](image)

**Table 5.2:** The overall number of objects catalogued in Peter Abboud’s home (Abboud, 2013).

From the objects which were recorded six were decorative ornaments, and there were four drinking utensils and religious ornaments. The decorative ornaments mainly
consisted of souvenirs which were collected on Peter’s yearly visit to Lebanon. The drinking utensils were comprised of coffee cups and arak glasses. While the religious ornaments mainly depicted Lebanese Saints and the Christian faith (cataloguing table shown in appendices). The walls and shelves throughout Peter’s home are adorned with objects, especially coffee cups. The objects were all located in the vicinity of the kitchen, formal lounge and living room as shown in Figure 5.15. Each of these objects has a special meaning and function within the domestic setting. The two objects chosen for this analyses are the Cedar Tree ornament and the Arak shot glasses.
Figure 5.15: Spatial layout of Peter Abboud’s home, artefacts have been plotted into the layout (Abboud, 2013).
Cedar Tree Ornament

The Cedar Tree ornament, is made from traditional Lebanese cedar and has been carved into the shape of a cedar tree and lacquered as shown in Figure 5.16. The ornament is approximately 50cm wide and 55cm long, with an inscription at the base “Cedar- The Millenary Cedars’. The ornaments is located in the hallway (on top of the door) connecting both the living room and dining room. The object was purchased in 1976, on Peter’s first trip back to Lebanon after emigrating to Australia. Upon returning to Australia, the object was immediately hung onto the wall and has remained there since. The ornament was one of the first objects to be brought back from Lebanon and is immediately seen once entering the home. This object is extremely important to Peter as it is not only a reminder of his Lebanese identity, but also provides memories of his family and his first trip back to Lebanon. Memories of his mother and his childhood in Lebanon are reflected in the ornament. The object also represents his nationalistic identity and has played an intrinsic role in consolidating his Christian faith. The importance of the cedar tree is evident as a large portion of objects which have been brought back and placed on display are predominately made from the branches of the cedar trees.

Figure 5.16: Cedar Tree Ornament, hanging on top of the doorway (Abboud, 2013).
Arak Shot Glasses

The arak shot glasses, are a set of twelve, each with a base of 2cm and a height of 6cm. There are etchings of grapes on the sides of each glass; indicating that the glasses were made for the sole purpose of consuming Arak. Arak is the national drink for Lebanon and is made from the juices of grapes and aniseed which have been fermented and distilled. Both arak and coffee are usually offered to visitors as a sign of hospitality.

The importance of the glasses is evident as Peter often comments of using 'the Arak glasses everyday as you need them, so that you can properly experience drinking arak' (Abboud. P, 02/08/2013). They also symbolise the coming together of family, as every Sunday they are used and shared when having lunch. The glasses allow Peter to remember his childhood, life in the mountains and the family who still lives in Lebanon. The drinking of arak not only bring families together, but is one of the few things that can be shared across continental boundaries.
CONCLUSION

This chapter presents the findings from the first generations object cataloguing and interviews. There is a large range of objects found within both households, they were mainly drinking utensil, decorative and religious ornaments. The spatial layout of both houses, indicated that a majority of the objects were stored and displayed in communal area such as the kitchen, dining and living room. While the interviews provided first-hand information regarding the importance of the objects; presented reoccurring themes such as family ties, practices, traditions and the home as impacting on the significance of the objects. Unfortunately, the evidence was limited as only two objects were chosen for each participant (not from each category). The following two chapters will examine the other two generations in order to see whether or not patterns of material culture within the domestic sphere have formed.
Chapter Six  

Results Part II: Second Generation

INTRODUCTION

This section presents the findings from the analyses of the second generation’s object cataloguing and interviews. Two objects have been chosen for each participant, based on reoccurring themes that examine their importance and significance. The discussion chapter will compare the generations to see whether or not patterns have formed.

The Person, the Home and the Objects

The findings for each participant have been divided into three categories: the person, the home and the objects. The first section of data focuses on providing a biographical profile of each participant. While the second section explains the history and spatial layout of their domestic setting. Lastly the third section emphasises the importance and significance of the objects.

Participant Three: Vivienne Abboud

The third participant in this study, Vivienne Nakat Abboud was born on the 23rd of June 1961, in a small village in the North of Lebanon called Fih (village overlooks the beachside). Vivienne is the second eldest child in a family of seven; four boys and three girls (as shown in appendices). She spent most of her early childhood in Lebanon, but at the age of nine she emigrated to Australia. On the 9th of September 1970, her mother
and siblings arrived by plane in Sydney, the journey took three days to complete as shown in Figure 6.1. Her father had emigrated twenty months earlier. Adnan Nakat emigrated to Australia in 1968 for economic opportunities. Once arriving in Sydney he worked minimal hours and gambled away most of his money, sending very little back to his family. His siblings in Lebanon then decided (who had taken over providing for Adnan’s family) that he needed to be taught responsibility, so they sent word to Adnan that his family would be joining him in Australia. The whole family then saved up enough money to buy three and a half plane tickets; which enabled Antoinette and her seven children to migrate.

Right from the beginning Vivienne’s journey to Australia was not an easy one; as they were left at Sydney airport with no one there to pick them up. When they finally got hold of Adnan to tell him that they had arrived in Sydney, he received ‘the shock of his life and could not believe that his family had followed him’ (Abboud. V, 10/08/2013). Later on Vivienne and her mother discovered that not only did he not have a job, but that he needed an operation and that there was no money or house to live in. The family eventually moved into a rented home in Granville where they all attended Rosehill and
Arthur Phillip Public School. Vivienne completed her High School Certificate (year 12) and furthered her education by receiving a diploma in accountancy. She worked at the Australian Medical Association for four years. In 1983 at the age of 21, Vivienne married Mark Abboud and by 1985 had her first child, requiring her to leave the workforce and become a full time mother. Since then she has had three other children and made two trips back to Lebanon. The first trip was made just after the end of the civil war in 1992, while the second was in 2004. Each trip back showed Vivienne ‘just how much Lebanon had truly changed’ (Abboud, V, 10/08/2013).

The Home:

After her marriage in 1983, the newlywed couple proceeded to live with Mark’s parents in Rosehill. By the time Vivienne was pregnant with her third child, they both decided it was time to move out as they needed their own space and place. They have moved three time since, as Vivienne (10/08/2013) states ‘as the family grew older their needs changed and so the houses became larger’. Currently the house that Vivienne lives in is a newly built double storey duplex as shown in Figure 6.2.

Figure 6.2: Front of Vivienne Abboud’s home (Abboud, 2013).
The designs and layout of the home represents ‘the style her children wanted and chose’ (Abboud. V, 10/08/2013). The bedrooms are located on the top level, while the bottom level is a communal space in which everyone shares. Any changes made to the home usually must be approved by Vivienne’s children.

The bottom level of the home is open plan with an entertainment area, kitchen, dining and living room. This area is considered by Vivienne (10/08/2013) to be a communal area ‘where the family gathers to spend time with each other’. Her children chose to furnish the house with black leather couches, glass and chrome tables and the latest technology. However Vivienne insisted that the home would be adorned with family photos, decorative ornaments, rosaries and religious iconography. The layout of the furniture was organised by her, the couches have been pushed towards the walls to create and open space, family photos and religious icons also hang throughout the home as shown in Figure 6.3. This area also contains two large display cabinets (black, with chrome and glass) which house and display to her son’s dismay her extensive range of coffee cups, crystal rosaries, photographs, glassware and silverware. The

**Figure 6.3:** The spatial layout of Vivienne Abboud’s living room (Abboud, 2013).
display cabinets have also been pushed towards the walls in order to provide more space and not block the walkway.

**The Objects:**

There is a large range of objects which have been found in Vivienne’s home, they vary from drinking and cooking utensil to decorative and religious ornaments as shown in Table 6.1.

![Vivienne Abboud’s Object Catalogue](image)

**Table 6.1:** The overall number of objects catalogued in Vivienne Abboud’s home (Abboud, 2013).

From the objects recorded there were three decorative ornaments and drinking utensils and two cooking utensils and religious ornaments. The decorative ornaments consisted of souvenirs collected on Vivienne’s travel around the world. The drinking utensils were comprised of coffee cups, while the cooking utensils consisted of a mortar and pestle and cooking moulds. The religious ornaments mainly depicted the Christian faith (catalogue table shown in appendices). The objects were all located in the vicinity of the kitchen, dining and living room, with only one being stored in the bedroom as shown in
Figure 6.4. Each of these objects has their own meaning and importance and has been organised and displayed differently. This section analyses two objects because of the overall themes that were presented in the interviews. The two objects chosen for this analyses are the clay Abriee and the Sacred Heart of Jesus statue.
Figure 6.4: Spatial layout of both levels of Vivienne Abboud’s home, artefacts have been plotted into the layout. There are more decorative icons on the layout as I have plotted ten individual family photos, which have only been recorded as one item in Table 5.1 (Abboud, 2013).
Clay Abriee

The clay Abriee (traditional drinking vessel), is made from untreated clay and has a circular base of 8cm. The vessel’s body widens towards the middle with a diameter of 12cm. The top of the Abriee becomes narrower as there is a cylindrical tube which attaches to the body of the vessel. The Abriee also has a small handle and nozzle and a bowl in which it is displayed as shown in Figure 6.5.

The clay Abriee was bought in 1992, on Vivienne’s first trip back to Lebanon. It was purchased at a charity event which was hosted by the local public school she used to attend as a child; it was made by one of the students. The Abriee is used solely for display purposes and is currently on display in the living room. The object is important to Vivienne as it is a reminder of her ‘childhood in Lebanon and the early years of living in Australia’ (Abboud. V, 10/08/2013). The Abriee is a traditional drinking vessel which was used throughout her childhood, but was also an object she introduced to her children.
Sacred Heart Of Jesus Statue

The statue of the Sacred Heart of Jesus is made from porcelain with a base of 10cm and a height of 80cm. The statue is covered with rosaries and religious medallions and is surrounded by other religious iconography as evident in Figure 6.6. The statue originally belonged to Vivienne’s parents. It was given to them as a gift from a family friend. It came into her possession through the carrying out of an old Lebanese tradition called the ‘rajan el ejir’ which translates to the ‘return of the leg’. The carrying out of this tradition usually occurs when the newlywed couple return from their honeymoon, in which they have lunch at the bride’s parent’s home. While they are having lunch the groom’s side begin to take things from the home and at the end of the day gives them to the newlyweds. The objects which are taken are meant to symbolise the starting of a new life with her husband. The object was taken by her husband’s cousin.

The statue has been in Vivienne’s possession for over 30 years (stayed with her most of her adulthood) and is displayed in the corner of her bedroom on a prayer table. It symbolises not only the importance of her faith, but the family that she has created. According to Vivienne it also represents ‘the Lebanese traditions and customs in which

[Figure 6.6: Sacred Heart of Jesus Statue (Abboud, 2013).]
she was raised with and hopes to pass down to future generations’ (Abboud. V, 10/08/2013).

**Participant Four: Sam Abboud**

The fourth participant of this study, Sam Abboud was born on the 5th of April, 1959 in Basloukit, North of Lebanon. Sam is the second eldest child in a family of five (four boys and one girl). Up until the age of nine, Sam spent most of his childhood in Lebanon. His mother and siblings emigrated by plane to Australia in November 1969, to reunite with his father Peter Abboud who had left four years earlier (refer to Figure 6.7). On arriving in Sydney they lived in the house his aunty and father had bought in Rosehill. Sam comments that he childhood in Australia was rather pleasant as he had “an easy family life, with no squabbles, it was a very loving family’ (Abboud. S, 07/10/2103). He attended Patrician Brothers Private Catholic School in Granville, but left in year nine. Sam surrounded himself with many friends who were of the same ethnic background, helping him maintain the Arabic language; which was lost to some of his siblings. By
his mid-twenties, he had become a licenced panel beater and painter but also had a trade in fencing and decking. Currently he works with his son in the building industry. Sam has been married twice and has five children in total. Each of his spouses has been of a different ethnic background, which until his marriages was not condoned by the older generation of his family. Sam has returned back to Lebanon several times in 1991, 1999 and 2011. On his return visit back he stated ‘[he] did not fall in love with the people, but that he fell in love with the country’ (Abboud. S, 07/10/2013). Indicating the beauty of the geographical landscape of Lebanon where you are able to experience both climates from Europe and the Middle East. His last visit in 2011, saw his entire family travel to Lebanon; they also fell in love with the country and culture.

The Home

Sam has spent most of his life living in both the Parramatta and Wentworthville area. Recently he has built a new double storey home in Putney, which according to Sam has been patterned on the Mediterranean and Georgian look as evident in Figure 6.8. The design and layout was purposely organised to cater for this particular look. This includes the landscaping,

Figure 6.8: Front of Sam Abboud’s home (Abboud, 2013).
backyard, interior and design of the floors and ceilings; most of the landscaping was done by him. Like Vivienne’s home, the bedrooms are located on the top level, while the bottom level is an open space.

There is only one wall that separates the formal lounge room from the kitchen, living and dining room. The couches have been arranged in rectangular shape around the fire place and TV as shown in Figure 6.9. The bottom level does not have many pieces of furniture and the walls are void of any photos or ornaments. There are only a few objects which have been displayed; they are located on top of the chest of draws. The layout of the interior was mainly based on the wants and style of his wife.

**The Objects**

In the case of this participant there are not many objects within his household. The only objects that were recorded represented both cooking utensils and cooking ingredients as evident in Table 6.2.
From the objects which were recorded there were only two cooking utensils and two cooking ingredients. There are more than two types of cooking ingredients but for the purpose of this study they were categorised based on whether they were lentils and beans or herbs and spices. The cooking utensils mainly consisted of the Lebanese barbeque and a mortar and pestle, both objects are instrumental in producing authentic Lebanese food. While the Lebanese ingredients are comprised on bean, lentils, herbs, spices and preservatives. These two objects have great importance to the participant as 50-80% of his cooking represents his Lebanese heritage. The objects were all located in the vicinity of the kitchen, pantry and backyard as shown in Figure 6.10. The two objects chosen for analyses are the Lebanese barbeque and the beans and lentils.

**Table 6.2:** The overall number of objects catalogued in Sam Abboud’s home (Abboud, 2013).
Figure 6.10: Spatial layout of the bottom level of Sam Abboud’s home, artefacts have been plotted into the layout (Abboud 2013).
**Lebanese Barbeque**

The Lebanese Barbeque is a rectangular box made from steel, approximately 30 x 80 x 20cm (Figure 6.11). The barbeque stands on 4 legs, which are approximately a meter from the ground. Sam bought this barbeque in Lidcombe, Sydney and stores it in his backyard. He considered it to be one of his most important cooking utensils, as he uses it every Sunday, when he prepares and cooks the traditional Lebanese cuisine of kafta, charcoal lamb and chicken. The barbeque is an important object to Sam as it brings his family together when sharing meals, it is also a traditional method of cooking Lebanese cuisine over an open fire. The object allows Sam to pass down his knowledge and love of cooking to his children so that his recipes do not get forgotten or lost.

**Figure 6.11:** The Lebanese Barbeque (Abboud, 2013).

**Lebanese Beans & Lentils**

The cooking ingredients such as the beans, lentils, spices and herbs are all located in the kitchen pantry. Sam’s collection spans to almost fifty different types ranging from chick peas, red kidney beans, lentils, fava beans, fasolia beans, oregano, chilli powder and
rosemary. Each of these has been organised into small and large glass rectangular jars as shown in Figures 6.12 and 6.13. The entire pantry is filled with Lebanese spices, herbs, beans, lentils and preservatives. A large portion of these ingredients have been purchased from Lebanese mixed businesses, as Sam travels back to his old neighbourhood because they have a larger variety than his current neighbourhood. The ingredients are used on a daily basis in both Sam’s and his wife’s cooking. The knowledge of cooking food is important to Sam as it provides him with ‘memory and comfort from the culture’ (Abboud, S, 07/10/2013). It is the knowledge of cooking in which he wishes to pass down to his children so that it does not die out with his mother and aunty. Food

**Figure 6.12:** The Lebanese beans and lentils (Abboud, 2013).

**Figure 6.13:** The Lebanese herbs, spices and preservatives (Abboud, 2013).
allows for the continuation of culture as Sam regards it as the single most important aspect of his Lebanese heritage.

CONCLUSION

This chapter presented the findings from the second generation’s collections of objects and participant interviews. There is a variety of objects found within both households, they were categorised as drinking and cooking utensils, cooking ingredients, decorative and religious ornaments. The spatial layout of both houses, indicated that a majority of the objects were stored and displayed in communal areas such as the kitchen and living room. The interviews provided first-hand information regarding the importance of the objects; presenting reoccurring themes such as family ties, knowledge, practices and traditions which have impacted on the significance of the objects. However it is evident within the objects that the second generation’s affiliation with Lebanese material culture is not as strong as that of the first generation. The objects found within the homes do not just represent the tangible practices; rather they indicate a combination of both the tangible and intangible practices of their Lebanese heritage. The following chapter will examine the third generations in order to see whether or not patterns of material culture within the domestic sphere have formed.
Chapter Seven

Results Part III: Third Generation

INTRODUCTION

This section presents the findings from the analyses of the third generation's object cataloguing and interviews. Two objects have been chosen for each participant, based on reoccurring themes that examine their importance and significance. The discussion chapter will compare the generations to see whether or not patterns have formed.

The Person, the Home and the Objects

The findings for each participant have been divided into three categories: the person, the home and the objects. The first section of data focuses on providing a biographical profile of each participant. While the second section explains the history and spatial layout of their domestic setting. Lastly the third section emphasises the importance and significance of the objects.

Participant Five: Marian Abboud

The fifth participant in this study, Marian Abboud was born on the 13th of March, 1974 in Westmead Hospital, Sydney Australia. Marian is the eldest child in a family of six; five girls and one boy (as shown in appendices). She is the daughter of Lebanese migrants; her father Tony emigrated to Australia in February 1969, while her mother Laurice in June 1970. Marian’s parents met and were married in 1973 at Saint Maroun’s Cathedral in Redfern. She is the first generation of the Abboud’s family to be born and
raised in Australia and for this reason she often states that she was “a spoilt little kid” (Abboud. M, 05/08/2013).

As a child Marian learnt Arabic as a first language and it was not until she attended school that she began to speak English. Education was extremely important to Marian’s parents as they both came from poor mountain families. She was raised in a traditional strict catholic family environment and found at times coming from a ‘large family to be extremely overwhelming’ (Abboud. M, 05/08/2013). Marian spent most of her childhood and teenage years trying to live up to the expectations that were placed on her as the eldest child, constantly striving to prove that she was good enough. In her case, not being a male made her experience even harder.

Throughout high school Marian became extremely embarrassed by her ethnic background and tried to hide it. She did not hang out with the ‘Aussie’ or the ‘Wogs’ but was part of a group called the ‘freaks’. She claims that she did not get along with the mainstream groups and natural ‘did not want to be placed in a category’ (Abboud. M, 05/08/2013). Marian wanted to break free of the traditional model that had been placed on her by her family and the Lebanese community. At times, her parents did not consider her to be the perfect role model for her siblings, with her mother constantly saying ‘do not watch what Marian’s doing’ (Abboud. M, 05/08/2013).

In her late teens Marian began dating Michael. At first her parents did not

**Figure 7.1:** Marian and her husband Michael as teenagers (Abboud, 2013).
accept him as he was skinny, had dreadlocks and piercings and was not Lebanese (as shown in Figure 7.1). Her parents could not understand why she did not date a traditional Lebanese boy, as Marian had been taught to be ‘a good Lebanese girl’ (Abboud. M, 05/08/2013). They eventually married in 2000 and currently have three boys; all of whom have immersed themselves into the Lebanese culture as ‘they are fascinated by the language, the food and want to go to church’ (Abboud. M, 05/08/2013). Many of these aspects were lost to Marian throughout her teenage years as they were considered to be some form of embarrassment. After having children Marian came to the understanding ‘that no matter how much you try to drift from the fold, eventually you realise how important culture really is and how it has been embedded into your life’ (Abboud. M, 05/08/2013).

Currently Marian works as a digital media artist and over the years has produced many bodies of work that reflected her Lebanese heritage. One of her more successful projects ‘the Jirrin Journey’ focused one interviewing and cataloguing the journey of a large cooking utensil called the jirrin kebe to Australia, by early Lebanese migrants (Abboud. M, 05/08/2013).

The Home:

Currently the house Marian lives in is a Federation style widow’s cottage, made from double brick with very small windows as shown in Figure 7.2. The house was bought in 2003 and has since been renovated. Numerous extensions were made to the house and more than half the home was added, including a dining and living room, bathroom, laundry and kitchen. The outside of the home is made from cedar wood and has been adorned with stain glass windows. No alterations have been made to the façade of the
home as Marian wanted to ‘try and keep the house’s character’ (Abboud. M, 05/08/2013). However, the interior of the house is a mixture of both vintage and modern designs. This is evident in the living room which contains red leather couches, a check a board rug and damask patterned cushions (as shown in Figure 7.3). The couches have been organised into a rectangular shape, with a little play area in the middle, while the walls are covered with family photos. Originally the living room was larger, but having converted her office into another bedroom forced Marian to make part of her living room a temporary office so that she could continue to work from home.

The walls and shelves within the home are adorned with family photos and sculptures, while many of her and

Figure 7.2: Front of Marian Abboud’s home (Abboud, 2013).

Figure 7.3: The spatial layout of Marian Abboud’s living room (Abboud, 2013).
Michael’s artworks have been placed on display. The house also contains a child’s play room where the children have their own space to express themselves; this room also includes a prayer table covered in religious icons.

**The Objects:**

There are a large range of objects found in Marian’s home, varying from decorative and religious ornaments to work equipment as shown in Table 7.1

![Marian Abboud’s Object Catalogue](image)

**Table 7.1:** The overall number of objects catalogued in Marian Abboud’s home (Abboud, 2013).

From the objects recorded there were eight decorative ornaments, one religious ornaments and one belonging to the category of work equipment. A majority of the objects were either artworks produced by her husband or herself or gifts associated with pleasant memories. However, the decorative ornaments also consisted of souvenirs collected on Marian’s travels. The religious ornament mainly depicts the Christian faith and was a gift given to her children. The item categorised as ‘work equipment’ is a
laptop which is central to her professional career as a digital media artist (catalogue table shown in appendices). The objects were all located in the vicinity of the kitchen, dining and living room, with only one being stored in the bedroom as shown in Figure 7.4. Each of these objects has their own meaning and importance and has been organised and displayed differently. Marian’s objects differ from those of the five participant’s as 70% of her objects do not solely reflect her Lebanese heritage, but rather her life, family and career in Australia. This section analyses two objects based of the overall themes that were presented in the interviews. The two objects chosen for this analyses are the Arguileh and Cedar key ring.
Figure 7.4: Spatial layout of Marian Abboud’s home; artefacts have been plotted into the layout (Abboud, 2013).
**Arguileh**

The Arguileh (traditional smoking pipe) is made from glass, brass and sheep’s wool and stands over 1.4 m high. It has a long flexible tube attached to it, in which the smoke is drawn from the jar into the smoker’s mouth. The tube is covered in gold and blue braids, with sheep’s wool covering the ends where the nozzles are attached as shown in Figure 7.5. The main pipe is made from brass and has faint floral designs engraved into it. A floral pattern in blue, white and gold covers the jar.

The object originates from Lebanon, but was bought in Sydney at a Middle Eastern fair. The arguileh is used solely for display purposes as Marian owns and uses another, it is currently on display in the kid’s play room on top of the mantle.

The object is important to Marian as it is “a beautiful reminder of her Lebanese culture, especially the beauty” (Abboud. M, 05/08/2013). It symbolises the important aspects of her cultural background and displays the craftsmanship that helped create this object. The arguileh is constantly referred to as being ‘pretty special, especially the way the sun shines and catches all the amazing patterned work’ (Abboud. M, 05/08/2013). This indicates that the detail designs that adorns the arguileh play a major role in maintaining its importance to Marian.

![Figure 7.5: The hand painted arguileh; traditional smoking pipe (Abboud, 2013).](image)
Cedar Key Ring

The cedar tree key ring is made from a cut piece of a cedar tree branch and is approximately 5cm in diameter. Both sides of the key ring have been engraved, on one side reads the name ‘Marian’ while on the other is the word ‘Lebanon’ with an image of the cedar tree as shown in Figure 7.6 and 7.7. The key ring was given to Marian as a gift from her father on his last trip back to Lebanon. It is used for display purposes and the key ring hangs (along with rosaries her father brought back for her children) directly at eye level, on top of the kitchen sink. In regards to the significance of this placement, Marian states, ‘it is wonderful to see a constant reminder of my heritage’ (Abboud. M, 05/082013).

The key ring is important as it represents a central part of her ethnic identity and acts as a reminder of her ancestry and her family’s homeland.

Unlike her siblings Marian has never visited Lebanon, but has always heard of how beautiful the country is and for this reason the key ring is extremely important as she comments that ‘it feels good to have a piece of your homeland here with you’ (Abboud. M, 05/08/2013).

Figure 7.6: Cedar tree key ring, one side has the name Marian engraved (Abboud, 2013).

Figure 7.7: Cedar tree key ring, one side has the word Lebanon and a Cedar tree engraved (Abboud, 2013).
Participant Six: Peter Abboud Junior

The six participant in the study, Peter Abboud Junior was born on the 23rd of July, 1985 in Westmead Hospital, Sydney Australia. Peter is the eldest child in a family of four; three boys and one girl as shown in Figure 7.8. He is the son of Lebanese migrants; his father Mounir emigrated to Australia in November 1969, while his mother Vivienne in September 1970. Peter’s parents met and got married in 1983 at Our Lady of Lebanon Cathedral in Harris Park. He is the first grandchild on either side of his family to be born and raised in Australia and was often ‘spoilt as a child’ (Abboud. P, 08/08/2013). Peter is named after his grandfather (paternal side), which is customary in the Lebanese culture if the first grandchild is a boy.

Up until the age of two, Peter lived in his grandparents’ home, where his love for Lebanese food grew. As a child, he was always curious as to how the food was prepared, especially when it was being made by his grandfather. He was raised in a traditional Catholic Lebanese family where religion and family were the two most important things. As a child Peter learnt Arabic as a first language and it was not until he attended school that he began to speak English.

Figure 7.8: Peter Abboud’s family photo. Left to right: Robert, Mariam, Paul and Peter (Abboud, 2013).
Education was extremely important to both his parents as they believed it would provide him with better opportunities that they never received. Peter attended Our Lady of Lebanon College from kindergarten to year 12, where he was taught English, Arabic and French. A majority of the students came from the same ethnic background, which meant that Peter did not associated with many people outside of the Lebanese culture until he left school. According to Peter, there were some benefits from attending the school ‘as you were able to appreciate the Lebanese culture, the language and food; that everyone was accepting as they were all raised with similar customs’ (Abboud. P, 08/08/2013).

Peter has made numerous trips around the world but has always remained family orientated. He has always attended family gatherings and often states ‘that his family members do not need a reason to come together and drink and eat’ (Abboud. P, 08/08/2013). Currently, Peter works with his father in the building industry, where he owns a maintenance company. He is also engaged and set to be married within the following year.

**The Home:**

Peter currently lives with his parents in a newly built duplex. It is customary with the Lebanese culture that children do not leave home unless they are married. The interior and exterior of the house was designed by Peter with the intention of being ‘ultra-modern’ (Abboud. P, 08/08/2013). There were many disagreements between Peter and his parents regarding the design of the house. Eventually, however, Peter managed to win his parents over and proceeded to design the house based on what was the latest fashion in the building industry, this is evident with the exterior of the home which is
double brick, with a sandstone feature wall and aluminium rails as shown in Figure 7.9. However even though Peter has made a living building these types of homes, he has always ‘loved and wanted to own a federation style house’ (Abboud. P, 08/08/2013).

Though Peter helped pick out and organise the furniture in the living room, his mother decorated the walls with family photos and religious iconography (refer to Figure 6.3). Unlike his mother, Peter prefers not to have many objects adorning the walls or be displayed on shelves as he dislike unorganised clutter. In fact half of Peter’s objects are located in cupboards in his bedroom.

**The Objects:**

In the case of this participant there are not many objects within his household. The only objects that were recorded represented both religious and musical ornaments as evident in Table 7.2.
Amongst the objects recorded there were two religious ornaments and two musical ornaments. The religious ornaments mainly depicted the Christian faith, as both objects have memories of family and Peter’s travels around the world attached to them. The musical ornaments consisted of the Lebanese Durbakke (drums), which represents his love for heritage and music and the techniques he mastered as a child (catalogue table shown in appendices). The objects were all located in the vicinity of both his and his mother’s bedrooms, with only one being stored in the living room as shown in Figure 7.10. Each of these objects has their own meaning and importance and has been organised and displayed differently. This section analyses two objects based of the overall themes that were presented in the interviews. The two objects chosen for this analyses are the Clay Durbakke and the Aluminium Durbakke.

**Table 7.2:** The overall number of objects catalogued in Peter Abboud Junior’s home (Abboud, 2013).

![Peter Abboud Junior’s Object Catalogue](image)
Figure 7.10: Spatial layout of both levels of Peter Abboud Junior’s home; artefacts have been plotted into the layout (Abboud, 2013).
Clay Durbakke

The Durbakke (traditional Lebanese hand drum) is made from clay, and is a vase shaped drum with a wide neck and the base appears to be narrower. The base of the drum is approximately 30cm in diameter, with the neck being 50cm long. The body of the drum has been decorated with tortoise shells, while goat skin has been stretched over the base of the drum as shown in Figure 7.11 and 7.12.

The Durbakke originates from Lebanon but was bought in Sydney and given to Peter as a gift from his grandfather (maternal side) when he was five years old. The drum is stored in his bedroom cupboard and is ‘only used during joyous occasional and family gathering’ (Abboud. P, 08/08/2013).

The object is important to Peter as it is a reminder of his deceased grandfather and his childhood where

Figure 7.11: The clay durbakke (Abboud, 2013).

Figure 7.12: Close up of the clay durbakke, tortoise shells have been organized into a pattern and adorn the body of the drum (Abboud, 2013).
he learnt to play the Drubakke and realised his love for Lebanese music. The durbakke has played an integral part in Peter’s childhood as he often remembers playing the drum at ‘family gatherings and for his siblings’ (Abboud. P, 08/08/2013).

**Aluminium Durbakke**

The Durbakke (traditional Lebanese hand drum) is made from aluminium, and is a vase shaped drum with a wide neck and base. The base of the drum is approximately 30cm in diameter, with the neck being 50cm long. The body of the drum has been painted and coated, while a thin piece of plastic has been stretched over the base of the drum as shown in Figure 7.13. The Durbakke was bought on Peter’s first trip back to Lebanon when he was seven years old. He saw the durbakke in a local shop and asked his parents if he could have it as it was a more modern drum compared to his clay version. His parent’s bought him the drum on the condition ‘that he had to carry it all the way back to Sydney’ (Abboud. P, 08/08/2013). Both durbakkes are stored in his bedroom cupboard.

The object is important to Peter as it has a lot of sentimental value and provides him with memories of his trip to Lebanon as a child. Learning how to play the durbakke has...
been a significant part of Peter’s childhood and is something that ‘he wishes to teach and passed down to his own children’ (Abboud. P, 08/08/2013).

CONCLUSION

This chapter presents the findings from the third generation’s collections of objects and participant interviews. There is a variety of objects found within both households, which were categorised as work equipment, musical, decorative and religious ornaments. The spatial layout of both houses, indicated that a majority of the objects were stored and displayed in communal area such as the kitchen and living room, however in both cases participants had objects located in their bedrooms. The interviews provided first-hand information regarding the importance of the objects, and presented reoccurring themes such as family ties, knowledge, identity, practices and traditions which have impacted on the significance of the objects. However, it is evident within the objects that the third generation’s affiliation with Lebanese material culture is not as strong as that of the first two generations.’ The objects found within the homes do not just represent the tangible practices, but rather indicates a larger sway towards intangible practices of their Lebanese heritage. The introduction of musical ornaments, work equipment and decorative ornaments (70% of which do not represented Lebanese heritage), indicates that importance have shifted towards maintaining knowledge, practices and traditions for the future generations. The following chapter will compare the three generations against each other to see what types of patterns have formed with material culture in the domestic sphere.
Chapter Eight
Discussion and Conclusions

INTRODUCTION

This thesis focuses on three generations of Lebanese migrants living in Australia and the relationship they have with material culture. This chapter will interpret and compare the results from three different data sets, in order to understand the importance that has been attached to particular household objects. The first section will discuss the main themes that have arisen from both interviews that were conducted and the objects catalogued. The second section will reiterate and address this aims of the thesis and suggest future avenues of research.

The Household Collections

The household collections are a personal reflection of the objects taken from the homes of six participants of my immediate family. Each household has displayed the objects within their homes in a different manner. The layouts of the living rooms and the location of the objects differs depending on the generation and participant. Therefore, some of the households have reflected more of their Lebanese identity than others. Table 8.1 illustrates the similarities and differences in the object categories found between the three generations.
The table shows the overall number of objects found in the household of each generational category and provides a succinct comparison of each generational collection. Amongst the objects recorded, the most common items found were drinking utensils, decorative and religious ornaments. However, not all these objects were found in the homes of each of the six participants. This is evident with the second and third generations having a combination of cooking utensils and ingredients, musical ornaments and work equipment.

The homes of the first generation participants contained a large range of objects which were mainly used for display purposes and were found within the communal areas of the kitchen, living and dining room. The second generation participants tended to have the least number of objects recorded out of the three generations, but had a diverse

\[95\]
range of items belonging to a large number of the categories. Within the households of the third generation participants almost 60% of the objects recorded did not directly refer to or symbolise their Lebanese ethnic identity. The collection of objects found within the household of each third generation participant was intended as a private collection rather than a communal one on display for family and friends.

It is evident that through their display of certain objects of significance, participants of each generation have attempted to portray their own stories, practices and family ties. Within each collection there are similar objects, which allows for the comparison of each generation against one another. However the differences in objects displayed also provide explanations as to how and why the participants express their ethnic identity.

**Themes**

Throughout the six households which were analysed there were four major themes that reoccurred throughout the interviews that were conducted: tradition, practice and knowledge, family and identity. The display of these objects reflects the different aspects of the participants’ ethnic identity and the culture in which they have been raised. The section below will analyses the four key themes that are recurrent in the interviews so as to ascertain the relationship individuals have with the material culture, found within their domestic setting.
Tradition

The notion of tradition is evident throughout the interviews and object catalogues of each of the generational participants. It is one of the few themes that impacts on the significance of the objects and their role in consolidating the participant’s ethnic identity. According to Rowland (2002:108) tradition creates the aesthetic relationship between objects, memories and stories which can be transmitted to future generations, as long as there is an authentic sense of the past in which individuals can identify with. The theme is present throughout each of the three generations and the twelve objects which were analysed. The objects recorded represent religious, musical and cultural traditions and are being used, or have been adapted for use in Australia, according to the teachings of previous generations.

From an analysis of the objects found within the homes of the first generation participants, it is evident that tradition plays a major role in shaping how the objects are displayed and used. Objects such as the Arak shot glasses and the rakweh and coffee pots are both traditionally found in the homes of many first generation Lebanese migrants. The objects are used to make and consume two national drinks of Lebanon. The use of the objects is fundamental in order for both participants Salwa Nassim and Peter Abboud to enjoy a proper daily cultural experience. Objects within the households of the first generation participants have been invested with meaning and memories and are a testament of who they are, where they have come from and the practices that were taught to them by their parents (Hecht, 2001: 123).

The acquisition of objects can also represent tradition, and this is seen in the Sacred Heart of Jesus statue which was given to Vivienne Abboud through the carrying out of
an old Lebanese custom called the ‘rajan el ejir’. The importance of the object stems from how it was acquired and the reminder of the traditions and practices in which Vivienne and her children were raised with (whilst living in Australia). The concept of tradition does not focuses solely on the objects, but on how they are used and how it reflects participants’ Lebanese identity. In many cases, the objects which are used on a daily bases will have more significance in consolidating the Lebanese traditions as they act as medium in which the traditions are able to then be taught and passed down to the future generations (Miller, 2001: 12).

**Knowledge and Practice**

Amongst the objects found within the households of the six participants, almost 80 % of these represent both practices and knowledge of Lebanese customs and traditions. Many of the objects reflect the knowledge which has been passed down to the participants from previous generations. The objects found within these households tended to be display in a communal areas often as a form of exhibition.

The combination of objects found in the households of Vivienne and Sam Abboud has incorporated knowledge belonging to both tangible and intangible practices of ethnicity.

*Figure 8.1: Sam Abboud cooking a traditional Lebanese dish called Harrisa (Abboud, 2013).*
Many of the objects reflect the practices that have been taught to the second generation by their parents; in the case of Sam Abboud, the single most important aspect of his Lebanese identity is the knowledge of food. Figure 8.1 illustrates Sam cooking a traditional Lebanese dish, which is only made on the Feast day for the Village Saints of Basloukit. Knowledge of cooking was passed down to Sam from his mother and aunty and is symbolic of his ethnic identity, something that he hopes to pass down to his children in an attempt to continue the tradition. According to Petridou (2001:95) cooking creates a bond between family members. It allows migrants who are leaving their country to take with them a fundamental aspect of their culture, in which they can recreate in their new homeland. Food provides a starting point for individuals, it gives them a sense of history and continuity (Petridou, 2001:88).

The practices and knowledge of ethnicity is also evident in the third generation participant Peter Abboud Junior, whose objects represent intangible practices of the Lebanese culture. As a child, Peter was taught to play the durbakke by his grandparents, and these objects represent an important aspect of his ethnic identity (shown in Figure 8.2). Having enjoyed many years playing and listening to the durbakke, the practice and knowledge of playing the...
instrument is one of the few traditional aspects of the Lebanese culture that Peter wishes to teach his children.

**Family**

The theme of family may not be openly represented within the material culture found in the households of the six participants, it is, however, one that reoccur within the participants’ interviews. Each interview refers to the family as being the most important sources in consolidating most of the traditions, practices and knowledge that has, and will be passed down from one generation to another. In particular, the role of women as the consolidator of culture becomes obvious, as they become the keepers of knowledge and practice (Pulvirenti, 2002:228). This is reflected in the interviews conducted with Peter Abboud Senior and Junior and Sam Abboud, who all state that their mothers taught them how to cook traditional Lebanese food, speak the Lebanese dialect of Arabic and explain to them how and why certain Lebanese customs are carried out.

Family is incredibly important to many of the participants in this study, as more often than not the objects may inherently represent memories and mementos of the participant’s pasts. Evidence of this is seen in Cedar tree wall hanging, the clay Abrieree, coffee cups, the Saint Assia icon and the arak shot glasses. These objects contain memories that are recalled each time the participant looks or interacts with the objects (Jones, 2007:21). They reflect the customs and practices in which the participants were raised with. Therefore, the meaning and importance of these objects is directly linked to the traditions and practices in which the family helps consolidate.
Identity

The objects found within the households of the six participants directly and indirectly reflect their Lebanese identity. Identity of the first generation participants is heavily tied with the material culture found within their home, as the walls of the living rooms are adorned with multiple items that reflect their Lebanese heritage. They act as a marker for memory, commemoration and familial ties (Money, 2007: 355). The objects individually do not really have a significant meaning but together they produce an atmosphere which gives comfort to the participants (Money, 2007:222). These objects can be thought of as consolidating the participant’s Lebanese identity.

This is in contrast to the second generation participants who had the least amount of objects on display, suggesting that the material culture does not directly reflect their Lebanese identity. The tangible and intangible practices of ethnicity are in fact entwined into both the objects and the practices and knowledge of the culture. The third generation of participants on the other hand, were seen as possessing a variety of objects that reflects both their Australian and Lebanese identity. These items, despite not appearing to be typical Lebanese items, contained memories and meaning for the participants. Many of the objects did not directly represent Lebanese ethnic identity, but have been used and incorporated into the cultural practices of the participant’s daily life (Kopytoff, 1986:72). Through arranging and displaying objects within their homes they have attempted to negotiate their own sense of belonging in both their families and the wider communities (Pulvirenti, 2002:227).
Discussion

This study aims to ascertain whether or not material culture can reflect the ethnicity identity of three generations of Lebanese migrants living in Australia. The personal household collections were located in the homes of six participants and the objects catalogued have all been displayed and used for different purposes. The spatial layout of each home differs, as the six participants have each taken different attributes and aspects from their Lebanese ethnic identity. The object catalogues and interviews did reflect four main themes; of tradition, knowledge and practice, family and identity. Based on these four themes the meanings, importance, variety and spatial layout of the objects will differ depending on the generation. The section below will analyse the results found in each household and readdress the aims of this thesis.

Cultural Identity

*What sorts of objects form cultural identities for three generations of Lebanese migrants and do these change over time?*

Throughout the households that were analysed, there were a great number of objects that reflect the cultural identities of the three generations of Lebanese migrants. The objects ranged from decorative, musical and religious ornaments to cooking ingredients, work equipment and cooking and drinking utensils. Simple objects such as rosaries, pots and pans, coffee cups, glasses, key rings, souvenirs, herbs and spices have all directly and indirectly help shape, and now symbolise, the identities of participants involved in this study. These objects were all displayed within the living and dining room, kitchen and in some, the bedrooms. In many cases the object are displayed in
direct eye-level and often in rooms in which the participant frequently uses. According to Miller (2008:5), this indicates that the act of surrounding oneself with objects, provides a form of comfort and helps individuals consolidate relationships with other family members.

The relationship between the objects and the individuals varies depending on the generation and the participant. Through analysing the interviews and the object catalogues, it is evident that the relationship does change over the three generations. The focus on material culture is stronger within the household of the first generation. Both Salwa Nassim and Peter Abboud have transformed their domestic sphere to incorporate objects which have been brought back from Lebanon. There were countless objects found within the households, which when viewed separately, had no significant meaning but when viewed as a collection of objects, provides the participants with a sense of nostalgia about the homeland they came from. Their living rooms becomes a transactional space for the household, as meaning and identity is create for those who reside within the home (Money, 2007:358). The objects become entwined with the life histories of the owner and provide a strong link between the home, individuals and the object (Hecht, 2001:144). It is evident that this generations is torn between belonging to Lebanon and Australia, with only their children and the object found within the home providing an anchor (Pulvirenti, 2002: 222).

Out of the three generations analysed the second yielded the most unique results. The previous generation focused more on the tangible practices of ethnicity and relied heavily on objects, yet with the second generation, the incorporation of food and language becomes even more important. The objects found within the home signified the consolidation of intangible practices. The material culture indicates that both Sam
and Vivienne Abboud are attempting to maintain the intangible aspects of their ethnicity, while at the same time trying to maintain their Australian identity. This can also be attributed to the shame and embarrassment of belonging to an ethnic community at a time when it was not socially acceptable. Through growing up they have realised the need to reconnect with the intangible practices that were lost (Pulvirenti, 2002: 222). As the material culture changes within their homes it reflects and defines the cultural changes they have implemented (Putnam, 1999: 145).

Lastly, the third generation’s relationships with objects focused on trying to incorporate the intangible practices of ethnicity. While they do have some traditional ‘Lebanese’ objects, the practices and knowledge which surrounds them become more important and has been incorporated into ordinary objects like in the case of Marian Abboud’s laptop. Individuals attach meaning and importance to these objects as they become invested with their own personal reflections and personal histories (Putnam, 1999:147). The need to reconnect with the ancestral roots is more pronounced within this generation than any other, solely because of the revitalisation of language, food, religious and cultural customs. Both Marian and Peter Abboud Junior feel the need to understand where their family comes from and why they act the way they do, and in order for this to be achieved they need to reconnect. However, it is intriguing that they have reconnected with the intangible practices of ethnicity, therefore voiding the meaning and importance that the two other previous generations had placed on material culture.
Material culture and Ethnicity

Is it material culture which relates to ethnicity or the context in which it is used?

There is a definitive relationship between material culture and ethnicity as is evident with the objects which were found in the home of the participants. While the first generation’s object catalogues exhibited ethnic markers, the second and third show little evidence of possessing objects belonging to an ethnic community. The first generation’s material culture, is filled with objects belonging to and representing their Lebanese identity. The objects are easily identified within the archaeological records, indicating that these objects need to be present in order for the participants to be able to express and carry out their customs and daily practices (Knappett, 2005:108). Both the traditions and practices become heavily entwined with the objects. This indicates that the context of the objects and the way it is used may also express their ethnic identity and at times may not be identifiable in the archaeological records (Knappett, 2005: 110).

However identifying ethnicity within the second and third generation is more problematic as there is a shift from tangible to intangible practices. Participants have now focused on the customs and traditions which have been passed down to them, the objects themselves have less importance. This suggests that the object does not need to be a traditional Lebanese item in order for the participants to express their ethnic identity. This makes it is harder to trace and view within archaeology, as the object becomes the sole focus. As in the case of these two generations there has been a shift towards the context in which the objects are used. The archaeological record cannot interpret the cultural context of the objects, making it exceptionally difficult to view
ethnicity within the household of the participants either raised or born in Australia (Jones, 2008: 325). This dilemma provides further avenues of researcher in which archaeologists should focus on using methods of ethnoarchaeology on contemporary ethnic groups. These ethnographic accounts will help theorise how individuals form relationships with object in a cultural context (Parrott, 2012:292). This will ensure that the intangible aspects of ethnicity are not lost through the material records.

**Lebanese Heritage**

*Is Lebanese heritage reflected in objects?*

Throughout the analyses provided in the previous data chapters, it is evident that in many cases the Lebanese heritage is reflected. While the material culture does differ with each generation, this does not mean that the Lebanese heritage has not been represented. Each generation has consciously and unconsciously represented their ethnic identity within the collection of objects found in their homes. The objects found within the homes of the first generation participants has obvious Lebanese ties (or Lebanese-ness which refers to objects and behaviours that might typically be Lebanese), this also extends to furniture and spatial layout of the living rooms. The objects are predominately used for show purposes and invite visitors to comment and ask questions (Hecht, 2001: 141).

In comparison, for the second generation, there is a limited range of objects which do reflect the participants’ heritage, more focus has been placed on the intangible practices. The objects within the home reflect a combination of both the participants’ Lebanese and Australian identity, indicating that the participants have incorporated daily objects into their practices and customs. Yet their relationship with Lebanese material culture is
not as strong as the first generations’, as the objects are not heavily associated with the intangible practices of ethnicity. In such cases, the origins of the objects do not impact on their importance (Pulvirenti, 2002:226).

Comparatively, the objects found within the households of the third generation differ significantly from those of the two preceding generations. More than 60% of the objects catalogued do not directly reflect Lebanese heritage; but rather the context and memories associated with the objects (Hurdley, 2006:730). This is evident with the laptop recorded in Marian’s living room, which plays a crucial role in her profession as a digital artist. The context of the laptop and the way it is used, is makes it important to Marian, as it provides her with an outlet to express her creativity. Another example can be seen in Figure 8.3, which portrays a mixed media image of the religious icon, The Sacred Heart of Jesus. This indicates that although religion is an important aspect of Marian’s life, it does not need to be depicted in the traditional way (as seen in the first two generations) but rather can be modified to suit the wants and needs of each individual. It suggests
that aspect of the Lebanese culture and heritage found in objects and within the households can in fact be subtle.

**CONCLUSION**

The aim of this thesis was to see whether or not objects played a role in constructing an ethnicity identity for three generations of Lebanese migrants living in Australia. Through analysing interviews, object catalogues and the spatial layout of each participants’ home, it is evident that objects do play a crucial role in constructing and maintain tangible and intangible practices of ethnicity.

The relationship between material culture changes throughout each generation. The first generation tended to focus on objects brought back with from their home country and which serve as a tangible, physical reminders of their past, their lives in Lebanon and their cultural identity. These objects were displayed in communal areas of the participants’ home as they often reflected pride and the transmission of culture from one generation to the other. In the case of the second generation participants, being Lebanese was seen as an embarrassment, because the culture was seen to be too traditional at times, especially for those that were born here. Also their connection to Lebanon was weaker than their parents; causing them to be torn between the ethnicity of their parents and trying to figure out their own place in Australia as Australians. Meanwhile, the third generation has watched the struggle of their parents and realised the importance in balancing the traditional roots with their Australia identity. It is evident that all three generations have developed pride in their culture of which material objects are physical living reminder of the tangible and intangible aspects of culture.
This study has also shed light on women and their role in consolidating ethnic identity. Through the analyses of interviews, it is evident that women have played a crucial role in consolidating tradition, practice and culture for future generations. Through each generation the women have all felt the need to ensure that the future generation understands the importance of tradition, language, food and music, so that there is a continuation of their culture.

There are many issue with studies like this one, especially when viewing them within the archaeological records. The objects could indeed survive the archaeological records, more than the language, customs, beliefs and traditional behaviours (unless they were all transcribed). As objects are an outlet for us to express our identities and ultimately it is these objects which inform our analyses on ethnic communities. Thus, it is important to understand the relationship that objects have in expressing ethnicity and the context in which it is use, for overlooking one of these relationships could in fact misinterpret how ethnicity is viewed by individuals and communities.

Future avenues of research could expanded on the study of other family members and analyse all the objects found within their home to see their relationships with objects within their domestic sphere. This could even been tested against other migrant and refugee communities to see whether or not there are similar practices of material culture or are they inherent in only certain communities.
**References**


APPENDIX A: Methodological Approaches

The following sections provides the interview guide, which was used for all six participants.

Table A – 1: List of interview questions (Abboud, 2013).

Identify who the participant is, their age, gender, birth date, area in which they currently live in and if applicable when they immigrated to Australia.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>INTERVIEW QUESTIONS</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Are there any object/s in your household that have any special meaning to you?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- If so, why are these object/s special to you?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- If not, is there anything in your household that is regarded as special?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Where did you acquire the object/s from?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Do you know anything about the history of your object/s?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>What are the object/s used for?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>How often is your object used?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Is the object stored in a specific way?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Have you organised the spatial arrangement of your house around the object/s?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Do visitors notice the objects?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- If so, what comments have been made?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Do you plan on passing down the object/s to future generations?</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
APPENDIX B: First Generation’s Data Results

Figure B - 1: Family tree for siblings Salwa and Peter Abboud (Abboud, 2013).
Introduction:

This appendix will present the data collected from the first generation’s participants:

- Transcripts
- Artefact catalogues

Section One: Salwa Nassim’s transcript and object catalogue.

Transcript- Salwa Nassim Date: 15/08/2013

Mariam: Can you please identify, who you are, your age, gender, birthdate and the area in which you live in?

My name is Salwa Nassim, my age is 79 years old, I’m female and I was born on 15/12/1933. I was born in a small village in the North of Lebanon called Basloukit, but I live in Merrylands, Sydney Australia.

Mariam: When did you immigrate to Australia?

I came to Australia on the 2nd of December, 1964.

Mariam: Did you come by boat or plane?

I came to Australia by boat, it was called the Patris and was mixed with people of all different backgrounds. It took me 28 days to arrive in Sydney, and when I arrived here my cousin Antoun the one who sponsored me was waiting to pick me up from Sydney Wharf.

Mariam: When you came to Australia where did you live?

I lived in Ashfield for a bit, but I do not remember the street and then we moved to 464 Canterbury Rd Dulwich Hill. The house was owned by my first cousins (brother who had bought it together) as they had come many years before me.

Mariam: Which one of your cousins sponsored you?

My cousin Antoun sponsored me. He sent me a letter tell me about how great Australia was and the good opportunities there were for making money. So he agreed to sponsor
me to come to Australia, he told the Australian government that he wanted to marry me, he did this so that he could get me a visa to come here. When I arrived in Sydney he told me that he did not want to marry me, but wanted me to have a better future (this was the plan that was made between us).

He did not take any rent money from me, but he wanted me to work and pay him back for the money which was spent on the visa and the boat fare. Antoun used to consider me like a sister and would always say to me ‘you are like a sister to me, you came to Australia when we asked you to, and my own sister did not even come, we begged her to come and instead she went to America, she did not love us, but you do, because you came when we asked you to’. I lived with my cousin for almost three years, I use to work and then come home and help with the cooking, cleaning and would sometimes look after my cousins children. Every Sunday we would all get together and go to St Maroun’s Church in Redfern and then come home and have a barbeque.

**Mariam: Where did you work?**

When I first arrived in Sydney I really needed to find a job, so my family got me one in a factory called ‘Davies Groups’. I worked for over a year until I had saved up enough money to pay my cousin back for all the money he had spent to bring me out here. I then began to start sending money back to my mother and sisters who were all struggling in Lebanon. Once my brother came out to Australia, we both started saving our money, we bought a house in Rosehill. It was at this time that I went to go work in a metal press factory, where because of the bad working conditions I lost part of my hearing.

**Mariam: Why did you sponsor your brother to come to Australia?**

My brother and I made an agreement that I would come out to Australia and tell everyone that I was going to marry my cousin, then when I arrived here I would sponsor my brother. At that time you could only sponsor out immediate family or someone you were going to marry. My brother had wanted to come to Australia as he had a family of five children and he was struggling because he did not have a permanent job, he was a labourer.
In Lebanon, I lived with my brother’s family and my mother in the mountains. I was the three youngest in a family of eleven children and all of them except for me were married. I came from an extremely poor mountain family; we lived off the land and had not trades and very little education.

I was almost 32 years of age and I was unmarried (which rarely happened in those days), my mother persuaded and gave me permission to come to Australia, so that I could work, save money and send some back home. But the main reason, was to come to Australia and get everything ready for my brother and to then look after him once he arrived in Sydney.

**Mariam: What happen when you brother came out?**

My cousins Antoun and Philippe and I, went to Sydney Wharf and waited for him to arrive. His boat arrived on the 2nd of January, 1966. At first we both lived in Dulwich Hill, while we worked in factories trying to save money to send it back home. I looked after my brother and worked at the same time. I use to send back some money to my mother and sisters, but my brother sent almost all his money back to his family in Lebanon (he had five children).

But even though he was sending his money back he was getting into more debt as his children were all in private schools and his wife was not very good with money. So he had only one choice but to bring out his family, they arrived in Sydney three years later.

**Mariam: So did you end up buying a house when you first came here?**

Yes we did. When we were living in Dulwich Hill, we were paying rent, but it was getting a little crowded. At first the area was really good as we were close to work, to others from the same village and the church in Redfern, Saint Maroun. But then we got word that my brother’s family was going to come to Australia, so we had to find a house that would fit them as well as us. So we then put all our money that we had saved together, I had $3,000 and my brother had $200. We went to the commonwealth bank and received a loan for $13,000 dollars. We bought the house at the end of 1968.

My brother and I moved into the home and little while later my nephew Tony Abboud moved in as well (that’s Marian Abboud dad). We were all still working in factories but we were not making enough money so my brother began to rent out room in the house.
This was done to pay off our loan. Those who rented out the rooms had just arrived in Australia and use to pay for board and food; there was normally three men renting out rooms from us. Being the only women in the house meant that I was the only one doing all the housework and cooking. This continued even when my brother’s family arrived in Australia as it was a means to make money.

Mariam: When did you get married?

I got married in 1972 to Jacob Nassim, who also came from a small village in the north of Lebanon. Originally my husband immigrated to Africa first but then the economic conditions were not great there so he then came to Australia. He was 10 years older than me and we were introduced to each other by a mutual friend. By the time I got married I was almost 40 years old and in my culture most women were married with lots of children. So I decided that I was getting too old and really wanted to start a family so I married him. I kept thinking that if I did not get married, I would spend the rest of my life living with my brother and his family. As a woman I had to answer to my brother (as he was a male) and that I need to be married in order to leave the home.

Mariam: When did you buy your house with your husband?

In 1973, we bought a house together in Merrylands. I had to make my brother refinance the house and at that stage my share was worth $12,000, so we both added some more money and bought the house in Merrylands. I lived with my husband until he passed away in 1983.

Then in 2000 my house was demolished and my nephew built a duplex. I received one of them and my nephew and his family moved in to the other one. When I moved into the new house I took some of my old furniture, most of my blankets and cooking and drinking utensils. But then I went and bought a new bedroom and lounge room set. Since my husband died I have lived by myself for over 30 years, but I have occasionally helped out my nephews and nieces by letting them live with me. Some of them stayed with me just after they got married as they were still trying to establish themselves while others stayed when they first arrived from Lebanon.

Mariam: Did you ever go back to Lebanon?
Yes I have been back to Lebanon five times. The first time I went back to Lebanon was in 1976, my husband took me back so that I could see my mother who was very sick, and my brother also went with us. When I went back to Lebanon that first time I found most of my family was still there. But I had missed the births of some of my nephews and nieces and all the children that I use to look after and play with were all grown up. Lebanon was exactly the way I remember it when I left 12 years earlier.

I went back the second time in 1983, when my husband was diagnosed with cancer. He wanted to go back to get medical treatment there and when it did not work he ask me to stay with him so that he could die and be buried in Lebanon. When we went back in 1983 we had to be careful as the civil war had just started in Lebanon and the Christian militias began to form. This was a very sad trip for me, my husband had died and mother had been dead for over 5 years and the Lebanon I knew was being destroyed. My people were suffering because of the war and my family and friends that I had been raised with were being killed because of their religious beliefs.

The last three trip I took in 1996, 2003 and 2010, showed me just how far Lebanon had come, everything had been rebuilt. I stayed with my sisters in the mountain and it remind of what life was like forty years earlier. Even though I was a widower I was better off than my sisters as I had pension and lived in Australia, so I gave away a lot of my money to them, so that I could help out. But Lebanon was not the only place I travelled to! I went to America a couple of times, all around Europe and Australia.

**Mariam: Is your new house different to your old one?**

Yes, the old house was made up of small rooms and I had a formal lounge room. I had no choice on the design of the new house, I now have an open living area, which was in fashion at the time. But I did make some changes to the design of the home, I put metal bars along the windows for security reasons. I replaced all the flowers and put new ones, as the garden is really important to me. My garden is always filled with fresh Lebanese herb, I have parsley, chilli, mint and oregano, and I also have tomatoes. Everyone is welcome to come over and pick herbs, I always have family members dropping in for lunch or to pick some herbs. I also like to make Lebanese sweets, I’m famous in my family for noumra (traditional Lebanese sweet) and my Kebe! All my nephews and nieces get me to make some for them.
Mariam: Are there any objects in your home that are important to you?

Yes I have many items in my house that are important! A lot of them are religious, I have some I use for cooking and drinking and others which I have displayed all around the house.

Mariam: Why are these objects so special to you?

Most of the objects I use them every day, other are really important because they represent my faith or they remind me of home. I have collected a lot of things over the years, especially from all the places I have travelled; I always like to bring back something to remind me of my trip. As you can see there are many items at my home but the most important ones are my Abriee, Arak Shot glasses, coffee pot (rakweh) and cups, cigarette lighter, miniature Jirrin Kebe and my photo of Saint Assia.

My Abriee is really special as it was something I use every day when I lived in Lebanon and even when I came to Australia (I actually brought one with me on the boat over here, but threw it away when it broke). The Abriee reminds me of all my family gathering in Lebanon, when we would all use it; it was the easiest way of sharing water. Also made me remember when my mother taught me how to use it and then as I got older it was my job to teach all the younger children as well.

The Arak glasses are also important, as arak is a national drink of my country and it was something that my family loved to drink. My father’s side are very big drinkers and I still remember my aunty (dad’s sister) every day opening a 2L bottle and having a little sip of it!! She use to always say ‘a little Arak is good for the soul’. The Rakweh and cups are also very important as every day I enjoy having a Lebanese coffee, and in order to make it you need to have the right pot and ingredients. Making and drinking Lebanese coffee is extremely important as it something I do every day and it is what we are meant to offer to visitors when they come over.

The cigarette lighter is also really special as it is something my husband and I bought together on our first trip back to Lebanon. The lighter has the Lebanese flag all over it, whenever I look at it, I remember my husband, mother and the trip back to Lebanon. The miniature wooden Jirrin Kebe also lets me remember my childhood in Lebanon and helping my mother cook for the whole family; it also reminds me of my mother’s
cooking and the way she used to act, her personality. The Saint Assia photo is extremely important as it is represent my faith as being a Christian. This saint has always had a special meaning to me, I use to attend mass every week at his church and it is something I still do when I return back to Lebanon.

Mariam: Where did you acquire these objects from?

A lot of the objects I either bought them here in Australia or would bring them back from my trips to Lebanon. The Abriee, the coffee pot and cups were bought in a shop in Australia a long time ago. In the beginning you could not get traditional Lebanese utensil from the shops but now there are shops everywhere; making it really easy to find things you need. But the arak shot glasses were bought in 1996, when I went back to Lebanon. These glasses are very traditional and made just for drinking arak.

The cigarette lighter I bought on my first trip to Lebanon when I went to visit my mother. At that time these types of lighter were in fashion so I decided to bring one back home to Sydney. The lighter has the Lebanese flag and has Lebanon written in English and Arabic. I have kept this lighter for over 30 years, even when I change homes it was something that I simply could let go of. Another objects in the miniature Jirrin Kebe, which is a souvenir I bought in Lebanon many years ago. The photo of Saint Assia was given to me by my brother over 30 years ago and I have always had it hanging in my home as I pray to him on a daily basis.

Mariam: Do you know anything about the history of your objects?

There really isn’t any history around my objects as they were all bought in shops, however many objects bring back great memories of my childhood in Lebanon and when I first arrived in Sydney. One particular items is the miniature wooden Jirrin Kebe; when I was growing up in Lebanon every family had a Jirrin Kebe (utensil used to make a traditional Lebanese dish). Every summer when we would move back to the mountain (had to migrate south in the winter as the mountains were too cold) my family would put up tents amongst the tree and would camp there for six months and everyday my sisters and I would help our mother prepare food and we would take turns using the Jirrin Kebe.
Another object is the photo of Saint Assia, which was given to me over 30 years ago. Saint Assia was the patron saint of the village next to ours, but he was always special to me. Every day when I woke up in the mountains I would look out from where we were camping and see his church and this is something that I have kept for many years.

**Mariam: What are the objects used for?**

The Abriee is mainly use whenever I have family over for a barbeque. It is not really practical for me to use it as I live alone. On occasion I might use an arak glass, but again they are only really used by my brother Peter and my nephew Mark. I use my coffee pot and cups every day, but they will often by used whenever I have visitors come over. The cigarette lighter and the miniature wooden Jirrin Kebe are not used, by I have kept them so that I can display and show it to be people. The photo of Saint Assia is mainly used for my daily prayers, where I will usually pray that he looks after, guides and protects my family.

**Mariam: Do you store the object in a specific way?**

Not really, the Abriee is usually left on my bench top in my kitchen, so that in case I need it I can just use it. The arak glass are in a display cabinet in my dining room, this also allows me to display them, but is also easy access for me. The coffee cups and rakweh are put in a cabinet and taken out and used whenever I need them. The cigarette lighter is also in a display cabinet so that I can show people that I am Lebanese and very proud of it. The miniature Jirrin Kebe is also on display in my kitchen, I have put it on a shelf so that when you walk in to the kitchen it is there. Lastly the photo of Saint Assia is hanging on top of the door, this is done so that he protect all those who enter and leave the home, but most importantly those who live there.

**Mariam: Have you organised the space in your house around the objects?**

No really, the Abriee just sits on the bench top, the miniature Jirrin Kebe sits on a shelf and the coffee cups and pot go in a cabinet in the kitchen. But when I did move into the new house I made sure to get a display cabinet so that I could show all my visitors all my pretty things. This is why I put my arak glass and my cigarette lighter, so that everyone could see what I had collected over the years. When you come into my house you can see I have a lot of religious photos and items, especially my shrine which is on
top of the TV, but the picture of Saint Assia has a special spot. I placed it there because then everyone in my living room and dining room can see it at any angle. Another reason is that the photo used to hang above my entrance in the old house so I made sure that it would hang over my door in the new house.

Mariam: Do visitors notice the objects?

Yes lots of people notice them.

Mariam: What comments have been made about the objects?

A lot of the time people will ask me where did I get them from? Sometimes they might say they are very pretty or we have something very similar. But a lot of the time people will ask me why I have another village saint’s picture and not the one belong to my village, and then I will have to explain why. I have also had questions from a lot of my great nephews and nieces, who normally will want me to explain how an Abriee works, or how to make Lebanese coffee or what a Jirrin of Kebe is. When I do get all these questions I absolutely love to explain to them how and why we use these objects, so that they can understand the practices of what their family used to do in Lebanon.

Mariam: Do you plan on passing down objects to future generations?

Most of my objects are not very valuable but they do have sentimental value to me and I do not think my nieces and nephews will really consider them important. But if the items were to go to anyone it would most likely be my brother.

Mariam: Thank you so much for this interview

*End of Transcript*
Section Two:

Table B – 1: Salwa Nassim’s object catalogue (Abboud, 2013).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Artefact Number</th>
<th>Artefact Class/ Type</th>
<th>Location</th>
<th>Quantity</th>
<th>Description</th>
<th>Significance to the Owner&lt;sup&gt;1&lt;/sup&gt;</th>
<th>Origin</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>S001</td>
<td>Drinking Utensil Abriee</td>
<td>Kitchen</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>Made from glass, circular base approx. 7cm in diameter widens towards the middle with a diameter of 14cm, becomes narrower towards the top as it connects to a cylinder tube; which is used as the brim for the jug (12cm long); also has a nozzle and handle.</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>Australia</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>S002</td>
<td>Drinking Utensil Arak Shot Glasses</td>
<td>Kitchen/ Dining Room</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>Small circular base approx. 2cm in diameter, with a brim of 4 cm, has a length of 6 cm. Along the sides of the glass there are etching of grapes, indicating that the glasses are solely made for the purpose of the consumption of arak.</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>Lebanon</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<sup>1</sup> Grading will be scaled from 1- 3.
1: being given pride of place
2: being moderate
3: being tucked away in a box or drawer
<p>| S003 | Drinking Utensil | Kitchen/Dining Room | 4 | Circular base of approx. 4cm in diameter, with a brim of 6 cm, has a length of 8.5 cm. Along the sides of the glass there are etching of grapes, indicating that the glasses are solely made for the purpose of the consumption of arak. | 2 | Lebanon |
| S004 | Drinking Utensil | Kitchen/Dining Room | 12 | Made from porcelain, with a base of 2cm and a brim of 4.5cm. The cup is white in colour, with a gold line edging the brim and a triangle shaped pattern covering the base (there is no handle). | 1 | Australia / Lebanon |
| S005 | Drinking Utensil | Kitchen | 5 | Made from stainless steel, the bases of the Rakwehs range from 4cm-10cm. They are cylinder shaped pots and a traditional use for making Lebanese coffee. They tend to have stainless steel handles. There are no decorative patterns on the Rakwehs. | 1 | Australia / Lebanon |
| S006 | Drinking Utensil | Kitchen | 1 | Made from white copper, the Rakweh has a circular base of 8cm and a height of 10cm. The cylinder shape is covered with | 1 | Lebanon |</p>
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Code</th>
<th>Item Description</th>
<th>Location</th>
<th>Quantity</th>
<th>Notes</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>S007</td>
<td>Ornament Cedar Tree, Map of Lebanon and Baalbek Statue</td>
<td>Dining Room</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>Made from Lebanese cedar and has been treated with a coating of lacquer, the ornament is 20cm wide and 25cm long. It is carved in the shape of a cedar tree and has an inscription at the base of the tree ‘Cedars of Lebanon’.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>S008</td>
<td>Ornament Cedar Tree, Map of Lebanon and Baalbek Statue</td>
<td>Dining Room</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>Wooden rectangular base approx. 20x10cm. The base has a rectangle patterned border, with Lebanon written on the bottom. Miniature statues of a Cedar Tree and Baalbek have been placed on top, as well as the map of Lebanon.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>S009</td>
<td>Ornament Lebanese Coffee Pot and Cups</td>
<td>Dining Room</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>The Coffee pot is made from copper, has a circular base of 2cm. The body of the Rakweh is circular; this connects to a cylinder tube, which leads to the brim which has a very long but narrow opening. The body of the Rakweh is covered in a gold decorative</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Copper Coffee pot (Rakweh) decorative designs. The copper handle is also shaped using a floral design.
floral design. The cups are all covered in the same designs and only have a base of 2cm and a height of 4cm. This set is made purely for decorative purpose.

| S010 | Ornament Miniature Copper Pots and Pans | Kitchen | 3 | Made from copper, the small pot has a circular base of 6cm, the medium pot has a base of 9cm and the large pot has a base of 12cm. They all have a height of 4cm and have decorative floral designs that cover the sides and handles of the pots. | 2 | Lebanon |
| S011 | Ornament Cedar Tree Cigarette Lighter | Dining Room | 1 | Made from plastic, the lighter has been shaped into a cube which has been titled to its side. Inside the cube there is a picture of the Cedar, one side has Lebanon written in English whilst on the other side it is written in Arabic. | 1 | Lebanon |
| S012 | Ornament Miniature Wooden Jirrin Kebe | Dining Room | 1 | Made from wood, the miniature Jirrin Kebe is a squarish shaped bowl approx. 6cm x 6cm (mortar). The pestle is approx. 5cm long. This is a replicate of a traditional Lebanese | 1 | Lebanon |
cooking utensil which was used in Lebanon and Australia up until the 1980s. The Mortar also has a Lebanese Cedar engraved into it.

| S013 | Ornament Cedar Tree, Oil Lamp, Abriee and Arguileh Miniature statue | Kitchen | 1 | Made from wood, the statue is approx. 20cm x 10cm. The statue is shaped like a Cedar tree and on each side of the statue there are miniature statues of traditional Lebanese symbols. For e.g. the Cedar tree, Abriee, Arguileh and Oil Lamps. | 2 | Lebanon |

| S014 | Religious Ornaments Saint Assia Photograph | Living Room | 1 | The image has a plastic frame and is approx. 30cm x 20cm. The image depicts Saint Assia who is the patron saint of Toula, the neighbouring village of the participant. | 1 | Lebanon |

| S015 | Religious Ornament Last Supper Image | Dining Room/Living Room | 1 | The photo is made from plastic and is approx. 90cm x 40cm. The image depicts the scene of the Last Supper. | 1 | Australia |

| S016 | Religious Ornament Saint Rafqa Icon | Living Room | 1 | The icon is approx. 8cm x 14cm. The base of the image is made from a cut branch of a Cedar tree. The image | 1 | Lebanon |
Section Two: Peter Abboud’s transcripts and object catalogue.

Transcript One- Peter Abboud Senior Date: 02/08/2013

Mariam: So can you please tell me your name?

Peter Abboud

Mariam: and how old are you?

1935

Mariam: 1935, and you are obviously male, and where are you born?

I was born in Basloukit, North of Lebanon

Mariam: and when did you immigrate to Australia?

I came to Australia on the 3rd January 1966.

Mariam: So when you came to Australia, how did you come?

I came because my cousin and my sister came here before me.

Mariam: Ok, and did you come by boat or plane?

I came by boat

Mariam: and when you first came here, where did you live?

I lived in 464 New Canterbury road, Dulwich Hill.

Mariam: When you first came here, what did you work as?

I came and worked in a carton factory

Mariam: carton factory? Ok! And when you came, did you bring anything with you?

Only my clothes
Mariam: Are there any things here in the house that are special to you?

When I go back to my country, I bring it here to Australia.

Mariam: and how often do you go to Lebanon?
I go every year to visit Lebanon.

Mariam: and you bring things back?
Yes I bring things back.

Mariam, Ok, and here now, in this house, do you have anything that's important to you?

Only pictures and the cedar.

Mariam: The Cedar wood? Ok, and the actual pictures here, when did you get them?

In Australia, too many in Australia!

Mariam: So you got some in Australia, and the rest of them, did you get from Lebanon?

Yes, from Lebanon.

Mariam: And the one up there, above the door, was it bought from here or from Overseas?

Some from here, some from Lebanon.

Mariam: and why did you get them? Why did you buy them?

Because I believe in them.

Mariam: When you bought the objects, why did you buy them? Is it because they are religious ones, or…

*interrupts* Religion, Religion! Too many of the religion! I have things of God, Cedar, Jesus Christ and all of our religion.
Mariam: and the objects here, when you look at them, do they remind you of Lebanon?

For sure! Yes yes!!

Mariam: and do you find, when you look at them, it takes you back to parts of Lebanon?

I think I am in Lebanon- yes!

Mariam: So you bought all of the objects either from Australia and Lebanon, but do you know about where they were made?

All were made in Lebanon, some were made in Australia, but most were made in Lebanon.

Mariam: I want to ask you, the objects that were made in Australia; do they still have the same meaning?

No- Same thing, but if I get them from Lebanon, it reminds me of where I have been.

Mariam: And do you miss it?

Lebanon is my old country- my father in Lebanon- not in Australia!

Mariam: Now the objects themselves, do you use them? Are there any other objects at home, for eg, the one that you make Kebe, do you have any objects like that?

No….

Mariam: Another object I noticed you have are coffee cups and…

*Interrupts passionately* CUPS OF COFFEE! CUPS OF ARAK!! All from Lebanon! What I like in Lebanon, still I have in Australia!

Mariam: So it’s a practice you do all the time?

Yes!
Mariam: So I wanted to ask you before, all the pictures you have in the house, you have them for display purposes so people can see them?

Yes, everyone can see them!

Mariam: and the coffee cups and Arak cups, you use them every day?

Yes every day!

Mariam: and is it a routine that you use it every day?

Yes, every day.

Mariam: And it was something that you did overseas?

Yes, overseas and Australia, they are the same.

Mariam: so you do the same practices over and over again, even here?

Yes, in this country [Australia] you are privileged to do whatever you want in this country, and this is what I like to do!

Mariam: When people come over, is it a common practice that you offer them coffee?

Yes or even Arak or coffee- the Lebanese one.

Mariam: Now, with the cedar ones, when you get them do you put them up? (is this the cedar Mariam?)

Yes to show, if I got them in Lebanon, I wrap them up in a plastic bag to show them in the airport- so if they say “is this wood” I say yes and I show them that its painted and protected, and I bring it back from my country. I like Australia, I like Australian, but I never forget my old country.

Mariam: When you bring them, do you put them straight away up?

Of course!!!

Mariam: what did you buy last year when you went over, did you buy anything special?
(laughs) I bought the large curtain from overseas.

Mariam: and was this done because you had it in Lebanon?

I have a home, I have a nice pillow and I put my head on it every year.

Mariam: and inside, I noticed you have a nice cedar wood- do you know where you bought that?

The cedar, is from the Araz, and the mountain of cedar in Lebanon

Mariam: And do you remember when you bought it?

Oh, maybe 15 years ago, even more!

Mariam: And you have I noticed, up here, you have rosaries made from cedar wood, do you remember when you purchased this?

Too many different cedars, but this was from a nice show cedar tree

Mariam: and any of your rosaries, are they from your family?

My brother, he made this rosary from the cedar wood

Mariam: And when you look at it do you think about him?

I think about him for sure!

Mariam: so you can always look at things at home and it can remind you of your family and where you are from.

Yes! Of course!

Mariam: you also have this family photo that I saw, do you remember when this was taken?

This was 35-40 years ago when I was here.

Mariam: I find it interesting that in your house, you have photos of when you first came, you have a lot of rosaries, and then you have the pictures of your saints, and
then you have in the cupboards have displayed your coffee cups, is it a common thing to do this?

This is the custom of ours

Mariam: And when someone comes to your house, does anyone comment about the things you have in your house?

It looks like a normal Lebanese house! But when you go into the house we have in Lebanon they say that it looks like an Australian house. Our house here in Australia looks like a Lebanese house.

Mariam: Wow that’s very interesting! So overseas you have another house and it looks like this?

It looks like our Australian home, very Lebanese. And even how the kitchen and lounge room looks, the cabinet it looks the same- everything like here in Australia! The pictures there, they are exactly the same to our Australian pictures- but different to what Lebanese will have. More modern but different.

Mariam: I was going to ask, some of the objects you have hanging, you never take them down?

You have to take them down when you do painting, but then I put it back up.

Mariam: When Lebanese people come here, do they have a lot to say about it?

They say it is beautiful, and see all saints of Lebanon, they are very nice and very happy to see them here in my house! Of course!

Mariam: So like you said prior, people from your generation have a very similar house? Is this because when you left Lebanon, is this how your house looked like?

No no, there were some pictures and things but not too many like this. But every new generation have different things.

Mariam: do you plan to give any of the objects here to anybody?
After I leave, I don’t know what my kids will do when I am gone! I hope they will, I hope! I want them to keep it and think, when they see it, this was my father’s thing. So I want them to remember me in the same way I remember my father and mum.

Mariam: So in your house, there isn’t a particular object that reminds you of Lebanon, rather the way you set up your house?

I was born over there, I will never forget it. All together, they remind me a bit- but when I think of Lebanon, I think of being able to go to the spring, where the water comes from the mountain, and where you can put your hand and get nice water from the mountain. Lebanon is a beautiful country- but the government, they are not good. They don’t look after people. If the government was good, no Lebanese would leave Lebanon to come to Australia.- Australia is the top country in the world.

Mariam: so you believe, because of the government, a lot of people came here?

Of course! One Lebanese man, he came to visit Australia, the people here asked him “You left Lebanon, you are here in Australia, what do you think, the people in Lebanon will like to leave and come to Australia?” He said “the town in Lebanon wants to come to Australia” Australia is a top country in the world, top country! God Bless Australia! God bless her!

Mariam: This is very interesting because every year you go back to Lebanon, is it because you hope you want to go back?

I like to go back- because I have my house over there that I built. But after two three months I have to go back.

Mariam: Why don’t you like to stay longer? Is it too much or too different?

I like to come back here because I like my country first, and I love my family too- all my family are here in Australia! My children, my grandchildren, I like to live with them.

Mariam: So it is hard to live in Lebanon?
For sure hard, but I like to go visit. It’s like I am in the middle. I like to go to Lebanon because it is where I was from, but I like to live in Australia too.

Mariam: Thank you!

- END OF TRANSCRIPT

Transcript Two- Peter Abboud

Date: 03/08/2013

Mariam: Hi, can you please tell me your name

My name is Peter Abboud

Mariam: And you are born in Lebanon?

Yes

Mariam: And in what year?

17 Feb 1935

Mariam: When did you come to Australia?

1966, by boat. The boat was a Greek boat that was called the Fredreco, filled with mixed migrates who all were looking to immigrate to Australia for a better life. Before I came to Australia we had to get a passport and visa which took up to 9 months to get.

Mariam: and how long was the journey here to Australia?

18 days, the journey was very long. When I first left Lebanon the officials (in Lebanon) took my shoes so that we would not contaminate the land in Australia.  On the way to Australia we stopped at Colombo were the locals would greet the ships and sell pineapples and bananas. The boat stopped at Fremantle Perth, Melbourne and then Sydney. When I arrived at Sydney Warf my cousins Phillip, Anthony and my sister Salwa were waiting for me.

Mariam: when you came to Australia, did you have any family here?

I had cousins and my sister – she came here one year before me
Mariam: did you live with your cousins when you first came here?

Yes, my cousins Phillip, Robert, Anthony and Joseph Abboud (1st cousins) started coming to Australia in the early 1950s and 1960s. They all lived in Ashfield, the inner city, as everyone had to work and it was easier to get transportation. When I first arrived here most of the Lebanese that came from my village (Basloukit) all stuck together and lived with each other as the Village was an important part of who we are (the members of the village are like family).

Mariam: when you came here, you said before you worked in a factory?

Yes

Mariam: and how long did you work in the factory?

I worked in the factory… I don’t know, the first factory I worked 1 and a half years, after we moved to live in Harris Park, we went and worked in a cordial factory. After we got a friend, he found a job for me in a Colitex (use to be on Parramatta road, Leichardt).

Mariam: When you came to Australia, did you find it hard?

It was very very very very hard as I didn’t speak English. But we got friends help me with some things and I learnt from my friends and cousins. I made friends at work and we use to go to the pub every Friday after we got paid. Everyone went to the pub so we could all fit in.

Mariam: And when you came to Australia, how long until your family followed you here?

I was here four years by myself in Australia and we sent all of my money to Lebanon for my family by doing a bank transfer (the money was sent in sterling pounds), and then I had a chance to bring them to Australia.

Mariam: When you brought them here, did you have a house?

Before I brought my family, I had $200 and my sister had a $1000, and we went to Commonwealth Bank, where they helped me because we bought a house-only $200.
Mariam: and when you bought the house, you brought your family to Australia?

My family came from overseas to my house.

Mariam: When your family was overseas, and you were living in Australia, did you ever make any friends with other Australian people or just Lebanese people?

No I was friends with all people! Australian’s and Lebanese, I like all of them the same!

Mariam: When your family came here, how many children do you have?

Five. Four boys and one girl. Mounir is the eldest, then Samir, Mounira (only girl), then Nabil and John.

Mariam: When they came here, where they all children?

Yes they were, Mounir was 12, Samir was 10, Mounira was 9, Nabil was 7 and John was 5.

Mariam: What school did you send them to?

Patrician Brothers Boys Granville

Mariam: Did you continue to work?

Yes I was working in the factory and then when I left the factory in 1976, I began to open up fruit shops with my son Mounir (the last shop I owned was in 1981).

Mariam: When you bought this house, did you make any changes to it?

Of course! The house before, beautiful house- but I had five kids. I did an extension in the back. We made a laundry and one bedroom and a different ceiling.

Mariam: When did you buy it? Do you remember what day you bought it?

Oh… too long ago!

Mariam: What made you buy in Harris Park?

Because there was too many Lebanese people here, and I liked the big land- I had a big family, and I was very happy for my kids to play in the backyard. I also chose Harris
Park because a church was about to be built (and the house we live in is right around the corner).

Mariam: When you started changing the house, did you change it so it was similar to the one in Lebanon?

No, I tried to make it fit in here like the Australian house. I actually do my house in Lebanon so that it is the same as my house here in Australia!

Mariam: When you made the extension and you changed the house, why did you make bedroom?

For the kids, as there was my wife and I and the five children.

Mariam: Did you have anybody else living in the house with you?

Yes, the whole family lived here, my sister Salwa still lived with us and my nephew from Lebanon who came to Australia in 1969 moved in and stayed with us until he got married in 1972.

Mariam: Going back to when you first came to Lebanon, did you use to rent?

Yes, I lived in rent before I bought the house

Mariam: Remember before when I was talking to you about the things you have in the houses?

(Interrupts) Yes the things that I see in Lebanon which I like, I buy it and bring it here to Australia! One of the things I always use is the Abrie, which is a drinking jug made of glass. Everyone in the family can use it and it is very good for big families because you do not have to use cups but just the jug. I have used the Abrie since I was a small child, when my mother use to hold my head back and pour the water into my mouth. My mother use to look at magazines and copy the dolie designs for the Abrie.

Mariam: Ok and do you have any problems bringing them here? Like the wood?
I put the cover in it, and plastic cover to show everybody. So in the airport, when he asks me what do you have, do you have wood? And I say yes and I show him that it is painted, he says ok and he lets me bring it.

**Mariam: Do you miss Lebanon, do you miss living there?**

I go every year to see Lebanon, I like Lebanon.

**Mariam: Is it because of family you go?**

I like the family, but I was born over there. I have a house over there, a like to go visit- but I like Australia more than Lebanon.

**Mariam: When did you first go back to Lebanon when you came here?**

First time about 22 years ago, but after I built myself up here thanks to Australia, I built up myself and all my kids grew up, I go every year for a holiday.

**Mariam: Have all your kids gone back to Lebanon?**

Yes all of my kids visited Lebanon, but they are all very happy living here in Australia.

**Mariam: What about your grandkids, have they all gone back there?**

I can’t say that… well maybe because they go visit, but no one leaves Australia. You come to Australia, you live in Australia!

**Mariam: I find it very interesting, you go to Lebanon each year but your children don’t go very often.**

My kids, they have family here, they don’t have the chance to go to Lebanon- they are too busy! All my kids have children in school, and they don’t have the chance to go to Lebanon for a holiday!

**Mariam: But do you think that their life here in Australia is better than Lebanon?**

Australia is the best country in the world!

**Mariam: When you were in Lebanon, what did you work as?**

I was working labour- but you can say that I was working labour
Mariam: You came from a very big family?
Yes, I have 8 sisters and 2 brothers

Mariam: Your mum was an only child?
Yes and she had a big family- she took care of 11 children my mum

Mariam: And when you got married, did you live with your mum?
My mum lived with me because I’m the second last child in the family

Mariam: When you came to Australia, was it hard leaving your family?
Very very hard! Yes

Mariam: So you came here for economic reasons yes? To have a better life?
What do you think? Who would leave their family in Lebanon to come to Australia by themselves, not to make money to build up myself! For sure I came to build up myself, and to make more better for the family.

Mariam: Thank you!

- END OF TRANSCRIPT –

Section Two:

Table B – 2: Peter Abboud’s object catalogue (Abboud, 2013)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Artefact Number</th>
<th>Artefact Class/Type</th>
<th>Location</th>
<th>Quantity</th>
<th>Description</th>
<th>Significance to the Owner</th>
<th>Origin</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>P001</td>
<td>Drinking Utensil</td>
<td>Kitchen</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>Made from glass, circular base approx. 7cm in diameter widens towards</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>Australia</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Item Code</td>
<td>Item Description</td>
<td>Category</td>
<td>Quantity</td>
<td>Country</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-----------</td>
<td>----------------------------------------</td>
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<td>-----------</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Abrie</td>
<td>Small circular base approx. 2 cm in diameter, with a brim of 4 cm, has a length of 6 cm. Along the sides of the glass there are etching of grapes, indicating that the glasses are solely made for the purpose of the consumption of arak.</td>
<td>P002</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>Lebanon</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>P003</td>
<td>Made from porcelain, the cup has a circular base of 2 cm and a brim of 3.5 cm, the edge of the cup is covered with a gold edging, followed by a decoration swirl shaped handle. The saucer is approx. 6 cm wide and also has a gold edging.</td>
<td>10 (of each)</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>Lebanon</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>P004</td>
<td>Made from porcelain, the cup has a circular base of 2 cm and a brim of 3.5 cm, the edge of the cup is covered with a gold edging however there is no handle.</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>Lebanon</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>P005</td>
<td>Made from porcelain, with a base of 2 cm and a brim of 4.5 cm. The cup is white in colour, with two fine</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>Australia</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Code</td>
<td>Item Description</td>
<td>Room/Location</td>
<td>Quantity</td>
<td>Details</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>P006</td>
<td>Drinking Utensil</td>
<td>Living Room</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>Porcelain white cup, with a base and brim of 4cm, which is edged with silver. The cup is encased in a silver made holder, which has a swirl shaped handle. The saucer is also made from silver, with very faint decorative patterns around the edge.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>P007</td>
<td>Ornament Cedar Tree wall hanging</td>
<td>Hallway</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>Made from Lebanese cedar and has been treated with a coating of lacquer, the ornament is 50cm wide and 55cm long. It is carved in the shape of a cedar tree and has an inscription at the base of the tree ‘cedars- the millenary cedars’.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>P008</td>
<td>Ornament Family Photo</td>
<td>Living Room</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>The photo frame is made from silver, covered with decorative designs; it is 22.5 cm wide and 28.5 cm long. The photo is an earlier image of Peter Abboud Senior and his wife and children when they first arrived in Australia in 1970.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>P009</td>
<td>Ornament Wedding Photo</td>
<td>Formal Living Room</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>The photo frame is made from brass, covered in small detailed designs; it is 50cm wide and 60cm long. The wedding photo was taken in 1956 in Lebanon and was brought to Australia.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>P010</td>
<td>Ornament Village Saint for Basloukit</td>
<td>Living Room</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>The photo frame is made from timber (very thin frame), and is 20cmx20cm. The image depicts the Village Saints of Basloukit (area which Peter Senior was born). These Saints are known as Sarkis and Bakhos.</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>Lebanon</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>P011</td>
<td>Religious Ornament Last Supper Tapestry</td>
<td>Living Room</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>The tapestry depicts the biblical scene of The Last Supper. The overall width of the tapestry is 120cm and height is 80cm. The left and right sides of the tapestry are covered in olive green trimmings.</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>Lebanon</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>P012</td>
<td>Religious Ornament Rosary</td>
<td>Living Room</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>Made from hand carved olive branches (by his elder brother Ronny Abboud), with copper links, the rosary is over 3m long.</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>Lebanon</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>P013</td>
<td>Religious Ornament Plaster Stand With a Statue of Mary</td>
<td>Living Room</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>The Plaster stand is built into the wall of the living room (made to imitate) a grotto. The stand itself if over 60cm wide and 100cm height. Inside the stand sits the statue of the Virgin Mary, surrounded by vases of artificial flowers and a light bulb (which is always left on).</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>Australia</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>P014</td>
<td>Religious Ornament</td>
<td>Living Room</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>The incense burner is made from brass and is</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>Lebanon</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Incense Burner (Bakhour)</td>
<td>traditional used to burner Bakhour (Lebanese incense most commonly used in Church services). The burner is 5cm wide, and 12 cm height, the top of the incense burner is circular in shape, with holes, which allows for the incense to be release. This sits of a hexagon shaped based, the entire holder is covered in decorative designs.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
APPENDIX C: Second Generation’s Data Results

Figure C - 1: Family tree for Vivienne Nakat Abboud (Abboud, 2013).
This appendix will present the data collected from the first generation’s participants:

- Transcripts
- Artefact catalogues

Section One: Vivienne Abboud’s transcript and object catalogue

Transcript – Vivienne Abboud

Date: 10/08/2013

Mariam: Can you please identify, who you are, your age, gender, birthdate and the area that you live in and when you immigrated to Australia?

My name is Vivienne Abboud, my age is 52, I was born on 23/6/1961. I came to Australia in 1970, September, around the 8th or 9th of September. I have been married for 30 years.

Mariam: Now can you please tell me a bit about yourself?

I come from a family of seven children in Lebanon, we migrated after my father came out, the whole family- my mother and the seven children. I’m the second eldest child in the family. I have lived in the Parramatta and Merrylands area for most of my life in Australia- which is nearly 43 years. I am married now and I have four children, three boys and a girl. My daughter is the youngest child, Mariam Abboud. I married into the Abboud name, my name was Vivienne Nakat. My husband is from the north of Lebanon, he is from Basloukit, and he was also born in Lebanon and he migrated to Australia at the end of 1969- December. We met here in Australia and we married in 1983. He also lived in the same area, around Parramatta and Merrylands most of his life when he was living here in Australia.

Mariam: Do you remember anything about your time in Lebanon as a child?

I have a pretty good memory; I remember most of my childhood in Lebanon. I remember growing up how we moved houses. My grandfather gave us a room in his house and we use to live in it. Then my father rented out a house for one year when my grandfather sold his house. When my father came to Australia, we moved more in the middle of the town and lived in my grandfather’s house again in one room. I remember
the town, everything that was in it, all of the old stuff that was in the town- anything that was new after I came here I don’t remember.

**Mariam: Ok, is there anybody in Lebanon that you remember the most?**

I remember my grandfather, he is deceased now, but I have very fond memories of him, my father’s father as we lived with him for a long time. I remember my mother’s mother as well. She is also deceased but she came here to Australia for about four or five years and went back to Lebanon. All my father’s family are in Lebanon, and all of his siblings children are now educated and living in America. My father has no family here at all. My mother has most of her family here, in which she has three sisters left in Lebanon with some of their children. Some of their children has migrated as well.

**Mariam: Who came out first here to Australia?**

My Aunty, my mother-one of her eldest sister, someone came out from Australia and came to Lebanon and married her. He brought her back to Australia. Then she started bringing out her family. She brought out my uncle and my aunty, and her husband’s uncle. They then did papers and they brought out my father, in which my father brought us out here.

**Mariam: How long was your father in Australia before?**

20 months, he was here for just under two years before we came. He came here in 1968, and he came in 1970.

**Mariam: How did you come to Australia?**

We came to Australia by planes, and before everyone came by boat. It took us three days as we changed three planes to get to Australia.

**Mariam: Do you remember anything about the journey?**

That it was long and tiring and it took us a while. We had never been in a plane before so it was an adventure. I remember when we first came over Sydney and I could see the harbour bridge. The bridge was so small and the little cars that I thought that it was a toy. I remember landing in Sydney and it was a cool spring early morning.
Mariam: You were briefly talking about your grandfather before, do you have any memories?

Yes, what a hard worker he was and, my grandfather was like an orphan. He’s father died when he was very young, he had a brother, and his mother and her family went to America and she decided to follow them. She left him and her brother in the care of her husband’s relatives and she went to America and got married and never went back. He never saw his mother again. He was like an orphan, and he built himself from scratch. He use to tell me how he use to struggle as a teenager as it was during the first word war, and he even spoke a few words of English such as thank you and good morning. He said to me this was because Australian and British Soldiers came to Lebanon in the part where we use to live, and they use to give them grapefruits. The Australian soldiers use to sometimes give them some chocolates. He got married and he was a very hard worker. His uncle gave him land to look after as he was in America, and it was olive oil groves and he started working hard and selling olives and making olive oils. He educated all of his children. It was one of his first priorities, and it was a big achievement because very few people at the time had an education. The part of Lebanon we come from prides itself on education, everyone loves education and it has some of the best schools in Lebanon now. Except for my father, all of my aunties and uncles are educated. They are all teachers except one who is an engineer. They have educated their children and some of my cousins are doctors and engineers and they all studied in America. That is the legacy of my grandfather which I absolutely respect, his passion for education and hard work.

Unfortunately, my father was the odd one out in the family. He did not share in this view. He just didn’t want to do anything and didn’t want to get an education. We are pretty lucky we came to Australia because in Australia they do look after you if you don’t have an education or qualification. So the government gave us money, and I was very lucky that there was a public school system which I got an education. And also in Lebanon I went to the public school system. So my whole education has been in a public school. This I am grateful for my grandfather, that drive for education and hard work which was instilled in me from my grandfather. My father’s family are pretty well off in Lebanon. None of his brothers and sisters have migrated they have stayed in
Lebanon all that time even during the war. But for their children, for them to survive, have a good life and receive a good education, they have migrated and studied in America. Some of them go back and forth to Lebanon for a holiday, but most of the grandchildren of my grandfather, live in Australia (my father’s family) or most of them live in America. My grandfather died in 1975, just before the war started in Lebanon. In a way, I am grateful that he did at that time because I wouldn’t want him to see what happened to Lebanon, a place that he absolutely loved and a place where he worked so hard to give his children an opportunity when he didn’t have any.

Mariam: Do you know at all when he married?

No, but I do know my oldest uncle would have been about now 84-85, but he died when he was 61. About 22-23 years ago… They never really talked about days and years as they didn’t keep those records, but I know that my father was the fourth one in the family, and there was a girl and a boy and the oldest boy would be close to 85 years of age now, if he was still alive.

Mariam: Are there any memories that you have of your grandfather just before you came here to Australia?

Yes, a very sad one. When we were going to come that night, the night before we were going to fly out from Lebanon, my grandfather spent the whole night tying up the bags with thin rope, as he was telling my uncle to make sure to send us on the quickest way to Australia. But he kept saying “I think you are going to have a long hard journey” and I am tying down the bags just in case you do and so it doesn’t fall apart and you lose your stuff. He spent the whole night crying and tying the bags to make sure they wouldn’t open in the flight. When we were getting ready to leave and to go to the airport, most of the town came to see us because we were one of the first large whole family just to leave a town and come migrate to Australia. When we got to the airport, I still remember him when we got down and went to go to the bus, I remember him on the balcony screaming out in the airport “Why are you leaving, why can’t you take me with you? I am going to save up! Find some work for me, I am going to save up and follow you!” that was the last sort of thing I heard from him. We use to write and send letters,
but someone one write for him because he couldn’t write but he could read. He would ask about us, but then I got the news in early 1975 when he died.

Mariam: You were talking about your grandmother before?

Yes my mother’s mother was also like an orphan. Her father left her and went to Brazil in the early 1900s. Her mother had a boy and a girl and my grandmother was the girl and she was going to follow him, and she was riding on a horse with her brother at the front and my grandmother at the back. Her mother in law started screaming at her, saying how could you leave us, and take everything, all the memories of my son. She snatched my grandmother and kept her in Lebanon and wouldn’t let her go. Her mother was scared that she will miss the boat so she left my grandmother there and went to Brazil and followed her husband. My grandmother stayed in Lebanon with her uncle and her grandmother, but she had no sisters and brothers left in Lebanon, but she knew that they were in Brazil and they use to send her letters and ask about her. Then, she got news that most of them died because of tuberculosis when she was a either a teenager or just married. She never though saw her family again. My grandmother, I was very close to her, because every time my mother would have a child, she would come down to the town, and look after us and help us with the house work and clean and cook before my mother could start looking after herself and was alright. My mother had 7 children and she did that for all of them. When my mother also had a miscarriage she did the same thing. I was fortunate enough to see her because she ended up coming to Australia in 1981-82 and she stayed here until 1986. She had seven children here so she would move around and live with each one of them a few months. One of my aunties, her name is Mary, she use to look after her most of the time, she use to stay with her in Granville. But I was lucky to see my grandmother again, otherwise she went back to Lebanon, and at the end of 1986, she fell over and broke her hip early 87, and she died in May 1991. So I was fortunate to see her again after I came to Australia, not like my grandfather.

Mariam: Before you were saying when they organized your trip to Australia, do you know how they organized the money?
My father was working here and he use to send us some money so we had a bit of money from that. But my father’s mother, who use to be one of those people who use to grow vegetables and sell them, she use to always save up her money. They used probably about half of it. I know it was pretty expensive back then in dollar terms to come by plane. So some came from my father while a majority came from his grandmother financed a lot of it.

**Mariam: You were saying it was a long journey to come for seven children?**

For me, I was the eldest daughter and all of them were younger and I was nine, so we had my brother was 11. The youngest one was 14 months old. So it was an endless trip on the plane going backwards and forwards to the toilets and taking the kids one by one.

**Mariam: Do you remember any stopovers you had?**

There were three stopovers but I remember one was in Pakistan, Karachi. I remember laughing at people because they were painting but they were using bamboo ladders to paint the outside of the building and that it was very hot as well.

**Mariam: When you got to Australia, was it very hard?**

At the beginning, because we didn’t speak any English. Lucky for us, we had family who helped us, her sisters and brother in Granville. It was hard coming to Australia, when we arrived at the airport, I don’t know how we got out because everybody helped us, we had so many bags and a huge cardboard box filled with blankets and quilts all made in Lebanon. We brought them here, and saucepans and stuff because we knew that we would be living here. But we went outside and waited for someone to pick us up. And we were waiting there for two hours but no one came to pick us up. In those days, the airport wasn’t as busy as it is today so when the plane came, it came, and afterwards when everyone left the airport was empty. Lucky for us there were three people who were meeting a bride who were waiting for a bride who was coming from Lebanon who was marrying a man here. The three people were also Muslim. As they went to their car, they saw us standing outside with all the luggage. Then the girl said to them “Look, this family look Lebanese and it looks like no one is meeting them”. Then she asked my mother in Arabic “are you Lebanese?” and my mother said yes. She said to her “how
come you are still here, isn’t someone picking you up?” she said “I don’t know, my husband we sent him a telegram of when we were coming but I am not sure whether he got it or not so we are just waiting here.” So she said “do you have his address” and she said “no but I have a phone number of the person that he lives with” and they took the phone number and called. It turned out to be a lady which people use to hire out rooms from when they first arrived. He said to her “Oh no he’s left, but he has some clothes here and he owes me money and he said that he will come by today to pay me the money and pick up his clothes- why are you asking about him?” and she said “well his whole family is still at the airport waiting for him, and there is no body to meet them, do you know where he has gone?” and she said “no”. She said, “Would you accept them and let them stay with you as they have nowhere to go?” and the wonderful woman, being a kind person said yes. So they put us in their valiant, with our luggage, and there was eight of us and three of them and we got in the car with everything and drove down in Campsie, Beemer St.

When she got to the door and saw us she practically fainted because I think she thought it was a joke, but it was true. She accepted us, she was very hospitable, she got us into the house and we all got the luggage and put them in the house. We were so exhausted, I remember we wanted to sleep and she gave us blankets and we slept in the lounge on the carpet. It was nice she had the heater going it was so nice and warm. We all collapsed and we went to sleep. Then she got us up for lunch and she made us something to eat. I still remember what she made us to eat till this day. We waited and waited and late that night, my father came by as promised to give her the money and grab his things and we started jumping around him calling him and saying things and he didn’t realize it was us. When he saw my mother, he was shocked and said “what are you doing here?’ and she said “what do you mean what am I doing here, you knew I was coming”. But it was surprising, my father was one of those people who lived in his own world, everything was about him. Even though he knew it took a while to do papers to come to Australia, it took about 8 months for all of us to organize everything, it hadn’t dawn on him that we would be arriving. We found out that he doesn’t have a job, he needed an operation, and that he didn’t even prepare a house for us to live. He then took us from over there, as he had cousins who lived in Croydon, and he put us over there. They already have seven children and there were three people renting rooms
there as well. So they had another 9 people now staying with them. We stayed with them for about two weeks and he was looking around to find a house in Campsie and he met this women that he knew, and she was married for nine years but didn’t have any kids. Her husband use to build flats and buildings. She saw him distressed and she asked him “what’s wrong?” and he said “my family has just arrived and I need a house for them!” She said “You’re in luck! My husband just bought an old house which he is going to demolish and build flats, but if you need it, for your family, you can have it as long as you want until you find yourself a house! There is no way I will let him demolish it.” They gave us that house and we lived there for three months’ rent free. That was wonderful of her. We are so grateful and we asked god to send her children and we prayed for her, and the year after, she had one child and she called him John, and she never had any other children. Then my aunty and uncle that lived in Granville found a house for us here as someone was leaving, and they quickly went and paid some rent money to the agent and then we moved in to Granville, two streets down to them-and that’s how we came to live in this area. Then we lived in Granville and we stayed there for five years and he bought a house in Merrylands, which my mother still lives there till this day. When I got married to my husband, I lived in Parramatta, with his family for two years, and then we got a house in Merrylands and we moved here. We have been living in Merrylands since 1988. Now at the moment, we built a new house, and we have been living here for a year.

Mariam: The areas have you lived in, you obviously moved houses, but what that been the reasons behind that?

Well every time we sort of got a larger house because our needs grew. Also, a more modern house-the first house I lived in with my children was old and renovated. Also, we had more money. When we had more money, we built a better house, but it became too small for us and now we even built a better house that is bigger. There is more space for my children, each one has a bedroom and we have a larger living area and it is a more modern house. It probably reflects what my children want, more than what my husband and I want, other than the older houses that we lived in, it was more on what we wanted. Now this house is more in character of what my children want as they are part of the house and they live with me. I still remember, when I first came to Australia
that early September spring morning, you get that really cool breeze. Every time, September comes, sometimes when I am walking down to the shopping centre or down the street, It takes me back to when I first came here in the airport, and I haven’t really forgotten anything.

Mariam: Before, when you were mentioning your in laws, how long did you live with your in laws for?

We lived with them for about 4 and a half years. We had two children whilst we were there. His family had a big house and they had married off two or three of their children. By the time we moved in, there was only two people living with my in laws as the others had moved out. Also, we needed a bigger house and were renovating as I was pregnant with my third child. We needed our own place and space.

Mariam: Which house did you move into when you left?

We moved into Merrylands, number 79 Chetwynd road. It was a very large but old house which we renovated before we moved in. We put in a new kitchen and we removed the old fibro walls and we put gyprock and painted. We put new carpet and lino in the kitchen. We renovated as much as we could, because times were hard and my husband was only working on his own as I left my job when I had my first child. I was an accountant- I had a diploma in accountancy, and I worked for the Australian medical association, the federal branch for about four and a half years. I started in about in early 1982 and I left in the middle of 1985, just a month before I had my first child. I planned to go back to work but it was hard because there wasn’t many child care centres and it was very expensive. Neither my mother in law nor my mother wanted to help and take care of my son so I was forced to leave work. There was no parental leave or government help like nowadays so my husband was left working on his own. But my husband was a very hard worker and he reminds me a lot like my grandfather. His ethics for work and family reminds me a lot like him. He worked very hard to get where we are. Me with my financial knowledge and him with his hard work, he now own a few properties, property portfolio, and we also have a very nice house and I am grateful that I have sent all of my kids to school. All of them got an education. Two of them went on to go to university, both has degrees. One is an accountant like me and he has got a CA
and is working, while my daughter also got a degree in arts and she is now doing her honours in archaeology. I am very proud of all of my children, they are all hard workers and all have good jobs. They all have that the work ethic which my husband and I have, which is a lot more than what my father has. I came from a family which my father sat on welfare, he did compensation and said his back was sore. He got some money and then got a disability pension, and he was on it all his life. My father was a gambler, he just wanted time for himself, even though he had seven children. I always thank god that we came to Australia, because in Australia we were able to achieve what we achieved. If we stayed in our country Lebanon, the government does not help you for anything, and there was also a war. Unfortunately, my father did not have the drive to educate himself or his kids like his father, so we went to public schools as he didn’t want to spend money on education. Most of my siblings are not educated except for my youngest brother, who went to university. A lot of them have trade jobs. This is in contrast to my uncles and cousins in Lebanon, who are now in high ranking positions. Some are doctors whilst another works in the World Bank. I remember, when I went to look for an accountant job after I finished my studies, my father said “who is going to give you a job? I will write my name as a donkey if someone gives you a job!” and I proved him wrong.

**Mariam: Previously you mentioned about your in laws, do you know anything about their journey to Australia?**

Well I do know that my father in law came here in 1965 and my husband and his mum, brothers and sisters followed him in 1969. They came to Australia just before Christmas. My husband is the eldest child of five children, four boys and a girl. My husband, unlike me I was lucky because I was very clever and very good at school. Some people are not, my husband, he was not very good at school but he is gifted with his hands. He didn’t do well at school as he came when he was a bit older, he was eleven, and I don’t think he liked school that much. He left really early, when he was fifteen and he went to work as a painter. He worked very hard and he use to give most of his money to his father to help out the family as his family were struggling with five kids- and they were all going to catholic schools. He started working in a factory called Barlow Wenches making metal stuff. Then he worked in a cardboard factory, but he
worked very hard and he used to always work overtime. Who does that? He was a very young guy but he used to work very hard and long hours just to make money. He helped out his dad a lot by renovating his house, building it and changing the look of it, and my husband gave them money for that and for them to open up a fruit shop. My husband has been working for a long time, since he was 15 years of age, and now he is 56 years of age. He has always worked—he has never received anything from the government or was unemployed, he has always been able to find work, he doesn’t like sitting and doing nothing. At the moment, he is in the building and maintenance industry with my son and a painter. He spent a lot of money on his family, but he would have been a lot better off if he kept the money and spent it on himself. We are still very lucky, we are pretty well off, but he still works five to six days a week. He still takes time out to take holidays with his family, in which we hire out a special spot in the Entrance, which we have been doing for 20 years.

We did go back to Lebanon with the family for a holiday in 1992 as I wanted to see my country and see how it is after the war, was it still the same from when I left it, or has it changed. And to my surprise, it definitely wasn’t the same as when I left it and it definitely has changed a lot. I was devastated because as we came out of the airport in Beirut, you can see all of the buildings from the war, all had holes and it was a pretty sad look. It was a shock to me how much the country has changed, the village life has changed, and the whole situation of the country. Lebanon was considered the Paris of the Middle East in the 1960s, people came from all over the world to holiday in Lebanon and it was a pretty modern country, education, Lebanese people are one of the most educated people and they valued education. They still do now, and usually they go overseas to complete their education, because if you don’t go to America and get an education, there is no hope for you to get a good job. The trip was for about 10-11 weeks, we spent most of it up in the mountains in my husband’s village as his dad built a house there, and the children absolutely loved it! It was very free, they could run around, no one could say anything to them, and everyone knew everyone up in the mountains. So it was very trusting. I also went down to my village and spent about a week there in my uncle’s house and saw how much the town changed. I saw that people from my generation and a bit older all migrated, because I would have been a teenager when the war started in Lebanon, so a lot of children my age would have been
disadvantaged and had to go overseas to complete their education. A lot of my generation has migrated to America and just go back for holidays now, and a lot of them live in America.

In my husband’s town it is different, a lot of them have migrated to Australia who are his age and their families. To me, the trip was an eye opener. I always thought that Lebanon would still be the same, the village before you would see all the people, you saw all of your friends, but when I got back, I didn’t really find anyone that was my age and that was still there. I was happy to see my father’s family, but I saw some older people that I still knew some of them, and people who were my uncle’s age. When we came back to Australia, I was so thankful and I thanked God for what we have because it was a very terrible war, and thank God we were not there. In 2004, I went to Lebanon with my husband and I left the boys here. We first went as a pilgrimage as one of the saints from Lebanon was being canonized on May 18, and we went and spent 3 weeks in Europe, visiting mostly religious places, and then about 6-7 weeks in Lebanon. My daughter was 13 when she came with us and she absolutely loved that trip and loved Lebanon and now she wants to travel the world, she has the travel bug. It was good because she got to see her relatives there and landmarks like Baalbek and the cedars. I will probably go back, but I am thinking of going next year, after my two of my son’s weddings.

**Mariam: Was there a big difference when you went in 1992 and 2004?**

Yes, A very big difference! I found that a lot of people migrated from there, even though there is no longer war, the economic situation has become even worst, and the young people who were young like my children’s age, they were finishing off their education and thinking where to travel to further their studies. And people were less friendly now. It was harder because all of the younger generation are leaving more than before, and it is hard on the country- you go there and a lot of the young generation are migrating and all of the old people are left behind.

**Mariam: Ok, so we will just go now to your house, you were saying before that you moved recently into a new home, now how have you structured the house?**
We have changed a fair bit because in the old house, we use to have a formal lounge room, and a sitting room, but now it is an all-open entertainment area with the kitchen, dining and lounge. You can be sitting anywhere and can interact. It is a very modern house. It mainly consists of what my children want, because they are older and they can have a say in what I do. A lot of the furniture and electrical goods, the children themselves picked out. Each one of them has a bedroom now, which I didn’t see there was a need for them before but as they all want their own space. They have their own private space with maybe desk or a TV. We have tried to make it as comfortable as we can for them, and to keep them happy. We have a very good relationship with our children. Obviously, there are happy because they still live with us, whether it is for economic reasons or simply because they are happy who knows but they are still with us. Usually we consult with them whenever we want to do anything about the house or with the house because what we do affects them.

Mariam: So, you have already spoken about your home life and your family coming into Australia, and you have spoken about your house that you are living in at the moment, are there any objects in your household that have a special meaning to you?

Yes, there are certain objects that have special meaning to me.

Mariam: And why are they so special?

Some I acquired when I was on my holidays, others as gifts, but others I bought myself here as they are important to define my culture, and I use them in everyday living. Some of them I value a lot because they remind me of things. For eg, I have my rosaries which I collected from my pilgrimage, and I got from every place a rosary beard, such as Fatima, Lourdes, Saint Peters, Saint Paul and even one in Lebanon I went to a special church. I am a religious person, so these are important to me, and I also bought some religious pictures. They are a part of me that I important and it is also from my heritage as I come from an orthodox and Maronite background, which is a Christian background, obviously religion plays a very big part in the situation which Lebanon is in now. I value my religion. My father really was religious, we didn’t really go to church, but my husband is religious, he likes to go to church, and I am like him.
Mariam: So you mentioned that the rosaries play an important role, are there any other objects in your house?

My coffee cups and coffee making utensils because to make Lebanese coffee you need to use special utensils, it is not like instant coffee. I also have cooking utensils as well as I cook a lot of Lebanese food because this to me is important. I think I learnt it more because I am the oldest child in the family. The other kids in the family don’t know how to cook Lebanese like me. Also, when I went back to Lebanon in my first trip, I went back to my old school and I bought Abriee which is a drinking utensil, you hold it, it has a nozzle at the front, you put water in it, and instead of using a glass, you hold it up with the nozzle near your mouth and you drink from it, that was it saves you with a lot of dishwashing! I have it here at home. I also have holy pictures that I bought from Lebanon, here or from my trip in Europe, and I have a lot of family pictures because family is very important in the Lebanese culture. Mostly pictures of my children, and one of me and my husband getting married. Hopefully, in the future I will have pictures of my grandchildren! These are the things that are important to me. I don’t have a lot of other objects other than that. These things are important to me because the coffee and the cooking are part of my heritage, they remind me of my country, as well as the drinking vessel that I have, and it just takes me back to the days when I was at school and back to my town. My family photos, it just reminds me of the wonderful family that I have achieved with my husband, and to me, I value them a lot as they are very important to me, my children.

Mariam: Now you do obviously have a lot of objects in your house that you feel are important, now where did you acquire these objects?

Some I got on my trip to Lebanon, others in Europe, and some I bought from here because now you can buy a lot of stuff from Lebanon here that they bring to Australia. I also acquired things from my daughter when she went overseas to Scotland and studied there for a semester. She also went to Ireland, and London. She bought me back a wonderful green beautiful emerald rosary from Ireland and I have it in my cabinet also displayed with my other rosaries. My coffee cups, I have two sets in my display cabinet. One of them I got as a special wedding gift when we got married, and the other set, when we went to Lebanon, my husband carried it because it was a big display case, and
we brought it from Lebanon. He didn’t put it with the main suitcase, as he didn’t want it to break so he carried it with him. We bought it from my uncle from his shop in Lebanon. I do have coffee cups here which we use that I got from Australia, that are special but not as important to me. I also have a special mortar and pestle to crush garlic and make the garlic dip, which is a big thing in the Lebanese community, everyone needs to know how to make garlic. I also have a special mould where you make special biscuits for special holidays, mostly Easter and Christmas. My drinking vessels I got from school, they had a display of all the clay models the students were making and it reminded me of when I was young. The reason why they would put water in pottery is because no one really had fridges back then, but if you leaved it in the vessel overnight, the water would be really cold. My holy pictures, some I got from Lebanon, some I got from Europe, and others from here. In my bedroom, next to my side bed, I have a miniature statue of Jesus which is about 40cms high, it use to be at my parents’ house. Someone gave it to them as a gift when they bought the house. When we got married, my husband’s cousin took it because it is a tradition in the Lebanese culture, when the bride gets married and goes back after the honeymoon- they go to church and go back to her house afterwards. The groom’s side goes and takes things from the home and gives them to her. I have put it in my bedroom then, and till now I still have it in my bedroom. 30 years after I got married I still have it in my bedroom. I also have a very large rosary beads made out of olive wood, which was carved and made up from my husband’s uncle, which he gave to us at my first trip to Lebanon. At the moment, I am trying to find a special spot to hang it up, but I often had it displayed hanging down around the picture of Mary. My family photos remind me of my children and the wonderful life that we have. Most of the photos are there first day of schools, photos when they were babies which my husband and I took, and our wedding photo taken by a professional photographer. I also have my son’s engagement. They are all sitting in spots around the house,

Mariam: Do you know the history of the objects?

I know the statue of Jesus was from my family side- that would probably would have been discarded if it was left with my mum as they don’t have a lot of religious things, but this one I keep in my room as no one touches it. Everything else I have has either
been bought or new or given like the rosary made by his uncle. His uncle goes up to the mountains and works the land, but in winter, it is too cold so we spends a lot of time inside, and he sits there and carves the rosaries and gives them out as presents. Every one of his children has one, and they have it hanging in their house. He cuts the branches into small pieces and he carves and rounds them with little instruments by hand. He joins them by copper wire, he carves out a cross and puts it in the end. Now his uncle has died and it is a nice lovely memory we have of him. A lot of the cooking things I bought them when we moved house, as back then a lot of people made homemade sweets because it wasn’t easy to find. Even though now you can buy garlic dip from the shops, it doesn’t taste like homemade!

**Mariam: So what are the objects used for in your house?**

Some of them for visual, just to look at, some are used for cooking and drinking, and some for praying. I light candles, I have a special place where I light candles and I put some incense which is called bakhour in Arabic and I try to light a candle or two every day and I try to pray every day and I use some rosaries to pray. We drink water from the Abrice, some people like to try it- it is more for show than for use every day,

**Mariam: Now are your objects used often in your household?**

The ones on display, no, but the ones in my cupboard like the coffee cups, cooking utensils, garlic dip one –yes, for cooking and drinking. Some of the rosaries yes I use them for praying every day. Especially when you get visitors over, they usually want Lebanese coffee, and I usually make the garlic dip once a week, especially when we have barbecues. My sweets, I usually make them in on special occasions, it is a special biscuit that we stuff with walnuts, pistachios or peanuts.

**Mariam: Have you ever used the biscuit mould before?**

Yes I have, recently, no but in the years when my children was younger, especially when there wasn’t many sweet shops back then, yes,

**Mariam: Are your objects stored in a specific way?**
Yes, the ones that I want to preserve and leave and not to destroy, I have put them in special cabinets so they are sort of on display, people inside the house and they can appreciate them. It makes me happy to see them, it gives me back memories of how I got them and what they mean to me. The coffee cups and utensils are stored in a way so that they are easy to get to in the cupboards. The coffee cups are stored in cupboards next to the stove so I can quickly get to them and make coffee as I use it every day. I also store the garlic dip utensil in an easy to reach spot in the cupboard so I can use it as well. The objects are always washed after used and returned to their spots.

Mariam: Now have you organized the special arrangements of the house around the objects?

Well, my display cabinets are in a spot right in the open so anyone can easily see them when they walk into the house, also like my pictures, which are right out in view. As the whole house is open, you can look around and see easily what I have on display. It is not good for me to display things that someone can’t see. The everyday objects are in the cupboards that you need to open the cupboard to see. The ones in the display I want to keep them for a long time and not ruin them.

Mariam: Would you say that the living room is the most important part of your house?

Yes, as it is a place where the family can gather and get together- they have their bedrooms where they can spend time on their own, but then down here in the living room, you can be in the kitchen, the dining, the lounge or the veranda and still be able to interact with each other from outside to inside, so there are no barriers between us. It has been designed like this on purpose so we are not segregated.

Mariam: Now you have just spoken how the living room is an important aspect of your house, and how you have displayed your objects around the living room, now do visitors notice these objects when they come over?

When visitors come over, they do notice the objects as the area is open and the display cabinet is in full view, and they can walk and look at them. A lot of visitors notice them and comment on them, especially the coffee cups. The coffee cups I got when I was
married are very unusual ones, where it is glass sitting in silver stand and handle. Everyone always comment on how beautiful they look, and they always comment on my rosaries, because I have so many, they ask me where I got them from, and how I have kept them over time. Also, the rosary I got from my husband’s uncle, everyone asks me where I get it from because it is unusual and it is such a big rosary. When I tell them, that impresses them. Everyone always comments on the pictures of my family, looking at them and saying how wonderful they look! In my cabinets I also have expensive decanters and crystals which I got as wedding gifts that I have kept as they are hard to get. Also, I have a very beautiful crystal cups she got from Ireland which reminds her of her trip and myself of the gift and how thoughtful she is.

Mariam: Do you plan on passing any of them down?

Of course I want to pass them down, I hope that my children will want them. I know that most of the stuff will go to my daughter as she has a special interest in these kind of things. My boys however, I am not too sure as they don’t have the same liking the way my daughter does, as she is interested in cultures and in archaeology. She sees that the objects have a lot of value to me, and she is interested in this so this is why I think she would love them if I gave them to her. These objects to me re important, some remind me of my culture, some remind me of my achievements, others have been given from people who have passed away, and my statue of Jesus, I hope that I can pass it on and keep it in the family as it has been in the family for a long time. I hope my daughter would love them as well and look after them the way that I have. I hope as well that my children will be reminded of the culture that we come from, and the struggles that we went through, but I hope that they will appreciate this. I have assimilated into the Australian culture, and I consider myself more of an Australian than a Lebanese, but I like looking back and appreciating my culture as it makes me who I am. Of course, I want them to also have something about Australia as well.

Mariam: Thank you so much for this interview!

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<td>Living Room</td>
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<td>in colour, with images of vine leaves and grapes decorating the sides (there is no handle).</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>the ingredients are crushed in</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>and has a circular base of 8cm</td>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
<td>(in diameter) and a brim of 16cm</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(in diameter).</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>V005</td>
<td>Cooking Utensil Maamoul mould</td>
<td>Kitchen</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>Australia / Lebanon</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Made from wood, the mould is a</td>
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<td></td>
<td>long wooden bar, approx. 28cm</td>
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<td></td>
<td>long and 6cm wide. In the centre</td>
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<td></td>
<td>of the bar an oval shape with</td>
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<td></td>
<td>decorative circular designs has</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>been carved out, in order to</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>create a mould for biscuits.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>V006</td>
<td>Ornament Abriee</td>
<td>Living Room</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>Lebanon</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Made from clay, circular base</td>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
<td>approx. 6cm in diameter widens</td>
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<td></td>
<td>towards the middle with a</td>
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<td></td>
<td>diameter of 12cm, becomes</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>narrower towards the top as it</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>connects to a</td>
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<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
cylinder tube; which is used as the brim for the jug (10cm long); also has a nozzle and handle. There is also a cup shaped bowl which is used to hold the Abriee, has a base of approx. 8cm and a height of 12cm.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Code</th>
<th>Ornament Type</th>
<th>Location</th>
<th>Quantity</th>
<th>Description</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>V007</td>
<td>Ornament Decorative Rosaries</td>
<td>Living Room</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>There are eight rosaries in total each is either made from crystal, Waterford glass, Connemara and cubic zirconia. Silver crosses and chains have been used to bind each rosary. They are approximately 50cm in length, each having their own box in which they are stored and displayed in.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>V008</td>
<td>Ornament Family Photos</td>
<td>Dining Room/Living Room</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>There are 10 photo frames, which adorn the wall of the living room and dining room. The photos range from her children’s childhood, their engagements and her own wedding photo.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>V009</td>
<td>Religious Ornament Rosary</td>
<td>Living Room</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>Made from hand carved olive branches (by her husband’s uncle Ronny Abboud), with copper links, the rosary is over 4m long.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Section Two: Sam Abboud’s transcript and object catalogue.

Transcript – Sam Peter Abboud Date: 07/08/2103

Mariam: Hi can you please identify your name, your age, your gender, birthday and the area that you live in.

My name is Sam Peter Abboud, 5/4/1959, I live in Putney NSW and I am a male.

Mariam: Now when did you immigrate to Australia?

We immigrated in Australia in December 1969

Mariam: And was your father here previously?

Yes, prior to that for four years.

Mariam: Now when you first came to Australia how old were you roughly?

Nine years of age.

Mariam: How did you find it when you first came here?

Quite easy, very easy at that stage.

Mariam: And you went to school here?

I went to Patrician Brothers Granville.
Mariam: Anything about your family life now, have you got any children?

No we had a quite easy family life, no squabbles, no domestic, a loving family, full of care- more than anything else. There was nothing involved in our family. All I can say is that we fought and argue over things that I look at now but all it was- was care. Care was the bottom line.

Mariam: You must of learnt English at school?

Yes a special subject- a teacher taught us special English at school, tried to keep us up to date with other children.

Mariam: And did you finish school?

No, I finished year nine because I was too bright! … no I wasn’t

Mariam: And when you first came here did you find it hard to make friends?

No it was quite easy because there was a lot of Lebanese people at that time who immigrated from 1969-1974, there was a massive intake of Lebanese people.

Mariam: So you said that there was a lot of Lebanese migrants at that time, did that mean you could speak in your native language as well as English?

That’s right.

Mariam: As you got older, did you hang around Lebanese people still?

Yeah I did.

Mariam: And did you have any other friends from a different background?

No I didn’t.

Mariam: So you kept your language?

Yes

Mariam: And now many children do you have now?
Five that I know of!

**Mariam: What do you work as?**

In the building industry- but my trade is that I am a licensed panel beater and painter. Also my trade is a fencer, decking that is also my trade but at the moment I am doing building which is the labour part of the trade.

**Mariam: And before you were talking about language, is there any other part of your heritage that you decide to keep?**

Um, not really- no but what I, the part of the culture that I really like more than anything else is the family ties more than anything else- which is very important. And I think that feeds on to the kids, no matter how bad you become, but you know the importance of family, you know they are always there for you.

**Mariam: Did you keep any aspects of food from your culture?**

I believe that 50-80% of all the food I have at the moment in my house are from a Lebanese background. To my mum’s cooking, I will ask my mum what she is cooking and how she is cooking it, so I know how to come home and make that. Whether it is a bean dish, a lentil dish, whatever, it will be exactly the same. I have recipes that I don’t think my family knows that I have got them from my mother.

**Mariam: And did you marry into the culture?**

No, both times I married out, my first wife was Anglo Australian and my second wife if half Russian and Fiji India but born in Australia.

**Mariam: And the house that you live in, can you tell us anything about it, such as when you bought it or when you built it?**

I always loved the Tuscan, Mediterranean style look and the Georgian look, and this has always been the houses that I have been looking to build. I think this is me this is the style I look for.
Mariam: And did you purposely build the house you are living in to be that?

Yes 100%

Mariam: What do you have in your house, how have you designed it?

Oh the landscaping, the backyard, the interiors, the design, the flooring, the way the ceiling is, everything in this house is designed to suit that look.

Mariam: And did you do most of the work in the house yourself?

No I had tradesmen to help me but most of the landscaping and the design of the house was all myself.

Mariam: Going back to the first section of when you first came here as a child, how big was your family?

We were a group of five children.

Mariam: Do you remember any of your time in Lebanon?

Yes, I remember everything- I don’t forget nothing. I have a very very, very strong memory- from the days I was in Lebanon, the days we had school in Lebanon, the days we spent in the village in Lebanon, the days we celebrated Christmas in Lebanon, the days we use to walk my brother Mark use to hold my hand to go down the steps to go to school, I remember all of that.

Mariam: Do you know what villages that your parents come from?

My mother comes from Toula, and my father comes from Basloukit, but we never lived in either, we lived in Beitn bakhos (the home of Bakhos, which was the beginning on the Village), which was an inheritance that was passed down from a person that my grandfather gave money to but he didn’t have cash to pay them back so he paid them by giving him a land in that area.
Mariam: Was your schooling in Lebanon different to the schooling here in Australia?

It is a lot more intense in Lebanon. Their education is a lot harder than ours here. The education level- I hate to say this- but it wouldn’t rate in Lebanon. Lebanon is so far ahead in the education level, by the time you are 7-8 years of age, you can practically speak two-three languages. By the time I reached Australia when I was nine, I was able to speak and write fluently French and Lebanese. Now as it stands, I can’t do either, I can only do English but the education is a lot more intense.

Mariam: Do you remember the trip coming to Australia?

Yes I do- I remember we arrived to Beirut airport and I wasn’t feeling well. The night before, my grandma said that she made a meal for us and the meal was Samkeh Harra which is a Lebanese traditional dish- and my Grandma said because it will make you sick. So I didn’t eat it but the week we arrived to Australia, my grandmother was speaking to my mum and said “can you make sure Samir has Samkeh Harra because he was deprived in Lebanon” - and this is something I can never forget.

Mariam: And what are did you use to live in when you first came?

Rosehill, Parramatta

Mariam: And your father had a house waiting for you?

Yes

Mariam: Have you ever been back to Lebanon?

I have been back three times.

Mariam: And do you remember when you went back?

The first time I went back was 1991, it was the end of the civil war and it was the first time the airport was open. I went with a friend and I fell in love with the country- not its people, just the country. The second time was I think with my wife, and that was 1999, and I went again in 2011 with the whole family, and I took my in laws!!
Mariam: Did they like it, because they are not from the culture?

They are Indian and Russian, and we thought we would take them- but they both loved it, they had a really good time and they enjoyed themselves.

Mariam: So what makes you want to always go back to Lebanon?

It’s the country, the beautiful country- it’s not so much its people, I think the people have been deprived and under enormous pressure so they all do their best to stay afloat, but if you look at Lebanon, it is a beautiful country and it has everything! You are actually in the Middle East, but you’re not. You’re in Europe, but you are not! And you are in the snow and on the beach! It is just incredible! You have 180kms from one end to the other and 50kms from the snow to the sea.

Mariam: Do you hope your children will follow that?

I do like them to go there, we have properties there with my brothers and I. I always want my children or my brother’s children to have that part of Lebanon because I think that’s who we are!

Mariam: Now we are going to go to the third part of the interview which is based on looking at objects in your household. Now are there any objects in your household that have a special meaning to you?

Food! Generally food, cooking of food, the sort of food that we have, that is what I think yes.

Mariam: Any types of utensils that you use in particular?

The Lebanese BBQ would have to be one of the biggest! Then we have the other things like the mortar and pestle where we make our garlic and hummus! But to me, the biggest thing is my charcoal Lebanese BBQ!
Mariam: Why are they special to you?

They are so simple and it has always been in my family, I am very sure that it was in my father’s life and in his father’s life, because when I went to Lebanon, it had absolutely the same things! So nothing has changed! Except that what we cook

Mariam: So where did you acquire the BBQ form?

Lidcombe!

Mariam: Why did you buy it from that area?

I bought it because it was the cheapest!

Mariam: The mortar and pestle, where did you get that?

From a Lebanese shop in Harris Park. We do our garlic on it, and my wife now does garlic on it too!

Mariam: So you taught your wife how to do Lebanese garlic?

Apparently she does it better than me!

Mariam: All your objects have been acquired from jobs, so predominately you use these objects for cooking purposes?

And preparation!

Mariam: How often do you use them?

I wouldn’t be surprised if I used them every day!

Mariam: Do you store them in a particular way?

I have my pantry – but everything is stored in a particular way in my pantry. Whether it is the dried food, beans, mortar and pestle, pepper grinder, I have them all the way I want them. I love cooking, I enjoy it and I think it is one of the most enjoyable things in life.
Mariam: Where do you buy all of your herbs and things from?

The beans, all the different beans are from the Lebanese shops, as well as some spices, but I do get a lot of spices from the Indian shop, which have a good range of spices which I like- they do have similar to Lebanese.

Mariam: Are there any local Lebanese shops in your area?

There are a couple, but I still prefer to buy in my old area, as there seems to be more shops available there.

Mariam: Have you organized your house around the objects?

I have organized my pantry around my objects.

Mariam: I noticed when you were in the pantry you have a lot of olives and lentils in there, is that a traditional thing that has been done?

No, the olives are traditional as they come. I do have some other beans and lentils which are Lebanese, but they still do come from other cultures, so I have some Russian and Indian influences into the pantry as my wife is Russian/Indian, so there are other products in there.

Mariam: Do visitors notice?

They notice that we like to cook and that the wife and I enjoy cooking and we like to make sure that the food that we cook is to the flavour that it is suppose to be- that is the most important thing!

Mariam: What about your Lebanese BBQ?

If I do a Lebanese BBQ, it’s gotta be a Lebanese BBQ, we have to have the Kafta, lamb, Chicken- everything we cook, it has to be the way it is suppose to be. Nothing is overboard when it comes to food, and it is the way it is suppose to be.

Mariam: And do people notice?

Oh they notice! Sometimes the simplest thing in life is the most beautiful and tastiest thing!
Mariam: And do they comment on it?

I am pretty sure they do! I am sure that people will appreciate as the simplest flavour in the dishes is the most beautiful. Whether you make dishes like hummus, Tabbouleh, or any other dishes from any other culture- it is all about keeping it simple and not putting in flavours that are not suppose to be there.

Mariam: Do you want to past the recipes down to your children?

I do, I have my second eldest son who is really into it. He loves the flavours of traditional food, he watched me when I am making something in the kitchen, he will sit there and absorb every single bit of it, and to me that is important.

Mariam: So obviously food is one of the most important aspect to what you have taken?

To me it is! To me it is! To me, I can look at something like wine and then open the pantry and figure out what to make with it, I am sure!

Mariam: And do you find that making all this food, it provides that comfort of you remembering Lebanon?

No it doesn’t, but what it does, it brings me the comfort and memory of my culture.

Mariam: What are your favourite foods?

The simplest ones, a nice hummus, a nice kafta and a good tabbouleh- all the simple, nothing over the top, and Samkeh Harrah- the one I was deprived of!

Mariam: So out of all of the people I have interviewed, you are the only one who has taken it as being a soul aspect that you don’t need anything else except the knowledge on how to make the food.

It is important to know it! Oh my God!

Mariam: Did you learn it as a child our as your older?

I always use to ask my mum what is this what is that so that I know that the memory won’t be dead when she is gone. Every time I make a traditional Lebanese dish I will
ask my wife to taste it and then ask her ‘is it as good as my mum’s?’ Normally she will reply back to me yeah it is alright but your mum’s is still a bit better. Every day I will call up my mother and ask her for her recipes, and she always questions why I always call her up and I always reply because one day you won’t be here. These recipes will be a memory of my mother and something that I will hopefully pass on to my children.

Mariam: Thank you very much!

- END OF TRANSCRIPT-

Section Two:

Table C- 2: Sam Abboud’s object catalogue (Abboud, 2013).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Artefact Number</th>
<th>Artefact Class/Type</th>
<th>Location</th>
<th>Quantity</th>
<th>Description</th>
<th>Significance to the Owner</th>
<th>Origin</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>S001</td>
<td>Cooking Utensil- Lebanese Barbeque</td>
<td>Backyard</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>Made from steel, the BBQ is a rectangle box approx. 20cm deep, with a width of 30cm and a length of 80cm. The box stands on 4 legs, which are a meter off the ground.</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>Australia</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>S002</td>
<td>Cooking Utensil- Mortar and pestle</td>
<td>Kitchen</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>Made from granite, the pestle is a club-shaped, hand-held large bar which moves vertically to stamp or pound ingredients into the mortar, it is approx.</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>Australia</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Code</td>
<td>Description</td>
<td>Location</td>
<td>Quantity</td>
<td>Notes</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>------</td>
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<td>----------</td>
<td>----------------------------------------------------------------------</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>S003</td>
<td>Cooking Ingredients - Herbs and Spices</td>
<td>Pantry</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>Organised into glass jars, the collection of spices and herbs ranges from; chilli powder, rosemary, mixed herbs, Italian seasoning, zaatar, pepper, curry powder, bay leaves, coriander and basil.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>S004</td>
<td>Cooking Ingredients - Beans and Lentils</td>
<td>Pantry</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>Organised into large glass rectangle jars, the collection of beans and lentils ranges from; chick peas, red kidney beans, lentils, fava beans and Fasolia beans.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
APPENDIX D: Third Generation’s Data Results

Figure D – 1: Family Tree for Marian Abboud (Abboud, 2013).
Introduction:

This appendix will present the data collected from the first generation’s participants:

- Transcripts
- Artefact catalogues

Section One: Marian Abboud’s transcript and object catalogue.

Transcript – Marian Abboud Date: 05/08/2013

Mariam: Hi, can you please identify your name, your age, gender, birthdate and the area in which you currently live in.

Sure. My name is Marian Abboud, I live in Granville. I’m 39 years old, I was born in 1974, March 13 and I’m a female!!

Mariam: Can you tell me anything about yourself?

Um, I am a digital media artist. I enjoy working with people that have different realities. I have an amazing family and my aim in life is to change people’s opinions and broaden people’s horizons.

Mariam: Do you have any children?

I have three boys.

Mariam: Your husband, what does he work as?

My husband is the director of Campbelltown art gallery.

Mariam: do you know when your parents immigrated to Australia?

No… I don’t know the date that they immigrated.

Mariam: did you ask them or…?

Yeah they keep changing it.

Mariam: Ok, and how was life being raised here?
That’s a tough question as it changes in every phase growing up. So I suppose when I was little, so like preschool age, it was great—my life was just my immediate family. I didn’t really socialize with anyone else, I didn’t have friends, didn’t go to preschool, everything was built around the family and that was it. I think I didn’t even know that anyone else existed other than my family as I didn’t see anyone else. Going to school was very interesting! When I started school I didn’t know a word of English because I was the oldest child of I think the whole flight of people who decided to come here by boat and by plane because I think my parents both came by plane— and there was no other grandkids. There was no one who can actually speak fluent English when I was growing up. So going to school I didn’t know a word of English. I went to school and I didn’t know a word that everyone was saying, and I thought that everyone was strange, I hated it, and I just wanted to come home where everything was normal. So I actually thought that everyone else was abnormal and I was the only normal person.

**Mariam: Did it change as you got older?**

Um… yes! Throughout school I really suppose, I hated authority, and I hated people telling me what to do. So, I always defied everything that I was supposed to do. I think it is mainly because I started off where I felt like that everyone else was wrong because they all were speaking another language and they all were completely different so I was the one that was doing everything right! Also… I was very spoilt! A little spoilt kid, so I was allowed to do anything that I wanted at home, but it all kinda changed when I got into my teenage years. That’s when you had to grow up! And follow rules! So it got a bit confusing and messy! But honestly, after… well I was the eldest of 6 kids, and after Ronny (the fifth child) I realized that Oh my god I didn’t want to live with this crazy family with all these kids! So I think I built my own little world because I wanted to be by myself and move away from everything and venture out.

**Mariam: and how did you do it?**

I didn’t hang out with the wogs— I think that is number one. At school, there was only the wogs and the aussies, that’s it! Everyone was segregated with those two groups. And I didn’t hang around with the aussies! I hung out with a group called “the freaks!” and that was a group mixed with aussies and wogs, but we didn’t identify ourselves as
aussies or wogs. We were the middle section, so we created a common ground of things we like, such as music, expression, poetry, literature, it was a different dynamic- it wasn’t mainstream.

**Mariam: so I guess that changed your identity and personality as well?**

I don’t know if it… identity is a really really hard subject, because I still don’t understand identity now, even with three children- because what identity does is that it puts you in a category and I always tried to remove myself from categories so it is not something where I am happy to say “this is my identity or this is who I identify with” so that’s the tricky bit. But, my personality, I guess it made me a little bit less judgmental compared to all the Lebs I knew at the time. It was different, it was wrong and you know, they had books when we were growing up in high school of their wedding day. It was really weird time- growing up at school with a whole bunch of Lebs was really weird, because they were really into boys, getting married, and their hair and I didn’t care about any of that.

**Mariam: so compared to most Lebanese at the time, you were different?**

Yeah absolutely because I wasn’t interested in looking pretty for the boys, put lip gloss on etc.

**Mariam: and was it hard, coming from a family were you are the eldest?**

Yeah, absolutely, but yet again at home, growing up, I was three years older than my other sisters, so they became kinda friends with each other. So growing up mum would say “don’t look at Marian, don’t look at what she is doing! You are not allowed to do what she does or go where she goes!” So it was really kinda interesting how there was that divide while I was growing up. I wasn’t allowed to do things but I still did things, which was kinda interesting that they still let me do things. They were strict but I still managed to do things, so it was weird.

**Mariam: and was it hard marrying outside of the culture family wise?**

I think one of the main things that was really hard was people accepting my husband Michael, because he looks really different. Especially my dad, because he would come
over to meet dad and dad would walk out of the door! For a year whilst Michael and I was going out, dad didn’t stay in the same room as him! He didn’t think he “wasn’t from the right people”- as he put it. For dad, it was like, this is his princess and this man had to be better than every Lebanese guy because why would I look outside my culture? And because we were also different, it was like, “what the hell is going on with my daughter? She has gone crazy! She’s mad! She has lots of beautiful attributes, everyone would want her, why does she want someone with dreadlocks and piercings, skinny… you know because you couldn’t be a skinny boy! He didn’t even have a car, he caught the train which was a no no- and he use to call me late at night as well! That was a big no no! I remember when Michael first called me, it was quarter to 12, he had just finished working, he use to work at a petrol station, and I ran to grab the phone before mum did, and mum got to the phone first and said “What kind of a girl do you think my daughter is!? She is not a girl that you can call at any time of the night! This is a good house you are calling!” So um, yeah… it didn’t start off very good!

Mariam: Do you find that it was different as you were growing up, did the culture make it different in the way you were raised in Australia? Like, you know how you have so many different Australians who use to bring their wonder white bread to school and you wouldn’t of had that- so do you find that it was a big difference?

Because I grew up in Merrylands and went to school in Granville, I went to a multi-cultural school, so a lot of people had their zaatar sandwiches. They had their Lebanese bread and zaatar for lunch! Until high school, where we started to hide it because that was embarrassing! Then, we were introduced to more people. And that’s why I think when people migrate, they go to areas where other people in their culture have migrated to because they have already parted the way, you are in an area that has quite a lot of Lebanese people as it is, so it made it easier. You didn’t feel so weird growing up.

Mariam: and your kids now, how do they feel?

So they are the complete opposite of me! My son Xavier he wants to marry a Lebanese girl so he can have Lebanese children! They want to go to Lebanon. They love when I speak the language because they don’t know Arabic. They love BBQ on a Sunday, they love going to church- something that I hated but they love it! I hated going to church
because it was ran by men. They really embrace and love bible stories, because the bible is a pretty interesting book. They want to go to church- they ask me to go every Sunday, which is different because we were forced to go to church so I hated it! I just couldn’t wait to get out of there, and now my kids love it! They want to go to church! Really it is quite interesting that when you are forced to do something… maybe they are rebelling against me because they are free to do what they want!?

**Mariam: so you and your husband are from different ethnic backgrounds, do you find that they go more towards being Lebanese than Italian?**

Absolutely! Yeah… because my Lebanese culture is a lot stronger than Michael’s Italian culture- because I was brought up with proud Lebanese parents, while Michael was brought up with parents who wanted to assimilate into the Australian culture. So he was brought up thinking that he was Australian, whilst I was brought up, and I knew, that I was Lebanese. All my decisions were based on being a good Lebanese girl- because that was an important thing that we were taught while we were growing up. And in my family, the first kid was meant to be a boy, but it was me… and so were the second and third kids were girls. It wasn’t until the fourth child when they had a boy. So I always had to try to prove that even though I was not a boy but I was the eldest, I was still as important as the boy. I think that was one of my main things why I refused to be a follower.

**Mariam: So the house that you currently live in, when did you buy it?**

2003

**Mariam: and the house that you live in, how is it designed, is it a federation home or...?**

This house is actually called a Widow’s cottage- it was built in the war when a lot of our soldiers would go out and wouldn’t come back- so a lot of the wives would have these little beautiful houses. It is a federation style house, it is double brick, very strong, and on my side of the street, they are all little widows cottages, but on the other side, all the houses are on 1200sqm land. So that would be the fairly blocks, and this side would be were all the widows would live.
Mariam: have you made any changes to the house?

Yes- we have pretty much decked out the whole house. We extended and doubled our house in size. Our house ended where that wall was. So we added an extra dining room, living room, bathroom, laundry and the kitchen use to be outside, same with the bathroom.

Mariam: how have you decorated the home?

It is a collective mix of everything! Memories, photographs, art, sound objects, they are the main things I think. A lot of the work in here are mine or my husbands.

Mariam: you have some beautiful stain glass windows I see…

Yeah we wanted to keep the house’s character and look when we renovated, so we kept the cedar wood, and we tried to keep some stain glass windows. We wanted it to stay as authentic as possible. The look is quite decorative, even though we have features that are quite modern, we still wanted to maintain that look. And I think the reason why we didn’t grow up cutting out pictures from bridal magazines on what our wedding dress was going to look like was because mum said number one, you are going to have an education! Before anything, before a boyfriend, don’t even talk about it, because an education is the first thing you are going to have, because when she was growing up, her parents were very poor so they couldn’t put her through school, so she spent a lot of the time crying because they would have to take her out of school so she could work!

Mariam: did you ever do any work on Lebanese heritage when you finished school?

Yes, when I first kind of established myself as an artist, the first exhibition I was in was called “Arab-made” and it was at the powerhouse. And I exhibited two large murals in black and white of Adam and Eve. And I was Eve, and Michael was Adam. That was the first thing I ever did and it was really playing on the idea of religion and culture-these two things have been topics in my artworks for ever! And the next exhibition was about “Jirrin journeys” it was fantastic! It was like a huge mortar and pestle made out of limestone, which was brought on the boats and they would make kibbeh out of them. And these crazy people, they are fleeing their homeland, they will come on a ship, and
this is what they bring with them! A suitcase with their clothes and this giant heavy limestone mortar and pestle which ways a tonne but for them, this was culture and without this, they couldn’t make their main food which was kibbeh. What we did is that we went around and interviewed 40 people who brought this with them on the ship, and they have them as the pride of the house, they are all displayed nicely. A lot of them haven’t been used, because either their parents had them or they passed them on to their kids. A lot of the people who had them, they would talk about when they left Lebanon, they didn’t know if they could make Kibbeh, they didn’t know what was here in Australia. So that was one of the main kind of things why these objects became important because it wasn’t just about the object, but it was trying to keep the culture, food and heritage together and take that with you to Australia. The exhibition is actually at the powerhouse museum, they have all the artefacts and photographs, and it has travelled around Australia so it has been pretty well.

Mariam: I remember I read an article about you were it referred to you as “Young Australian Lebanese Artist”, so I guess you wear it with pride?

Absolutely! It took me a long time to get to that stage, but I don’t think I would be the person I am or make the works that I have made without my culture because it is so strong. And no matter how much you try to drift from the fold when you are growing up, to try to assimilate and fit in, when you get older and especially when you have kids, you realize how important that culture is and how the culture nourishes you, feeds you and helps you grow. So even though how much I tried to cut my roots and fly away, they were too strong in a way that nothing else could compare with parents that love you, a family that is supportive, a culture that is so embedded in everything that you do, to the herbs that you use, the clothes that you wear, the sounds of the music, everything that surrounds you is based around this culture, it is so inviting that it is hard now to separate. So I do wear it in pride now after I tried to rebel from everything, not just the culture, as I needed to find my place in the world, growing up in a strict catholic Lebanese family, It was hard to do that. That is why, I don’t do that to my children, I want them to find their place.

Mariam: Going back to the objects in your house that have a special meaning to you, and if so, what are they?
Yes, the first object I want to start with is this sculpture. Now, this sculpture has been a doorstopper at my parents house for over 20 years, I found it underneath my dads house, and I took it. And I asked dad about this, and I asked him “what is it?”. He said “I use to work at Bronya, and we use to melt metal, and I use to get the extra metal and I use to melt it and make these sculptures. So this is one of my dad’s artworks, but I didn’t notice because it was always used as a door stopper when I was growing up. It wasn’t until the five years or 10 years that I hadn’t seen it and I found it under the house. The reason why we found it is because dad is ill and we have been clearing out under the house and clearing out all this stuff, he was going to throw this! And I was like, you can’t throw this! This is what I remember all of my life! So it is important to me, it links me with dad and I think dad is a little bit artistic - he is a secret artist, and I think if he had the chance, he would have been one. What I saved from the rubbish!

The next object which I love is the number plates from my first car! I love this because my dad built my first car, a Isuzu Bellet 1968 Model. There was hardly any cars like it, it use to break down every time I drove it, but I used it for 10 years! I had to give it up when it broke down while I was 7 and a half months pregnant with my first child in Blacktown and I couldn’t get it started again. So we had to give it up, but I took the plates! My sister and I use to drive it and we use to call it “unidentified female vehicle”. I got it in 2000 and it lasted until 2004.

What else, I keep these lovely objects, which is my son’s hair. Growing up, I had so much grief, which is funny because after you kinda get judged as a person, when you are mum you get judged even more. I chose not to cut my sons hair when they were young, I chose to cut it when they went to school. And my god it was such a hocus pocus drama! They are not girls! Why are you keeping there hair long! Bla bla blah! And I thought, you know what, they have beautiful hair, it is easy for me to maintain it, and they don’t mind it – so why is everyone so concerned? Anyway, when my boys went to school, we had to cut their hair and we had a hair cutting party for them. I kept their hair, Xavier’s is turning into a wig at the moment, so I am going to keep half of the hair and the rest I am going to donate to cancer research. So this is an object that I would pass down to them when they are older.
These are objects that, I have never been to Lebanon, I know it is very sad! When my dad came back from his last trip, he got us these beautiful key rings, and they are little bits of the cedar tree, and it has Lebanon and our name “Marian” engraved on them, and he brought back three rosary beads for the boys, with their names engraved on them as well - and they love them, they are very special. We have always heard about how amazing the soil is in Lebanon and the water, so it is nice to have a little bit of it here with us. It is nice to have a bit of the homeland here with us. I do want to go, and I want to take my boys because they are very excited to visit Lebanon.

Next object, this is a painting by Gina Zizonsich she is a polish refugee that escaped her country. This is called the Garden of Eden, it is Eve expecting a baby. Michael bought this for me when I was pregnant with my first son, so this painting really looks at the next stage of my life as a mum, and I think it is really beautiful, and I really love it! I really love how in this painting, all the animals have their babies with them, and Eve has this really big belly, and the tempting snake is there with the apple in its mouth, but Eve and Adam are so in love that they don’t even notice it! I think that kinda says that love conquers all and if you stay together and are defiant, you can seriously beat temptation.

Next object that I love is this beautiful arghileh (also called shishi) but we call it arghileh. This object is from Lebanon but I actually bought it from a Middle Eastern fair and I got very excited because it was hand painted. I haven’t used this one, I have another one that I use, but this one is for purely decorative reasons. I think the whole idea of an arghileh is that it is a relaxing pass time. So I like how it looks, I like that it is made from brass, it is really heavy, extremely decorative - you don’t want to use it because you don’t want to wreck it, and I think that a lot of things in the Lebanese culture is like that- it is so beautiful that you don’t want to wreck it- it may be why they cover there lounges in plastic!

Is that all my objects? No, my laptop! I have to have my laptop! I think in this day and age you cannot have an object that doesn’t let you look into the future, or help you with your life, or give you all the bits of digital information you will ever need! All of my work is about digital art, all my images are now digital. This laptop has about half my
life in it, it has everything. I take it with me everywhere, I record on it, I create artwork with it and sometimes I even sleep with it!

Mariam: You obviously have spoken about how these objects are important to you, and how you have acquired them, but do you know any of the history of any of the objects? So you said one was from your dad, and one was from the Middle Eastern fair- but thinking back, you have pretty much covered all that- that’s pretty good!

Yeah… yeah

Mariam: You have also spoken about that your objects are mainly used for decorative purposes, but do you use any of the objects often or is it simply for decorative purposes?

My laptop and my jewellery box are the two objects that I use all of the time.

Mariam: do you store them in a specific way?

Yes, a lot of these objects do take pride in my house, they have a nice place. The arghileh sits on a nice mantle-piece which you can see when you open the front door, the light catches on it and it shines quite beautifully with the western sunset- so it is a really nice spot for it, and because of the pattern work- the light creates really nice shadows. The hair, my boy’s hair, sits in the niche right at the top so it is above us whenever we eat dinner- so it is another special spots that they take. The rosary beads and the keychain sit on top of the kitchen because I spend a lot of time at the kitchen sink these days-so it is nice to see these things and to be reminded of my heritage- my dad, his travels, and the colours are quite nice because they are quite earthy, they bring some rawness to my house because my house is mainly black and red. The painting, we haven't put up yet- it sits in my bedroom on top of the TV. I don’t know, it kinda has just sat there since we got it, and I am use to looking at it every night before I go to sleep, so I suppose that is a special spot. The number plates unfortunately, are not displayed at all- they are more of a momentum about my first car. The statue, I wanted to use it as a door stopper, but then I decided to leave it up on the shelf there. It was interesting that I pulled it out because when my family comes over, they remember it
and they say “wasn’t that they door stopper at mum’s and dad’s house?” and I say “yes it was! It was a doorstopper in one house and an artwork in another!”.

**Mariam: Have you organized the spacial arrangement of the house to accommodate for the objects?**

Absolutely! I change my house around every few weeks- I don’t leave the objects in the same spots all the time, and depending on what I feel like, and what I miss, I will move it around so I can see it all. I am someone who I need to see my objects a lot. Depending where I am in the house, like if there are some major events happening, I make sure that the objects are displayed well and I can see them from the other room. I think it is really important that your house, your walls, your objects and your furniture work together. They create a nice sense of harmony. My house is filled with pictures as well… and my pictures are really important to me- coming from a photographic background, I feel that it is important that I see them. Especially my table which is a mishmash of images and invitations.

**Mariam: do visitors notice these objects and do they say anything about them?**

Yes they do! I get asked a lot of questions about particular objects, depending what interests them. We use to have this Buddha which Michael got from Cambodia, in which we were asked so many times whether we were Buddhists! I got so sick of it that now I moved it and it sits in the niche! We just bought it because it was a nice antique piece, not because we are Buddhist. I get asked a lot of questions about the artworks I have scattered around the house, what does the artwork mean. We find it interesting that people want to engage with what they see, and that it is not just for decorative purposes. A lot of people look at these artworks and then they want to know what they mean. For example, there is a picture of my dad that was in the photography competition at the NSW art gallery. And everyone keeps asking me “why have you drawn all over him? What was the significance of it? The whole idea was about Lebanese cooking, every time I want to ask mum and dad they just say “You just have to taste it! A handful of this and a pinch of that” still- up to this day, I don’t have proper measurements for anything that mum makes. So all over dads body- I have written all the different cooking measurements because I would like to know whether it is one cup or two, not
finger-deep. This photo sits in my kitchen because his face is my frustration when I want to cook.

**Mariam: the arghileh and the rosaries, does anyone notice them?**

Definitely. With the arghileh, everyone says how beautiful it is and they ask whether we use it. The rosaries, the boys pray with them every night, and people ask where do the rosaries come from, and they see that they have the boy’s names has been burnt into them and they think that it is quite special. The boys are really into praying at the moment, we light a candle and they are really amazing with their prayers, and they really want to learn the rosary and I think it is really cool that they want to do that.

**Mariam: do you have any aspirations in wanting to hand these objects down to your kids?**

Absolutely- yep! All of them! Except my laptop, I will probably burn that! And I am not too sure about my jewellery box. I think that some things won’t be significant to my children. The number plates are significant to me, the rosary beads are significant to them, their hair- definitely- that’s pretty cool that they have that- and the arghileh, that’s pretty special.

**Mariam: Thank you!**

-**END OF TRANSCRIPT**-

**Section Two:**

**Table D – 1: Marian Abboud’s object catalogue (Abboud, 2013).**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Artefact Number</th>
<th>Artefact Class/Type</th>
<th>Location</th>
<th>Quantity</th>
<th>Description</th>
<th>Significance to the Owner</th>
<th>Origin</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>M001</td>
<td>Living Room</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>The sculpture is made from iron and is approx. 30cm wide with a</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>Australia</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ornament-Metal Sculpture</td>
<td>height of 20cm. The sculpture was created over a period of a month where small amounts of melted iron would be continuously poured onto the base of the sculpture.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<td>--------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>M002 Ornament-Cedar key ring</td>
<td>The key ring is made from a cut piece of a cedar branch, it is approx. 5cm in diameter and has engraved on one side Marian and the other Lebanon and an image of a cedar.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>M003 Ornament-Arguileh Hallway/Living Room</td>
<td>The Arguileh is a type of water pipe with a long flexible tube by which the smoke is drawn through a jar of water. The pipe is made from brass and has faint decorative designs carved into it; the Arguileh is over 1.4 m high. The jar is decorated by a very fine gold, white and blue floral design. The tube is cover in gold and blue braids, with sheep’s wool covering the ends, where the nozzles are attached.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>M004 Ornament-Family Photos Living Room</td>
<td>The family photos adorn a wall in her living room. The theme of the photos varies</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Australia

Lebanon/Australia
from her wedding, the birth of her children and the passport photos belonging to her parents.

| M005   | Ornament-Adam and Eve Painting | Bedroom | 1 | The painting was done by a polish migrant and is 60cm x 40cm in size. The painting depicts the Adam and Eve scene, with different animals and their young. This painting was given to her as a gift to represent the next stage of her life, motherhood. | 1 | Australia |
| M006   | Ornament-Screen Printed Photograph | Kitchen  | 1 | The screen printed photography is 40cm x 60cm. The image depicts her father covered in painted words, which are all in reference to the measurements used in Lebanese cooking. | 1 | Australia |
| M007   | Ornament-Lock of children’s hair | Dining Room | 3 | There are three ponytails, each roughly about 35cm long. They are stored in a glass vase/jar, which is stored on a shelf in the dining room. | 1 | Australia |
| M008   | Ornaments - Number Plates | Living Room | 1 | The number plate (metal) belonged to her first car and is approx 30cm x 10cm. The licence plate UFV-846, NSW towards 2000, the numbers on the licence | 1 | Australia |
plate are referred to as the Unidentified Female Vehicle.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>M009</th>
<th>Work Equipment-Mac Laptop</th>
<th>Living Room</th>
<th>1</th>
<th>The Mac laptop is 36x20 cm. It is silver in colour and is used primarily for her work as a digital media artist.</th>
<th>1</th>
<th>Australia</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>M010</td>
<td>Religious Ornaments-Cedar Rosaries</td>
<td>Kitchen</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>Made from cedar wood, each rosary is approx. 35cm long. On the cross of each rosary the names of her children have been engraved, Frances, Xavier, Dante.</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>Lebanon</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Section Two: Peter Abboud Junior’s transcript and object catalogue.

Transcript – Peter Abboud  

Date: 08/08/2013

Mariam: Hi, can you please identify your name, age, gender, birthdate and area in which you live in.

Peter Abboud, 23 July 1985, male and the area I live in is Merrylands, Sydney, NSW.

Mariam: Can you tell me anything about yourself?

I just turned 28 years old, I eldest of four children, I have two brother Robert and Paul and a sister Mariam. My parents emigrated to Australia when they were children and have live here for most of their lives. My parents both come from large family and have even bigger extended families. I’m actually named after my grandfather (father’s father) as I am the eldest grandchildren and it is customary for us to name the eldest grandchildren after their grandfather. Because of this I was a spoilt growing up.

I work in the construction industry, and currently still live with my parents, and I have my own company, doing property maintenance work, which is mostly done with the help of my father.

Mariam: Can you tell me anything about your home life?

As I said I live with at home with my parents, so I am a very family orientated person and I won’t leave the house until I am married- which hopefully will be soon. We were taught by our mother that if we wanted to leave the home, than we had to be married, we were not allowed to let our partners live with us as it is seen as a big disrespect to our parents.

Mariam: So tell me about your education here in Australia?

I went to Our lady of Lebanon College from kindergarten to year 12. I was taught Arabic from kindergarten up until year 10. We learnt how to speak French for two years between year 8 and year 10. But Arabic was compulsory so we learnt how to read and write. A majority of the student were of Lebanese descent or the parents were born in Lebanon.
Mariam: And what was the culture predominately there?

Lebanese- Arabic background.

Mariam: Was it very difficult and different going into the real world when you finished school considering that you came from a school that was predominately from the same background?

Yes because all of my friends were Lebanese, but it was a bit hard because I grew up with all of my friends and we were all Lebanese. I wouldn’t say it was hard, but different, because I was use to hanging out with all of my Lebanese friends, but out in the real world, working for an Australian company, it was different to what I was use to.

But going to this school did have some benefits as I was able to appreciate the Lebanese culture, the food and the language, which the generation before mine did not (it was lost to them, because they were embarrassed by it). The school was very accepting and all the student were in the same boat as they were all raised with similar customs (we all understood what was right and wrong within the culture – the choice you made in life).

Mariam: Now can you please tell me about the house that you are currently living in.

The house that I am living in is fairly new, only a year old. I built it myself. It is very modern as everything is these days, all of the latest trends and looks, it is built for something for the present time, not for a classic look. It is an updated look and it will last for 10 years.

Mariam: Did you have to fight to get the design the way you wanted it.

It was very hard, because my parents they were use to things that weren’t up to date with society and this time, they were not in touch of the modern things of this house and the things that were coming out of the construction industry. It was hard but eventually they got around to it and they understood where I was coming from.

Mariam: When you eventually do buy your own house, do you want to go for a modern house?
I want to go for something early 1900s, I love the heritage look. I want something old school. I love all of the heritage work and all of the heritage houses – houses like that aren’t built anymore and the workmanship is way better to what it is today.

**Mariam: Looking at your house at the moment, are there any objects in the home that are very important to you?**

Yes, photos, rosaries, religious photos that we have and we have put up, things I have receive from my grandparents overseas, Lebanese Durbakke drums etc, they have a significant meaning in my life. Also, a massive print of the virgin Mary, which I received from Mexico, which I am in love with, and I have a tattoo of that actual Mary, the same picture that I bought from Mexico.

**Mariam: Why are they important to you, like the Durbakke?**

They are gifts from family, it’s who we are, its who I am, and I love playing the durbakke. When I was young, I was brought up playing the durbakke and I loved it! I absolutely love Lebanese music and durbakke are another way of expressing this. The durbakke also remind me of my childhood and when I play them, it takes me back to the times when I was a child and my siblings use to dance when I play it for them.

**Mariam: The photos are important to you because you received them when you were in Mexico?**

Yes, that’s correct.

**Mariam: And the rosary?**

In our religion the rosary means a lot. Mary is like our mother and we are very family orientated and very religious family, we went to church a lot and we prayed the rosary. So the rosary has a significant meaning in my life that’s why I keep it close to my heart and it is on the wall in my house.

**Mariam: Do you know the history of your objects?**

There is only one that I do know of which is the Lebanese durbakke, it is made out of sheep’s skin, which is very very old. My grandfather, who passed away now, got that
for me a very long time ago, things like this you can’t buy anymore. It is sheep skin that has been tightened and stretched over a clay drum, and it gives it a different sound once it is heated up. My grandfather gave me the durbakke for my fifth birthday and every morning I would wake up and play it. This type of drum was played by all the old professional and cost my grandfathers over $100. The neighbors would constantly ask why my parents were always having parties because I play it so well. My mother always says to me that the durbakke was one of my first love of the culture as from an early age (4) I had a miniature version of the drum which I played at my brothers Christenings.

Mariam: You also have another durbakke that I saw?

Yes I do, that durbakke is a more modern drum. It is made out of metal, aluminum, which is a commonly used drum, the other durbakke is very antique and very rare.

Mariam: Where did you acquire the newer durbakke from?

From Lebanon too, when I went there when I was young- about 6 or 7 years old, and I brought it back with me. I saw the durbakke in the shop in Lebanon and it was newer version of the one I had at home, so I begged my parents for it and they agreed to buy it for me under one condition; that I would carry and look after the durbakke the entire journey home as we could not put it in the suitcase as it would get damaged. I carried that durbakke the entire journey and never let go of it, and even though I don’t use them very often, they hold a special place in my heart and it would take a lot for me to part with them and that saying a lot considering I don’t have a lot of sentimental value to objects.

Mariam: The history of your photo, you said you bought that from Mexico, so how did you get the rosary?

From an uncle of ours, back when we were in Lebanon he gave it to my family, and it meant a lot for us. It was carved by him and it was a family ornament, and it has been in our family for years. And when he passed away, the rosary now means more considering he made it with his own hands.

Mariam: What do you use the objects for?
The durbakkes we use them for parties and gathering where everyone wants to sing and dance, weddings, mostly joyous occasions. Especially my sibling’s birthdays I always bring out the durbakkes to play them. Now even when I got to family events and they have a drum or durbakke or professional playing one they ask me to play for them.

Mariam: Have you used your durbakkes recently?

No I haven’t used them for a while.

Mariam: And where does the photo and rosary stay?

The photo stays in my mum’s room, where it is drape over her bed and the rosary is downstairs in the TV room hanging on the wall, so everyone can see the beautiful hand made caved rosary.

Mariam: Now are your objects in your home stored in a particular way?

The durbakkes are, I have kept them in my cupboard, the rosary is on the wall and the photo is in my mum’s room so she looks after that for me.

Mariam: And do you organize the spatial layout of your home around the objects?

Not necessarily.

Mariam: Do visitors notice the object?

They do, especially the rosary because as soon as you walk into the house it hits you because it is right in front of your face.

Mariam: What comments do they make about them?

They love how it looks, they haven’t seen something like that because of its size and the way that it is carved, also they ask us where we bought it or who made it for us.

Mariam: And your durbakkes?

The durbakkes, the more modern drum, I don’t get any comments about but the sheep skin durbakke, I get a lot of comments about because it is very rare and you don’t see it around very often as many people don’t play it anymore, they use the newer versions, as
the older durbakke need constant care and maintenance. If the skin breaks on the older durbakke you need to take it to a professional to get a new skin and get it re-stretched.

**Mariam: Do you plan on handing your objects down to future generations?**

I would one day pass down the durbakke to my son when the day does come.

**Mariam: And why do you want to pass it down?**

Because it is who I am and who we are, it is our family, it is our tradition. If we don’t pass down who we are, our tradition dies and we can’t have that in our family. It has been passed down to me from my family (older generations) and it something I want to make sure doesn’t die.

**Mariam: What are the most important aspect you find of your culture?**

Food and family gatherings.

**Mariam: With the family gatherings, do you get much food there?**

Plenty of food! Everyone makes food and we come together to eat, most religious and special occasions call for family gatherings where there is plenty of food.

**Mariam: And what aspects of your family gathering make it so important?**

Food brings everyone together, food to us is a main source of everyone coming together, and we eat and talk around the table. We eat with our hands and it makes it a lot warmer when you are there eating food with your family. We all enjoy ourselves, and we just talk and drink and that is how it has always been. With family it is always casual and we are always relaxed. When I was younger the entire family would have lunch every Sunday at my grandparents’ house.

**Mariam: And your parents immigrated here when they were children right?**

Yes.

**Mariam: And do you find that your parents, from an early age, instilled this culture into you?**

Yes they have, if they didn’t, they wouldn’t have sent me to a Lebanese school.
Mariam: And did you live with anyone before you moved into this house?

I lived with my grandparents at a young age, till the age of 2-3 years old. When I lived with my grandparents and they spoilt me rotten as I was given everything I wanted. From an early I loved Lebanese food as my grandmother use to make me all the traditional meals and my grandfather use to prepare all the meats for everyone. If I didn’t live with my grandparents and always go over I don’t think my love for food would be as strong.

Mariam: And over there, food was important?

Yes, because food and alcohol were are common things that everyone loved and share amongst each other.

Mariam: Are there any other aspects other than food?

Language is still important, as I work with people who are Lebanese or Arabic speaking background, so I find it is easier for me to communicate with them.

Mariam: Thank you

- END OF TRANSCRIPT-

Section Two:

Table D – 2: Peter Abboud Junior’s object catalogue (Abboud, 2103).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Artefact Number</th>
<th>Artefact Class/Type</th>
<th>Location</th>
<th>Quantity</th>
<th>Description</th>
<th>Significance to the Owner</th>
<th>Origin</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>PJ001</td>
<td>Musical Ornament Clay Durbakke</td>
<td>Bedroom 3</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>The Durbakke is made from clay and has been decorated with tortoise shell pieces. The Durbakke has goat skin, stretched over a vase-</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>Lebanon/ Australia</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PJ002</td>
<td>Musical Ornament Aluminium Durbakke</td>
<td>Bedroom 3</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>The Durbakke is made from aluminum and has been painted along the base and neck of the drum. The Durbakke has a thin piece of plastic stretched over a vase-shaped drum with a wide neck. The base of the drum is approx. 30cm in diameter, with the neck being 50m long.</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>Lebanon/Australia</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PJ003</td>
<td>Religious Ornament Image of Our Lady of Guadalupe</td>
<td>Bedroom 2</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>The image is etched into a piece of leather which is approx. 40cm x 60cm. The image depicts the Virgin Mary standing whilst being surrounded by bright rays of light and colour.</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>Mexico</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PJ004</td>
<td>Religious Ornament Rosary</td>
<td>Living Room</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>Made from hand carved olive branches (by his father’s uncle Ronny Abboud), with copper links, the rosary is over 4m long.</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>Lebanon</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>