

# **Ethnic Identity and Heritage Language for Sydney's Armenian Adolescents**

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# Abstract

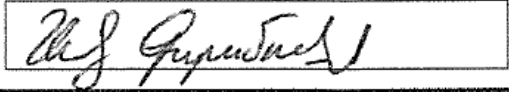
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The Armenian community of Australia perceives the preservation of their identity to be dependent upon the maintenance of the Armenian language. For adolescents in the Armenian community, the maintenance of language and identity is supported by the mainstream heritage language school, Galstaun College, complementary heritage language schools and community organisations in Sydney. This study aims to analyse whether adolescents attending Galstaun College who are involved in community organisations possess a higher solidarity with the Armenian community (the in-group), compared to adolescents attending the various complementary schools. Utilising a quantitative questionnaire and a qualitative semi-structured interview, data was collected from 13 Complementary School Students (CSS) and 11 Mainstream School Students (MSS). It was found that MSS possess a higher solidarity with the in-group, as they identify with their ethnicity and consider the Armenian language an important element of the in-group. Complementary School Students display a preference for organisations outside the community (out-group) and an increasingly hybrid Australian-Armenian identity. However, for CSS, the memory of the Armenian Genocide and the unfamiliarity of the Armenian identity by the out-group ensure their continued identification with the in-group and, as a result, medium to high levels of solidarity. Attendance at Galstaun College and participation in primarily in-group organisations increases solidarity with the in-group and the student's attachment to the language and identity, whilst attendance at complementary schools and involvement in out-group organisations leads to signs of wavering solidarity with the in-group.

# Author's statement

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I confirm that this work has not been submitted for a higher degree to any other university or institution. The sources of information I have used, and the work of others that I have used, have been appropriately referenced in this document. I have complied with the terms of the Human Research Ethics Committee approval reference number 5201400733.

A rectangular box containing a handwritten signature in black ink. The signature appears to be 'Armen Samuel Karamanian' written in a cursive style.

Armen Samuel Karamanian

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# Acknowledgements

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Thank you.

# List of Abbreviations

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AGBU	Armenian General Benevolent Union
ANC	Armenian National Committee
ARF	Armenian Revolutionary Federation ( <i>tashnag</i> )
ARS	Armenian Relief Society
ASDC	Armenian Sydney Dance Company
AVC	Armenian Virtual College
AYF	Armenian Youth Federation
CSS	Complementary School Students
ELIT	Ethnolinguistic Identity Theory
HMEM	Homenetmen Sports Club
MSS	Mainstream School Students



# Introduction

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## *Background*

Armenians in Australia perceive the preservation of their identity to be dependent upon the maintenance of Armenian as a functional language (Kirkland 1982). For adolescents in the Armenian community of Sydney<sup>1</sup>, language and identity preservation has been made possible due to the established heritage language schools and community organisations. These organisations have been found to play a passive role with respect to language maintenance, by providing a space where the language can be used outside the home (Kirkland 1982). Mainstream Armenian colleges, such as Galstaun College, provide education in a predominantly ethnic Armenian environment five days a week to over 270 students, whilst complementary schools provide approximately five hours of Armenian education on Saturdays, to students attending a government, Catholic or independent school during the week. Although both mainstream and complementary Armenian schools influence the individual's ethnic identity and heritage language, their levels of influence have yet to be examined. This study aims to analyse whether adolescents attending Galstaun College and involved in community organisations possess a higher solidarity with the Armenian community (in-group), compared to adolescents attending complementary schools. A heightened sense of solidarity is said to lead to greater identification with the ethnic identity and more support for the heritage language, as an important marker of group identity (Giles and Johnson 1987).

Past research on ethnic communities has demonstrated the limited influence complementary schools provide for language and identity maintenance (Oriyama 2010; Papavlou and Pavlou 2001). These complementary schools were viewed as transitional education institutions

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<sup>1</sup> There are approximately 532 adolescents aged 15 to 18 years residing in the Greater Sydney area based on the 2011 Australian Census.

preparing the way for mainstream bilingual colleges (Tamis 1990). Mainstream bilingual schools, on the other hand, were expected to provide an appropriate environment for the heritage language to develop (Tamis 1990). The question remains whether complementary schools can provide sufficient encouragement and support for students to identify in terms of their ethnicity and maintain the heritage language, compared to the mainstream Armenian school.

Encouragement and support by schools for identity development and language maintenance are found to be more efficient when supported by the community's organisations (Edwards 2009; Oriyama 2010). The community's organisations provide a space where the heritage language and ethnic identity can be enhanced through social interaction and educational initiatives (Feuer 2008; Park and Sarkar 2007). These organisations include cultural, political, religious and sporting bodies, which act as indirect language retentive organisations in providing an awareness of the cultural and linguistic elements of the community. However, some organisations are found to provide more than just language support, rather a connection between the individual and the homeland (Safran 2005).

Connection to the homeland is said to be particularly significant for Diaspora communities who, having been dispersed from their original homeland, retain a collective memory of it and of their sufferings, such as deportation, exile and genocide (Canagarajah and Silberstein 2012; Safran 2005). For the Armenian community, the memory of the Armenian Genocide<sup>2</sup> has continued to tie the community to its homeland, language and ethnic identity; as the Genocide became the defining point of contemporary Armenian identity (Panossian 2002). Armenian organisations worldwide have used the memory of the Genocide as a way to evoke an emotional response from its community members, with the intent of encouraging collective unity and ethnic revitalisation (Paul 2000). In addition to the main aim, this study will explore the significance the Genocide has on the memory of a number of adolescents in the Armenian

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<sup>2</sup> The Armenian Genocide (1915–1918) resulted in the murder of over 1.5 million Armenians in the Ottoman Empire.

community of Sydney, thus discovering how this memory influences the adolescent's solidarity with the in-group and their decision to maintain their heritage language and ethnic identity.

### *Theoretical Framework*

Traditionally, the study of language maintenance was analysed from a sociological perspective, as data was most often collected at a macro level examining group tendencies (Giles and Johnson 1987). However, Giles and Johnson (1987) found that individuals who are part of a group are more likely to make up their own mind as to whether they will maintain their heritage language. As such, a social-psychological approach was formed known as Ethnolinguistic Identity Theory (ELIT) to address this issue; by focusing on the perceived ethnic identification of the individual as the main variable in the speaker's affiliation with a particular in-group.

ELIT utilises social-psychological factors present in the relationship between ethnicity and language to determine the individual's levels of solidarity with the ethnic group (the in-group). These variables include the individual's perception of their in-group's vitality, their in-group's boundaries and their own membership in in-group and out-group social categories. As such, it is likely individuals will maintain their ethnolinguistic identity when they display a strong sense of identification with the in-group, a lower perception of the out-group and a lower level of identification with social categories that are not ethnically based. Other factors relevant to communities such as the Armenians, including the connection to the homeland and the collective memory of the Genocide, have a tendency to influence the variables of ELIT (Baser and Swain 2009). An exception is made, for example, individuals who perceive their in-group's boundaries to be open and less restrictive but consider their in-group's vitality to be high, will also be likely to maintain their ethnolinguistic identity (Giles and Johnson 1987).

The level of solidarity with the ethnic group is said to influence the individual's identification with their ethnicity and the importance they place on the heritage language.

### *Gap in research*

A great deal of research in the field of language maintenance and ethnic identity has focused on the important role of the home. The home is of course a strong influence and one I don't plan on challenging in this research, especially as they are considered the source of one's ethnic identity and heritage language (Yip 2005). However, the growing shift away from the use of the heritage language has led to language increasingly becoming symbolic, rather than for use in communicating (Edwards and Chisholm 1987; Finocchiaro 1995; Oriyama 2010). As the shift away from the heritage language becomes more apparent, the home requires the assistance of both direct and indirect language retentive organisations, such as schools and community organisations.

Schools and community organisations have gradually assumed the role of instilling a sense of pride in the students' ethnic identity and heritage language. Complementary schools operating on the weekend aim to educate students on the importance of language and culture; whilst mainstream schools go a step further by enhancing the prestige of the heritage language in an environment dominated by the identity of the ethnic group.

### *Aims of the Project and Hypothesis*

The aim of this study is to gain an insight into whether Mainstream School Students (MSS) who attend Galstaun College are more likely to maintain their heritage language and ethnic identity than the Complementary School Students (CSS). Included in this aim are the following questions:

- What is the social identity of Armenian adolescents in Sydney and how does language contribute to their perceived identity?
- Is there a preference shown towards in-group or out-group organisations and what factors influence this preference?
- How do adolescents perceive their in-group's vitality and the community's ability to maintain its ethnic identity and heritage language?
- Do adolescents perceive the in-group to have weak boundaries and what factors contribute to these perceived boundaries?
- Which social categories do adolescents participate in and what is the role of language and identity in their decision to take part in an in-group or out-group social category?

By addressing these questions, I intend to test the hypothesis that Armenian adolescents in Sydney who attend a mainstream Armenian school and partake in community organisations may be more likely to act in solidarity with their in-group, and be resolute in the preservation of their heritage language, compared to their complementary school colleagues. This remains a key issue for ethnic communities in Australia, as new generations are encouraged to learn their heritage language and maintain a sense of pride in their ethnic identity in the presence of a dominant English language and a multicultural Australia (Hatoss 2004; Mejía 2015; Oriyama 2010). This is particularly the case for the Armenian community, as issues such as identity and language maintenance play a role in the community's ongoing survival as a people following the events of the Genocide (Paul 2000).

## **Methods**

This study utilises a quantitative and qualitative method of data collection, through a questionnaire and in-depth interview. The questionnaire was developed to address the factors that influence how an individual defines themselves in social contexts, by utilising the four elements of social identity theory (Schwartz et al. 2014; Tajfel and Turner 1979) and two

additional variables relevant to the study: attitude towards language and memory of genocide. The semi-structured interview was designed to discuss the variables that affect the individual's solidarity with their in-group, including their perception of the in-group's vitality; its perceived boundaries; and membership in in-group or out-group organisations. Oppenheim (1992) was used as a guide in the development of the interview questions and formatting. The participants of the study include 11 students from the mainstream Armenian College of Sydney, Galstaun College, and 13 students from the various complementary schools.<sup>3</sup> All participants are in their adolescent years (aged 15 to 18) and of Armenian ethnicity.

### *Structure of the Thesis*

The structure of the thesis consists of an introduction, three chapters, a conclusion, appendices and references.

**Chapter 1** of the thesis is the Literature Review, which provides an analysis of the following topics: the relationship between Ethnic Identity and Heritage Language; the use of the Heritage Language amongst ethnic groups; utilised theoretical frameworks; language and identity during adolescence; the perspective of Diaspora communities; and the roles and responsibilities of ethnic schools and organisations. **Chapter 2** discusses this study's chosen theoretical framework and the utilised methods, including: the participants of the study; procedures; Ethnolinguistic Identity Theory; and the data analysis process. **Chapter 3** is the Results and Discussion section. This section displays and analyses the data collected. The discussion is categorised into sections, which are categorised on the five propositions that determine an individual's solidarity with the in-group.

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<sup>3</sup> AGBU Saturday School, Tarkmanchadz Saturday School, and Toomanian Saturday School.

This research will add to the increasingly meaningful study of ethnic identity and heritage language, by providing an insight into the perspectives of two groups of adolescent Australian-Armenians. The subjective perceptions of the participant's social identity and their in-group will assist in proposing whether their involvement in community organisations and Armenian language schools increases their solidarity with the in-group, and the maintenance of its language and identity. Furthermore, this study may be able to assist other ethnic communities in Sydney seeking recognition for their heritage language schools and community organisations, particularly those identifying as Diaspora communities, due to their experience in establishing social institutions vital to their community's survival (Safran 2005).

# 1. Literature Review

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The heritage language and ethnic identity of adolescents in Sydney's Armenian community has been said to be influenced by their attendance at Armenian heritage language schools and community organisations (Kirkland 1982). However, the degree of influence these institutions have is relatively unknown for the Armenian community, with research on other ethnic communities in Australia having examined the consequences of weekend or after-school heritage language institutions (Koscharsky and Hull 2009; Mejía 2015). This study will therefore examine the influence of community organisations, including a comparison of both mainstream and complementary (Saturday) Armenian language schools. The individual's perception of their heritage language school and community organisations will be analysed to determine whether they affect the individual's decision to identify in terms of their ethnicity and view language as an important element of their identity. For this reason, the review is comprised of literature addressing key related topics such as language, identity, ethnic communities, adolescents, community organisations and language schools. Section 1.1 of this chapter provides a historical overview of the relationship between ethnic identity and heritage language and a definition of the key terms. Section 1.2 outlines studies examining the use and importance of the heritage language for ethnic groups. Section 1.3 provides a brief account of methodologies and theoretical frameworks utilised in relevant literature. Section 1.4 discusses the importance of language and identity development during the years of adolescence, and section 1.5 outlines the unique nature of Diaspora communities in the study of language and identity. Finally, section 1.6 reviews the role community organisations and heritage language schools have had on the development of identity and language for adolescents in Australia and the Western world.



### *1.1 The Relationship between Ethnic Identity and Heritage Language*

Literature addressing the relationship between ethnic identity and heritage language is no new phenomenon, as academics continue to argue the significance of this relationship and its ability to maintain its level of importance over generations (Phinney 1990; Schwartz et al. 2014). It is common for literature to closely associate language with identity, whilst some argue that one is able to exist without the other (Edwards and Chisholm 1987; Imbens-Bailey 1996; Liebkind 2010; Phinney 1990) or that language is a non-essential component of identity (Angouri 2012; Ben-Porat 2011; DeCapua and Wintergerst 2009). Mendelberg (1984), a clinical psychologist, argued that the relationship between identity and language could be voluntarily abandoned by an individual due to a negative perception of their identity from speaking a minority language, thereby internalising the negative attitudes of the dominant society towards the language. This internalisation of negative attitudes was and continues to be used as the premise for language maintenance attitudes by social psychologists and researchers of social identity (Giles and Johnson 1987; Moore 2012; Tajfel and Turner 1979; Turner and Reynolds 2008). By contrast, those who manage to maintain a positive form of distinctiveness as a group, display a moderately positive correlation between their identity and language from generation to generation (Karidakis and Arunachalam 2015). This distinction was made in early studies on third and fourth generation Japanese- and Chinese-Americans (Ting-Toomey 1981; Wooden, Leon, and Toshima 1988), in which language and identity preservation was negatively impacted by the perceptions of American society. Nevertheless, this study revealed the growing importance of ethnic identity and heritage language in societies where a feeling of struggle to maintain one's own customs and traditions exists (Phinney 1990). The popularity in research examining the relationship between heritage language and identity for minority communities grew to include studies on the Armenian community of Sydney, the Korean community of Montréal and the Spanish-speaking communities of Sydney, to name a few (Kirkland 1982; Mejía 2015; Park and Sarkar 2007).

This increase in research on language and identity initiatives by ethnic communities was due to a desire to maintain a positive relationship between ethnic identity and heritage language. These community members were faced with the reality of their future in a society dominated by a language and identity other than their own. This reality was seen as a growing shift from the use of the heritage language to the majority language and the increasing assimilation of minority group members to the dominant culture of society (Clyne and Kipp 1996).

For migrants who arrived in Australia during the 1940s to 1960s, the adjustment to the dominant language and identity of Australian society was prevalent, due to a lack of recognition of other cultures and languages in a largely monoculture Australia. This adjustment process was found in contemporary research examining the effect that a lack of multicultural policies and racism had on ethnic groups in Australia (Boese and Phillips 2015; Dunn et al. 2004; Hatoss 2004). However, in research on the Hungarian community of Queensland, Hatoss (2004) found the obligatory adjustment process was not as rampant due to an increase in Australia's multicultural policies since the 1970s. After all, studying ethnicity and heritage language was of little interest to scholars in these new migrant countries (Phinney 1990). This was all to change following ethnic revitalisation movements in the 1960s, changing demographics, and an increase in the number of immigrants and refugees around the world (Phinney 1990). The study of ethnic identity and heritage language amongst ethnic communities continues to be most popular in the North American context (Edwards and Chisholm 1987; Imbens-Bailey 1996; Mu 2015), although academics in Australia have also followed suit (Karidakis and Arunachalam 2015; Mejía 2015; Mu 2014; Vliet 2011). To this day, this relationship continues to gain significance worldwide due to the changes in multicultural policies affecting Korean-Americans and Canadians; Armenian-, Mexican- and Vietnamese-Americans; Turkish-Australians; and British-Cypriots (Papavlou and Pavlou 2001). As a result of an ethnic reawakening and the identity assertion of ethnic groups around the world, ethnic identity and heritage language have continued to remain a priority for group

members and researchers. On the other hand, the means by which to maintain one's identity and language is steadily shifting in the direction of heritage language schools and community organisations, which will be reviewed in section 1.6.

Before proceeding further, it is important to understand the definitions given to the terms *ethnic identity* and *heritage language*, and how the definitions vary depending on the context in which they are used. In predominantly English-speaking countries, *heritage language* denotes a language other than English, other than the official language, a language associated with one's cultural background, which may or may not be spoken in the home (Chinen and Tucker 2005; Cho, Cho, and Tse 1997; Cummins 1992). Similarly, *ethnic identity* has variations in definition, for example, Rogler, Cooney and Ortiz (1980) defined ethnic identity in terms of cultural identity, Tajfel (1981) on the other hand referred to ethnic identity as the ethnic component of social identity, specifically 'that part of an individual's self-concept which derives from his knowledge of his membership of a social group, together with the value and emotional significance attached to their membership' (Tajfel 1981: 255). Others have linked ethnic identity with an affiliation to a group: an allegiance to a group, whether small, socially dominant or subordinate; be it subjective, self-ascribed or psychological (Edwards 1985; Kamada 2010; Phinney 1990; Schwartz et al. 2014). These definitions are meaningful in situations when two or more ethnic groups are in contact, as ethnic identity is an intergroup phenomenon arising from social interactions (Phinney 1990). It is throughout this period of contact that an individual begins to identify with a particular group (the in-group), and their ethnic identity and heritage language is distinguished from those outside the ethnic group (the out-group). This is the reason why an abundance of literature on the topic is found in western multicultural societies.

## ***1.2 Heritage Language Amongst Ethnic Groups: Its Use and Importance***

Knowledge of the heritage language by members of an ethnic group is evidently very important given the abundance of literature stating this fact (Duff 2008; Mu 2014; Oriyama 2010; Yeh et al. 2015). However important it may be, the use of the heritage language has gradually shifted from its functional form to one of symbolic significance, as was evident as far back as the 1980s (Edwards 1988). The shift from functional to symbolic has gradually increased for second and third generations, despite earlier generations insisting that the heritage language should remain a communicative and functional one (Fillmore 1991; Karidakis and Arunachalam 2015; Kirkland 1982). Several methodologies were used in determining the reasons for language shift, as seen in research by Finocchiaro (1995), who analysed language shift against three prominent theories: inter-group dependency theory; the vitality theory; and the taxonomy of factors influencing language shift (Clyne 1982; Fishman 1989; Giles 1977). Finocchiaro (1995) argued that, in the Australian context, the most relevant theory was the inter-group dependency theory as it explains the need to learn the dominant language to survive. As such, the need for heritage language schools was viewed as the only way to assist in the continued use of the heritage language in its functional form. However, in a study on a group of adolescents in a Ukrainian language school in Sydney, a quantitative observational fieldwork method was used, which discovered that English was spoken with family and friends, and the school remained the only space for heritage language use (Koscharsky and Hull 2009). The scarcity in use of the heritage language was found to be due to the impractical nature of the language in societies dominated by another language. This eventually became a barrier to participation in community activities, a conflict with other generations in the family and a complication of group identity (Bankston and Zhou 1995; Canagarajah and Silberstein 2012; Imbens-Bailey 1996). Therefore, the need to maintain the use of heritage language alongside identifying ethnically was found to have a positive correlation in an analysis of 18 language and identity studies (Mu 2015).

The use of the heritage language within ethnic communities is argued to be decreasing in place of the dominant language of society. Nevertheless, knowledge of the heritage language remains undoubtedly a positive influence in solidifying identity, developing family relationships and a feeling a sense of belonging with an ethnic group (Canagarajah and Silbersetein 2012; Hymes 1968; Mejía 2015). In early research on identity and language, Hymes (1968) argued that lack of proficiency or knowledge in the heritage language does not prevent one from taking on identities traditionally associated with language. However, this was disputed in an objective study of Chinese-Australians, which found that participants who learnt their heritage language possessed a stronger disposition of group identity than their ethnic compatriots who had minimal-to-no heritage language knowledge (Wu 1995). This correlation was also found in research on the Armenian-American community, in which adolescents who were bilingual had a stronger sense of affinity to their community compared to monolingual adolescents who identified with their families who happen to be Armenian (Imbens-Bailey 1996). Opposing arguments on this association between identity and language exist, interestingly, in ethnic communities struggling with heritage language maintenance issues (Finocchiaro 1995; Hlavac 2013; Karidakis and Arunachalam 2015).

However, some scholars believe a strong association between language and identity is due to a group's emotional attachment to their language. Ehala (2011) argued that communities are able to operate in either a 'hot' or 'cold' mode, which determines the importance of the heritage language for the community. 'Hot' groups were found to have an emotional connection to their language based on socio-historical collective emotions. Whilst the relationship of 'cold' group members to the collective and its language was based on rational calculation of costs and benefits for the self, a situation found in Western welfare nations. The point remains that the literature has shown language to be more central for some groups than others and therefore the means by which to preserve their identity and language is all the more

crucial to the individual and the group in their willingness to protect their identity and language.

### ***1.3 Methodologies and Theoretical Frameworks***

In the study of language and identity maintenance, numerous theoretical frameworks and their related methodologies are evident, with most focusing on language patterns at the macro level. Following the ethnic revitalisation movements of the 1960s (Phinney 1990), studies began to focus on the language maintenance strategies of ethnic communities, due to their increasing social interactions with the dominant group in society. These studies have been largely approached through four theories utilising either or both qualitative and quantitative methods, with a preference for quantitative methods due to the large number of participants. These theories include: Communication accommodation theory; Inter-group dependency theory; Social identity theory; and Ethnolinguistic identity theory (Fishman 1989; Giles 1977; Tajfel and Turner 1979). Communication accommodation theory, also known as Speech accommodation theory, examined changes in language resulting from an interaction with other groups, including the dominant group in society. Changes in speech patterns and usage was found to take place in a study of an Italian-Australian family, where adolescent members switched to English due to its usefulness in society and to accentuate their Australian identity (Finocchiaro 1995). This change in speech patterns also takes place in first generation adolescent migrants, as found in a study of adolescents in a francophone family from Québec residing in Louisiana, USA. The dominance of English in society resulted in the prominence of the English language in the speech patterns of the two adolescents (Caldas and Caroncaldas 2002). On the other hand, inter-group dependency theory was found to be most popular in social interactions between second and third generation ethnic adolescents. The theory argued that the minority group is dependent upon the language of the majority group for its survival and will shift to use this language by the third generation (Fishman 1989). This dependence on the majority group language is argued in a study of the Hungarian-Australian community

of Queensland, in which participants spoke English to survive economically (Hatoss 2004). These theoretical approaches to language maintenance, although valid and highly useful, exclude the importance of language on the social and ethnic identity of the individual, and how language influences their decision to maintain the heritage language.

Most theories have investigated the rate at which language loss or shift occurs or they provide set reasons for language shift such as dependence on the dominant language. However, these theories tend to lack a focus on the personal decisions made by the individual, focusing more on group tendencies and the collection of data at a macro level (Edwards and Chisholm 1987). This was the primary reason why Giles and Johnson (1987) created a social-psychological approach to language maintenance known as Ethnolinguistic Identity Theory (ELIT). ELIT assisted in providing an understanding of the variables and mechanisms involved in the maintenance of an ethnic language in different social settings. The theory borrowed from an established theory by Tajfel and Turner (1979) known as Social Identity Theory (SIT), as individuals categorise themselves in the social world and therefore perceive themselves as belonging to various groups. ELIT extends SIT to focus on the language component of Social Identity (Giles and Johnson 1987). The first use of ELIT was in a study of Welsh-speaking adolescents in Wales, but later became a popular study for investigating ethnic identity and language maintenance amongst ethnic groups worldwide, including the francophone community of the USA, Greek communities in Istanbul and the United Kingdom, the Japanese community in Sydney, and the Turkish community in the Netherlands (Yagmur, Bot, and Korzilius 1999; Vedder 2005). Most researchers utilising ELIT focused on the use of a quantitative approach such as the Subjective Vitality Questionnaire compiled by Bourhis et al. (1981) (Papavlou and Pavlou 2001; Komondouros and McEntee-Atalianis 2007; Oriyama 2010). However, the use of a qualitative component such as an interview is said to be beneficial to the collection of comprehensive data on the individual's choice to retain or lose the heritage language and ethnic identity (Ehala 2011). Qualitative interviewing techniques

are found to reveal themes from the participants' discourse that were previously unknown. As such, qualitative methods have become increasingly popular with small scale studies in conjunction with quantitative surveys and questionnaires, due to the difficulty in using qualitative methods for groups exceeding one hundred participants (DeCapua and Wintergerst 2009).

#### ***1.4 Language and Identity during Adolescence***

Research focusing on the period of adolescence in the study of ethnic identity and heritage language was said to be scarce over two decades ago (Phinney 1990), with the past two decades producing an abundance of literature on this topic (Schwartz et al. 2014). Findings show that during childhood, minority ethnic group members hold negative attitudes towards their cultural or ethnic group (Erikson 1968). The problem with this argument is that it was explicitly at a time when there was a lack of multicultural policies, as explained earlier in the review. These attitudes were found to decline during adolescence, when ethnic youth explored the meaning and implications of their ethnic or racial group membership, notably when realising others existed in their group with whom they were able to interact socially (Phinney 1990). The period of adolescence gave way to a secure and committed sense of self as a group member, throughout which time identity and language became most significant (Coates 1999; Imbens-Bailey 1996; Phinney and Chavira 1995). Those individuals found to be linguistically separated from the community due to their insufficient knowledge of the heritage language were prone to experience alienation. For example, in Hispanic adolescents in the United States from the 1990s onwards, who found themselves unable to take part in the community due to their poor Spanish-speaking skills (Imbens-Bailey 1996, McHatton et al. 2007). In summary, the importance placed on the relationship between heritage language and ethnic identity for adolescents is found to be crucial to their development into adulthood and as future members of a community.



### 1.5 The Diaspora Community: A Unique Perspective

A special relationship is found to exist amongst a Diaspora community, their language and their identity (Safran 2005). The term *Diaspora* has been used in reference to a vast array of communities, depending on the author's understanding of the term. Classical definitions of Diaspora have represented the archetypal Diaspora cases, such as the Armenians, Greeks and Jews (Angouri 2012). The archetypal Diaspora was used to categorise a people who had experienced expatriation, cultural continuity and a refusal to relinquish their collective identity (Safran 2005). However, scholars have overwhelmingly used the term to refer to a people living outside the homeland of common origin or dispersed from a particular place (Benton and Gomez 2014; Brah 1996; Hatoss 2004; Shain and Barth 2003). The use of the term regardless of its definition has become increasingly popular amongst intellectuals, artists and the political elite due to its prestige as a community having experienced exile. It has now led to an overall breakdown in distinction between *Diaspora* and *dispersion* (Tölöyan 2007). This is not to say the term shouldn't be extended to include more recent communities who have suffered exile and persecution such as the Cambodians, Rohingya and Tibetans (Safran 2005), but more so, to remain mindful of the term representing a people victimised by a tragedy, to which the work of memory and mourning is central (Tölöyan 2007). These communities are referred to as a 'victim Diaspora', be they the Africans, Armenians, Irish, Jews or Palestinians, to name a few (Panossian 2002; Pattie 1999). The modern identity of these people is shaped by tragedy, as Armenian literature claims 'it is impossible to understand twentieth-century Armenian identity, particularly in the Diaspora, without situating the Genocide at its very centre' (Panossian 2002: 137). These atrocities are crucial in understanding language and identity use amongst communities classified as a Diaspora, as the memory of mourning leads to resurgence in identity and heritage language use. This resurgence of identity and language use was found by Altman et al. (2010), in the exploration of Jewish identity amongst adolescent American-Jews, who believe that maintaining a Jewish

identity will assist in remembering the struggles faced by their people. As the memory of trauma is central to the identity of these groups, community organisations can use this memory as a catalyst to prompt its members to rise to action, as in the case of the Armenian community of the United States (Paul 2000). The memory of trauma and victimisation creates a unique identity for these communities, different from that of the homeland, focusing mainly on the development of their ethnic identity and heritage language. The means by which to maintain the ethnic identity and heritage language of a Diaspora community became the responsibility of heritage language schools and community organisations (Ben-Porat 2011). However, the influence of these institutions in achieving this outcome has yet to be determined, specifically the influence different types of heritage language schools have.

Attendance at heritage language schools and community organisations for Diaspora communities is common as a people in exile begin to experience an exaggerated sense of identity and solidarity, in essence, experiencing an increased sense of nationalism (Said 2000; Safran 2005). Diaspora communities have tended to take on a nationalist front as an assertion of belonging to a place, a people and a heritage regardless of the generation (Said 2000). Safran (2005) found Armenians, like the Greeks, Jews and Sikhs, are more inclined to assert their identities as a Diaspora, remaining proud of residing outside the homeland whilst maintaining their identity - a sort of hybrid identity (Panossian 2002). This identity, however hybrid, has increasingly led to an affirmation in nationalist identity, with language playing an important role in that process (Said 2000).

As the homeland no longer serves as the sole reference for Diaspora communities given they reside in lands beyond the homeland, the connection with the homeland can be achieved through language (Clifford 1994). Literature dealing with the issue of nationalism had previously downplayed or ignored matters relating to language (Edwards and Chisholm 1987). However, more recent research found language to be an important element of solidarity amongst Diaspora communities, as it links Diaspora community members to others

they imagine to hold similar values (Feuer 2008). The facilitation of language learning and identity formation amongst Diaspora communities was found to be carried out by schools and community organisations, which act as representatives of the traditional home (Canagarajah 2012).

### *1.6 Perceptions of Ethnic Schools and Organisations*

In addition to focusing on the role of heritage language schools and community organisations, it is important to acknowledge the role played by the home in the development of ethnic identity and heritage language. The home is found to play a crucial role in identity and language formation for first generation migrants (Hlavac 2013; Luo and Wiseman 2000; Pauwels 2005). However, its influence on second and third generation adolescents is found to be less significant, as schools and other youth become the dominant influence in the lives of adolescents (Portes & Hao 2002). In a longitudinal study of francophone adolescents in Louisiana (USA), a gradual transition to the use of English was noticed due to their attendance at an English language school and interaction with English speaking friends (Caldas and Caroncaldas 2002). It is evident that the development of language and identity for adolescents requires the active contribution of heritage language schools and community organisations, as the absence of these institutions would place a heavy burden on the family unit (Fishman 1980; Pauwels 2005). Therefore, the establishment of heritage language schools has assisted in reinforcing the home language and group identity (García 2003).

Complementary heritage language (CHL) or Mainstream heritage language (MHL) schools have greatly influenced the development of heritage language skills and ethnic identity for adolescents in ethnic communities. Complementary schools, often called ‘Saturday schools’, serve a specific linguistic, religious, or cultural community through mother-tongue classes (Creese and Martin 2006). Mainstream heritage language schools serve a similar function on a full-time, five-day-per-week basis, incorporating mother-tongue classes in between the

curriculum set by the governing educational body in the given territory. Examples of the influence played by CHL schools are seen in the cases of Luo and Wiseman (2000) and Feuer (2008), who found that students attending a Chinese or Hebrew language school had a positive view of their heritage language and ethnic identity. The CHL school encouraged students to preserve their heritage language, given the lack of opportunities to utilise the language in society (Chumak-Horbatsch 1999). Unfortunately, literature on the adolescent's perception of CHL schools is more apparent than research on MHL schools (Creese et al. 2006; Creese and Martin 2006). Cypriot students in the United Kingdom were found to have a positive perception of their CHL School, as they were happy to learn their heritage language in order to please their parents, and to communicate with and feel closer to other Cypriots in the community (Papavlou and Pavlou 2001). However, positive feedback was limited, with most studies finding students dissatisfied with CHL schools due to poor teaching materials and untrained teachers, which in turn affected their learning (Duff 2008; Koscharsky and Hull 2009; Walters 2011). Overall, the influence of CHL schools on identity and language formation remains relatively unexamined (Creese and Martin 2006), and literature on MHL schools being relatively non-existent (Walters 2011). This gap in literature on the attitudes of the adolescent towards the heritage language school will be examined in greater detail, as this study attempts to analyse the differences in identity and language formation for students attending the mainstream Armenian school and the various complementary Armenian schools.

Community organisations, however, have come to provide more than their intended purpose as a religious, scouting, sporting, educational or social body. They represent the link to the homeland for communities such as the Greeks, Armenians, Jews, Ukrainians and Koreans (Pak 2003, Park and Sarkar 2007). Adolescents involved in their community and its organisations are found to improve their heritage language and develop a more secure sense of identity in the face of a socially dominant language and culture (Wei 2000). Organisations

such as the Church serve as cultural centres for the Korean-Canadian community (Park and Sarkar 2007) or a place for social interaction within the Greek community of Istanbul and New Zealand (Komondouros and McEntee-Atalianis 2007). These organisations have come to represent the traditional home and the dream of homeland for ethnic communities (Canagarajah 2012). It is due to these organisations that Armenian and Polish communities in Australia have managed to maintain an awareness of their ethnic identity and heritage language (AGBU 2001; Janik 1996; Kirkland 1982). The success of community organisations in language and identity maintenance has not come without its challenges (Edwards 2009). Community leaders have been warned of the risk to the heritage language if ample opportunities are not provided for young people to practise using the language (Papavlou and Pavlou 2001). Other community leaders have been cautioned not to segregate their community based on political beliefs, as Kirkland (1982) noted in research on the Australian-Armenian community. Unless these challenges are addressed and community organisations acknowledge the increasingly influential role they hold, the heritage language and ethnic identity of community members remains volatile - should individuals begin to distance themselves from the community.

To conclude, language is unquestionably perceived by ethnic group members as important to their identity, notably for those ethnic communities considered to be a Diaspora (Benton and Gomez 2014; Mejía 2015; Moore 2012; Mu 2015). The argument made in the early days of research on the relationship between ethnic identity and language found that language, although important, is symbolic in nature rather than functional (Edwards 1988). For adolescents in Diaspora communities, language is now largely viewed as a way to connect with the homeland, maintain their ethnic identity and associate with those who share this link. This link is unable to be achieved without a working, functional knowledge of the heritage language. However, the increasingly positive role played by community organisations and heritage language schools, especially in Diaspora communities, is able to encourage the use of

the heritage language and enrich the process of identity development. What remains unknown is how community organisations and heritage language schools directly influence the adolescent's perception of their community and their decision to maintain or abandon their heritage language and ethnic identity.

## 2. Methodology

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This study utilises a mixed method approach to data collection, by combining qualitative and quantitative methods to test the hypothesis that Mainstream School Students (MSS) who attend Galstaun College are more likely to maintain their heritage language and ethnic identity than their Complementary School Students (CSS) colleagues. Data was collected from two groups of adolescent Australian-Armenians residing in Sydney. In this chapter, section 2.1 describes the participants of the study, section 2.2 details the relevant procedures and methods used in the data collection process, section 2.3 provides an outline of the theoretical framework guiding the research, and section 2.4 describes the process of analysis.

### *2.1 Participants: The School Students*

The research sample was made up of 24 adolescent Australian-Armenians residing in Sydney. Eligible participants were those enrolled in an Armenian language school in Sydney and in their adolescent years (15–18). The sample was divided into two groups: students from the mainstream Armenian college (Galstaun College,  $n=11$ ) and students from various Armenian Saturday schools in Sydney, known as complementary schools (Tarkmanchadz, Toomanian and AGBU Alexander,  $n=13$ ). The size of the sample ( $n=24$ ), although a limitation in its ability to account for the whole adolescent Armenian population of Sydney, was intended to provide an insight into the views and opinions of this cohort. The sample group was recruited using the following convenience-sampling techniques: an in-class presentation by the researcher during school hours in September 2014 for Galstaun College students, and a Facebook advertisement on various Armenian organisation pages for complementary school students (see Appendix C).

## ***2.2 Procedures and Methods: Quantitative and Qualitative***

Once all the participants had been confirmed, the quantitative data collection method, the questionnaire, was posted to the participants' residential addresses. A consent form for completion by the parent/guardian accompanied the questionnaire (see Appendix D). The questionnaire and consent form were returned upon completion using the postage-paid envelope provided. Following this, an interview was conducted with each participant individually over the 2014/2015 summer holidays, at Macquarie University, with each interview lasting approximately one hour. All interviews were recorded using an audiotape to reduce the subjectivity of the researcher and participants were compensated with a Hoyts/Village cinema movie voucher at the completion of the interview.

The questionnaire had 44 questions, intended to reveal the participants' perceived social identity and attitudes towards the Armenian language (Appendix E). The sections of the questionnaire explored the individual's knowledge of and proficiency in the Armenian language, general information on the participant's background, and the four factors of Social Identity Theory (SIT) classified by Tajfel and Turner (1979) and utilised by numerous academics in the fields of language, identity and the discipline of social psychology (Moore 2012; Phinney et al. 2001; Reynolds and Turner 2008). These factors include social categorisation, social identity, social comparison, and psychological distinctiveness.

The semi-structured interview was planned based on the insights into interviewing by Oppenheim (1992) as well as various completed ethnolinguistic studies (Bourgeois 2009; Komondouros and McEntee-Atalianis 2007; Yagmur et al. 1999). The three sections of the interview (see Appendix F) address the variables of ELIT to discover the participants' levels of ethnic solidarity with their in-group (Giles and Johnson 1987). The first part of the interview addresses the participant's perceived vitality of their community, including the community's status, demographic strength and institutional support for the language. The



participants' views of their community are important when attempting to find out the strength of a community and its language, as the actions of individuals are less likely to be governed by the vitality of their group than by their perceptions of it. The second group of questions addresses the participants' perception of their in-group's boundaries, as groups who try to maintain boundaries perceived to be hard and closed are more successful in categorising their members ethnically and therefore increase the saliency of the group (Giles and Johnson 1987). The third group of questions addresses the participants' membership in various in-group and out-group organisations, as those members are only a part of one or two out-group organisations and are more likely to identify in terms of their ethnicity as opposed to those who identify with multiple out-group organisations.

### ***2.3 Theoretical Framework: Ethnolinguistic Identity Theory***

At a theoretical level, the research follows a deductive method of data collection by utilising an established theoretical framework known as Ethnolinguistic Identity Theory (ELIT), developed by Giles and Johnson (1987). ELIT focuses on the perceived ethnic identity of the individual with language as the main variable of their social identity. Previous theoretical frameworks have focused on group motivations in preserving language rather than the individual's choices, with several researchers having criticised the use of social-psychological approaches such as ELIT for being too rigid to account for the versatile nature of cultural contact situations (Moring and Husband 2009; Pavlenko 2002). However, ELIT works in conjunction with qualitative and quantitative methods that assist in exposing factors related to language and identity maintenance for ethnic communities. As discovered in this study, these factors include the emotional attachment to a language, collective memory of the ethnic group and group prejudice (Edwards 2009; Ehala 2011). This is because ELIT combines the language component of social identity to the individual's perceived ethnic identity, thereby representing the reasons why an individual identifies with a particular group and its linguistic practices. Furthermore, the theory is useful in furthering our understanding of the variables

and mechanisms involved in the maintenance of ethnic identity and heritage language in different settings, such as schools and community organisations, notably for minority community groups, such as the Armenian community of Sydney.

ELIT is able to incorporate societal influences such as community organisations and schools to examine their effect on language and identity. Data collected through the use of ELIT determines the individual's varying levels of ethnic solidarity with the in-group, or in this case the Armenian community. The participant's solidarity with their in-group is determined using the following variables of SIT and ELIT (Giles and Johnson 1987).

#### Variables of Social Identity:

- 1) *Social categorisation* determines the individual's perspective of someone else as a member of their group, known as the 'in-group', or as a member of a distinct other group, known as the 'out-group'.
- 2) Once the individuals have categorised themselves as part of a group, they are able to increase their awareness of their social group and the values associated with it, thereby assigning them a *social identity*.
- 3) Having established a social identity, group members are able to determine whether they favour their 'in-group' as more desirable for membership, as compared to the 'out-group'. This process is known as *social comparison*.
- 4) And finally, once all three factors are taken into consideration, the group's *psychological distinctiveness* is derived from a positive perception of the 'in-group' by its own members, based on the perception the 'out-group' has of members of the 'in-group'.

Ethnolinguistic Identity Theory extends on these factors of social identity to focus more specifically on the language aspects of social identity, utilised extensively by current research on ethnic communities' worldwide (Komondouros and McEntee-Atalianis 2007; Oriyama

2010; Yagmur et al. 1999). These three factors determine the participant's feelings of 'ethnic belongingness', a term used to describe the solidarity people have with their in-group (Giles and Johnson 1987). The elements are described as follows.

- 1) The *perceived vitality* of the in-group. This allows the researcher to identify the person's perception of his or her in-group's status, demography and institutional support for the language. These include the community's economic, political and educational position, demography (i.e. birth rate, migration and prominence in society), and institutional support for the language (i.e. local support for language through education and media).
- 2) The individual's perception of their *in-group's boundaries*. Boundaries perceived to be less penetrable result in clearer ethnic categories and are influenced by the strength of the community, its schools, its acceptance of the out-group and any prejudice it may have towards other groups.
- 3) Lastly, *multiple group membership* suggests that individuals who see themselves as members of multiple groups belonging to the out-group possess a weaker sense of identity as opposed to those who take part in only one or two out-group organisations.

#### **2.4 Data Analysis: Solidarity with the In-group**

The responses collected were used to analyse just how strongly Complementary School Students (CSS) and Mainstream School Students (MSS) identified with the in-group. The levels of influence were high, medium, and low. The greater the individual's level of solidarity with the ethnic group, the more their encounters amongst the in-group and out-group were expected to be and found to be defined in terms of ethnicity, and the more they would be resolute in their language maintenance strategies. Therefore, the three groupings were used as a reference when analysing the responses of both CSS and MSS.

Individuals displaying a *high* solidarity with their ethnic group are more likely to define many interethnic encounters in terms of ethnicity, and be resolute in their ability to preserve their heritage language. These individuals considered language to be an important aspect of identity and perceive their group's status and boundaries to be strong. Those individuals who display a *medium* level of solidarity with the ethnic group considered language an important dimension of their identity and are also likely to act in conformity with the in-group. However, they defined fewer interethnic situations in terms of their ethnic identity and perceive their group's boundaries to be soft and open. Conversely, individuals who exhibit *weak* solidarity with their ethnic group consider language not to be as important and are likely to act in conformity with societal rather than ethnic in-group norms. These individuals identify as part of the out-group.

Identifying participants with one of the three groups of ethnic solidarity noted above was determined based on the responses provided to the questions. Situating both groups (Mainstream School Students and Complementary School Students) into one of the three levels of solidarity assisted in suggesting the influence that each type of Armenian language school and community organisation has on the participants' decisions to maintain their heritage language and ethnic identity. Categorising the two groups of students (CSS and MSS) broadly into one of the three levels of solidarity allowed for an insight into how the individuals in each group identified socially (i.e. whether with their in-group or the out-group) and if they perceived their heritage language to be an important marker of their identity. This assisted in understanding the importance placed on their ethnic identity and heritage language. Furthermore, this analysis assisted in testing the hypothesis that Armenian adolescents in Sydney who attend the mainstream Armenian school and participate in community organisations are more likely to act in solidarity with their ethnic group, and be resolute in the preservation of their heritage language, compared to the complementary school students.

### 3. Results and Discussion: Ethnolinguistic Identity

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Adolescents in Sydney's Armenian community who choose to define themselves in terms of their ethnicity, are said to:

1. Identify themselves as members of the in-group, which considers language an important symbol of their identity;
2. Make insecure social comparisons with the out-group;
3. Perceive the in-group's vitality to be high;
4. Perceive the in-group's boundaries to be hard and closed;
5. Identify strongly with few other social categories.

These five propositions are borrowed from Giles and Johnson (1987) and are used to demonstrate the level of solidarity each group of participants has with its in-group. As described in Chapter 2, these propositions were explored in detail through quantitative and qualitative data collected from students at Galstaun College and three Complementary (Saturday) schools in Sydney. The students from Galstaun College are referred to as Mainstream School Students (MSS) and Saturday school students are referred to as Complementary School Students (CSS) (details in Table 1). The data includes the results of the questionnaire (see Appendix A) and the in-depth interview (see Appendix B) presented in a group of graphs and matrices. The graphs are utilised throughout this chapter and are numbered based on the corresponding question found in the questionnaire. Several of these graphs are intentionally excluded as they do not provide any support to the discussion. The results test the hypothesis that Armenian adolescents in Sydney who attend Galstaun College are likely to act in higher solidarity with their ethnic group and be resolute in the preservation of their heritage language, compared to their Saturday school colleagues. The high level of

solidarity is due to their attendance at the mainstream Armenian school and active involvement in community organisations.

Table 1: Basic participant details

Participant	Sex	School	Age
1	Female	Tarkmanchadz	16
2	Male	Tarkmanchadz	16
3	Male	Tarkmanchadz	15
4	Female	Tarkmanchadz	17
5	Female	AGBU Saturday	15
6	Female	Toomanian	16
7	Female	Toomanian	15
8	Female	Toomanian	15
9	Female	Tarkmanchadz	16
10	Male	Tarkmanchadz	16
11	Female	AGBU Saturday	15
12	Male	Toomanian	18
13	Female	Tarkmanchadz	15
14	Male	Galstaun College	15
15	Female	Galstaun College	15
16	Male	Galstaun College	17
17	Male	Galstaun College	17
18	Female	Galstaun College	17
19	Female	Galstaun College	17
20	Female	Galstaun College	16
21	Female	Galstaun College	17
22	Female	Galstaun College	17
23	Male	Galstaun College	17
24	Male	Galstaun College	16

### *3.1 Identifying with the In-Group*

The adolescent's identification as a member of the in-group or out-group is determined through the use of four variables borrowed from Tajfel and Turner's (1979) Social Identity Theory. These variables include social categorisation, social identification, social comparison and the psychological distinctiveness of the in-group. Additionally, the influence of the heritage language and collective memory of the genocide are explored, given their dominance in contemporary studies exploring the Armenian identity (Artinian 2008; Panossian 2002).

**Social Categorisation:** CSS and MSS find themselves to be a part of different groups, with CSS emphasising their hybrid identity as Australian-Armenians and MSS stressing their categorisation as Armenians. Participants chose one of five groups to indicate which category they see themselves as being a part of: Australian, Armenian, Australian-Armenian, Armenian-Australian, or an ‘other’ category. As can be seen from chart A1(i), CSS believe they are part of the *Australian-Armenian* grouping, displaying a receptiveness towards their Australian identity.

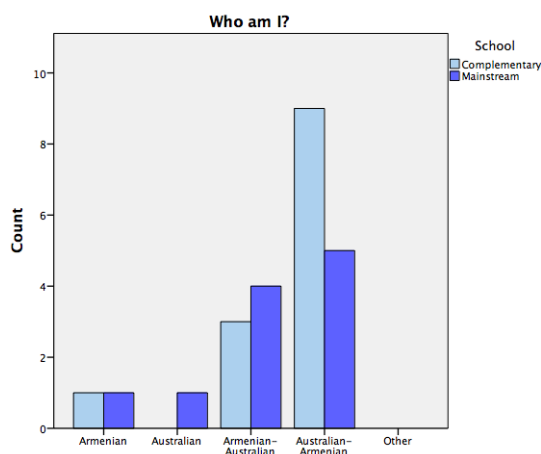


Chart A1 (i): The participant's categorisation of himself or herself as part of one of five groups

This receptiveness is a typical feature found in plural societies in which members of an in-group possess hybrid identities, thus maintaining their ethnic identity whilst integrating into mainstream society (Hall 1990). The hybrid identity of CSS is argued by researchers of identity to be a strategy allowing them to move amongst both the in-group and the out-group. This hybrid nature was discussed in research by Olson and Worsham (1998), who examined the strategies adopted by Sri Lankan youth when amongst their in-group or when amongst members of the out-group. In contrast, MSS viewed themselves fairly equally as both *Australian-Armenian* and *Armenian-Australian*, with the exception of one student who chose *Australian*. The selection of *Armenian-Australian* displays a preference for the Armenian identity; this is likely due to the MSS involvement in Galstaun College and their organisations (see section 3.5 below), thereby showing little need to show themselves as possessing a

hybrid identity, other than the one student who believes themselves to be solely *Australian*, a possible sign of defiance from the overwhelmingly Armenian environment.

In selecting the group they belonged to rather than the group they believed themselves to be a part of, an affinity was shown towards both the *Armenians* and the *Australians* by CSS and the majority of MSS, although a few MSS (n=3) continued to insist that they belonged solely to the *Armenian* grouping (Chart A1(ii)).

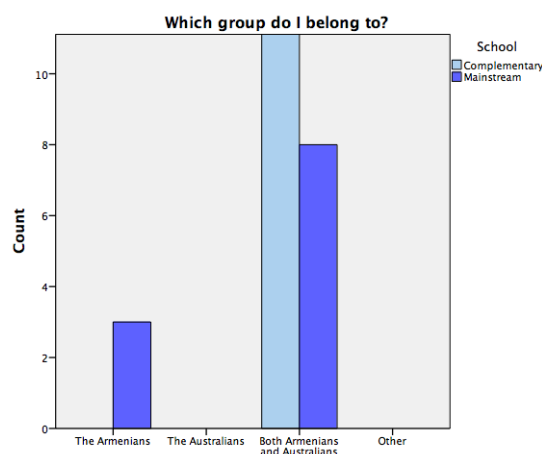


Chart A1 (ii): The participant's perception that they belong in one of four groups

The participant's categorisation of himself or herself as an Armenian was reflected on further to determine the influence of their parent's national background. In research conducted on the Armenian community of Sydney in the late 1970s, community members were found to closely identify with their national backgrounds (i.e. country of birth: Armenia, Iran, Lebanon, Syria, etc.). In the study, Kirkland (1982) found the national background of the participant was the strongest element of difference amongst the Armenian community of Sydney. This current study, however, showed a strong shift away from the parents' national grouping for CSS, who overwhelmingly (n=7) selected the 'I am an Australian-Armenian' category, thereby distancing themselves from their parents' national identity. However, in parallel to the study conducted by Kirkland (1982), a significant number of MSS chose to identify with their parents' national identity (Chart A1(iii)). The results confirm the



perception that CSS see themselves as belonging to a hybrid Australian-Armenian identity, embracing and identifying both groups. However, more MSS identify with a ‘national’ background, although this level of identification is not as prominent as in Kirkland’s (1982) study. The self-perceived categorisation of MSS with various ‘national’ backgrounds and the hesitation to categorise overwhelmingly as an Australian-Armenian (n=2), suggests the group’s preference to remain distant from the Australian-Armenian identity.

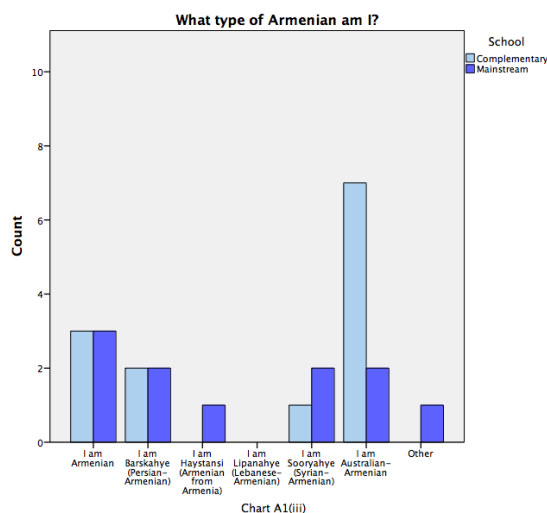


Chart A1 (iii): The type of Armenian the participant believes they are.

**Social Identification:** As participants categorised themselves as part of a group, they displayed an increase in their awareness of the social group and the values associated with it. This heightened awareness maintained the fact that MSS display a greater preference for the in-group. This preference is displayed in Chart A2(i) in which MSS identify as Armenian (1st)-Australians(2nd), thereby prioritising the *Armenian* grouping and one student identifying solely as *Australian*, expressing a responsibility to identify as an Australian. The CSS, however, continued to identify themselves socially as *Australian* (1st), followed by their Armenian identity (2nd). The preference shown towards the Australian grouping for CSS may be due to the internal conflict they experience during adolescence regarding their identity, as was previously found to be taking place in research by Phinney (1990). This is common in adolescents of diverse backgrounds attending mainstream schools outside their community, as found by McHatton et al. (2007). In a study of Hispanic adolescents in the United States, individuals felt alienated when not valued in their school or community, as is common

amongst culturally and linguistically diverse youth, and led to increased identification with the out-group. Given that CSS attend an out-group mainstream school, they may be more inclined to identify themselves as Australians in their interactions with the out-group, thus preventing unfriendliness from the out-group.

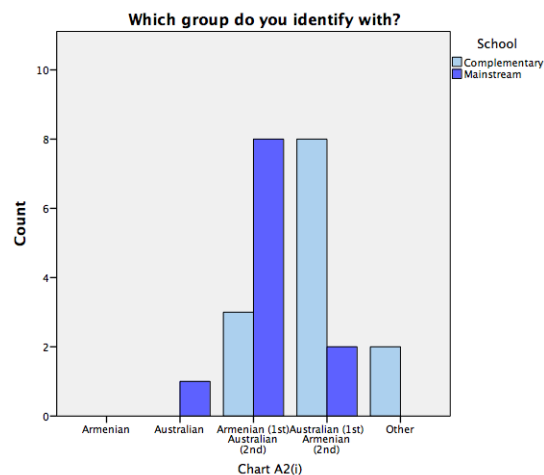


Chart A2 (i): The group the participant identifies with during social interactions

The adolescent's identity during social interactions is also influenced by two factors, the perceptions of the out-group and the in-group members' emotional attachment to their identity (Ehala 2011; Tajfel and Turner 1979). Both CSS and MSS claimed the out-group recognise them as belonging to one of the following three groups: *Australian (1st)-Armenians (2nd)*, *Armenian (1st)-Australians (2nd)* and *Armenians*. The responses varied, however the majority of responses included a variation of the Australian and Armenian grouping (Chart A2 (iii)).

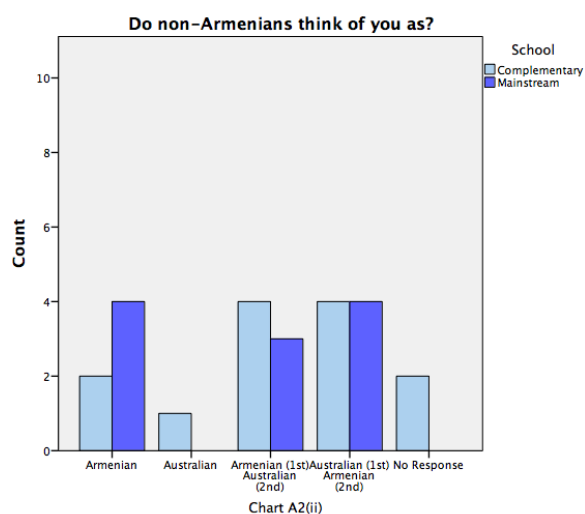


Chart A2 (ii): Out-group members perceive the participant as part of one of the five groups

However, several MSS (n=4) claimed they are viewed as exclusively *Armenian*. This external identification as an Armenian influenced the participants' categorisation of themselves, thereby supporting the decision for MSS to select the Armenian dominated groups (Chart A2(i)). Kiang and Fulgini (2009), in research on white and non-white American perceptions, found that unconsciously non-white ethnic groups were implicitly rejected as less American if members expressed ethnic identity publicly. The current study would suggest that the inclusion of the Australian grouping would be as a result of the negative perception of the out-group if they identified solely as Armenians, but, as will be explained next, the individuals' attachment to their Australian identity is another reason for their identification with the Australian grouping. The emotional attachment of the participants with either group was an influential facet of their choice to identify with the in-group or the out-group. MSS displayed the strongest level of attachment to the Armenian identity, with all participants selecting an emotional attachment of level 3 and above (Chart A2 (iii)). CSS, on the other hand, presented a more balanced level of attachment to the in-group, whilst also not selecting an emotional level of less than 3. These high levels of emotional attachment were justified when participants expressed their thoughts on the in-group's vitality (see section 3.3 below).

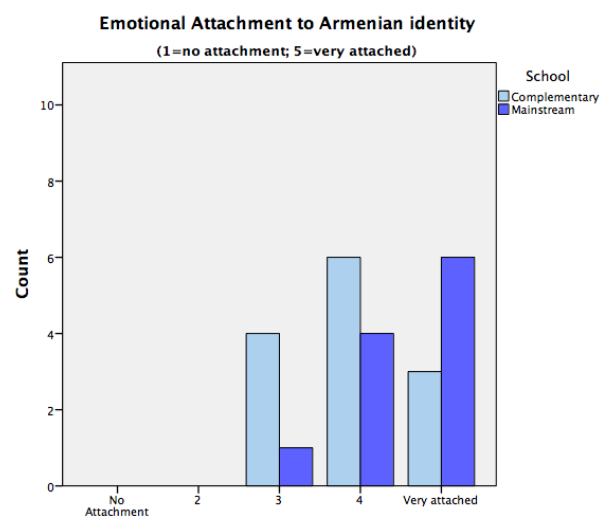


Chart A2 (iii): The participant's emotional attachment to the Armenian identity

The level of attachment to the Australian identity for MSS was in contrast to that of their Armenian identity (Chart A2 (iv)). Both groups continued to display a consistently high emotional attachment, with one complementary school student claiming no attachment to the Australian identity. The majority of MSS chose an emotional attachment of 4, found to be due to the debt felt to Australian society, as they were born in Australia, grew up in Australia, and benefited from what Australia had to offer. For this reason, the perception of MSS towards the out-group remained positive.

*‘The youth like to communicate with them (the Australians),  
they’re friendly people and they’re kind.’ (17)*

By the same token, the level of emotional attachment to the Australian identity for CSS remained rather the same as their attachment to the Armenian identity. This similarity continues to support the hybrid identity of CSS.

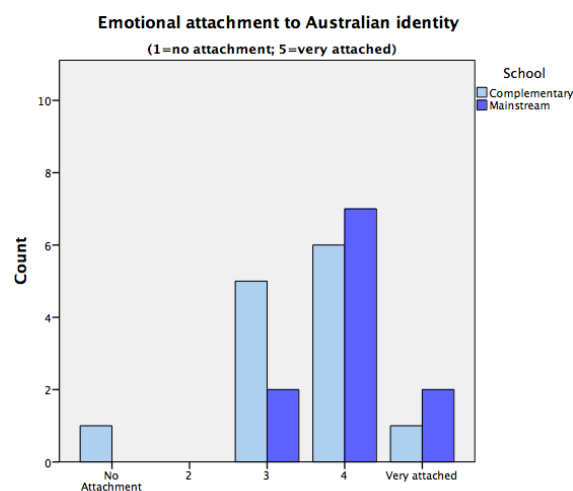


Chart A2 (iv): The participant's emotional attachment to the Australian identity

The strong emotional attachment felt by both groups towards the Armenian identity, notably for MSS, is suggested by Ehala (2011) to result in an increased level of negative attitude towards the out-group. Ehala's (2011) finding is partially correct, as the balanced emotional attachment shown by CSS towards the Armenian and Australian identity resulted in positive

attitudes towards the out-group. However, despite the level of commitment displayed by MSS towards the Armenian identity, few negative sentiments were raised towards the out-group throughout the data collection process.

**Social Comparison:** A comparison of in-group and out-group organisations was based on the perceived benefits and advantages each has to offer, including its sporting, religious, youth, and dance organisations. MSS viewed the in-group's sporting (80%) and dance groups (80%) as favourable to those of the out-group, however CSS showed a preference for the out-group's sporting (60%) and dance groups (50%) (Charts A3 (i) and (iii)). The MSS commitment to in-group organisations is clear, with only a few participants noting an apparent benefit to participation in out-group organisations. On the other hand, CSS preferred an out-group sport and dance organisation due to the larger number of contestants, increased competition, and skills development.

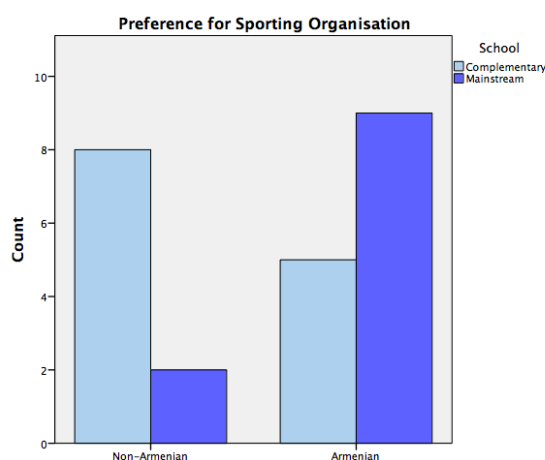


Chart A3 (i): Preference for in-group or out-group sporting organisations

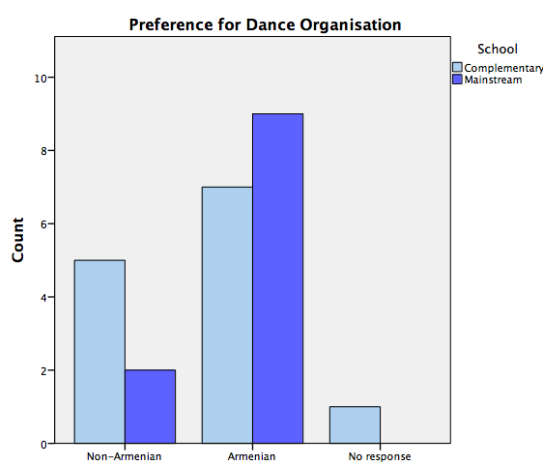


Chart A3 (iii): Preference for in-group or out-group dance organisations

In contrast, both groups of students preferred to identify with the in-group's religious and youth organisations. Ninety per cent of CSS and MSS chose the Armenian religious groups (Chart A3 (ii)), and 80% of MSS and 70% of CSS preferred an Armenian youth group (Chart A3 (iv)). This preference for religious and youth organisations was evidently based on

ethnicity, as the majority of participant's enjoyed attending Armenian youth organisations, which provide cultural and linguistic benefits that are not found in the out-group's organisations. Largely, the preference for religious organisations was based on the fact that the churches they attend are ethnically Armenian, with the exception of one respondent. These churches include the Armenian Apostolic Church, the Armenian Catholic Church and the Armenian Evangelical churches.

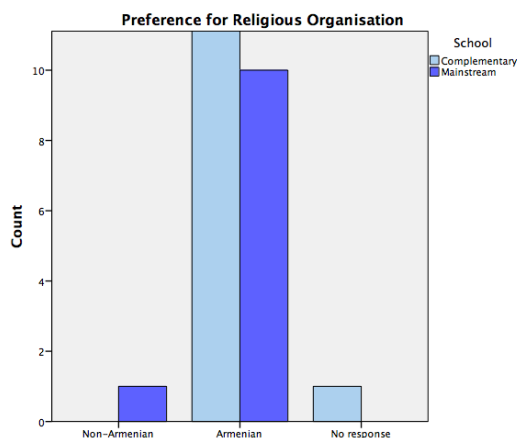


Chart A3 (ii): Preference for in-group or out-group religious organisations

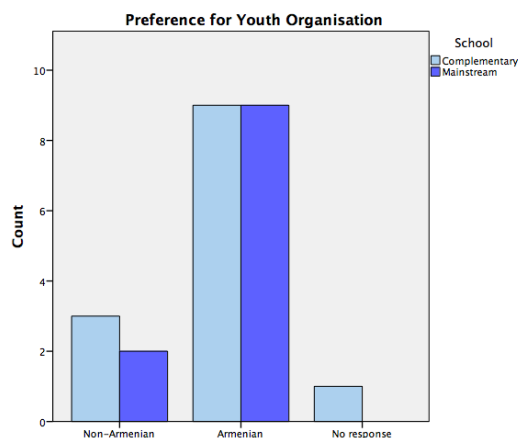


Chart A3 (ix): Preference for in-group or out-group youth organisations

As discussed in the literature review, the preference for religious and youth organisations that belong to the in-group is common in Armenian communities worldwide due to the connection they provide with their ethnic identity and homeland (Kirkland 1982; Paul 2000); as is also the case amongst other Diaspora communities such as the Greeks and the Jews (Papavlou and Pavlou 2001; Safran 2005). In-group youth organisations popular amongst the participants, such as the AGBU,<sup>4</sup> AYF<sup>5</sup> and Badani,<sup>6</sup> are fundamentally socio-political organisations, which indirectly provide opportunities for language immersion. Similarly, Armenian religious organisations provide language retention opportunities for the participants. Research by Paul (2000), in a study of two politically influenced interest groups operating in the United States,

<sup>4</sup> The Armenian General Benevolent Union is a non-profit organisation providing educational, cultural and humanitarian programs ([www.agbu.org](http://www.agbu.org)).

<sup>5</sup> The Armenian Youth Federation is the youth movement of the Armenian Revolutionary Federation. ([www.ayfaustralia.org/](http://www.ayfaustralia.org/))

<sup>6</sup> Badani is the junior movement of the Armenian Youth Federation.

found that religious and youth organisations frequented by adolescents also contained elements of Genocidal and religious memory, which contributed to increased attendance and ethnic mobilisation amongst community members. Therefore, religious, historical and political factors motivated the participants' decisions to display a preference towards the in-group's religious and youth organisations.

**Psychological Distinctiveness:** Participants believed the Armenian community was perceived positively by the out-group, with the exception of a few communities (Chart A4(i)). This perception, along with the elements previously discussed (i.e. categorisation, identification and comparison), influenced the psychological distinctiveness of the in-group. The majority of MSS (80%) believed that the out-group views the Armenian community positively, in contrast to only half the CSS. The reason for the CSS concern was due to the anti-Armenian rhetoric of the Turkish and Azerbaijani communities in Sydney. Participants believe the Turkish and Azerbaijani communities dislike the Armenians as they 'refuse to deal with the past' and 'disturb our protests' (17).<sup>7</sup>

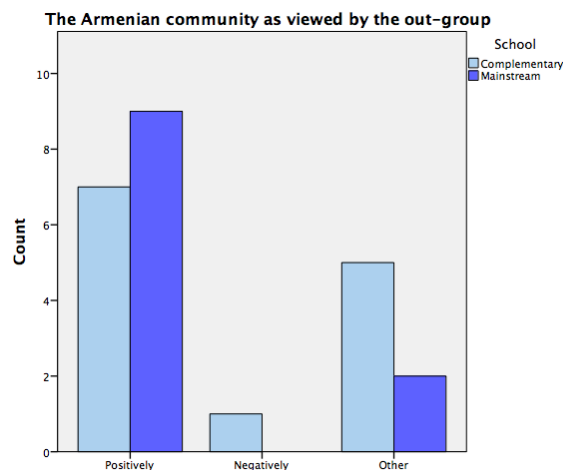


Chart A4 (i): The Armenian community is viewed by the out-group positively or negatively

<sup>7</sup> The inclusion of a number in brackets after a quotation (e.g. (5)) is an example of terms used by participants throughout the interview.

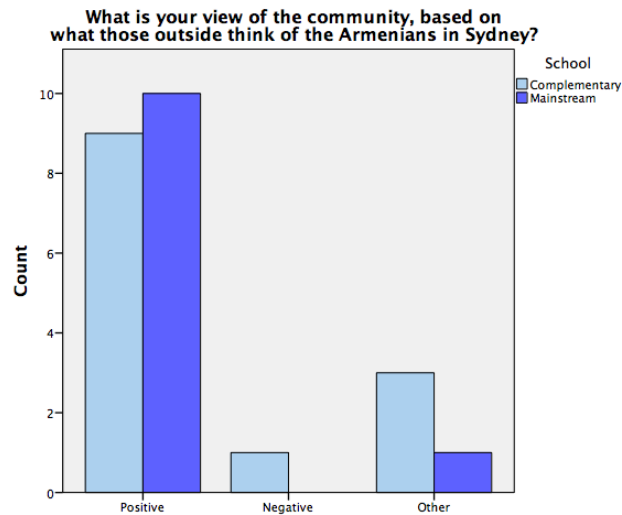


Chart A4 (i): The participant's perception of his or her in-group based on the perception of the out-group

The out-group's generally positive perception of the Armenian community seems to have encouraged in-group members to maintain a positive social identity, as over 70% of CSS and 90% of MSS viewed the in-group positively, based on the perceptions of the out-group (Chart A4 (iii)). Consequently, the favouritism shown towards the in-group by participants when asked to categorise, identify and compare the in-group and out-group, is likely the reason for the positive response by MSS. This position is strengthened by Reynolds and Turner's (2008) findings, that individuals who display favouritism towards their in-group are more likely to perceive their in-group positively in order to maintain a level of positive distinctiveness. As such, the positive psychological distinctiveness felt by in-group members may be due to a combination of the out-group's perceptions and level of favouritism displayed towards the in-group.

**Language's role in Social Identity:** Language continued to hold significant clout in the participants' decision to identify with the in-group. Participants who identify strongly as members of the in-group are said to view their heritage language as an important symbol of their ethnic identity (Giles and Johnson 1987). MSS overwhelmingly (100%) perceived the Armenian language to be 'very important' to their identity, while CSS provided a range of



responses, with only 60% claiming the language to be ‘very important’ to their identity (Chart A5 (xi)). One reason for the importance placed on the relationship between heritage language and identity is due to the assumed shift from Armenian to English amongst community members.

*‘I feel like the Armenian language is slipping...people seem to prefer to speak English to one another.’ (3)*

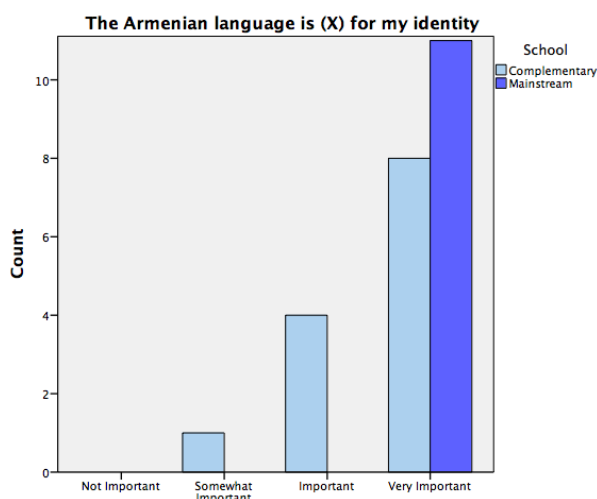


Chart A5 (xi): The importance of the Armenian language for the participant's identity

The rate at which language shift is taking place is significant (Clyne and Kipp 1996). However, the means by which to preserve the heritage language remained disputed by both groups of participants. MSS were more enthusiastic about the idea of students attending Galstaun College, due to their positive experiences as students of the college. MSS remained puzzled about how the Armenian community expects to acquire an adequate knowledge of the Armenian language and remain Armenian without the College. The significance of the mainstream heritage language school is increasingly significant to students attending these institutions, as was noted in past research on the Greek community of Australia. Tamis (1990) stated that the historical role of complementary schools had been fulfilled, as transitional education establishments preparing the way for the daily independent schools. The daily schools were better able to develop the heritage language in parity with English, averting any

feelings of inferiority. This sense of inferiority was hinted at by several CSS in comments made about the importance of the Armenian language to their identity, including the heritage language not being essential to Armenian culture, and the necessity of adolescents to remember that they live in Australia.

*'I guess it's important to me (Armenian language), it's more like 80% important, but I live in Australia so I don't know if it's important to have it here'. (9)*

Nevertheless, CSS remained content that the complementary school can strengthen the relationship between language and identity, contrary to research by Tamis (1990). In this research it was found that the only domain able to maintain the passive knowledge of a heritage language is a bilingual daily school, given the impact of the English language at home and the loyalty associated with society's dominant language (Tamis 1990).

**The role of collective memory in social identity:** The events of the 1915 Armenian Genocide continue to weigh in on contemporary research addressing modern-day Armenian identity and language (Basar and Swain 2009; Panossian 2002; Pattie 1999). Its memory is a large part of the Armenian community's collective memory and was found to influence the participants' decisions to preserve the Armenian language, for 61% of CSS and 63% of MSS. The memory of Genocide is part of an on-going relationship between the adolescent and their in-group, with several CSS and MSS acknowledging this relationship as a step forward in the journey of survival for the Armenian people.

*'It's because of the Genocide that we want to protect our identity.' (4)*

*'Armenian schools instil patriotism into you...it's just for Armenians to keep going after everything we've been through in 1915.' (7)*

*'When they tried to extinguish us, it never worked because we're not going to give up!*

*We want to stay Armenian.' (15)*

Both CSS and MSS agreed that the memory of the Armenian Genocide is closely associated with their identification as part of the in-group. Participants reiterated the Genocide's influential role and the challenge for continued recognition by its perpetrator Turkey as a decisive reason for identifying with the in-group. The continued promotion of the memory of the Armenian Genocide at Armenian schools and organisations, as well as its dominant position in Armenian history, is evidently still an important element of Armenian identity and survival.

In summary, the balanced sense of identity and emotional attachment with the Australian and Armenian identities for CSS suggests a growing hybrid identity. This balanced identity is largely influenced by their attendance at the out-group's mainstream schools and preferential selection of the out-group's sporting and dance organisations. The preference for out-group organisations, due to the benefits they present, shows a gradual shift towards the out-group and an inevitable shift away from ethnic identification. Nevertheless, the importance placed on the relationship between the memory of Genocide and in-group participation has clearly assisted in distancing CSS from further involvement in the out-group. In contrast, MSS identify mostly with the Armenian grouping due to the emotional attachment felt towards their Armenian identity, influenced by their attendance at Galstaun College and advantageous features they see in Armenian community organisations.

### **3.2. Social Comparisons with the Out-group**

Insecure social comparisons are made when a group member perceives the benefits of the out-group to outweigh those provided by the in-group; therefore the beneficial elements able to be obtained by the out-group are believed to lead the individual closer to the out-group. Various in-group and out-group organisations such as those noted in the *Social Comparison* section above are able to influence in-group members into making insecure comparisons and unconsciously distancing themselves from the Armenian community. As both groups of

participants are either second- or third-generation Australian-Armenians, some form of identification with the out-group is expected as seen in other second-generation ethnic groups in Australia, discussed in the literature review (Hatoss 2004; Mejía 2015). However, the willingness to identify with the out-group is significantly more evident for CSS. As noted in section 3.1 of this chapter, 61% of CSS prefer to identify with the *Australian-Armenian* grouping, whilst 72% of MSS identify themselves as *Armenian-Australian*. It is plausible that this selection is unconsciously made, however, the choice for CSS to select the Australian grouping first is possibly due to their growing affinity with the out-group, considering their attendance at an out-group mainstream school. This growing affinity with the out-group is reflective of other Armenian communities, as found amongst Armenian-American adolescents, in which bilingual adolescents more exposed to Armenian schooling and community organisations developed a kinship with the Armenian community compared to their colleagues who were exposed to out-group schooling (Imbens-Bailey 1996). The increased exposure of MSS to the Armenian community and Galstaun College has led to the development of closer bonds with the in-group and a preference for the Armenian grouping.

This is not to say CSS are not aware of the advantages of taking part in in-group organisations. CSS mentioned beneficial elements such as heritage language improvement, increased cultural awareness and relationship development with other Armenians:

*‘You see other Armenians, so that’s the benefit. I don’t usually see other Armenians often, like other than the days I play with them (sport) and dance with them.’ (9)*

Nevertheless, out-group organisations are generally preferred by CSS, who display a more insecure position in their comparison between the in-group and out-group. This insecurity is due to the advantageous elements of taking part in an out-group organisation, including a larger number of participants, increased competition and the development of skills unable to be obtained by in-group organisations.

*'if you're stuck in the Armenian group and can't compare yourself or improve,  
you can't really be influenced by other kids, and that doesn't allow yourself to grow.'* (2)

The insecure comparison made by CSS in relation to the out-group suggests an increasing shift towards out-group participation and identification. However, the shift towards the out-group is forestalled by the out-group's unfamiliarity with the Armenian identity and cultural comfort with the in-group. CSS expressed frustration with the out-group: 'they don't know who the Armenians are' (8). Remarks made by the out-group categorising the Armenians as 'wogs' aren't considered offensive, however the grouping of Armenians as a Middle-Eastern people is not perceived well, with participants hinting the need to educate the out-group on 'our European background' (9). The distance maintained by CSS, despite the advantageous elements the out-group presents, is also due to the security felt when amongst in-group members. Research has shown that ethnic identity became salient when it remained chronically accessible, therefore the absence of ethnic identity when participating in out-group organisations is seen to lead to a growing sense of uncertainty for the individual regarding where they belong (Phinney 1990). The out-group's unfamiliarity with the Armenian identity contributes to the CSS distance they maintain between themselves and the out-group's organisations. One example of cultural unfamiliarity is the following comment:

*'We stand out as an Arab country to other people, people think we're  
from the Middle East or from a Muslim culture.'* (3)

In contrast, in-group organisations are held in high esteem by MSS, allowing for secure comparisons to be made between the in-group and out-group. The in-group's organisations include its sporting, religious, dance and youth organisations. The beneficial elements of these organisations include the development of relationships with other Armenians, socialising with members of the community and most importantly, bringing the community closer together. The accessibility of ethnic identity for MSS ensures it remains a continuously important part of their lives:

*'The advantage is we get to spend time together and develop bonds.'* (20)

*'I get to raise awareness of us Armenians, to protect us and get us stronger.'* (14)

A self-appointed sense of responsibility was felt by MSS to take part in the in-group's organisations. This sense of responsibility for the in-group means MSS felt little need to compare the in-group's organisations with those of the out-group. To summarise, the insecure social comparisons made by CSS towards the out-group are due to the advantageous elements of the out-group, which are found to be beneficial. This comparison has added greatly to the CSS chances of assimilation, due to the advantageous elements these organisations have compared to the in-group (Blanton, Crocker and Miller 2000). However, the chance of assimilation is questionable due to the out-group's unfamiliarity with the Armenian identity and its identification of the Armenian community as Arabs, Muslims or Middle Eastern people, which results in CSS feeling the need to remain a part of the in-group's organisations.

### **3. 3. Vitality of the Armenian Community (Status, Demography and Support)**

#### **Status factors**

The in-group's status is supported by the participants' perception of the group's culture and history, success and wealth, and size and reputation, compared to the out-group. Both groups of participants described the Armenian community's awareness of their culture and history as very proud, nationalistic and patriotic. The pride felt by in-group members for their **culture** is shaped by the powerful songs and dance of the Armenian people, said to be a bit over-zealous at times, giving an impression of superiority. This sense of superiority demonstrated by the participants can be rationalised as the community's need to always display its existence, despite the near annihilation they faced in 1915 (Pattie 1999). Both groups of participants explained the need to have the Armenian culture represented as distinct, given the uniqueness and high admiration in-group members have for their culture and the fear of losing their culture:

*'It's like Multicultural day; we have like an Italian table and a Greek table.*

*The Armenians would be put together with the Lebanese for some reason, that's not right.'* (2)

*'Bit overly proud I think, I don't know why, we're just very nationalistic I guess we just love our culture.'* (4)

Cultural loss, referred to in Armenian as *jermag chart* [cultural genocide] is the reason why participants feel the need to be so protective about their in-group's culture. Cultural loss amongst the Armenian people began during the Armenian Genocide and was associated with the destruction of churches, the torture of men, women and children, with crucifixes and the mass killings of intellectuals. However, present-day cultural loss for Armenians was suggested by Pattie (1994) to include the individual's unfamiliarity with Armenia's culture, history and identity. Participants noted that this form of cultural loss does not occur amongst the dominant Anglo-Australian population of Australia and the growing Asian communities, who are perceived as less culturally aware due to their size and strength:

*'The Chinese, who have billions of people worldwide, are not afraid of losing it (the culture) so they're not as proud.'* (17)

Armenians are perceived to be very proud of their history, with a recurring reference made to the Genocide and the endurance of the community in its ability to survive and remain strong. The atrocity of the Genocide is considered a decisive moment in Armenian history that shaped the identity of the Armenian people and particularly its Diaspora. However, the dominance of the topic has left adolescents wondering whether it isn't worth emphasising the thousands of years of Armenian history before the Genocide.

**Success and wealth** were found to be influenced by the memory of persecution and extermination, motivating the in-group to succeed given the hardships of the past. The in-group is perceived as wealthy in comparison to the general population of Australia, with success stories being used to justify their responses, most of which included the ownership of large businesses. Success was also said to be due to the hard-working generation of

Armenians who established their lives in Australia, with the new generation perceived as lazy. This perceived success was viewed differently by CSS and MSS. Success for CSS equated to living in the suburbs of Sydney's North Shore, whilst MSS interpreted success as relating to the education the person has received, their attendance at university and their ability to build and develop the community. Although several CSS held similar views, mostly in relation to the in-group's motivation to succeed, their views of success were in relation to the achievement of a few Australians of Armenian heritage, including Gladys Berejiklian<sup>8</sup> and Joe Hockey.<sup>9</sup>

The **size and reputation** of the in-group were found to be influenced by the group's exposure to the out-group. Both groups of students viewed the size of the in-group as irrelevant to its future success and survival. It is acknowledged that the community is considerably small in size and lacks the numbers of other ethnic communities in Sydney. In relation to the in-group's reputation, MSS believed the reputation to be dependent on the contribution made by the in-group to society. Surprisingly, contributions to society include activities more beneficial to the in-group rather than the out-group. These contributions include Genocide awareness initiatives, protests on various anti-Armenian issues worldwide and support provided to local councils by in-group members. The MSS perception of the community's reputation can be viewed as insular, given their limited exposure to the out-group and the need to maintain a positive psychological distinctiveness as a community (Giles and Johnson 1987). In contrast, CSS based their perception of the in-group's reputation on their interactions with students at their mainstream (out-group) school and involvement in out-group organisations. The reputation of the in-group was met with frustration due to a lack of awareness of the in-group as discussed in section 3.2, an element found to distance CSS from permanent inclusion in the out-group:

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<sup>8</sup> The Hon. Gladys Berejiklian MP, NSW Treasurer 2015.

<sup>9</sup> The Hon. Joe Hockey MP, Federal Treasurer 2013-2015



*'The general population think we're Middle Eastern, I personally don't like that, they need to know we're Europeans.'* (13)

*'Not many people know Armenians, so I guess it's really new to them.'* (9)

Celebrities of Armenian ancestry such as Kim Kardashian were mentioned by CSS when describing the Armenian people to out-group members. They simply say 'you know what the Kardashians are?' This lack of awareness of the Armenian community and its culture by the out-group is most evident amongst CSS. This type of cultural unfamiliarity significantly impacts the perception of the Armenian community by the CSS, as they exhibit a sense of frustration and defeat with having to defend their 'European' roots and general unfamiliarity with the Armenian people.

### ***Demographic factors***

The factors that demonstrate a community's demographic vitality are its territorial concentration and presence, intermarriage, immigration and the participants' outlook on the future survival of the community. Both groups of participants overwhelmingly relate the *territorial concentration* of the Armenian community with the Sydney suburbs of Chatswood, Ryde and Willoughby. Older generations are said to reside in the more traditionally Armenian areas of Sydney's North Shore. Younger generations, on the other hand, have expanded towards the area of Ryde, with some now residing in and around the suburb of Fairfield. Identifying the lower North Shore suburbs of Chatswood and Willoughby as the dominant Armenian areas is due to the *presence* of *agoomps* [Armenian cultural centres] and the Armenian Apostolic Church. The development of Armenian Complementary Schools, sporting and cultural organisations in and around Ryde, demonstrates the growth of the community into the Northern Suburbs of Sydney:

*'They're just everywhere (in Chatswood); you can hear them on the streets, they're right next to you talking in Armenian.'* (19)

*'Everything's in Ryde, there's the Antranig agoomps, the Ararat agoomps.'* (15)

*Intermarriage* or endogamy, being marriage within an ethnic group, is perceived as advantageous to the future success of the community. The advantages of endogamy include the preservation of language, culture, identity and religion, evident in the participants' description of beneficial elements such as the continuation of traditions, increase in community numbers and keeping the Armenian culture intact. However, three MSS seemed more convinced on the necessity of endogamy, stating that the community should 'not mix with another race' (11) or marry a non-Armenian 'for the sake of protecting what our ancestors died for during the Genocide' (21). Participants expressed their approval for endogamy and the dangers of mixing with other cultures. These comments can be viewed as somewhat extreme for a generation born in Australia; however these views are a common element of Armenian society (Pattie 1994). In research on American-Armenians whose ancestors had immigrated to the United States following the Armenian Genocide, Pattie (1994) found that, unlike other white immigrants, Armenians, because of their Diaspora experience, tend to integrate into society rather than assimilate, thereby maintaining a connection to the ethnic group and its identity, rather than adopting all the characteristics of the predominant group in society. This form of integration allowed the community to preserve ethnic values in their home and social life. Similarly, the Diaspora experience in Sydney has evidently affected the views of second- and third-generation Armenian adolescents regarding marriage. Nevertheless, however positive the idea of endogamy is amongst the in-group, the idea of parents forcing their children to marry an Armenian was thought of as unnecessary and inappropriate by both groups. The participants understood the importance of marrying within the in-group, due to the ease of language and cultural continuity. However, the pressure placed on them by their parents to marry an Armenian was evidently an exasperating topic, even in their teen years. Additionally, despite the positive perception endogamy had for both groups of participants, CSS displayed an aversion to the idea of endogamy (see Chart A2(v)); although they were supportive of the idea during the qualitative data collection process. Regardless, marriage with the out-group was perceived to be taking place in Sydney,

with several participants noticing an increase in the number of mixed marriages with out-group members. The reality of marriage outside the in-group led to comments on the loss of identity and the presence of half-Armenians:

*‘It’s becoming more common every year (relationships with non-Armenians), I hear a lot of stories. I know someone who recently got married to a Lebanese girl and his parents don’t want to talk to him anymore.’ (17)*

*‘I don’t know many Armenians who have married completely non-Armenians, sometimes they’re half.’ (6)*

It is clear that the idea of intermarriage is still widely considered important to Armenian identity and language preservation, as was seen in Kirkland’s (1987) large scale study of the Armenian community in Sydney in the 1980s.

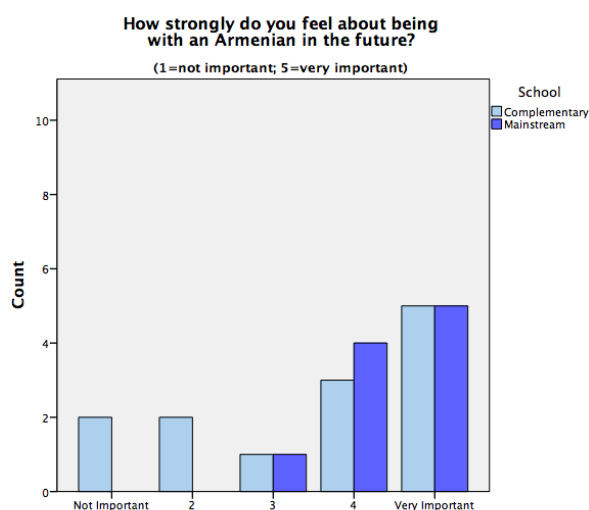


Chart A2 (v): Importance of a being with an Armenian in a future relationship

Overall, factors such as the small size of the Armenian community and the noticeable increase in marriage with the out-group are seen as disadvantageous to the future numbers of the Armenian community, regardless of how positive participants believe their future to be. However, the prospect of *immigration* could reverse this perceived negative growth. Participants were aware of conflicts in Syria and the Middle East, and the likelihood that these

conflicts may lead to greater numbers of Armenians wishing to migrate to Australia. MSS provided examples of Syrian and Lebanese-Armenian students enrolling at Galstaun College who escaped war in Armenian-populated towns such as Kessab and Aleppo in Syria:

*'My friend came from Lebanon, it's a better life here, especially with  
the war and terrorists in Syria.'* (19)

The participants remained hopeful and optimistic about the future of the in-group with immigration from the Middle East expecting to slightly increase the size of the community.

### ***Institutional support factors***

Support for the Armenian language is administered mainly by the Armenian community, its members and organisations; support from the local, state and federal governments in Australia is minimal at most. Participants believed this lack of support is due to the small size of the community and the abundance of Armenian community organisations. These organisations are the driving force behind three heritage language maintenance initiatives: (1) language classes; (2) Armenian media; and (3) cultural events. The endurance of these initiatives was viewed by the participants as a sign of strength despite the lack of funding and support provided by the out-group.

#### **(1) Language classes**

Both CSS and MSS displayed an awareness of the schools and institutions that provide language classes in Armenian. The MSS were clearly aware of their own school's ability to teach and develop the language, as well as the various Saturday schools, and tutoring groups provided by the Armenian Church. In addition to the more traditional language institutions, the majority of MSS pointed out a new way to learn Armenian through the web-based

Armenian Virtual College (AVC).<sup>10</sup> CSS also made reference to the limited number of language institutions, mostly their Saturday school and Galstaun College. Despite the references made to Galstaun College, they remained averse to any individual thinking of attending the mainstream Armenian school, with some even expressing doubt about why an out-group member would want to learn the Armenian language. This doubt put forward by CSS is arguably an effect of the CSS attendance at an out-group mainstream school, due to the unusefulness of using the heritage language in Australian society. This position is further strengthened by Portes and Hao's (2002) argument that the individual's mainstream school becomes the dominant influence in their lives, as this is the place they spend most their day socialising with English-speaking peers. Additionally, as most of their day is spent conversing in the English language, the usefulness of the heritage language is only apparent amongst interactions with the in-group. It was therefore not clear to the CSS why an out-group member would learn the Armenian language. The hesitation shown by CSS towards out-group members or even in-group members attending Galstaun College displays signs of wavering support, as a result of the influence of their mainstream school and the perceived usefulness of the Armenian language for the out-group. The MSS, however, continued to acknowledge the role of traditional and modern Armenian educational institutions. Notwithstanding the perception of CSS towards Armenian language institutions, the in-group evidently has a sufficient number of language institutions to support the development of the Armenian language in Sydney.

## (2) Armenian media

Armenian media in the form of newspapers, radio stations, websites and an online TV station are run mostly by cultural, political and religious organisations operating in Sydney. Participants were aware of how to access the various forms of media, citing the availability of

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<sup>10</sup> The Armenian Virtual College is a distance education learning institution pioneered by the Armenian General Benevolent Union. It is headquartered in Yerevan, Armenia.

newspapers in their homes and those of their grandparents. The popularity of social networking sites such as Facebook make Armenian media not only accessible but more attractive, compared to the 'hard to understand' (3) font used in traditional newspapers. Additionally, participants found themselves more up-to-date with local and international Armenian news thanks to emails sent to them by grassroots organisations such as the ANC, and political organisations such as the Armenian Revolutionary Federation (ARF) and Armenian Youth Federation (AYF). Although it was noted that the majority of local Armenian media on the Internet is in the English language, participants were keen to make clear their ability to read Armenian articles. The accessibility of Armenian media is made more evident with the production of ArmeniaMediaInc,<sup>11</sup> cited as a frequently used source of Armenian news by a large number of participants. However, although awareness of Armenian media was evident, usage remained scarce, with participants relying more on Facebook and YouTube. Furthermore, the media were criticised for their inability to attract youth, due to the levels of Armenian vocabulary and the speed at which presenters speak on television.

### (3) Cultural events

Notwithstanding the poor use of Armenian media, attendance at Armenian cultural events was seen as an opportunity for participants to use and enhance their heritage language skills. Virtually all participants frequently attend an Armenian cultural event, citing Armenian Genocide commemorations as an event supporting the promotion of the Armenian language, the yearly Armenian Cultural Festival in Darling Harbour, discos organised by Armenian youth and sporting organisations, and Armenian folk dance concerts. Cultural events are arguably one of the most influential methods of language and identity preservation for the community and an easy way to unify the community Paul (2000). The most popular event for

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<sup>11</sup> ArmeniaMediaInc is a Sydney based organisation offering online content in the form of an Armenian newspaper, Armenian radio, Armenian TV and an Armenian magazine (<http://www.armenia.com.au/>).

both groups was the end of year Navasartian Games<sup>12</sup> and the end-of-games Ball: although these are sporting events, the participants saw them as opportunities to absorb and speak the Armenian language. These events, intended to directly promote Armenian sports and culture, provide an environment in which the language is heard and used frequently.

To summarise, out-group support for the Armenian language is virtually non-existent, with any external support provided by in-group members abroad in Armenia and the Diaspora. Due to the lack of support provided by the out-group, the Armenian community has remained the primary caretaker of its heritage language. This role as primary caretaker is met with a sense of pride, as the community has been able to establish both direct and in-direct language retentive organisations, numerous forms of Armenian media and frequent cultural events. Institutional support for the Armenian language is viewed as successful and motivational to the youth in the community, due to the perception that the community ‘runs its own show’ (5).

### **3.4. Perceived in-group’s boundaries**

Features of the Armenian community that demonstrate the participants’ perception of the in-group’s boundaries are: (A) the purpose of the community; (B) its heritage language schools; (C) the inclusion of out-group members; and (D) racism within the group and historical memory.

#### **(A) Purpose of the in-group**

The in-group’s purpose is primarily the *promotion of culture and history* and the *protection of the in-group*. Its presence therefore encourages the spread of Armenian culture and history amongst its members and the out-group. By ensuring the survival of the group’s **culture and history**, it is believed the ethnic identity and heritage language of the in-group will endure.

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<sup>12</sup> Held at the end of each year by the HMEM sporting organisation, the tournament brings together thousands of Armenians to take part in basketball and soccer games, leading to an end of games ball.

This sense of continuity as a community for the in-group's language and identity outside the homeland is a classical element of Diaspora identity and the endless struggle of Armenian communities worldwide (Pattie 1999). Armenians, like other Diaspora groups, have continued to survive by adapting to elements of host nations whilst maintaining their collective memory of their language and identity (Hall 1990). This collective memory is evident in comments made by participants:

*'Despite not living in the motherland, Armenians are somewhat united thus allowing the race to flourish.'* (18)

*'If we don't live in Hayastan (Armenia) we want to make as much of Hayastan in Sydney as possible.'* (3)

These comments display the participants' understanding of the in-group's purpose and perceived success as a Diaspora community. The absence of an Armenian community would lead to the eventual assimilation of the in-group, or as one participant put it, becoming 'just Australian' (5). A well-established community, which provides opportunities for its members to socially interact and develop relationships with one another results in a successful community. These forms of interactions are made possible through community organisations and language institutions.

Additionally, both groups of participants felt that the purpose of the community is to **protect the in-group**. The majority of responses included statements relating to the Genocide, anti-Armenian sentiments by members of the Turkish community in Sydney and the protection of faith and culture. MSS expressed concern that the community is under attack from the Turkish community and government, therefore strengthening their solidarity with the in-group. Their understanding of what specifically was harming the in-group included the lobbying process through which Turkish groups negatively influence Australian policy makers with perceived pay-outs. For both MSS and CSS, protecting the Armenian community



has strong connections to the maintenance of faith, culture and memory of Genocide. The participants offered the following comments:

*'They've tried to take out the Armenian community but we survived, for example the Genocide.'*

(15).

*'I feel like there's an invisible barrier around the Armenian community where people are like "oh, it's the Armenians, they're a massive community that just love each other and are really close knit and no one else is allowed in".*

*It's because of the Genocide that we want to protect ourselves.'* (4)

The comments suggest more than just a memory of historical trauma, but also an invisible boundary that the Armenian community has built around itself. Several participants interpreted this boundary as taking the in-group hostage, to prevent others from taking part. The boundary created through the use of traumatic collective memory of the Genocide is perceived by Armenian grassroots organisations worldwide as one of the most effective strategies for ethnic mobilisation of the Armenian people (Paul 2000). The protection of the Armenian community against those who oppose them is accomplished through the mobilisation of its members and its continued unity.

### ***(B) Purpose of heritage language schools***

Heritage language schools in Sydney are portrayed as institutions assisting in the growth and upbringing of Armenians with good values and morals, and a place to strengthen the Armenian language. Complementary (Saturday) schools were described by CSS as a place that taught them to read, write and speak Armenian, a place to cherish their heritage and identity, and a place that encourages participation in community organisations. Galstaun College, on the other hand, was described by MSS as a *yergroot doon* [*second home*], a place where students all think the same, which shapes 'educated' and 'well-equipped' (21) Armenian intellectuals.

The majority of MSS felt a sense of unity and responsibility of leadership with their in-group, showing the ability to acknowledge the disadvantage of limited exposure to the out-group whilst remaining proud of the close-knit community school, as seen in the following comments:

*'I was only exposed to Armenians ... It made me who I am today.'* (19)

*'They want their students to be Armenian advocates and enhance the Armenian group in general.'*

(16)

The connection felt by MSS towards Galstaun College is nurtured through a safe environment provided by the school in an atmosphere of inclusion and intimacy. This atmosphere encourages a family unit, with one student describing the school as a *medz endanik* [large family]. This intimacy represents a boundary that excludes those outside the college or the 'Armenian family'. The rigidity of the in-group's boundaries portrayed by MSS is supported by the emotional attachment with their in-group's identity (Ehala 2011), thereby creating a clearer distinction between themselves and the out-group. As one MSS stated:

*'I'm not saying it's bad to communicate with others, I'm just saying it's*

*preferable to always be with them (Armenians), so your mind is set straight.'* (17)

However insular MSS described themselves to be, they were careful not to put down other Armenian language schools or the out-group's schools. Armenian Saturday schools were perceived in a positive light, with the belief that attendance at any Armenian school is better than no attendance at all. Furthermore, no negative views were held towards the out-group's mainstream schools; this is possibly due to the perceived interethnic threat coming from the Turkish community rather than what was dubbed the 'general Australian population'. MSS insisted that there is no difference in terms of education and knowledge between themselves and students who attend more prestigious schools:

*'I don't think it makes a difference, as it doesn't separate a kid who goes to*

*St. Aloysius or me who went to Galstaun College.'* (16)

CSS first and foremost voiced their opinions of Galstaun College, rather than their own Armenian language school. Their views of the mainstream Armenian college were resentful and misguided. CSS believed the number of students leaving the mainstream Armenian school was due to its lack of resources and quality of education. Students at Galstaun College were perceived as having difficulty communicating with members of the out-group and the misconceived idea that students are taught in Armenian for the majority of their study week. It was believed that the mainstream Armenian school should only exist as a primary school, as Armenian students need 'to communicate with other nationalities'. These comments suggest a growing divide between adolescents in the Armenian community. Several CSS acknowledged the difficulty of attending a complementary school on Saturdays, due to the difficulty of learning a language for a continuous five hours. However, the advantages of attending a Saturday school included attending an out-group mainstream school, increased levels of focus on non-Armenian subjects, and the diversity of people at school (as stated in the comment below). Nevertheless, a sense of frustration was felt by CSS, who seemed to be intimidated by the heightened sense of 'Armenian-ness' felt by their colleagues attending Galstaun College:

*'I prefer Saturday schools, just because I don't really want to be surrounded by*

*Armenians five days a week—that would be overwhelming.'* (4)

It is evident that MSS see themselves as future leaders of the Armenian community, a somewhat self-appointed responsibility for protecting its identity and language. Their perception of CSS and their heritage language school (Saturday schools) was impartial, however MSS were quick to defend Galstaun College from comments made by CSS suggesting that the mainstream Armenian school did not perform well during the 2014 HSC<sup>13</sup>

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<sup>13</sup> The Higher School Certificate (HSC) is the credential awarded to secondary school students who complete senior high school level studies in New South Wales.

exams. MSS proudly stated that the school ranked in the top 60 of over 500 schools in the state. The sense of competition between the two groups of students evidently led to a sense of frustration amongst MSS, as the quality of their education was questioned. However, for CSS, the frustration was due to the belief by MSS that they are the protectors of the Armenian identity and language.

### ***(C) Inclusion of the out-group's members in the in-group***

Allowing out-group members to participate in and be part of the in-group's organisations was met with positive reception. The main point of difference made by the two groups was a prerequisite set by MSS on out-group members who wish to join the Armenian community. This condition is for out-group members to stand side-by-side with the Armenian community in areas of interest or concern to the in-group, as one MSS commented:

*'I think it's great, but if they're supporting our cause and not standing against it.'* (14)

In contrast, CSS provided unconditional approval for the inclusion of out-group members in the in-group's organisations. Out-group members were seen as beneficial to the future of the Armenian community and as advantageous to the development of Armenian organisations through the transfer of skills and increased competition. However, participants doubted the out-group would show interest in participating in Armenian sporting, cultural or youth organisations, especially since the Armenian community is seen to be hesitant to let anyone in. A CSS described his or her thoughts on the issue:

*'I haven't really seen any non-Armenians, we're just such a kind of strong community, it's kind of like we unintentionally don't let anyone in and I don't think non-Armenians have much interest in participating.'* (5)

This perceived hesitation towards the inclusion of out-group members taking part in the Armenian community's organisations is likely due to the distance between the in-group and the out-group. As noted in Chapter 2, Ehala (2011) suggests that the distance between two

groups is based on racial, ethnic, linguistic and cultural differences. Therefore, a member of the out-group taking part in an Armenian organisation in which members frequently speak Armenian, who display a sense of culture and are intent on building in-group friendships, may find it both intimidating and unnecessary from the out-group member's perspective. Therefore, although out-group members may be welcomed, it is unlikely to increase participation due to the distance between the two groups.

***(D) The effect of prejudice and the memory of genocide on the in-group's boundaries***

The memory of the Armenian Genocide is the most noticeable reason for the development of racism amongst the participants. This bias has resulted in negative sentiments towards the Turkish community of Sydney, by both CSS and MSS. These sentiments are typical of a victim Diaspora as discussed in Chapter 2, whereby their memory and identity is shaped by tragedy (Panossian 2002). This dislike is further strengthened by the active presence of the Turkish community at protests organised by Armenian grassroots organisations.

Negative thoughts or bias against a community due to traumatic events such as genocide is common, as found in research on the transmission of trauma to children by survivors of other atrocities such as the Jewish Holocaust (Pavlenko 2002). The research found that the memory of the Holocaust and its emotions was transmitted to the children of the survivors. This transmission of memory is seemingly evident in the perception of the Genocide and the adolescents' perception of the Turkish community. Other more unsubstantiated comments relate to the Islamic communities and are more in relation to their perceived opposition to Christianity. This perceived opposition is due to the actions of ISIS<sup>14</sup> against the Armenian communities of Kessab and Aleppo in Syria.<sup>15</sup> These comments display discomfort with a community other than the Turkish community, which originates from collective emotions experienced when attending mass protests and demonstrations, and news coverage taking

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<sup>14</sup> A salafi jihadist extremist militant group.

<sup>15</sup> Aleppo is the most populous city in Syria, in which an estimated 60,000 Armenians were said to have lived before the start of the civil war in Syria. Kessab is a mostly Armenian-populated town in northwestern Syria.

place in Armenian communities around the world throughout the past year. Furthermore, the participants' collective emotions were heightened with the lead up to the Armenian Genocide centenary in April 2015. The topic of Genocide continues to dominate any reference to Armenian history, due to its effect on the Armenian nation and the annihilation of close to half the Armenian population (Tölöyan 2007). Several participants from both groups expressed frustration, in an almost ashamed manner, on how the topic of Genocide allowed community members to avoid learning in detail about Armenian history long before 1915. However, the memory of the Genocide, in its ability to encourage the preservation of the Armenian language and identity amongst the Diaspora, is evidently a way of fighting 'against what the Genocide had intended to cause - the annihilation and destruction of the Armenian identity, language and people' (4).

It is painfully clear that of foremost importance to the idea of group boundaries in the Armenian community is the word *Genocide*, with the word remaining a point of frustration, anger and resentment. However, pride was also expressed by participants due to the achievements of the in-group. CSS are proud of their Armenian heritage language schools and grateful for the opportunity to learn their heritage language whilst attending an out-group mainstream school. Their development as young adolescents in the Armenian community has allowed them to maintain important features of the in-group, including its faith, culture and the memory of Genocide. Nevertheless, CSS were more inclined to allow out-group members to participate in the organisations of the in-group, with the exceptions of the Turkish and Islamic communities. Their exposure to the out-group shows signs that the CSS are beginning to perceive the Armenian community's boundaries as softening, although the process of opening the group's boundaries for CSS to be assimilated into the out-group is not reality, at this point in time, due to the attachment they feel towards their in-group and its history.

On the other hand, the boundaries of the Armenian community were perceived by MSS as firmly hard and closed. MSS continued to prefer the company of other Armenians, whether in

their schooling or community life. Furthermore, the protection of the in-group against potential interethnic threat, and the distancing of out-group members from the in-group's organisations, were of concern to MSS. The perceived segregation of MSS from the general population that makes up the out-group has resulted in their perception of their group's boundaries to be defined by Armenian unity, empowerment and memory.

### **3.5 Membership in In-Group and Out-Group Social Categories**

#### **(1) Armenian community organisations**

Participation in one of the many Armenian organisations of Sydney is said to increase friendship and socialising opportunities, strengthen the community and maintain the use of the Armenian language. Both groups of participants frequently made reference to one of the many Armenian community organisations operating in Sydney. These include the Armenian General Benevolent Union (AGBU) and Homenetmen (HMEM) basketball and soccer organisations, the AYF and ARF youth and political organisations, and the Armenian Sydney Dance Company (ASDC) and Nairi folk dance groups.

One of the primary reasons provided by CSS and MSS for participating in Armenian community organisations was to develop *friendships and socialise* with other in-group members. Those students who previously were a part of an out-group organisation found themselves wanting to reconnect with members of the in-group, recognising the absence of Armenian people and culture in their lives:

*'I'm missing out by not having Armenian friends' and*

*'I just really wanted to be involved in the community again.'* (13)

*'I went to the AYF Camp. The advantage is we get to spend time together and develop bonds:*

*we find ways to speak Armenian.'* (21)

The organisations mentioned above are the most popular in-group social organisations, as they provide a space in which participants can interact with one another whilst embracing cultural and linguistic aspects of the Armenian identity. The need to reconnect with other in-group members was most obvious amongst CSS, who were found to be more reliant on the in-group's organisations, as opposed to those who attended the mainstream Armenian school.

*Strengthening the in-group* and *speaking Armenian* are made possible due to the work of Armenian organisations. Participants found their involvement in sporting or youth organisations to be beneficial in the development of their Armenian language skills:

*'At HMEM soccer, we're able to speak Armenian to each other, we all know each other.'* (3)

Due to the decrease in the use of the Armenian language at home, notably for CSS (Angouri 2012), in-group organisations are able to provide an appropriate environment for the participants to speak their heritage language as discussed in Chapter 1 in the case of the Korean-Canadian and American communities (Park and Sarkar 2007). However frequent their exposure to the in-group's organisation, the absence of the Armenian language during the week for most CSS is a drawback for their ability to maintain fluency in the Armenian language and the opportunities to speak it (Chart A5(iii) and Chart A5(xi)).

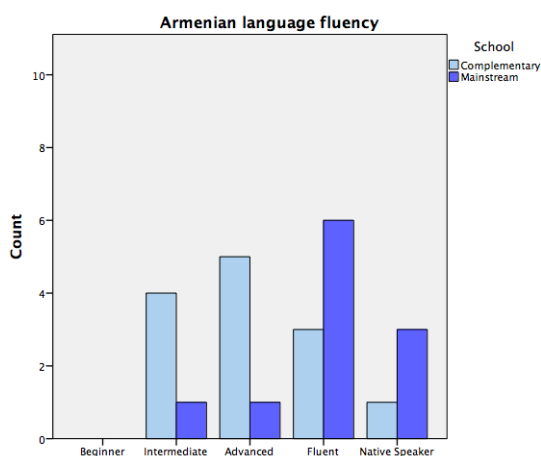


Chart A5 (iii): Level of Armenian language fluency

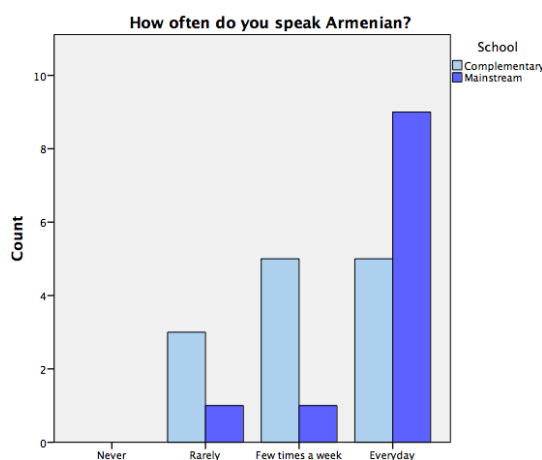


Chart A5 (xi): How frequently the participant speaks Armenian



The majority of participants from both groups believed they are strengthening the Armenian community through their active participation in various in-group social categories. Their presence in Armenian community organisations is vital, given the considerably small size of this Diasporan community. After all, students saw their in-group as a community that survived the ‘indescribable and impossible to digest’ (6) events of the Genocide:

*‘I can interact with other Armenian individuals and contribute to strengthening the community. I was able to meet new Armenians who shared the same values and beliefs as I did.’ (18)*

The development of friendship bonds amongst in-group members is evident in the majority of responses. This denotes that although the benefits gained through identifying with non-ethnic categories such as out-group sporting and dance organisations is more advantageous, the unity of the in-group is the priority:

*‘With Armenians we all stick together...there’s this instant unity that is formed, this friendship [be]cause we’re Armenian...if it was a non-Armenian group I’d feel left out.’ (2)*

*‘Groups serve to strengthen the Armenian identity and promote the values and traditions which accompany the race. Without these groups the community is unable to leave its mark in Australian society...thus preventing the survival of the Armenians in the Diaspora.’ (18)*

Several CSS and MSS, however, were cautious in proclaiming the Armenian community a united community, due to the exclusivity of some in-group organisations. This exclusivity is found to be based on a political and religious allegiance, as well as the spoken vernacular<sup>16</sup> of the adolescent. Although not a prominent barrier to participation in the Armenian community, this exclusion is said to be by virtue of ‘some people having been brought up and belonging to

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<sup>16</sup> The Eastern and Western Armenian vernaculars were created in the early 19th century due to the inaccessibility of classical Armenian to the mainstream Armenian population. Western Armenian spread amongst the Armenian population of the Ottoman Empire, and Eastern Armenian within the Armenian population of the Russian and Persian Empires.

the church side and some belonging to the AYF side...that's not our side, we can't be with them' (14). This division was also observed by Kirkland (1982), who found the Armenian community of Sydney was grouped based on their allegiance to either religious or political factions, as well as a divide based on the country of origin of the community member before arriving in Australia. Although the participants of this study are second- or third-generation Australian-Armenians, they are aware of this division that exists between those who speak the Western or Eastern Armenian vernaculars. Participants noted that some sporting organisations are not based on a geographical area in Sydney, but rather for *Arevmdahays* [*Western Armenians*] and *Arevelahays* [*Eastern Armenians*]', a topic which will not be discussed in this study. Despite the advantageous elements of in-group social categories, past research on the Armenian community of Sydney confirmed the need for it to remain united in order to preserve its collective identity (Kirkland 1982). The unity of the community, regardless of the members' religious, cultural or linguistic grouping, is paramount if the community wishes to survive.

## **(2) Non-Armenian organisations**

The level of identification with and participation in non-ethnic social categories was considerably different for both groups of participants, unlike their involvement in the Armenian community's organisations. The three advantages of participating in non-ethnic social categories were the increased skills developed in sports and dance groups, socialising with members of the out-group and increased competition associated with out-group organisations. The majority of MSS were reluctant to participate in non-ethnic social categories, insisting that the in-group provides adequate opportunities and skills. The reasons for not taking part in out-group organisations was not due to a negative perception of the in-group, but rather due to the parents' encouragement to take part in Armenian organisations as much as possible. Several MSS did, however, indicate that they had been involved in one or two non-ethnic sporting groups as 'it's obviously a better experience...being taught new

things' (14) as 'you're not surrounded by Armenians and you get to see how they are' (19). A notable difference in responses was the inclusion of the Armenian word *odar* [foreigner] in several responses by MSS when referring to the out-group and its organisations. The use of the word *odar* is an unconscious reference to the clear differentiation between the in-group and out-group, as noted in Chapter 1 in a study of American-Armenian adolescents in California (Imbens-Bailey 1996). In contrast, CSS were more eager to promote the advantages of non-ethnic social categories. As can be seen in the comments below, the out-group's organisations have the ability to increase the skill set of the participants, as the teams are generally larger and the sport is taken more seriously:

*'I played soccer for X (team name excluded), for like two years, the benefit was playing with older guys who were bigger, and so it built some resistance...to gain experience from other kids.'* (2)

*'The benefit is non-Armenian sports makes you, it's more serious and more established. It's less for social aspects and more for actual sports.'* (11)

Despite being surrounded by out-group members during the week, CSS felt the out-group's organisations presented them with the ability to socialise with people from different backgrounds. Socialising with out-group social categories, whilst also attending the out-group's mainstream schools, displays an increased attachment to the out-group.

The greater part of the CSS felt an increasing bond with out-group organisations and a reliance on in-group organisations. Their attendance at an out-group mainstream school meant their inclusion in out-group organisations was more frequent, given their sporting and cultural activities at school. However, CSS felt an increasing reliance on in-group organisations that are able to provide them with the social and linguistic elements of their heritage, which cannot be provided by their mainstream school. The reliance on either in-group or out-group organisations by MSS was less evident, as their reliance on cultural and linguistic elements of

their Armenian heritage was provided by their mainstream school. To summarise, the CSS's continued involvement with and identification as part of the out-group's social categories increasingly distances them from the in-group's organisations. This increasing distance means CSS remain heavily reliant on any form of Armenian culture or language they are able to absorb in their minimal involvement in the in-group's social categories.

# Conclusion

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Two influential factors affecting the relationship between Armenian adolescents and the out-group were discovered throughout this study. These factors are the unfamiliarity of the Armenian identity and culture by the out-group and the existing prevalence of memory of the Armenian Genocide. The two influences have continued to unify both CSS and MSS with their in-group, however the factors were clearly more evident for CSS. The out-group's unfamiliarity with the Armenian identity and culture due to its grouping of the Armenian people as what participants described a 'Middle Eastern', 'Arab' or 'Islamic' people, drew the CSS closer to the in-group and raised the importance of their efforts in maintaining the Armenian identity and language. The in-group is said to provide a sense of cultural security as other in-group members share a common history, language and identity. Furthermore, the memory of the Genocide, although a common inclusion in Armenian studies, continues to be a compelling reason behind why adolescents maintain their Armenian identity and language.

It is evident from the perceptions of the two groups of students that the hypothesis of the study is correct, but only just. The high level of solidarity displayed by MSS with the in-group was stronger than that displayed by CSS, due to their attendance at the mainstream Armenian school and continued participation in community organisations. This high level of solidarity with the in-group was greatly influenced by their involvement in Armenian community organisations through which their language and identity is further developed and strengthened. Furthermore, the MSS attendance at Galstaun College was the primary influence of their self-perceived role as ambassadors of the Armenian identity and language in Sydney. The reason for referring to themselves as ambassadors is due to the strong emotional attachment they feel with the Armenian identity and thus see themselves as future representatives of the Armenian people, its identity and culture, contrary to the view of CSS who mix with the out-group on a daily basis. For CSS, their relationship with the out-group

continued to increase through their attendance at an out-group mainstream school and involvement in the out-group's organisations. However, due to the two factors mentioned above (cultural unfamiliarity and memory of Genocide), their solidarity with the in-group continued to be displayed at heightened levels of medium to high. These levels of solidarity are justified through the participants' perceptions of the five propositions of ELIT.

The social identity of the participants was significantly influenced by their mainstream school and the friendships they developed whilst at school and in various organisations. Identification with the in-group was common for both CSS and MSS, who displayed pride in their ancestral background, as well as a strong emotional attachment to the Armenian identity. What differed was the heightened identification shown by MSS towards the Armenian community. These students showed a preference for all types of organisations belonging to the in-group, whilst CSS were more selective in their choices, basing their selections on the perceived benefits of each organisation. Therefore, MSS displayed higher levels of identification with their in-group compared to the CSS who possessed a more hybrid identity as part of the Armenian and Australian groups, but continued to perceive their heritage language an important marker of the in-group.

The persistence of MSS to identify with the Armenian community was evident in their reluctance to take part in the out-group's organisations and their ability to make secure social comparisons between the advantages of their in-group compared to the out-group. This ability to make secure comparisons was due to the importance placed on strengthening Armenian community organisations by MSS and the beneficial cultural and linguistic opportunities it provides. In contrast, CSS provided more insecure comparisons between the in-group and out-group, due to the benefits they saw in participating in out-group organisations; benefits they would be unable to obtain through involvement in the in-group. These benefits are validated by the encounters they have experienced through their involvement in an out-group mainstream school. Interestingly, despite the preference shown towards the out-group and the

inclination to identify increasingly as an Australian, the unfamiliarity of the Armenian identity by the out-group was a noticeably frustrating issue. The frustration exhibited by CSS was an influential factor continuously influencing them to gravitate towards the Armenian community, into more familiar territories.

The strong relationship between the Armenian community and both CSS and MSS was further strengthened by their perceptions of their in-group as one of high vitality. Adolescents viewed the Armenian community's history and culture to be the most influential elements of the in-group's vitality. The culture and history was viewed as unique and was expressed with great emotion through statements that show the ability of the community to survive, remain unique and establish itself successfully outside the homeland. Accomplishments of the Armenian community were raised by both groups, including numerous newspapers, radio and television stations, irrespective of how infrequently these outlets are utilised by the adolescents. The high vitality of the in-group was also found to be due to the importance the in-group members placed on marriage within the community (endogamy). Inter-marriage was seen as a fundamental moment when the individual decides to maintain or relinquish their ethnic identity and heritage language. The most prominent cultural aspect of the in-group was the success of Armenian sporting and dance organisations in Sydney, which provide year round activities, competitions and events for adolescents to participate in outside of school hours, notably the HMEM Sporting organisation and its annual end-of-year tournament. The perceived high vitality of the Armenian community by both CSS and MSS is evidence that the in-group is able to successfully maintain its ethnic identity and heritage language.

A popular belief held by both groups of students was that the community actively prevents outsiders from participating in its organisations, thereby attempting to maintain hard and closed boundaries. One of the main reasons for the perceived hardness of the in-group's boundaries is the actions of the Turkish and Azeri communities in Sydney. Throughout the past year, participants have been exposed to numerous events commemorating the centenary

of the Armenian Genocide, as well as violence in the Middle East by ISIS against the Armenian communities of Iraq and Syria. These external factors re-emphasise the importance of survival for the Armenian community, as participants noted the importance of the Armenian community's plight to maintain its identity and protect its history when living outside the homeland, a classical Diaspora perspective. Interestingly, although CSS showed signs of acceptance for out-group members wanting to take part in Armenian organisations, as well as disregard shown for the Armenian community's only mainstream school (Galstaun College), the community's boundaries are not severely softened. The reality of violence against the Armenian people worldwide and the centenary of the Armenian Genocide have solidified the community's boundaries for the time being. The opposition shown towards the Armenian community by certain out-groups and the memory of Genocide has meant that the opening of the in-group's boundaries, as perceived by CSS, has been curtailed due to increased ethnic mobilisation by the Armenian community in Sydney.

Ethnic mobilisation was perceived by both groups of participants as extremely relevant to the development of their identity in the adolescent years. The mobilisation of the community is assisted by its community organisations, which provide an opportunity for youth to socialise through sports and folk dancing. Membership in Armenian community organisations was viewed by MSS as simply supporting the in-group, whilst CSS place dangerously high levels of reliance on the Armenian community's social groups. These social groups were viewed by CSS as a place to make Armenian friends and speak the language, as speaking the Armenian language was less frequent for CSS, compared to MSS. The ability to speak the Armenian language and socialise with other Armenian youth was perceived by CSS as beneficial to their ethnic identity. Their membership in the out-group's social categories only increased their desire to be around other Armenians, which led to their subsequent involvement in Armenian dance, sports and youth groups. This desire to be around other Armenians was something they were unable to find when taking part in non-Armenian social groups.



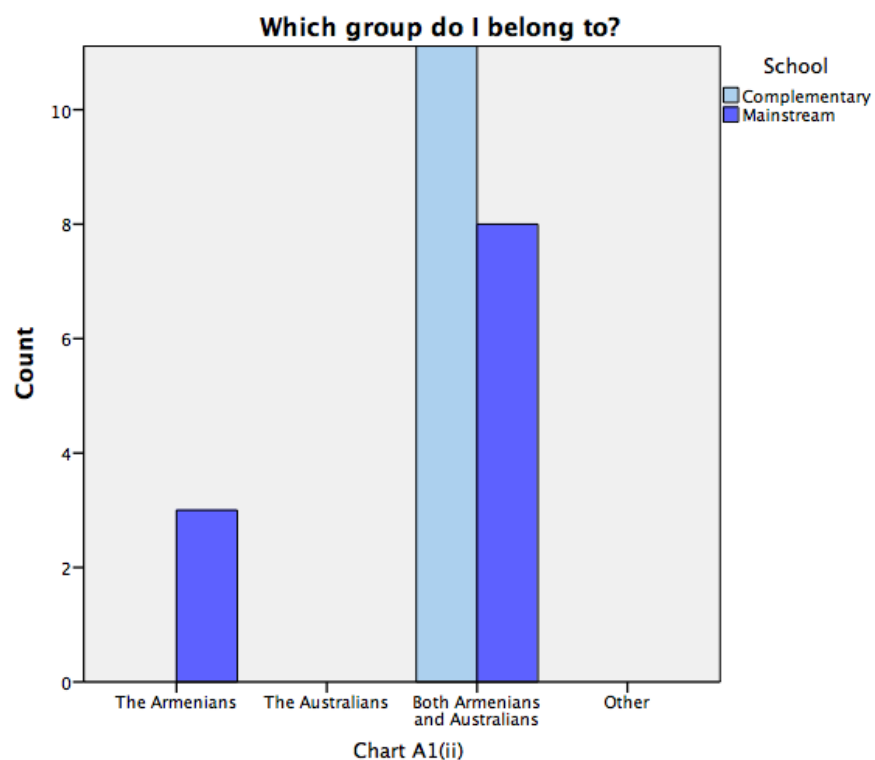
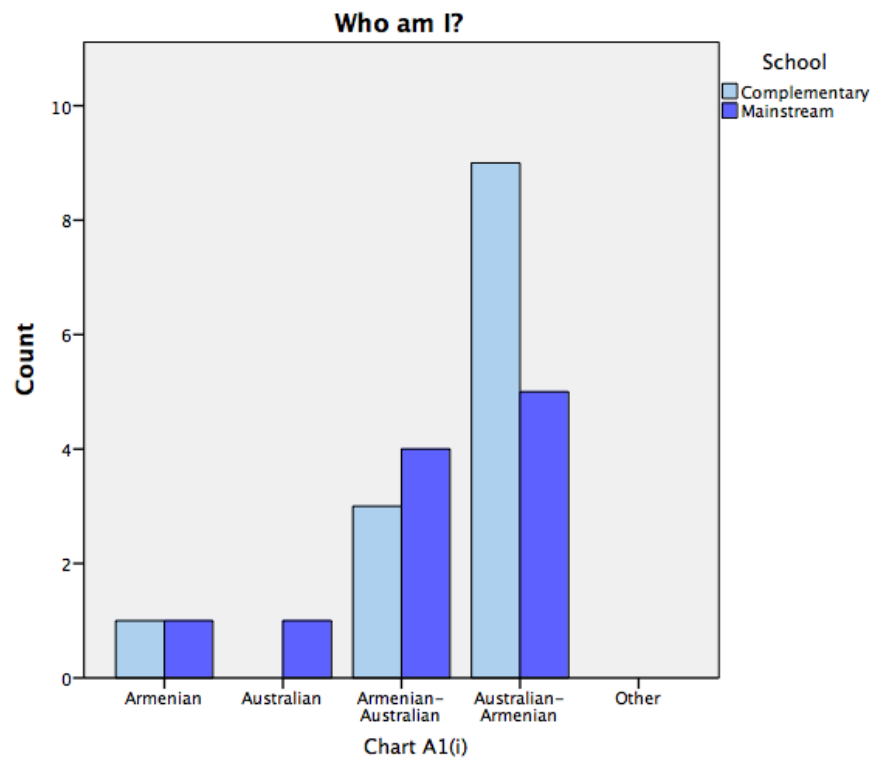
The abundance of media and events relating to the centenary of the Armenian Genocide in April 2015 may be viewed as a natural bias in responses provided by both groups of participants. However, given the prominence the memory of Genocide has on the Armenian community worldwide as the flame that created the Armenian Diaspora, it is evidently a significant element of their identity as adolescents. It is also acknowledged that the adolescents' perception of their identity and heritage language will differ as they move into adulthood, and furthermore, that the groups of participants are but a small portion of the adolescents that make up Sydney's Australian-Armenian community.

Nevertheless, although the number of participants was small, the inclusion of Galstaun College students and various Saturday School students assisted in providing an insight into the significance of both mainstream and complementary schooling on the adolescents' attachment to their Australian and Armenian identity, particularly the emphasis placed on Armenian identity and language by Galstaun College. The perception of students from each institution adds to research focusing on spaces outside the home, in which language and identity are able to be developed. This research supports the necessity of maintaining the presence of the mainstream Armenian school in Sydney, Galstaun College. It is evident from the research that students not attending Galstaun College perceive the school in less favourable terms, however, this study provides a glimpse into the cultural and linguistic benefits of attending a bilingual community school full-time. Community organisations are also able to utilise the findings of this research to further mobilise the adolescents within the Armenian community and encourage their active participation in the in-group's organisations. However, the findings of this research assist other diaspora communities such as the Greek and Jewish communities, to name a few, as the findings are of great relevance to their struggle for language and identity maintenance. Future research on the significance of language and identity in the Armenian community would be enhanced by examining the change in the participants' perceptions when transitioning from adolescents to adulthood and whether their

move to the workforce or university impacts their solidarity with their ethnic group when further exposed to the out-group. Furthermore, research may examine the significance of the two Armenian vernaculars on the adolescent cohort, as this point was raised throughout the data collection process and was found to cause a division in adolescent social circles and affected participation within the in-group's organisations. This division between vernaculars although not exceedingly significant, was raised in a study of Sydney's Armenian community (Kirkland 1982), as already noted. Nevertheless, for adolescents in the Armenian community of Sydney, the preservation of their identity continues to be influenced by the maintenance of the Armenian language. The presence of heritage language schools and community organisations continues to influence their decision to participate in and identify as part of the in-group whilst maintaining its proud, ancient and unique heritage language and ethnic identity.

# Appendix A: Identity and Language Attitudes: Graphs

## A1. Social Categorisation



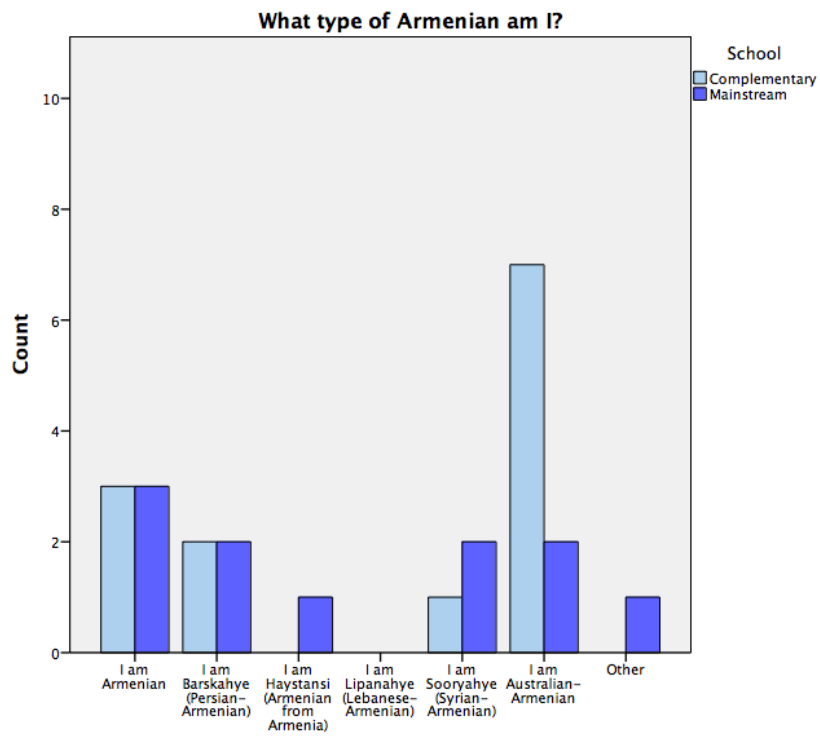


Chart A1(iii)

## A2. Social Identification

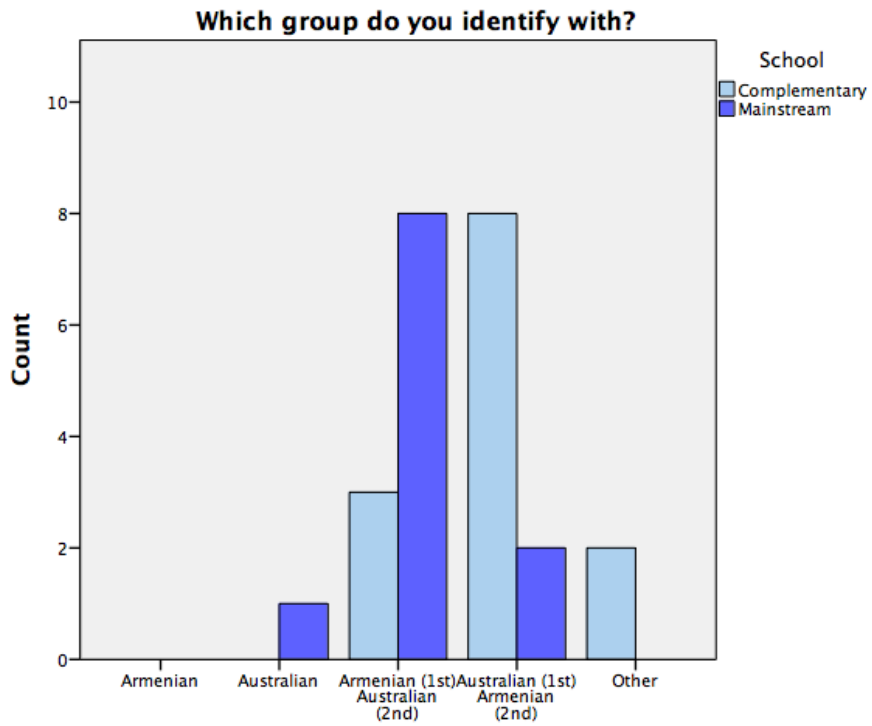
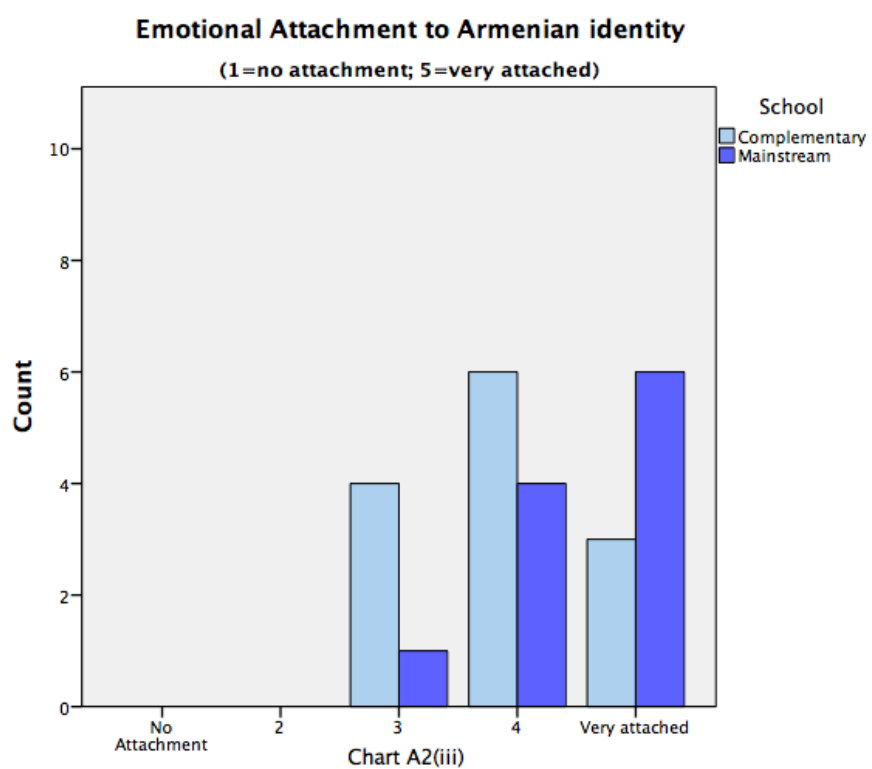
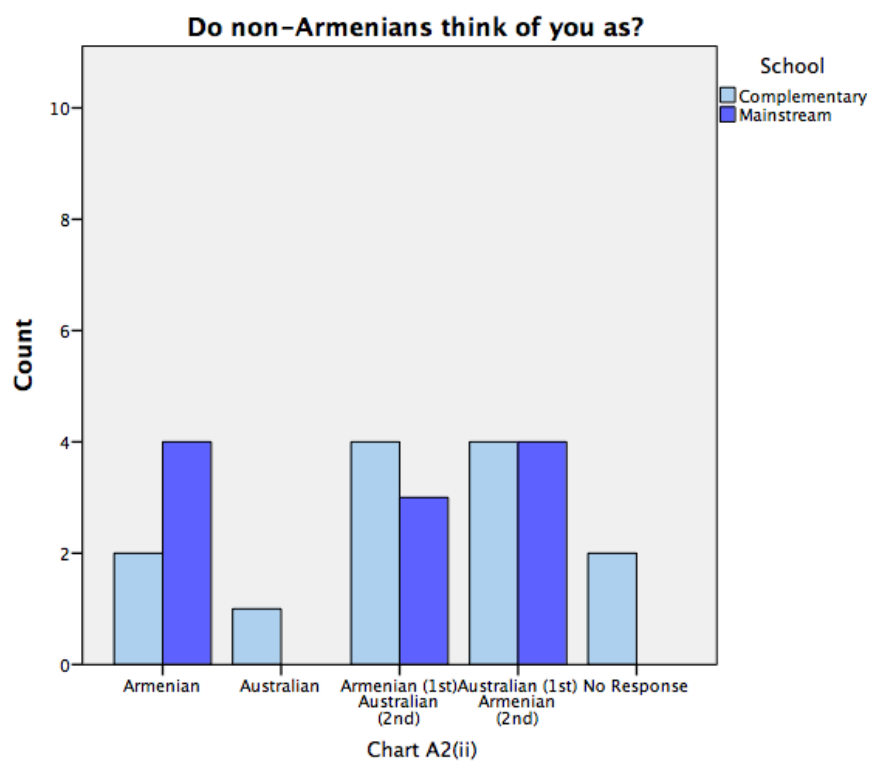
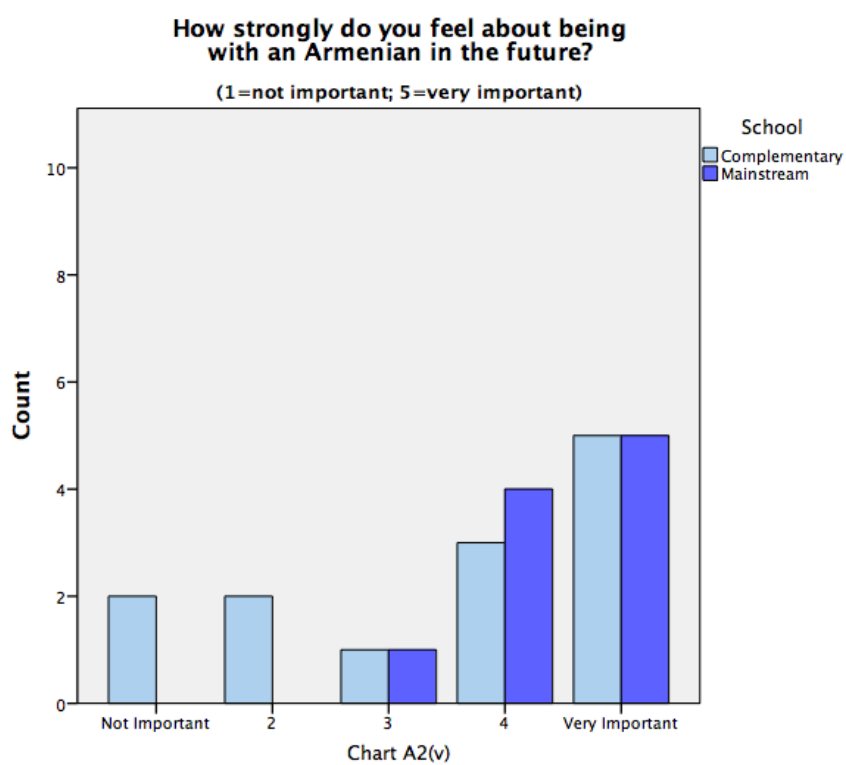
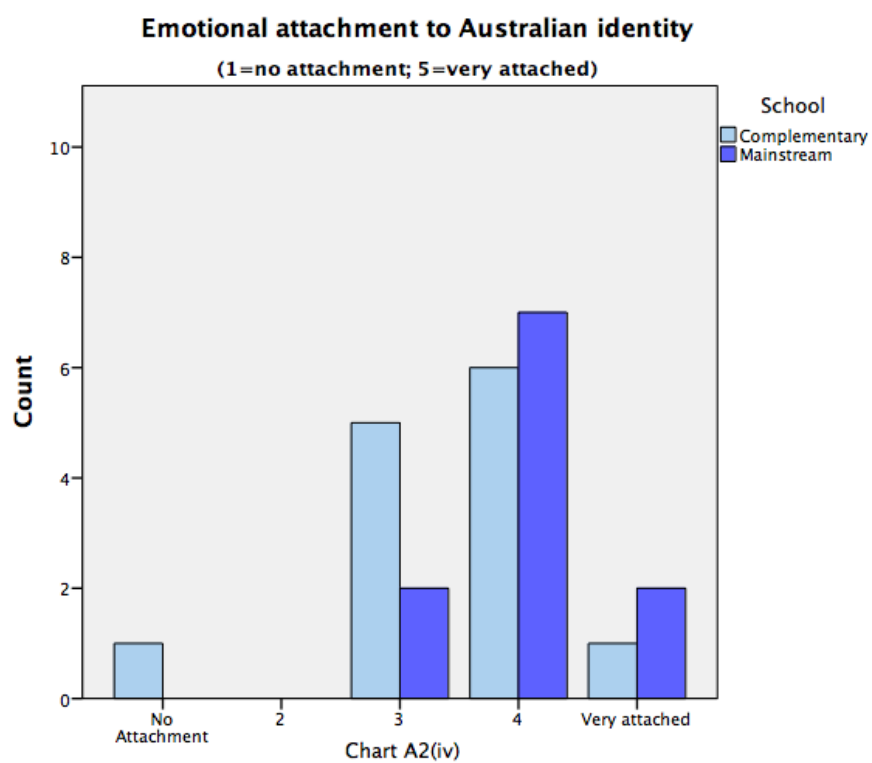
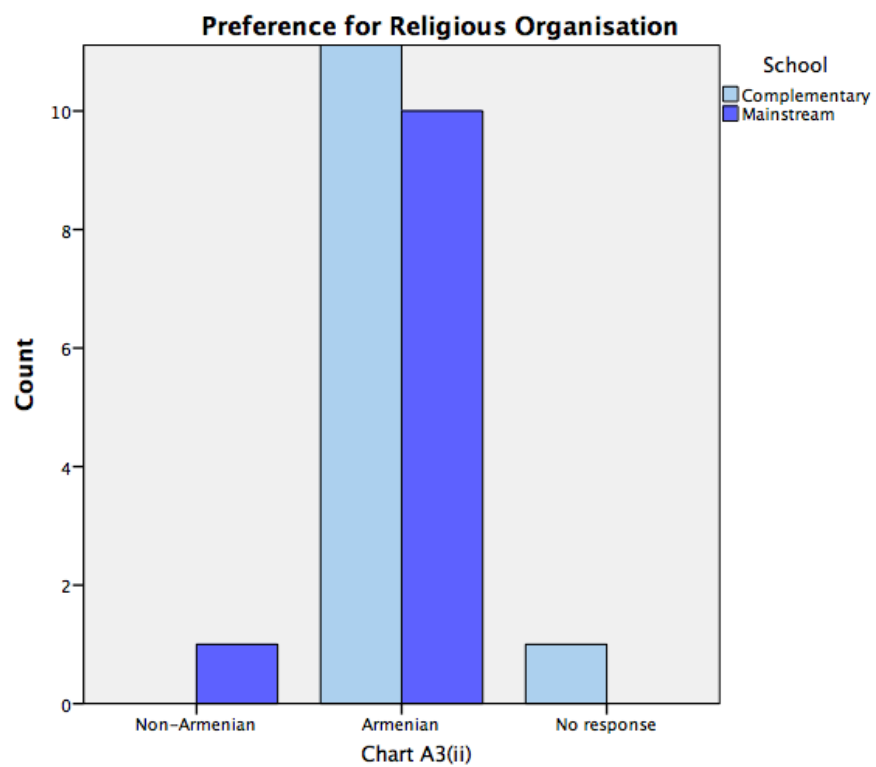
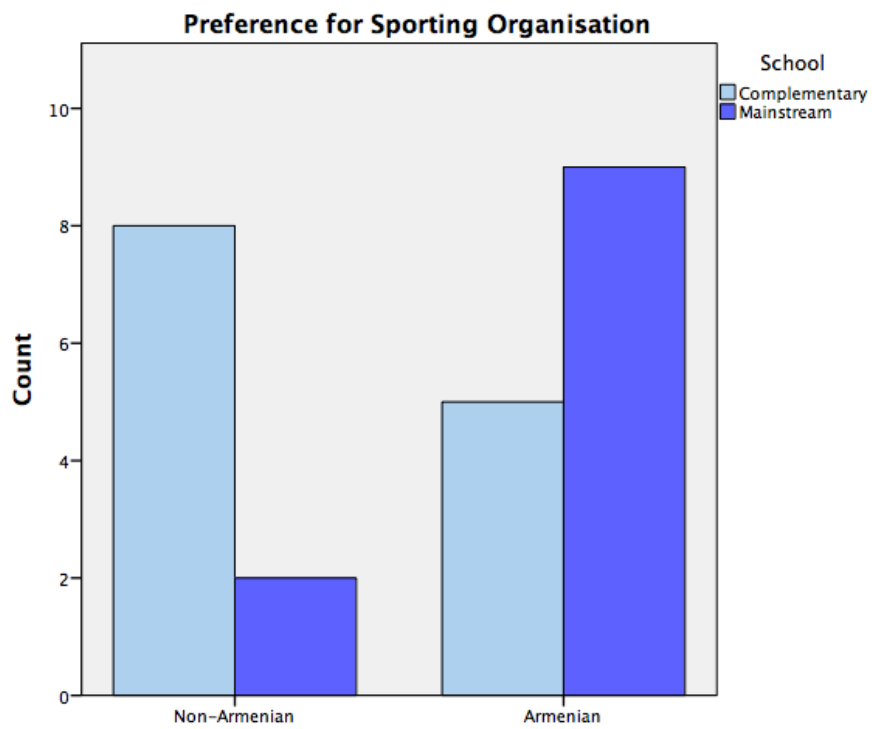


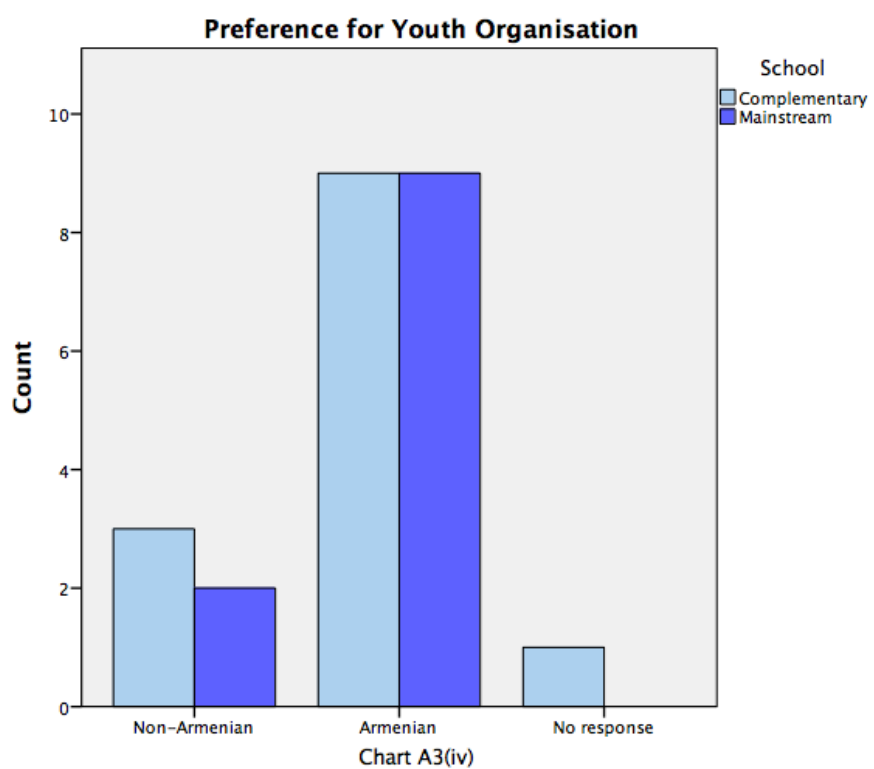
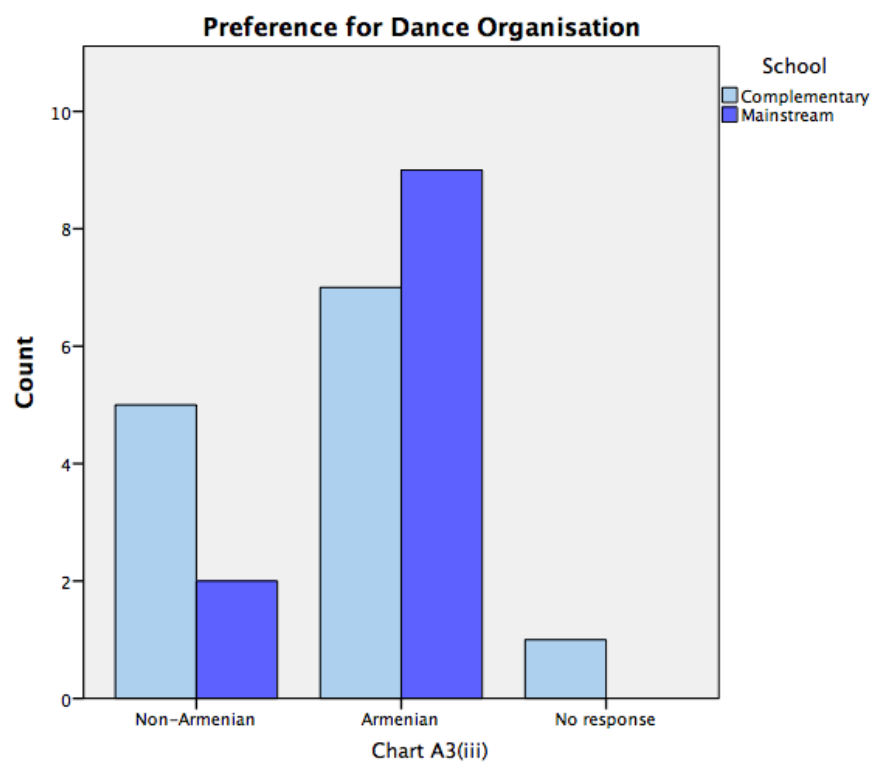
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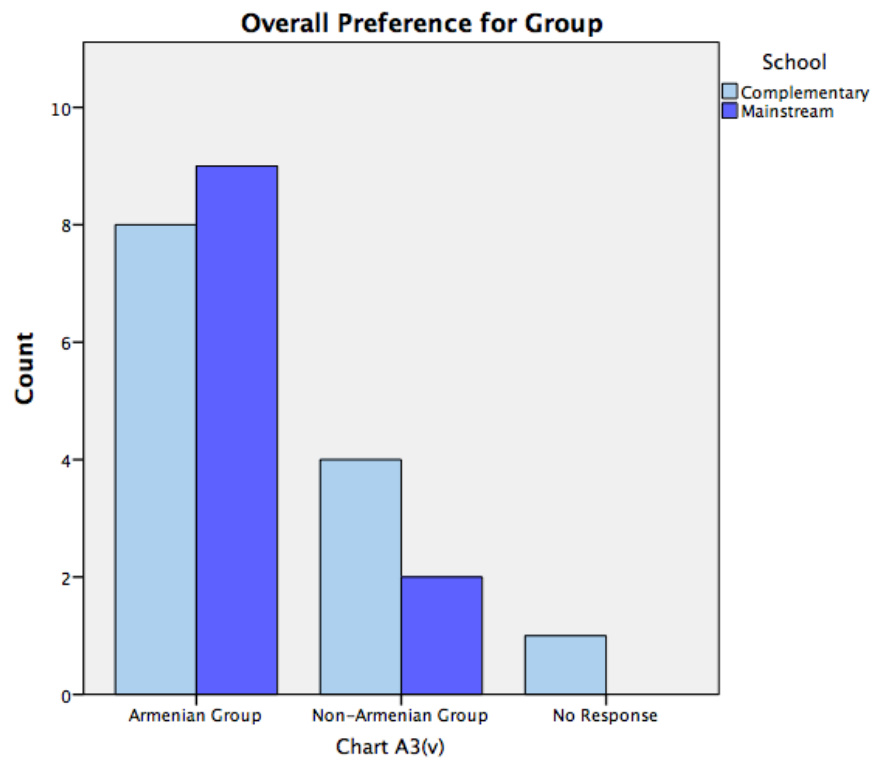


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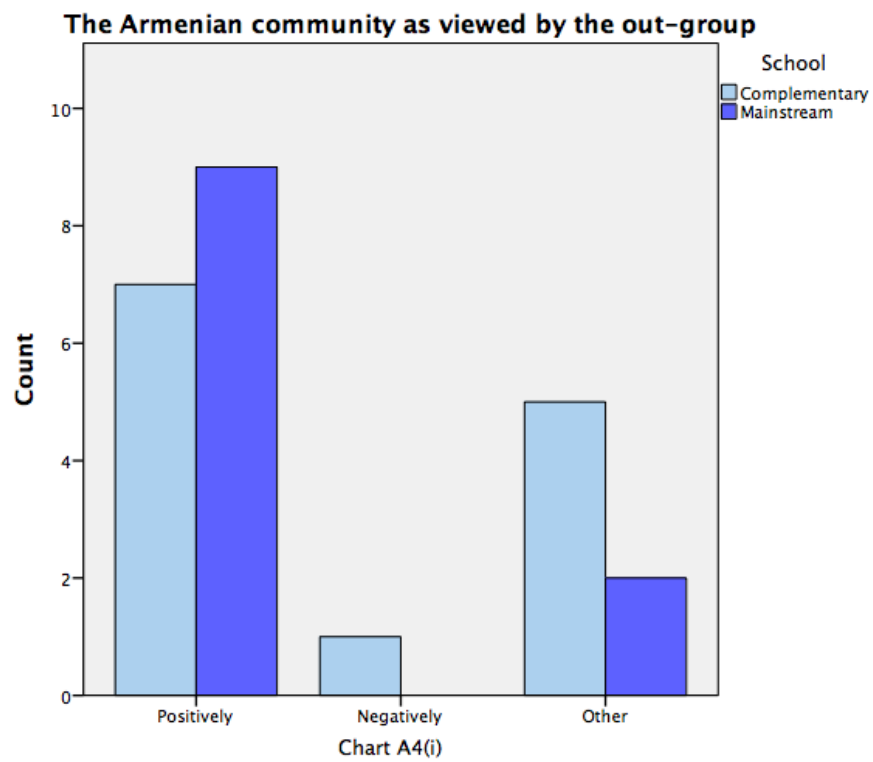


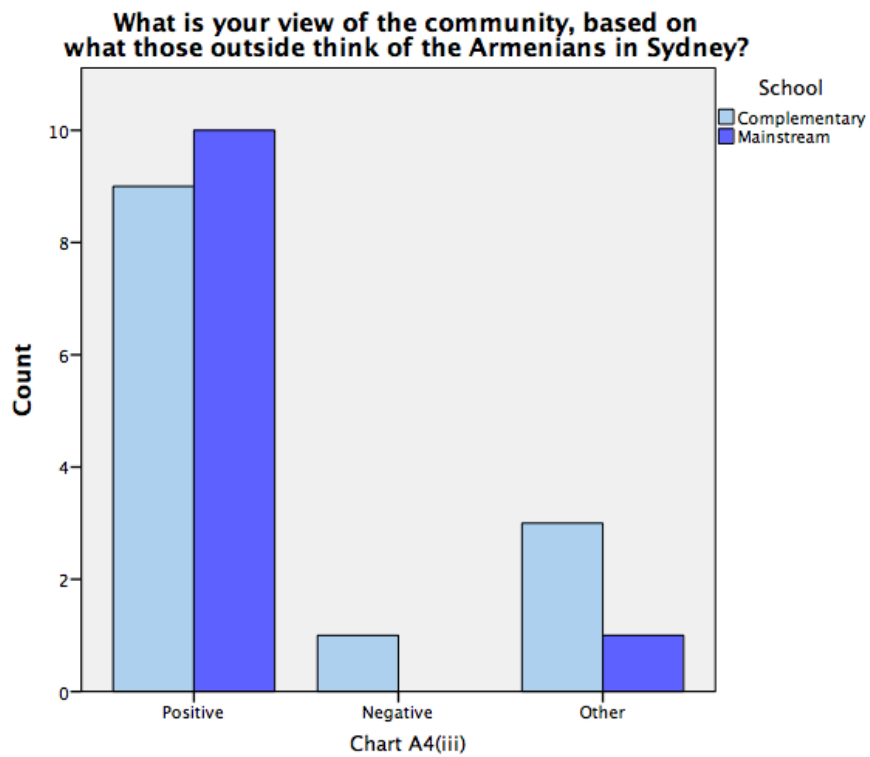
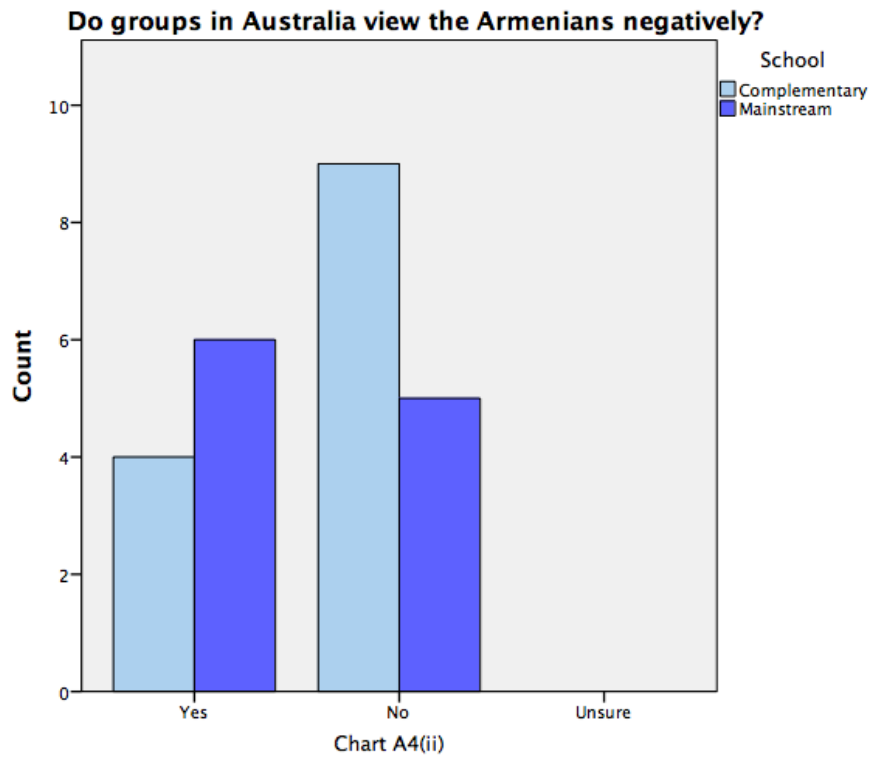




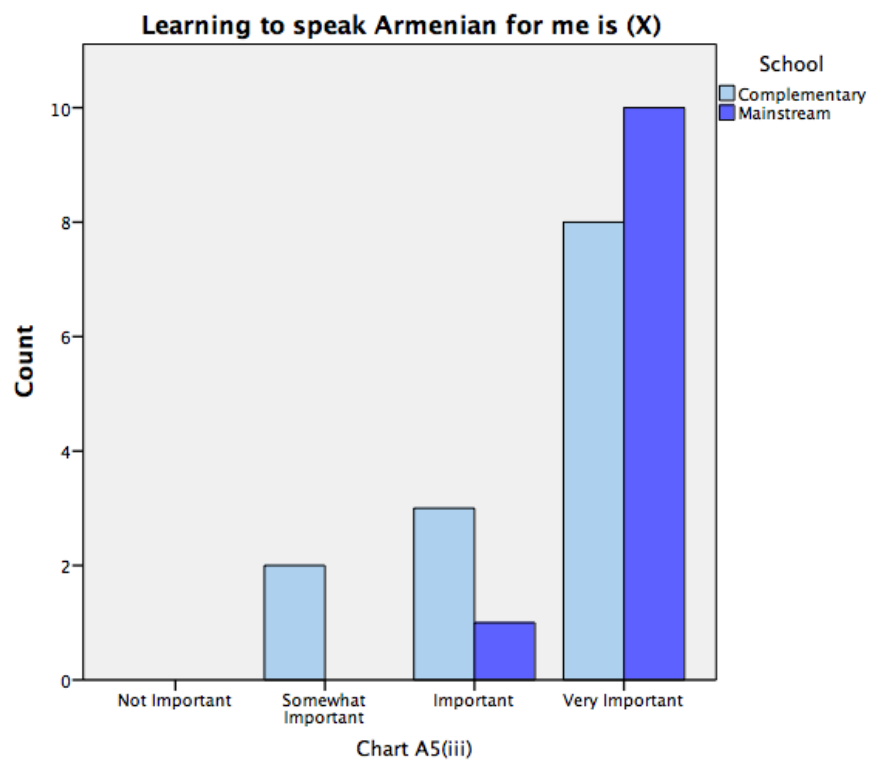
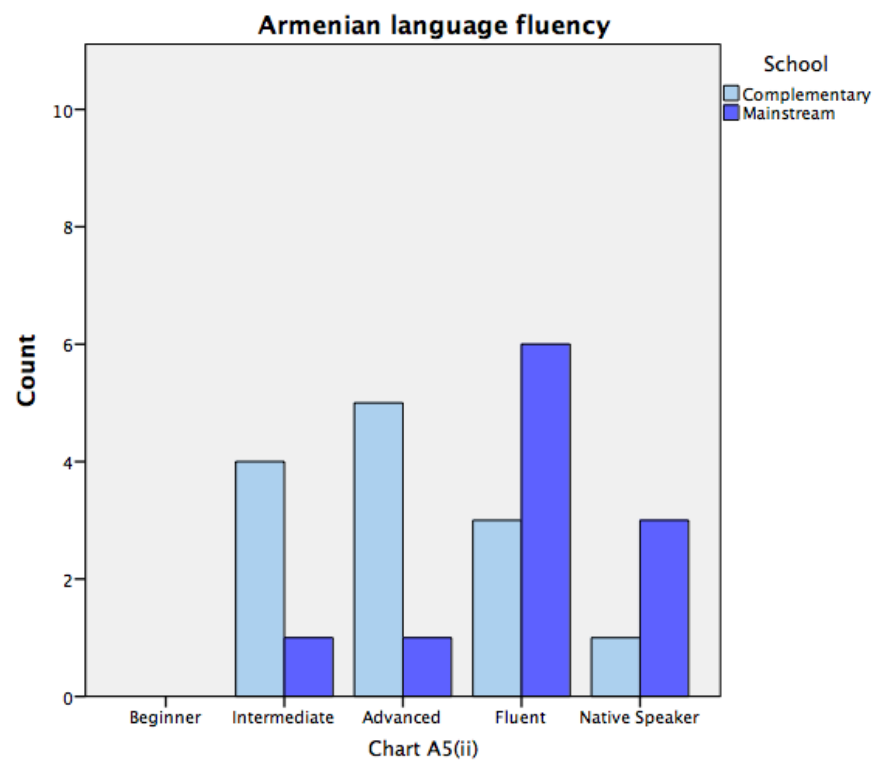


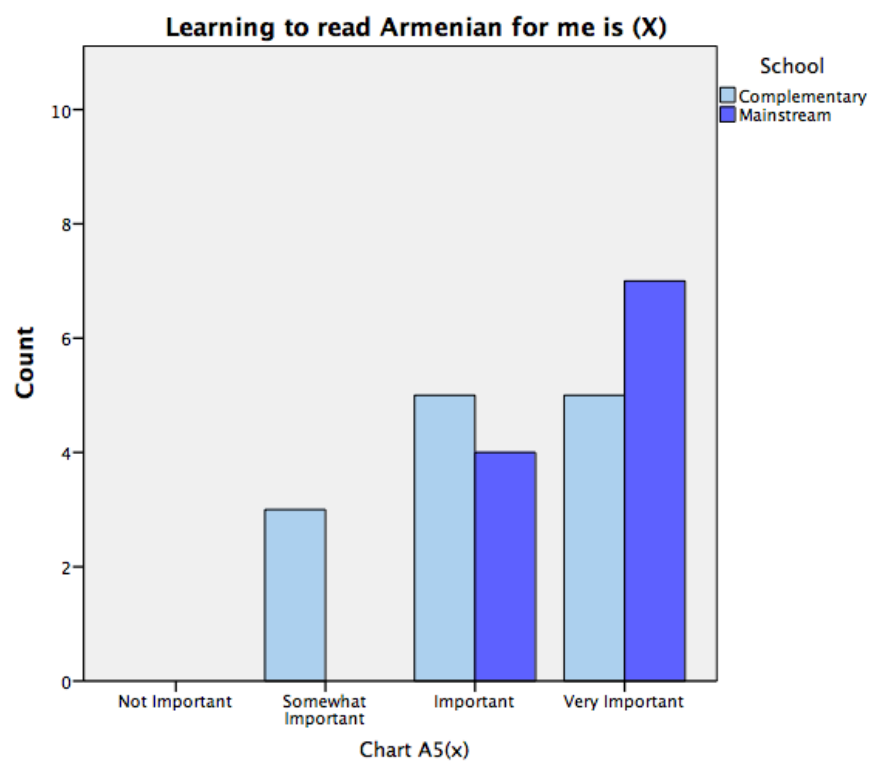
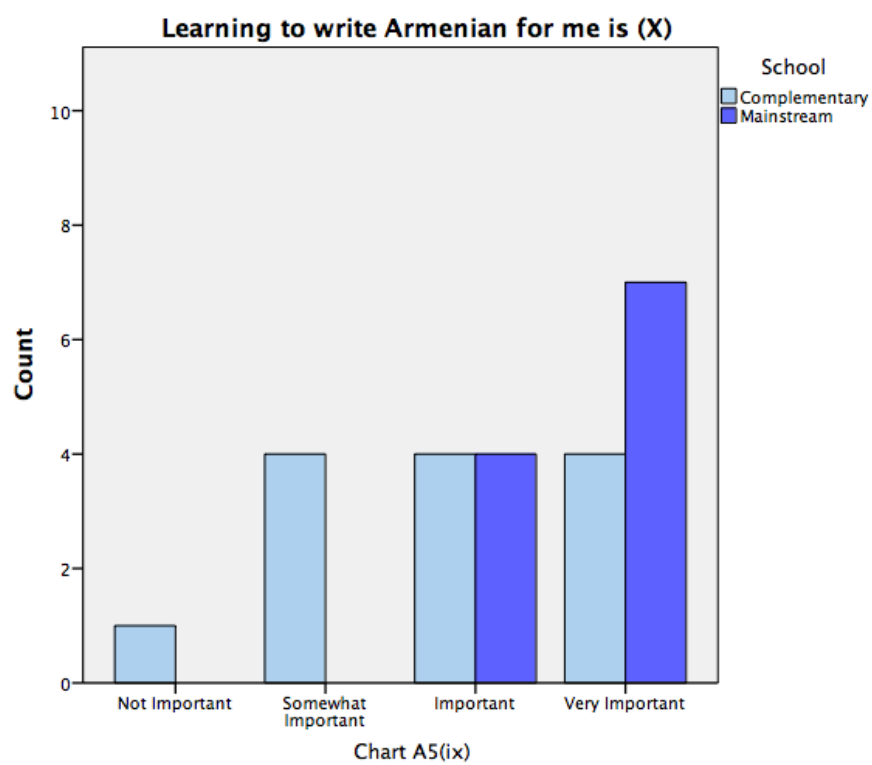
#### A4. Psychological Distinctiveness

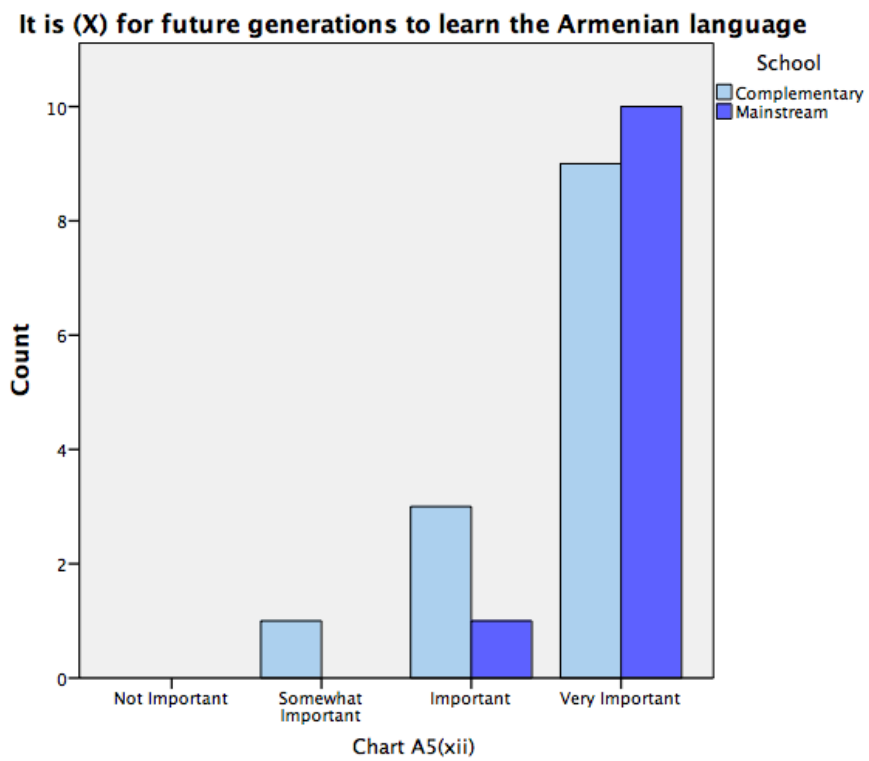
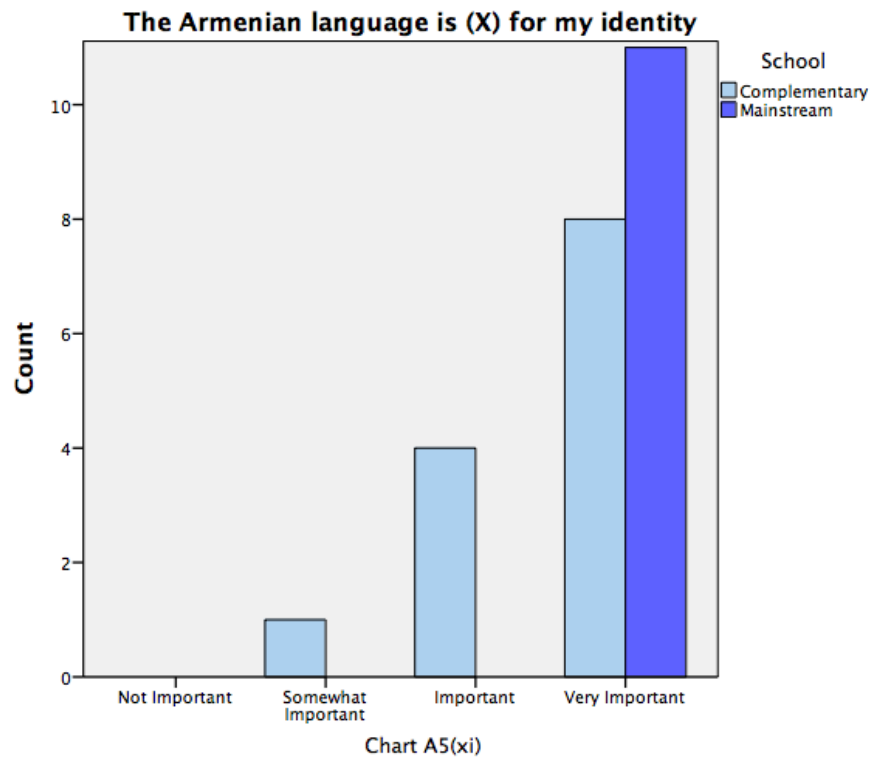


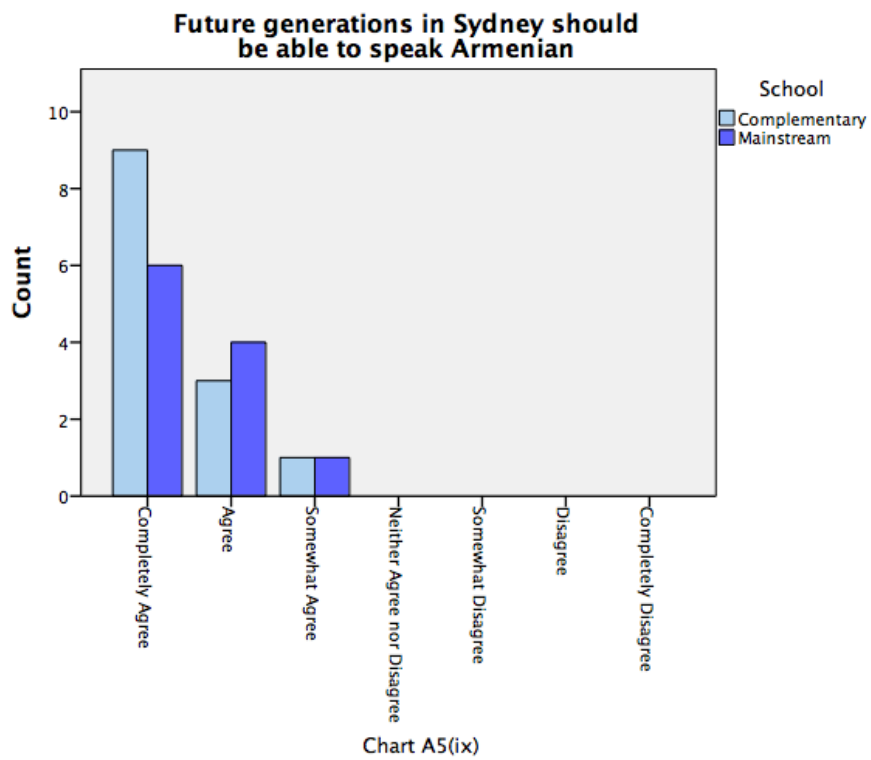
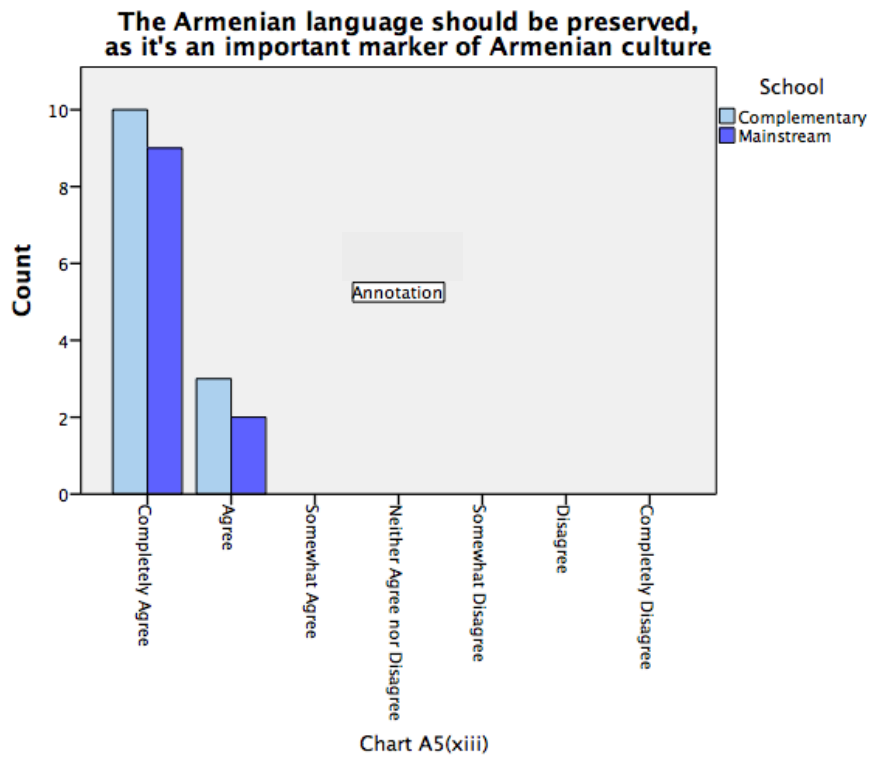


## A5. Language Attitudes

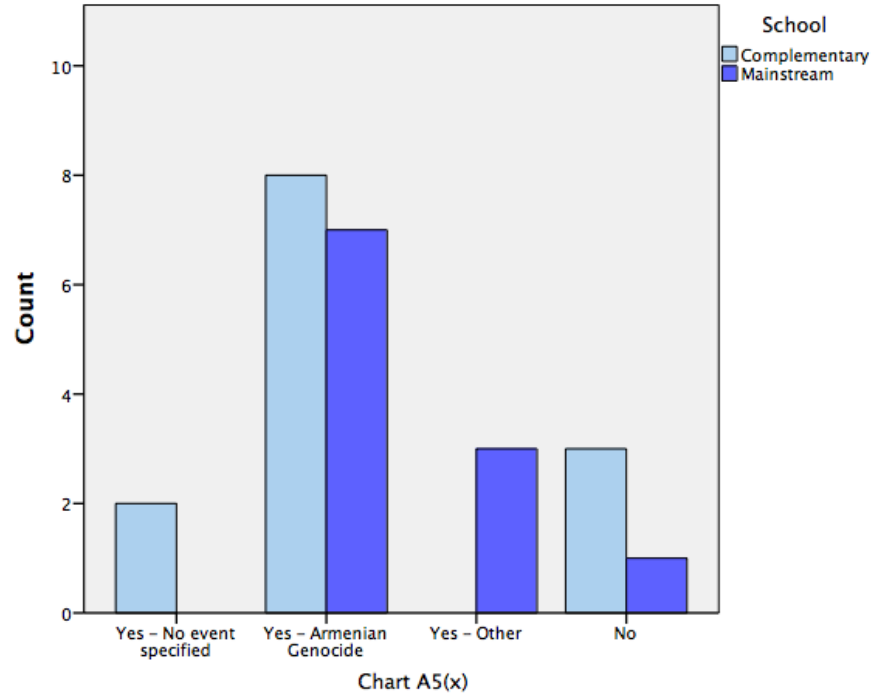




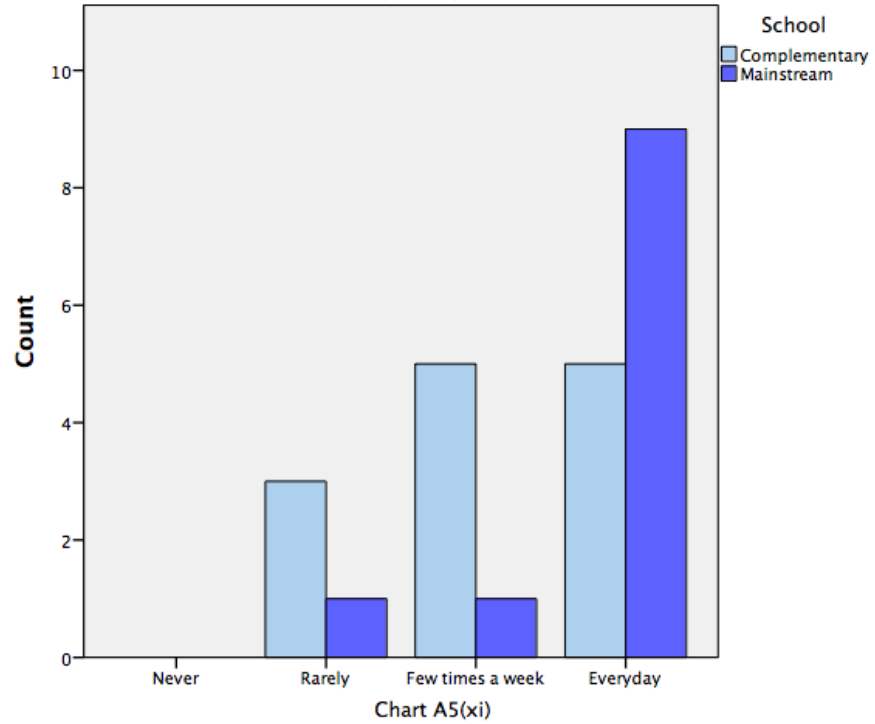




**Is there a specific event in history that influences your decision to preserve the Armenian language?**



**How often do you speak Armenian?**



# Appendix B: The in-depth interview

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## B1: Perceptions of their in-group's vitality

Armenian community's status

Knowledge of culture and history

Success and wealth of the Armenian community

Size of the community and reputation in Sydney

Participant's role in preserving the Armenian language

Demography of the Armenian community

Location and presence of the Armenian community

Views on intermarriage within the Armenian community

Intermarriage in Sydney's Armenian community

Future survival of the community

Institutional support for the Armenian culture and language

Availability of Armenian language institutions

Armenian media knowledge and use

Armenian language and cultural events, and Government

Support for the Armenian language

## B2: Perceptions of their in-group's boundaries

- i. Purpose of the in-group and need to protect the in-group
- ii. Purpose of in-group schooling
- iii. Preference of in-group schooling (mainstream vs. complementary)
- iv. Inclusion of the out-group and knowledge of in-group organisations
- v. Racism within the in-group
- vi. Memory of the Armenian Genocide

## B3: Identification with social categories and group membership.



I believe the level of pride Armenians in Sydney exude undoubtedly surpasses the level of pride of others in Sydney. (18)

I know from fact, in the world we're the second most active ethnic group, I think. So we're very proud of our culture compared to others. (14)

While others in Sydney aren't struggling to validate their history, the Armenian community constantly embraces their culture. (18)

Armenians are very proud of their dance, there's all these dance groups around the area, everywhere you live. People are very, Armenians are very, excited to go and dance, it's part of their culture, it's very rich. Other communities are also proud of their culture, but probably not as much as Armenians, we're so into it, we're like all brothers and sisters. (15)

Some people are very Armenian, like patriotic, but then there are some people that they don't really want to get involved, they just know themselves as Armenian (14)

I don't think others are as proud as the Armenians, as they are less scared of losing their culture. As years go by the Armenians are lessening, the Armenians are losing their culture overseas. The importance of keeping it makes us much more prouder of it. For example the Chinese, who have billions of people worldwide are not afraid of losing it so they're not as proud. (17)

I think that the Armenians are pretty proud, you and I can both sort of see the whole *tashnag* (Armenian political group) scene, I for one am not really into the big patriotism and nationalism but on the smaller scale they are a very proud culture, they've been through a lot, we've been through a lot. (16)

The nationalism is there, but there are extreme patriots and nationalists, which is a bit too much...but there's a fine line between this whole nationalism and patriotism thing and it can be easily crossed and come across as over zealous. (16)

Like a lot of people are *hayrenaser* (patriotic). (15)

They just like displaying it, they do their little Armenian school, dance and scouts, and all those little things. They always hang out in their little groups all the time. (7)

The Armenians think they're the best. Other cultures don't have as much awareness of their own culture, especially the general Australian population. (1)

They always do dancing and singing, trying to keep it alive not lose it. (11)

To an extent, the younger ones don't care too much, but as you grow up it gets more important. They're proud of their food, their language, and their dress. (13)

So we have this thing at school it's like Multicultural day, we have like an Italian table, a Greek table; Armenians would be put together with the Lebanese for some reason. My dad had a whole rant about that. It's not right. (2)

We're more proud of our culture than everyone else, so I think we're nationalists or we respect our culture a lot, we just talk about our culture a lot. We overuse the flag...we're patriotic. (2)

Bit overly proud I think, I don't know why, we're just very nationalistic I guess, we just love our culture, we love the dancing that we do, our music. I think it's something to be proud of but you don't have to yell it, 'I'm Armenian, look at me, I'm better than all of you.' Which some Armenians behave like that. (4)

I think they're pretty proud, like the Genocide day, they always celebrate it really well and they make it known. They have parties all the time, they have discos, and they have all their events on their own. They don't care if people know about them, they always have movies at the cinemas we've been to, they're fine with it being publicised, so they're pretty proud. (8)

## B1

### Group Vitality Culture & History

There are the ups and downs, the good parts of our history we're very proud of, but then the down part, like the Genocide, we want recognition, like till today we're still fighting for recognition, I guess we're still proud that we are standing still and still fighting for recognition, like not saying it happened a 100 years ago and letting it go. (14)

We have a really deep history but we're not proud of the Genocide, which was huge. (21)

A lot of Armenians in the youth especially, they just know about the Genocide, they don't really know about in-depth history, because they don't go to an Armenian school, so they don't really learn it. (17)

Quite proud, despite everything we've been through, we've made it through Genocide, we got independence, and we have our country... most of it. (19)

I think we deny part of our history. Because so many of us have been killed, I think we brush off that fact that we retaliated against the Turks. But we're the first nation to accept Christianity, like people say that to others when they meet them, we have our own alphabet as well, we're very proud of that. (22)

Very proud, we learn about it, we pass it on, like Armenian grandparents like to pass on their past experiences so we know about that. We learn about Armenian history and express it towards each other. (15)

I believe there's a distinct contrast in the pride felt by Armenians compared to others in Sydney. I believe Armenians are much prouder of their history because Armenian history is much more extensive, and much richer than Australian history. Also Armenian history is overwhelmed by stories of struggle and decisive battles which have literally shaped us as a race and as a community. (18)

I think they're very proud, to come this far. Like there's Armenians everywhere. I think Armenians know a lot about their history, you see I don't know much other than the Genocide and I know that very vaguely, minor details. (10)

They always fight back and defend their country, they're proud that they're able to be so strong. (11)

They always say 'be grateful', like the Genocide did this, they're proud that they got past the Genocide. They say it's just a small country but there's so many of us. They're proud of their history and how they've made it so far. (8)

At Armenian school we just learn the same Armenian topic over and over again, but when I went to Armenia I like heard that we have heaps of stuff. (2)

I think they're like proud that they survived and no longer extinct, they're not extinct, they could have been but they're not. At our Armenian school we got taught a lot about other history like way before that. So I guess people who went to Armenian school know about all the other things, but the main focus is the Genocide. (5)

We have a long history, in other countries or all other countries have their story to tell but we see ours as the most important. Armenians know more about their history compared to others, usually they know about the Armenian Genocide and a big chunk of how and why it happened. (3)

The Armenians are very proud of their history; they've been through Genocide and have still remained strong. (1)

As Australia embraces a nation free from discrimination, the Armenian community is not differentiated from other communities and hence enjoys the same level of wealth as the rest of the country. (18)

I don't think that there are Armenians who are poorer than others are. (15)

I believe the Armenian community is the same in terms of wealth when compared to other communities in Sydney. (18)

A fair amount yeah. They're jewellers, they're around that area, and they do well. They're hard workers, more the older people that live around the North Shore. (20)

For the amount of people and the sort of GDP of the people of the Armenian community, I say they're doing pretty well on the spectrum. (16)

I think we're pretty good compared to some Aussies here. (19)

We're richer than some Australians but there are others who are richer than us. (14)

Armenians are hard workers, but it's more that the new generation of Armenians are lazy they're less wealthy in a sense as they don't have good jobs. I think it's just merging with the new Australian culture too much, they have to connect with the Armenian community, work with each other. (17)

I don't think as wealthy as others but Armenians are never considered poor. (13)

I don't think any of them are poor I think they're quite well off. (8)

They aren't poor, they do well, but I don't think they're very wealthy. (6)

Families are usually average. They usually are the same as other communities in Sydney. Other communities in the Western suburbs wouldn't be as wealthy as ours. The Armenians usually live around the Ryde area or around here (Macquarie University). They're hard workers. (11)

I consider people that live in the North wealthier than those that live around Ryde. (10)

The Jewish community would be wealthier because they are really intent on promoting and raising awareness of the suffering they've been through with the Holocaust. Museums, just keeping their culture alive, whereas with Armenians the suffering we've been through isn't as, it's not as prominent as the Jewish people because it happened during WWI. (4)

Armenians are on average with most other communities in Sydney. (1)

A lot of them live in decent areas but not many of them live in like the top rich areas. Compared to others in Sydney they're sort of in the middle because there are a lot of wealthy people in Sydney but there are also a lot of people that aren't. (7)

### B1 Group Vitality Success and Wealth

They can be more successful if they put their mind to it. There are some Armenians that are successful at the moment; generally the older ones are more successful. (14)

The typical Armenian job is a mechanic for the dad, but the jobs aren't too bad. (15)

All Armenians in Sydney have been able to attend any school or university, which exposes them to the same education as non-Armenians and gives them the opportunity to strive and become successful in whichever career they choose to pursue. As for achievements, I believe one's status, as Armenian or non-Armenian is irrelevant as it is their actions and effort, which lead to their achievements, as opposed to their nationality. (18)

Pretty successful, we've come from different countries and managed to build schools and churches and different organisations. We've done pretty well and have successful Armenians. (19)

Education in Armenians is very high and the parents can push them more to study harder and given them more strength...heaps of Armenians have big businesses. (17)

I very rarely see an Armenian who is drifting astray or is left unguided, but again I think that's related to something like an Armenian background with relation to colonisation and they're brought up is pretty inline, they're not allowed to just go. If their parent's think this kid doesn't have his head screwed on they'll put you in your place, it's not airy-fairy. I know the council member of Ryde was Sarkis Yedelian and Gladys Berejiklian who's representing office in parliament. (16)

A lot of people I know have really succeeded, whilst others have dropped out of uni or haven't done well in school. My math's teacher was surprised that I was good at math. (13)

I'd say pretty successful, at our school (Toomanian) they always bring in people to show us different kinds of careers and there was a really wide range. (8)

Some of them I'd say are quite successful, you see a lot of Armenians that aren't that successful, if you listen to their jobs, they're all standard jobs like they make money but not like a lot of it, that's why a lot of them don't live in the wealthy areas. (7)

We have a lot of people who have achieved, such as Gladys Berejiklian (NSW Treasurer) that's very high achievement. (3)

I know quite a few famous like Armenian politicians, like Joe Hockey and Gladys Berejiklian. But other than that there aren't any famous Armenian journalists that I know of, Armenian heroes. You hear a lot about Australian heroes, one Australian journalist was killed in some kind of brawl in the Middle East, you don't hear Armenians doing that kind of thing. As a community, well, some Armenians are very diligent and they work and wanna make something of themselves, whilst others are perpetuating the stereotype that they're wogs, all they do is drive noisy cars or smoke. (4)

Even if they come from a poorer background they get there, other people don't have that work ethic so they can't get to what they want. (10)

Some of the Armenians are successful, I guess working hard and having faith in themselves and people to support them. I guess Armenians are more successful but I don't know much about other communities. (9)

Others might be able to find more jobs, but I think we do them better, we just seem to be more...like pay attention to things. (5)

I don't think others even know about Armenians, maybe educated people do. (20)

If you don't look at the celebrity side of it like Kim Kardashian, yeah, we're not bad people. Only the communities that work against us like the Turks would have a bad view of us. (19)

The immigration minister and that woman Julie Bishop, she doesn't see the Armenians in a good view. The Turkish community also doesn't see the Armenians in a good way. The rest see us in a positive view as we're very lively and very kind, very generous and hardworking. (17)

Depends on what side you're looking from, like if you ask Greeks and Italians I think we have a good reputation, but if you're looking from Turkish people and not Lebanese Christians but Muslims who oppose Christianity, I don't think they like us. The other general population of Australians likes us. (14)

Yes they like us, but because we're under the title of wogs there are obviously little remarks here and there. For example, I've heard my friends who play soccer, the opposing team which is non-Armenian would say 'oh, wog'. (15)

Some people don't even know who the Armenians are. (21)

I don't think the Armenian community is large enough to have a prominent reputation. When engaging in conversations with non-Armenians, like Australians, I find more individuals having not heard of Armenia and its history than those who have. I believe there are a strong handful of politicians and key Armenian figures in Australia, such as Joe Hockey and Gladys Berejikian whose actions and efforts have subsequently bolstered the Armenian community and its reputation. (18)

The Galstaun College alumni and the Homenetmen sporting associations, the picture boys of the Armenian community, the representatives, they have put a lot of work into making the place we live and the councils a lot better and adding that sort of multiculturalism. (16)

Politicians have a good reputation of us, after the *Kessab* protest, I feel like the news coverage was so negative on that, the Australian population thinks we're a burden. They don't understand. (22)

It'd be like the tanned kid with black hair walks up to training, you say Armenian, they sort of have a good rapport with that. (16)

I think the most prevalent opposition would be on behalf of the Turkish community, on the basis of nationality and opposing political beliefs regarding the events of the Armenian Genocide. (18)

The size of the community being quite small makes the community have a better reputation than larger communities. The Turks are the only community that has a bad reputation of the Armenian community (1)

Not many people know Armenians, so I guess it's really new to them. First, they don't know I'm Armenian. They're shocked, I guess they're surprised. I tell them it's a country in Eastern Europe. (9)

It's not a very big Diaspora, it's quite close knit and there's only about from what I know, 30,000 Armenians living in major cities like Sydney and Melbourne. (4)

Armenians are quite a small group. I just don't think many people know about them (6)

At my school if I mention I'm Armenian, it's a good thing, it brings a smile to someone's face, 'oh you're Armenian', it's a good thing, it's not Lebanese, it's not Greek. Maybe we're categorized with them by *desk* (appearance and facial features), like oh he's Lebanese, but once they get to know you they're like oh you're different. We're categorised as Middle East, but we're kind of on the border of the Middle East and Europe so a lot of them ask, they know the wider region, they ask where exactly are you, I say east of Turkey, south of Russia, they're like 'oh, you're around there'. I honestly don't think there's a negative perception on the community from the outside. (10)

Yeah, people see us as hard workers, but also no one really knows who Armenians are, those who know them have a good reputation of them. Some Turkish communities would be the only ones seeing the Armenians from a bad perspective (11).

The general population thinks we're Middle Eastern, I personally don't like that, they need to know we're Europeans. I think it has a lot to do with where they are born. My mum is from Lebanon and my dad is from Syria, but my parents say they are from Armenia. (13)

We stand out as an Arab country to other people, people think we're from the Middle East or from a Muslim culture, sharing the same beliefs as them. But they see well in us and see that we're a good people, most people say 'oh, you're Armenian, where abouts is that?' they usually don't know as we're a small minority. (3)

We're not really seen on the news for all these bad things, like other community groups are known for. From what I hear it's always positive stuff, like how we're always together and care for each other. We're really strong with our culture and everything, not so much the younger generation like most of them don't know what Armenia is. The Turkish community has a bad view of us. (5)

People think we're loud, [be]cause quite a few of us are very loud and you've got the traditional parties and you have all the things they take from like Greek culture and they kind of put it with our culture as well, so I think they just kind of guess, but I don't think it's bad, I think it's pretty good. (8)

### B1 Group Vitality Size and Reputation

Sometimes we have a bad name, I think it's just racial, we're either too hairy or we're that ethnic group from... I don't know. (2)

Armenians are just known as very noisy, a noisy community with no contribution to Australian society and I don't know if that's true, as I said there's Gladys Berejikian and Joe Hockey who are making some effort to better Australian society, whereas some people don't see Armenians as a people who are really trying to make an effort to be an active community of Australian society. (4)

They don't really have that much of a reputation to be honest, I know if someone's like what are you, I'd be like I'm Armenian and they'd say what is that, I say you know what the Kardashians are, yeah them. The Turks would be the only community to view us badly. (7)

Yeah I have to keep speaking Armenian to whoever I can, educate people younger than me about Armenian and teach Armenian, and encourage people to speak Armenian and let other people know not just the Armenian community. (14)

100%, [be]cause we're the next generation, if we don't do it, no one will. Be part of the Armenian community and promote the language. There are Armenians here who don't send their kids to Armenian school; they don't go to social events, what's wrong with going to an Armenian school? (19)

I believe I do have a role to play in preserving the Armenian language; however I don't think the separate efforts of individuals will make much of a difference, in terms of the preservation of the language. Of greater significance I believe is speaking the Armenian language in schools, Saturday schools, and community organisations, where the efforts to preserve the language are intensified and hence more effective. One thing that really affected me when visiting Armenia was the way in which the Armenian language was spoken so naturally by every surrounding individual, whereas in Sydney we have to be reminded and lectured by our patriotic grandparents of the importance of speaking Armenian. (18)

I think I can influence my friends, my parents and my teachers. We all have an equal role in preserving it, if we all speak it we will teach it, not only preserve it but also improve it and expand it. (17)

Definitely, because by just going to these events and talking Armenian, learning Armenian I feel like I have to talk Armenian and learn it, if I don't it's going to go, we're the next generation to pass it onto our children, so if we don't know it our kids won't know it and therefore we won't have the Armenian culture and language. (15)

I went to an Armenian school for 13 years from Kindergarten to Year 12, I've been associated with and all my best friends are very mindful of the Armenian language, because we're such a small community we don't want to lose that connection. I think my role and the community's role is pretty prominent to preserve the Armenian language and culture, because we are such a small community, especially Australia where they boast multiculturalism, we really have an opportunity and environment to flourish and illustrate our culture and language. (16)

It's the small things like speaking Armenian in the household, if that's your thing, speaking Armenian to your friends, if that's your thing. When I'm around my mum, my mum and myself we speak Armenian, my dad doesn't know Armenian, my sister didn't go to Armenian school but she still knows quite a bit of Armenian, probably just as much as me, my grandparents and older family is strict Armenian. Around my friends it's a bit of give and take, half and half. At school, being at Galstaun College in the earlier days of Year 7, 8 and 9 a lot of the older Armenian teachers that taught subjects like English, Geography, Arts, Music, you spoke Armenian when you saw them in the courtyard or in the grounds, just out of respect and being mindful of keeping that alive. It's the small things that are going to make the difference. (16)

I feel like I do, it would be a minor role in terms of passing it onto my children, other than that I wouldn't become a teacher and spread it to others. I hope there will always be someone there. Right now, I wouldn't just go and start speaking Armenian (to friends), I'd throw words here and there, but we wouldn't automatically start speaking Armenian, whereas with my parents, grandparents, family events it's always Armenian. (10)

Yes, because if we don't learn, our children and their children wouldn't know the language and the Armenian culture would just disappear. (1)

Definitely, like everyone else has, everyone has to have a role just to continue it, you might not have much of an effect but it just adds up, everyone has a responsibility. (2)

Yes, teachers always say that we have to try and keep talking Armenian, mix with people that are Armenian to keep the culture alive. It's important because there are not a lot of people who are Armenian and it's very vulnerable to disintegrate. (11)

I think I do, but I don't think I am doing it properly (giggles). I'd like to teach my kids, I know it's not realistic as I am not good at Armenian but I'd send them to Armenian school. (13)

Yeah because, I think it is because when you're speaking to your grandparents and you have to speak to them in Armenian or like relatives. (8)

## B1

### Group Vitality

#### Language Preservation responsibility

Yes, in a big way. I feel that the Armenian language is slipping because the English language is and the stage in life we're living, the English language is changing that, people seem to prefer to speak English to one another. (3)

Yes but it's not that important actually, I feel like the Armenian language it's not going to play a significant role in preserving the culture it's good if it's there, it's good if the youth can read, write it, speak it but it's not essential in maintaining the culture. (4)

You have to know Armenian to teach it to the younger generations, if you don't want it to die out you have to pass it on. I guess it's important to me, it's more like 80% important, but I live in Australia so I don't know if it's important to have it here, but it's important for your identity. (9)

If I don't preserve the language, there's not many of us. So if everyone is going to say... I won't like pass it on... it's going to die very quickly. As an Armenian I feel like I should, I have a responsibility. (5)

Maybe a small one, when you have kids sending them to an Armenian school so they learn the language and it keeps going. (6)

Well yeah, like because I know Armenian, my children should be Armenian and should learn Armenian. It wouldn't be very big, [be]cause I wouldn't get them all involved, like that involved. (7)

Ryde, Willoughby, French's Forest, Forestville and Fairfield (14)

Ryde, because everyone is there. I can't go to Top Ryde without at least seeing 5 Armenians every time I go. (15)

I believe areas such as Chatswood, Willoughby, Ryde and Fairfield are where the Armenians are more obvious as a community. (18)

Older people live around the North Shore, some live in Ryde. The ones that live in Fairfield are more stereotypes of being lazy. (20)

Around Willoughby. (21)

Chatswood and Ryde. (19)

Ryde! I think in those areas such as Ryde and veering off towards... I wouldn't say the Western suburbs...they're living in suburbs for example Belrose and pretty non-shonky suburbs. (16)

In Ryde and Chatswood. In every street there are Armenians. There are Armenian neighbours everywhere, even in Chatswood. (17)

Armenians are mainly situated in the Chatswood area and the Ryde area. (22)

Just Ryde, I think Ryde, I think Armenians. (20)

The Armenians usually live around the Ryde area or around here (Macquarie University). (11)

Chatswood and Willoughby (13)

There are lots that live in over near like Ryde, which is still pretty well off but then there's some like live where I live and the North Shore. (21)

Ryde or Willoughby (2)

We stick to the North Shore area in Sydney, including Ryde, Belrose, Forestville and a small but growing area in Fairfield. (13)

Willoughby, Chatswood or Ryde (5)

Near Chatswood (4)

A lot of them live in Ryde, it's not bad, but it's not great. They use to live in like Willoughby and Chatswood areas. I think it's like the new people; the people who live in Ryde are like the new people that have come into Australia. The ones that live in Chatswood they're like they came here years and years ago. (7)

Ryde, like Ryde and Epping, because there's A LOT that live there and a lot of wogs that live over there and there are like schools. But there's the older community in the North Shore (8)

**B1**  
**Group Vitality: Demography**  
**Location and Presence of**  
**community**

Everything's in Ryde, there's the Antranig *agoomp* (cultural centre), there's Ararat *agoomp*, all the events happen near Ryde. Yeah it does happen near our school (in the Northern Beaches) but that's because the Armenian school is far away. But everything is in Ryde, everyone lives there, all the Armenians, big Armenian community. (15)

I know a lot of Armenian businesses and functions are held in Ryde, Armenian Homenetmen (Sporting) chapters are in Ryde, even though the Armenian school is not in Ryde. Other Armenian offsets are in Ryde, and other places would be the Chatswood area, the church is located in Chatswood and a lot of other people are in Willoughby area and other areas of the North Shore, also the Saturday schools and the *agoomp* (cultural centre) is in Chatswood. (16)

You've got the Church in Chatswood. They're just everywhere; you hear them on the streets, they're right next to you talking in Armenian. (19)

There's just a lot of people and if you go to the shopping centres like Top Ryde, every third person and shop owners are Armenians. Towards the North Shore there are *agoomps* (cultural centres) and Armenian dance places; and the school obviously. (20)

There are *agoomps* (cultural centres) in these areas (Willoughby), they have their own soccer teams in these areas. (14)

The *agoomp* (cultural centre) and there must be more in Chatswood. Even in Ryde the Ararat hall and the scouts hall, and the other scouts hall in Chatswood. (17)

Ryde, because most of the people I know live in Ryde, quite a lot of people; quite a lot in Willoughby. (11)

Armenians are always seen together in Chatswood Shopping Centre and in Top Ryde always hanging out together. There are also Armenian sporting teams and scouts in those areas. (1)

Just hearing a lot of people speaking Armenian. I'm not that involved in the Armenian community compared to others, but I've heard it's in Chatswood. The church I go to is in Chatswood. (13)

First of all, when I lived in Willoughby there's the *agoomp* (cultural centre) so everyone meets up there. Then there's also Ryde and their *agoomp* there. But all I know is more like the Chatswood-Willoughby area and then the Ryde area. (3)

The population makes them obvious; I guess the church is in Chatswood so it's where a lot of people come. Before I went to my current school, there used to be heaps of Armenians in the full-time school living in Chatswood. (5)

I used to go to Ryde for Armenian school and some weekends as well. A couple stick out but it just seems to be... if you ever talk to them you always hear they're from Ryde. A couple of people in the area look really Armenian. (6)

Say you're like walking down the street, my Armenian school was in Ryde and I have friends in Ryde and you'll hear people like yelling in Armenian across the road to each other. (7)

It's a good thing, but I feel it's like your choice, not your parent's choice. They say marry an Armenian, marry an Armenian but it's more of your choice. (14)

I don't have a problem with it, I do however have a problem with Armenian parents saying to their children 'If you don't marry an Armenian, or if you don't obey my wishes with who your spouse is going to be, I'm not going to be happy and I'm going to cut you off.' I think that's ridiculous. I think it's pretty good an Armenian might marry another Armenian, a lot of them being a small community grow up together and a lot of Armenians know each other. (16)

I think it would make things much easier, because Armenians are a smaller culture compared to others, it would be best if we marry other Armenians and have Armenian children and carry on the culture. But it shouldn't be 100% strict but should be preferred. (20)

I think it's a must, so your children are then definitely Armenian, not half-half. Because a lot of the half Armenian children tend to forget their Armenian side and focus on the Australian side or whatever...Greek or Lebanese side. (17)

While I do understand the validity behind the marriage of Armenians in Sydney, I do not support the notion that it's almost become a requirement, as opposed to a choice made by each individual Armenian on their own accord. I believe all this does is create resistance, primarily amongst the youth, and serves to reduce the likelihood of this actually occurring. Naturally, when the people are adamantly told to do something, their first instinct is to do the exact opposite. I am not against the idea of marrying an Armenian, and would personally like to share a life with someone of the same background; however, I am against the notion that marrying an Armenian is an unconditional requirement set out by parents. (18)

It would be preferable to marry another Armenian, but what I think for me, I would rather have a Christian, Christian first and then Armenian, but you can have non-Armenian Christians can't you...so I would prefer having Christians then Armenians. Yes, I would prefer having Armenians marrying each other, but again I prefer someone just marry a Christian. Because our parents always say you have to marry an Armenian. (15)

I think it's very important, that's how we grow. It's harder for us to grow if someone marries a non-Armenian. (19)

I think it's a tradition that we should keep, because if we don't there's only a small number and if we keep marrying off to other races, we won't keep our traditions for the generations to come and there are many generations to come. I think that what our forefathers have gone through has to be remembered for the coming generations. (21)

I know for a fact if my parents turned around and said to me if you don't marry an Armenian, or you'd have to marry an Armenian, that's pretty far fetched. That's where that extremism comes back into play, my parents are quite open minded, they both grew up here, although my dad is not Armenian, the Serbian community still holds a lot of the same values as the Armenian community but they are not narrow minded at all, they're the complete opposite of that. I think that it's fantastic that an Armenian wants to marry another Armenian, unless it's pressured. (16)

Well I think that's what everyone wants their children to do, because in one way it means they're both going to want to carry on teaching their kids the language, traditions and culture. It would be difficult if you marry someone who spoke a different language you'd have to change everything! Grandparents think, 'oh you're an Armenian, marry an Armenian', that's just how it works. (8)

I think it's good, so we keep our culture intact. I don't really care if Armenians marry non-Armenians, they can marry whoever they want to marry. Those who don't marry Armenians may be able to preserve the Armenian culture if they choose to do so and try. The Armenians who marry other Armenians are able to preserve the Armenian culture. (1)

I think our parents would be happy, I think it's good, carrying the Armenian name, yeah. If they marry a non-Armenian, for the individual it's good immersing yourself in different cultures is good in terms of preserving Armenian culture, blah, blah, blah. I think if you're strong willed no matter what race your husband or wife is and if they're fine, and have a little talk with them to make sure your kids carry on that name even if their last name is an Aussie name, the parent's won't be happy though. (2)

It's a good thing, but us Armenians we prefer... it's up to everyone who they marry, but why would you want a half Armenian half Canadian son when you could have a full Armenian bred from parents both with an Armenian background. (3)

I want to marry an Armenian, because like even if we do marry other Armenians, we're still not going to survive as long as others, so it's best to marry other Armenians it just increases our life. Because our number is so small, our language is easily lost, people aren't keeping it up because we live in a country where there isn't a huge Armenian population, as opposed to the Asian population. (5)

I think it's a good thing, if you think it's the right person go ahead and do it. But I don't think our parents and grandparents should force it or drill it in. Yes, it'll dilute the culture but if you're marrying someone just because they're Armenian then I don't think you're going to be happy. (10)

I'm all for it. I would personally want to marry an Armenian. I think it's a good way to keep traditions etc. You can teach your kids how to speak Armenian; I'm not as good in speaking Armenian so it would make it harder if I didn't marry an Armenian. (13)

I support it, as it helps keep the generation and the culture alive. I think they can still learn the language, so it doesn't matter if they're half they can still learn the language. (11)

I told my dad 'Dad, I'm going to marry an Asian person just to annoy you' and he's like 'no, you're not going to' but I was like yes I'm marrying a Jewish person, just to annoy you. Because I don't think that's necessary, you don't have to marry someone of your own kind, it's like the 21st century, it's not that important. (4)

I think it's fine, I probably wouldn't. There might be difficulties with keeping the language if marrying a non-Armenian as the partner might not care about it as much but I think dependent on how Armenian your family is, will depend on whether or not you marry an Armenian, if they care about who you marry. It wouldn't be my choice because they're very outspoken so we would probably clash in personality. They're very stubborn and I can't deal with stubborn people. (6)

## B1 Group Vitality : Demography Intermarriage

## Intermarriage in Sydney

I've seen also Armenians marrying non-Armenians but not as much as Armenians marrying other Armenians. (14)

I think the cohort are still marrying Armenians, but you do have an increasing rate of Armenians dipping outside of the community as opposed to 25 years ago...It's becoming a trend for Armenians to dip out to find their significant other, it's testament to how the Armenians can preserve their culture with just them being Armenian. (16)

To be honest, I think there's been more. People have been marrying Armenians, but they've been half Armenians. I've heard of a lot of Armenian girls marrying Armenians. I feel like my generation or the generation above me is trying to marry Armenians but it's not working. (22)

Yes and no, I know people who are and people who aren't. Some people will say 'I'm sick of Armenians, I'm not going to marry an Armenian.' (19)

It happens in Sydney that they marry other Armenians but it does happen...I think it's half-half. (15)

It's becoming more common every year (relationships with non-Armenians), I hear a lot of stories. I know someone who recently got married to a Lebanese girl and his parents don't want to talk to him anymore. It's becoming more and more common every year; we should stop and just try and communicate with Armenian people more and more. (17)

The majority is marrying other Armenians. (20)

Not really, like I have a few relatives, they're kind of marrying Lebs, they're not Armenians. (21)

## Intermarriage in Sydney

I feel like it's shunned upon by older people to marry a non-Armenian, like Grandparents, my brother had a non-Armenian girlfriend for two years and my grandparents were like come on there's nice Armenian girls out there, go search! I'm sure everyone's grandparents do it. But there's a real divide between them and the next generation, my parent's generation, they're kind of in the middle, if you find someone that's great, if they're Armenian that's a bonus. (10)

I've noticed almost half the class I teach on weekends are half... they're like eight years old. (11)

To be honest, I haven't heard a lot of cases where Armenians marry non-Armenians. I think it's harder to find an Armenian as we are a minority, but I think it's half-half. (13)

There's a lot of Armenians marrying other Armenians in Sydney, I don't really know of any Armenian that has married a non-Armenian. (4)

I have a couple of cousins who have married Armenians. I don't know as many Armenians who have married completely non-Armenians, sometimes they're half. (6)

There are only a limited amount of Armenians in Sydney or Australia, but there are like tons more that aren't. The Armenians I know, the people I know of, they all know each other from a young age and that's like bit weird to marry them if you've known them from a young age, there's only a limited number to choose from. (7)

Generally, everyone's married to an Armenian, I've seen two or three people married to people of Asian backgrounds though. (2)

### B1

#### Group Vitality: Demography Intermarriage in Sydney and Changes in community numbers

## Changes in Community Numbers

I know people who are from war torn countries, like Syrian-Armenians for example, they'll come from there for a better life and to live, numbers in the Armenian community have increased. (14)

Just Armenians marrying non-Armenians and that child becoming half-half and then their child marrying a non-Armenian then the child will not be Armenian. (17)

I've heard of people getting married with girls from overseas that are Armenian, it tends to be the girls are coming here rather than us going there. (22)

There are a lot of people coming here from Lebanon and Syria, not a lot from Armenia. My friend came from Lebanon, it's a better life here. Especially with the war and terrorists in Syria I don't think anyone wants to live there. (19)

The whole thing with Diaspora, a lot of Armenians are in America and parts of Europe, back at home in Armenia and places like Lebanon and Syria, and especially the situation in those sort of war torn Arabic nations will lead to an increase in the number of Armenians from Syria, in Sydney, Melbourne and other areas. The whole situation with the village of Kessab (Syria), that whole debacle there, that would lead to more Armenians in Sydney and Australia in general. (16)

There is currently only one full-time Armenian school which provides primary and higher school education, the opening of another in a more central location to the majority of Sydney Armenians will be able to unite a larger portion of Armenian individuals thus increasing and strengthening the Armenian community. (18)

## Changes in Community Numbers

Positive change would be if an Armenian marries another Armenian and then the kids do the same. A negative change would be if people don't care to keep the numbers intact and they don't try. (1)

There's a lot of conflict in the Middle East, so in Syria a lot of them are trying to come here, we had two separate families, on my dad's side that came over because my mum's sister is trying to come over as well. (10)

More events and more community groups to attract people. I know of a few people who came from somewhere in Armenia. (11)

Armenians marrying non-Armenians would reduce the numbers. Even the loss of the language and the culture as a result of marrying non-Armenians and having non-Armenian children. (13)

Australia's a home for everyone, it's a multicultural country, a couple of years ago my aunty came from Syria to escape from the war. (3)

Maybe Syrian Armenians, I know they've fled to Armenia because it's neighbouring, but Armenia's the worst place to go to at a time of crisis, the economy, the government, it's just corrupt and awful. (4)

The choice is in our hands, if we unite and not continue as we're now but improve, then yeah we will survive. But if we keep having...each party (political) working against each other, if it keeps going like that it'll just get worse but it's hard to fix that up, but if it does get fixed it will get better. (14)

If we still have people going to different schools and not appreciating being an Armenian, then I really probably think the community will disappear, but at the moment it will increase. (15)

I think it is big enough to survive, as it's not only that it has a medium number of members, but it also has, even though it's a medium number, the members are strong and persistent and dedicated, they're very driven and we do all it takes. It will carry on to the next generation, as a lot of the youth in our community are joining the AYF, Armenian Dance and choirs. (17)

I believe our Armenian community is undoubtedly strong enough to strive in the future. While it may be small in size, I believe our community exudes an unending amount of perseverance; strength and determination, hence ensuring its long-term survival. I think the biggest weakness the community faces is a lack of unity amongst the youth of Sydney. I feel that if this issue can be effectively and strategically addressed, the community will be able to survive through the motivation and ambitions of its future generation. (18)

We are already surviving. Like the only reason I say yes is because, me for example, I participate in AYF (Armenian Youth Federation) and I've seen a massive increase in members, people just participating in things like that like the Armenian Youth organisations and the Armenian school, I just feel like we will survive because people...now that the 100th anniversary is approaching people are becoming more patriotic, so I feel like we will survive, because what happened in the past brings the community together. (17)

Armenians have a negative rapport within themselves for tall poppy syndrome, they like to cut others who are prospering, being a small community a lot of them know each other and they sort of like to sort of bring others down who are still flourishing whilst others might not be. If you've got Armenians stabbing each other in the back and then doing 'friendly-fire' then it's pretty tough for a community to base longevity on that, but in saying that it's pretty minute and the community is generally full of hard-workers and having the best interest of others, that would probably lead to the Armenian community being prosperous. (16)

When I sit down with my friends at school, I'm the only one in my group who goes to AYF, they don't act like they care, and unless you're doing something (in the community) just being involved or supporting the cause I don't feel like you are as patriotic as you might want to be, so I don't think it's a massive deal for people my age to help out in the community. (22)

Compared to other people we're not that big, with the attitude some people have now it's not easy. If people actually help us out a bit it will make a difference, those who attend a non-Armenian school they need to change their attitude. They make it sound like the Armenian schools are not as good, they put us down. (19)

The size at the moment isn't large enough, so if they tried hard enough they could probably survive. (1)

I'd hope that it'd stay strong. I'd probably enrol my kid into sports with Armenian teams, if they go to my school, Sydney Grammar, I loved it and I'm sure they will, that's if I have boys of course. (10)

Just! There are a lot of Armenians but not like a lot compared to Armenians in America, but there are more than like Victoria. I don't see it fading away before me. (11)

I would like to hope so, but realistically, we are declining as the youth move on. (13)

We have like 30,000 or something, a pretty decent number, like I don't see them around, I don't see a lot of them around or they're not really involved in the community. I guess if they're not involved in the community then it's kind of hard for them to keep in contact with each other. (2)

Definitely yes, we're a culture and a community that get's anything thrown at them and they will conquer it and stay strong and stick together and if we set the right example and stick together it will be ok. (3)

They're not that big, but they're close so they won't fade out. (6)

**B1**  
**Group Vitality**  
**Demography**  
**Future survival of the Community**

The youth just have to continue, because if the youth don't continue there's no future. So that's why I go to these functions, partly to see how many youth are there, whether or not in 10 years' time whether or not we will have such a thriving and flourishing Diaspora but when I go there, there's so many youth there because of what the parents are doing today, when I say there, I mean the Apostolic Church, because we're holding so many functions there in an attempt to bring the youth together. Then there's the AYF (Armenian Youth Federation) that's just trying really desperately to find some way to bring the youth together and unify then and convey the importance of going to Church, speaking the language (although I don't think that's necessary) and just integrating with other Armenians and not breaking that connection. (3)

Everyone is really close and we're all related (chuckles), when the community organises discos or 'Nav' games for example, they all meet each other, become friends and become real close and all that stuff and maintain friendship from that. (7)

Definitely survive. They have the school, they have Saturday schools, they have basketball, soccer and sports teams. They influence young kids to join so they are active and if they want to stay Armenian or be in the community, they'll join. But they should make groups for other age groups, like I don't see the older ages or the mid ages. (2)

We've got so many different types of Armenian schools and because we've got our own things, our own scouts, basketball, like clubs, our own schools, so different things that we can all stay together, church groups, churches, that there's enough people that are going to continue it on because there are so many people that participate in this stuff. I think it's big compared to a lot of other ones, I think it'd be pretty good in the future. (8)



## Armenian Language learning for adults

First place that comes in my mind is the Church or something, because there's like plenty of Armenian teachers there. The Church if I'm not wrong provides religion teachers, they know Armenian and they can teach Armenian or they can come to Armenian school and ask on the side if they can be taught on the side. (14)

There's a website, when we were in Armenia, when you're in year 10 you go to Armenia, we went to a place and they said they offer it online and it's cheap. It's really good for basic stuff, just by reading articles over time *ge lavanas* (you'll improve), it's called the Armenian Virtual College I think. (15)

If you're over 18, I have no clue. (16)

I would recommend for them to get tutored by one of the old Armenian teachers in our community. (17)

It may be too late to really make use of the language upon learning to speak it, for younger kids they are provided with a unique opportunity to excel in the Armenian language during their schooling years and eventually succeed during their final year. (18)

I'd recommend an Armenian teacher, there are schoolteachers but I am not sure specifically where. (20)

I don't think the teachers at my school would be able to teach someone a completely new language. I grew up in Hamazkaine, but I don't think my teacher would teach a whole new language, they just built up on what I knew. Maybe I would talk to the school or possibly to the Church. (22)

## Armenian Language learning for adults

Probably just hang around Armenians who speak the language regularly and probably go to Saturday school and take classes. (1)

I'm sure there are lecturers and teachers out there. (10)

I'd say maybe find someone like an elder to tutor them, [be]cause there's not really anywhere for them to go. (11)

I wouldn't recommend, I don't know, you'd have to have initiative, I wouldn't recommend going to Hamazkaine or Armenian School just take courses online. (2)

I recommend hiring a tutor, finding an Armenian school chatting to the teachers, asking for their advice saying how can I learn my language myself or can you help me, do you know anyone who can [be]cause you can't learn it off Google translate. (4)

Maybe like, well, my Armenian school, there was like for one year there was, we invited parents to learn it. (5)

I don't think you could learn it on your own, like French you could cause it's written in English letter, but because we have a different alphabet you can't read any of it, so you'd need someone else to help you, you'd need classes and you'd need tutors. (8)

## B1

Group Vitality: Institutional Support  
Availability of Armenian language  
institutions

## Armenian Language learning for children

Tell them to go to an Armenian school, like Hamazkaine because I'm Hamazkaine, or Tarkmanchadz Saturday school like older people can do that as well. (14)

Probably the Armenian Virtual College, or even a tutor if the online is too difficult because they might be too young. (15)

I recommend they go to Galstaun College, not because I was a student there, but a lot of people like to cut the school down, this is something I don't understand when it's the only Armenian K-12 institute still up and running for 25+ years and it's growing unbelievably well with great teachers and great facilities, great everything (16)

I'd say go there (Galstaun College) and I say that whole heartedly it's sort of angers me and especially being an ex-captain and someone whose going to be involved with Galstaun College in the future, it angers me when I hear parents or members of the community who haven't even been there saying negative things about the school, it's the in thing to do to bash Galstaun college, it's pretty ridiculous. I also support Tarkmanchadz (Saturday school). Respect goes out to parents who send their kids to Australian schools but they are still weary of that sort of keeping the Armenian thing alive. They're the ones you see developing the community and its longevity. (14)

I wouldn't recommend non-Armenian kids to learn the Armenian language, as it is not a popular language and therefore there isn't much use for it. However, I would strongly recommend any Armenian kid to learn and embrace the language. (18)

## Armenian Language learning for children

Going to an Armenian school like Tarkmanchadz or Hamazkaine, because they're really very welcoming even though they're dropping out, like a really steady decline of student's not going to Armenian school anymore. All the Armenians I went to school with, their class was like 10 people that were my age that were learning Armenian in one class. That's really small. (4)

The Saturday school, and probably just try and be around people who speak it regularly. (1)

Like going to Armenian school, the AGBU one probably, well depending on which Armenian they speak. (5)

## Media Knowledge

There are newspapers, Internet, radio on your phone I think. I think there's an Armenian newspaper you can get on your phone and emails. (14)

I know about websites online like AYF (Armenian Youth Federation) or information on the Armenian Genocide and History. There are newspapers but I am not too sure of the names, in our school there's a newspaper written in Armenian but if you pass it to the parents and other people they can see it. On TV there are Armenian shows but they are broadcast in Armenia but we can see it from here. (15)

I know the Garoon 'tert' it's like an Armenian-based newspaper keeping you up to date on what's happening in the community of Sydney. Also, there's a lot of social media available. (16)

There's the Garoon tert, on TV I think it's SBS; there's Armenian news on Friday nights. There's also a radio channel and our school newspaper. (17)

There's ArmeniaMedia and Garoon magazine, as well as the Sardarabad radio station. (18)

I know that there's the Garoon magazine, it's not in newsagents but it's passed around schools, that's one way. There's also YouTube stations and radio station. (20)

Armenia Online and Asbarez news, Sardarabad radio, ANC Australia and AYF Australia. (22)

## Media Knowledge

The Armenia Weekly and probably a lot of social media like Armenian Media Inc., which is online. (1)

There are magazines that we get, I don't read them, I think my parents do and there's church pamphlets and stuff like that. (10)

I know there's a newspaper but I forgot what it's called. There's an AGBU newspaper as well. More recently, there's Armenian TV. (11)

The HMEM Facebook page, the Ararat ones, they added me so I see what's going on. The church groups and the youth groups that organise everything, they do a lot of things and fundraise. The dance groups are also very popular. The newspaper would be the 'Garoon'. (7)

There are newspapers, online and hard copy as I see my grandparents reading them all the time. YouTube as well, Armenians are doing news reports and stuff, also the Ararat Facebook page. (13)

Armenian Media Inc. the one with the TV show, Armenia Weekly, my grandmother reads it. Also, there are pages on Facebook such as ANC and Armenian Revolutionary Federation and all the news that goes through Facebook. (3)

The only Armenian media I can think of is Looyce that my dad gets but we never read it, there's also these bunch of websites on the Internet. Also ANC, that's really informative, it's got all these current issues going on in the community, going on in Syria as well, the protest and stuff and then there's Facebook. (4)

B1

Group Vitality: Institutional Support  
Media Knowledge and Use

## Media Use

The newspaper, yeah I read it, and then like my mum when they're doing the radio broadcast she'll listen and I'll listen to it as well. (14)

I read newspapers, I read a couple, it's good information but to improve my speaking and writing it's good to read it. Books as well. (15)

So when I am at my grandma's house I listen to the Sardarabad news, I've been on it twice, I was saying a poem and the other time I gave a news update about school. I've been on Armenian media once, like my article has been published. I read what they send me through emails but I don't watch it because it's too long and I can't be bothered. I can listen to Armenian news but I can't watch it. I try and read the articles, I hate the Armenia tert (paper), I don't hate it, I just can't read it because the font is too difficult to read while Garoon is much easier. (22)

No, I don't use any of them. (19)

All the time, I usually watch Armenian comedy on YouTube and listen to music with the family. I can read the articles, but if you see a passage of Armenian writing you'll read it. (20)

Barely, to be honest. Our school newspaper yes, I never really have the time to read Garoon tert. If I was to read Armenian I would feel very comfortable reading it. (17)

I use the social media aspect of it, being a Homenetmen member, I see a lot to do with the development of the Smokey Dawson pavilion, or a prominent Armenian coming to Sydney for a concert. That's where I get my news. My grandparents have stacks of magazines at their house and when I flick through it, it has all the same information in it. (16)

## Media Use

I'm on the list to get emails from Armenia Online, I read it now and then. I only read the AGBU newspaper if I am in it. I don't have issues reading articles in Armenian. (11)

No, I listen to songs, like classical music and pop music like Tata. (10)

I look at the websites and the magazines if it's on the table and I'll have a look at an article on Facebook if someone shares it. (1)

From time to time, like I might read a few things on Facebook pages. I use to like the newspaper 'Garoon', I didn't read it but I use to flick through it and look at the pictures. (7)

I listen to Armenian music on YouTube. (13)

I never use them. (6)

There's a new channel on YouTube that they've made... TV... I don't know if it's very effective though, because it's just like our generation won't, it's kind of hard for us, cause we're learning English and learning Armenian but we feel more comfortable if we heard it in English, not to be like, not to say it as a bad thing, as for me personally I would rather listen to stuff about Armenian history, culture, blah blah blah, the latest stuff if it was in English, something more easy to understand. So what's the point of having something on YouTube speaking Armenian really fast, complex words and I'm trying to sit there trying to understand what you're saying, even though I do, but it's really slow, can't understand what you're saying the information, doesn't get across that well. (2)

No, I never use any Armenian media. (9)

## Language and Cultural Events

I go to AYF so that kind of helps it and then there's like the picnics and get together where we all speak Armenian there so it promotes the language (14)

I notice a lot of concerts in Sydney. Days are allocated to embracing culture. In my days they would do a big fete at Tumbalong Park in Darling Harbour. A lot of Armenian artists would come to Sydney to perform and embrace the language in Sydney. (16)

I have been to events such as the annual Navasartian Games and the ASDC Dance concerts, which have promoted the Armenian culture of sporting and dance. (18)

Culture yes, but definitely not language. It was a cultural event where you promote your own culture, I learnt about the Greek culture and learnt about the Jewish religion, and we promoted the Armenian culture. It was at a Jewish museum, it's called 'Respect and Understanding'. Obviously the April 24 events, and well ANZAC day but we still remember the Armenian Genocide. I go to Armenian dance concerts and you are exposed to culture and language there. (22)

We had the Carols by Candlelight and there's an AYF camp. (15)

I've participated in many dance concerts for Armenian dance, many *barahantesner* (evening gala) with AYF and Antranig sports. (17)

I always go to the Armenian Genocide commemoration in the concourse (Chatswood), I went to the Kessab protests last year, I went to the *barahantes* (evening gala) and 'Nav' Games. They speak Armenian at these events. There was also an Armenian festival in Darling Harbour. (20)

## Language and Cultural Events

There's an Armenia thing in Darling Harbour at the end of the year, a festival. (1)

There are gatherings at the *agoomp* (cultural centre) but I don't know if that counts. Because of the genocide there are always speeches at Chatswood Concourse. There's the 'Nav' games. Not really festivals, just gatherings of little events. Whenever we had festivals it was mostly just Armenians, I found. There weren't many *odars* (foreigners) there. (10)

I know that there's the Armenian festival, I sometimes go to that, but it doesn't happen every year. There's food you can buy, it promotes the culture and there's dancing. (11)

A lot, I always go to the Armenian Genocide commemoration things, I also go to this thing at the Shore hall, it's like a showcase of the Armenian community's talent, like presentation, people play an instrument, a poem, a dance. Like festivals, whatever comes up. I enjoy going. The festival in Darling Harbour, I've been to that a few times. (5)

I have been to the 'Nav' Games; I am part of that this year, that's it. It helps preserve the Armenian language as people speak in Armenian. (13)

Pretty sure, at the end of every year there's a festival in Darling Harbour, most countries have one, I've been to the Portugal one. They have people singing, dancing and the food, it's the atmosphere. (3)

I don't know of any that promote the language, but I know a whole bunch that promote the culture, there's all these functions held in the Apostolic Church that are constantly encouraging the youth to be an active part of the community and just dance, play piano, listen to *Inga and Anush* or *Silva Hakobyan* and that's a massive part of the culture, because Armenia is essentially just dance and music, that's how I see it. (4)

B1

Group Vitality: Institutional Support  
Events and Government Support

## Government Support

Not directly giving a book, which is about Armenian language, but more so money to make the books. Because our school is private I'm not sure whether they get it, they offer help but not as much as to a public school. (15)

Not really, I know our school got funding for the development of the learning experience and the language in general. (16)

No, I don't know of any government support for the Armenian language. (14, 17, 18, 19)

## Government Support

I don't know if they're involved with Armenian schools, well most Armenian schools are held in public schools on Saturday like Willoughby Public so I don't know if the government funds that, I don't know if they're a big part of our community. (4)

No, I don't know of any support provided. (2, 5, 7, 8, 10, 11, 13)

There's a Saturday school that's run by the government in Chatswood. (1)

Not really, I guess they would fund them a little bit to keep them going. (6)

## Purpose of the Armenian community

To keep us Armenians alive, for us to know our background and teach future generations. (14)

If we have an Armenia, we need to have it all over the world, expand it. We have it in Sydney, we need to preserve it in different countries. (15)

The point is to keep the community united. If you had a culture with no sense of grouping they would probably lack a sense of connection of belonging. (16)

The point is to keep our culture, because we have A LOT of history, we don't want that going down the drain, we want to keep it. My parents are from Armenia and to see the next generation speaking Armenian and doing Armenian things makes them proud. (19)

It's extremely important as it ensures that despite not living in the motherland, Armenians are somewhat united thus allowing the race to flourish. It fosters for the celebration and commemoration of significant Armenian occasions such as the Armenian Genocide and the 'Battle of Vartanants'. The community is able to keep the Armenian identity, culture and heritage alive and therefore relevant. With Armenian churches in Sydney, the community continues to practice Christianity. Above all, it allows all Armenians to feel a sense of acceptance and belonging whereby they share the same values and beliefs, which accompany the Armenian culture and heritage. (18)

It's extremely vital, as the Australian government is very powerful and if we can influence them to make the right choices and accept the Armenian genocide as a whole, this can affect the whole world's decisions. It's for Armenians to come together and grow. If there wasn't one, all the Armenians would just become Australians pretty much and not really remember their history or learn their culture. (17)

## Purpose of the Armenian community

So all Armenians remain connected; people are aware that there are Armenians in the world. Make our culture known to others in Sydney and even to ourselves. (13)

We need to have an Armenian community in Sydney because if we don't want to live in Hayastan (Armenia) we want to make as much of Hayastan in Sydney as possible (3)

I guess the point is to sustain the Armenian culture. (2)

It brings us together, I feel like I've got a double life so I've got my non-Armenian friends and my Armenian friends, which is really nice. If I get sick of either of them, I can just bounce back to the other. (10)

So that people like us who are part of the community, can feel more like at home and just more aware of our culture. Oh and feel like we fit in and not just people who have from generations ago come into another country, a foreign country and just there by ourselves (5)

We could already speak Armenian when we were younger, but if we didn't have a community here, we wouldn't have schools, events, it would be harder for you to meet other Armenians to organise all these events for people to go to. They made the scouts, made the basketball clubs and all that stuff. If we didn't have people to make the schools, run the schools, it would be more difficult, it would make it harder to keep the. (18)

I like how it's there but I don't get involved, I just don't like getting involved. The little Armenian groups, you gotta be born into them, I'm not. (7)

If you have a community then you're automatically preserving the culture, you're making friends, you're marrying one another. It's also to give back to Australian society as well, because there's no point in us being here if we're not giving something back to Australian society. (4)

## B2

Perceived In-group  
Boundaries  
Purpose of the in-group  
Need to protect the  
community

## Need to protect the community

To keep the Armenians going into the future; to talk to politicians so they don't fall under Turkish influence (through payouts), we try teaching them the right way and it has worked. To protect people from the wrong influence. The Turks are the main group to protect the Armenians against, because they deny the genocide, but it did happen, so there's a continual fight. (14)

To preserve the community, we want to stay, we want to exist, everywhere. In the past they've tried to take out the Armenian community, but we've survived, for example the genocide. Sorry I am always referring to this, when they tried to extinguish us, it never worked out because we're not going to give up, we want to stay Armenian. (15)

The community is protecting their right to fight for what their forefathers suffered for (22)

Yes, definitely, as we're decreasing in some way, in some way being in Australia is impacting us negatively, but by protecting it we can be proactive and stop these influences and negative impacts. (17)

They need to protect their culture, their language, their family. I don't want to say the Turks, but maybe, anyone they have issues with. In general they don't have anything against anyone, it's a multicultural country. (19)

They protect themselves, but they don't support the school enough (Galstaun College). I respect the school, for 25 years with very little support from the community, great kids, great Armenians and a great environment to learn, but they still can't get everyone on-board. It baffles me even as a half-Armenian I don't get why. Nobody bashes the community, everyone gets around it...but to call a spade a spade, they need to get around the school a lot more and I'm not talking financially or sending your kids there, it's when you're out with your friends drinking coffee, you don't say negative things about the school, [be]cause 'you know nothing about it, why talk blind?' (16)

## Need to protect the community

Yeah, against non-Armenians. They just want to keep. I guess pure Armenians, so their culture doesn't become extinct. (5)

They're protecting themselves against everyone, compared to everyone in Sydney they see themselves as very small, the genocide and all that stuff...they're really easy to take out. So they have to keep going and preserve and know who they are. (7)

Yes, [be]cause we're small; we probably need to keep it to ourselves until we become bigger, share our own culture and language. (3)

Like losing their culture, people are like threatening them like their culture is better. Like I guess the Turkish community pushes their side. (11)

They need to protect it so that something like the Genocide never happens again. Some people might feel like they need to protect the community so they don't split up and keep things together as a community. It's quite common in the community in Sydney, especially the older generations. (1)

I feel like there's an invisible barrier around the Armenian community where people are like 'oh, it's the Armenians, they're a massive community that just love each other and are really close knit and no one else is allowed in'. It's because of the genocide that we want to protect ourselves, the suffering of our ancestors was really indescribable and impossible to digest particularly for young people, I would have no idea what went on around there. It's probably instinct that we protect ourselves, we don't do it intentionally. (4)

They could be worried about other religions coming in, just atheism in general. Grandparents always drill into you Christianity and Jesus, and all that stuff, and yes that's our culture and we should embrace it but not all people should be forced into it, it should be an option. Since we've lived away from Armenia the traditional ways have diluted at a point it's got to stop, actually, I don't think so, we've got too many numbers for the culture to die. (10)

To create an environment where Armenian students are united whilst simultaneously educated in areas concerning their background. Such as 'Hayots Badmootyoun' (Armenian History); Armenian Culture and the Armenian Language. The purpose of Armenian schools in Sydney is to produce educated and well-equipped Armenian intellectuals who can become the future voices of Sydney's Armenian community. (18)

This obviously isn't Armenia, so the purpose is to strengthen our language. In the future if someone asks 'what are you?' and you say, 'I am Armenian', they may ask you to say something in Armenian, imagine responding, 'I don't know'. If you've grown up in the Armenian school, it shows you who is going to be in your environment, [be]cause they're Armenian so they're your community I feel like if I can't speak to my kids in Armenian, I won't be able to connect with them as much. (22)

A lot of the youth in Australia, Armenian youth, they're quite lazy and they don't want to learn the Armenian history, culture, language. If we send them to an Armenian school, firstly they can communicate with one another, become friends with each other, they can learn the Armenian language, culture and keep their Armenian spirits alive until an age that they're mature enough to learn that they must do it. Galstaun College is like a little Armenia for us, we're all very close to one another, it's a safe environment. The Armenian spirit is very strong. (17)

We need to learn the Armenian culture and history, it's a safe atmosphere, we all know each other, I know the whole school. It's just like as if 'endaniket e' (it's a family) you're going to 'yergrort doonet' (your second home), it's great to have it because it's safe and the education is good. You know the teachers personally, as if they're your mother, it's just better, it's more intimate. That way I learnt much more, if I went to a different school you wouldn't get that, you won't even learn Armenian. (15)

Going to a different school you'll forget how to read or write Armenian or the history. We won't know who we are. Hamazkiane taught me who I am. Look, it does have its disadvantages, I was only exposed to Armenians and I don't know what the world is like out there. It made me who I am today. (19)

To preserve the Armenians and keep them alive and keep them going and when they are taught they can teach others. My school taught me everything about the Armenian language; we have Armenian and Armenian language classes, which taught me how to speak Armenian and the right way of writing literature, and all that stuff. (14)

It's actually really important. I don't think Saturday school is very important. At Hamazkaine, the teachers are Armenian and you feel more comfortable talking to them. You know everyone; we all think the same, because we all come from Armenian families. If you go to an Aussie school, there's like hundreds of people and no one knows each other. (21)

The school is sort of developing future Armenians and setting them up with the values and morals of a good Armenian and of perseverance and hard work, learning the language to pass on from generation to generation. They'd want their students to be Armenian advocates and enhance the Armenian group in general. (16)

To educate Armenian kids on their culture, history and language. To me it's like a second home. I joined in year 7 and it feels like one big family with everyone like brothers and sisters. (20)

So that we learn Armenian and the language is preserved, so we can read and write Armenian at a basic level. (13)

Without Armenian school a lot of kids would not be part of the Armenian community, it encourages you to go to all these functions. You know how we love basketball, I don't know why, where all these Armenian kids go and worship the people who are playing like Arax (a team) from Melbourne or Antranig (a team) and whatever. When I go I kind of observe what's going on and I just think it's a really good way to preserve the culture. (4)

Armenian school instils that 'Armenianess', it doesn't brainwash them but it's just for Armenians to keep going after everything we've been through in 1915 we have to just keep pushing on. It should be something you should enjoy and want to integrate with the community, so I feel like Armenian school is an integral part of the Armenian community. (4)

To teach the history, culture and language to the younger generation. (2)

I learnt how to speak Armenian; I think it was pretty solid. I guess they had an obvious role to play. The teaching was adequate, but then again I couldn't sit still in class. The full-time school would have a class every day, whilst Armenian school was like that thing you'd go to for like 5 hours and to me it didn't feel that important I guess, because it wasn't an official school. (2)

Well I learnt how to write, read and speak, and then about the culture a bit, what's important and what the Armenians have been through. I think they provided me with an adequate knowledge of the language. (1)

## B2 Perceived In-group Boundaries Purpose of in-group schooling

Just keeping the language and culture strong. Without this the language would die, I think the community would stay without a language it just wouldn't be as rich, it would struggle to stay. (10)

When we're learning Armenian you learn to speak it, you learn to read it, but when you're at school you learn all the extra parts, more of the history, grammar, punctuation, things that you wouldn't just learn from speaking it to like your mum or your dad, you're not always taught to read it when you're younger, like at school you practise your reading, I'd do it as part of my homework. There are some people I know that can just speak it, they don't know reading, I think it's better because if you know the grammar and punctuation you form them better and it's easier to read Armenian newspapers. I've read Armenian books. (8)

To make the new generation learn Armenian. (11)

They teach young people to cherish their heritage and their identity and it helps then develop some sense of cultural identity. Without the Armenian schools I don't think the children would know very much about Armenia, their history especially about the genocide. My sister was the only one who did not know about the Armenian genocide. Everyone else said 'I know something' but she said, 'I don't know anything'. I said 'ok, you left school, that's probably why', she's not willing to learn. (4)

The Saturday school goes for a few hours and I don't think they know as much Armenian as we do. Like my cousin, who used to go to a Saturday school, they don't really learn anything, they just say the alphabet, the months etc. Everyone thinks that Hamazkaine isn't great because of the marks we get, but it's the person not the school. Like this year we came in the top 60 out of over 500 schools in the state. (21)

They both work, but I don't know if I'm going to be biased now but I'll say Hamazkaine, my school, because obviously I've been there. The benefit is you're always taught Armenian every day so you're always speaking it, so you'll improve. And you're hanging around with Armenian students so you all can speak Armenian to one another and that will improve your language. (14)

The advantage of a Saturday school, well I don't see an advantage. In my opinion, it's draining to sit in a classroom for 5 hours and focus on one subject; I think that's why going to a full-time Armenian school is better as it's split up throughout the week. I wouldn't want to learn Armenian for 5 hours straight. (19)

To be honest, I don't think there's much of a difference, because it's 5 hours a week of Armenian for both. But on the other hand it's better to attend the full-time Armenian school because you're always with the Armenians, you're not really communicating...I'm not saying it's bad to communicate with other, I'm just saying it's preferable to always be with them, so your mind is set straight. (17)

I feel like Saturday school kids don't do much, because let's say I am at school studying, you receive a Snapchat from them, they're all screaming and mucking around. We can't handle one hour periods of class at Hamazkaine, it used to be 50 min, so imagine them sitting in that room for 5 to 6 hours with an Armenian teacher, I don't blame them at all. I think they don't have an opinion of us they have an opinion of our school. Because apparently the education is bad...blah blah blah...my own cousins say it. Of course Galstaun College doesn't give us all the resources, but they go out of their way to give us anything they can. (22)

Hamazkaine is a more everyday thing, so you're going to learn about Armenian things every day, the culture and exposure to everything Armenian. Saturday schools are only exposing you to Armenian culture 52 times a year. The only disadvantage is that people don't think of us as a very academic school. They're wrong, they're not educated opinions, we are a very good school and the teachers are very good. Some of the schools don't make much of an effort but others do and they have a really wrong view of our school, we did so well in Year 12 this year. (20)

The full-time schools is great, but if they are having difficulty then maybe Saturday school. It has equal the amount of Armenian education we're receiving. But going to an all-day Armenian school, you're always around Armenians so it's a better atmosphere. (15)

I don't think being a good Armenian means you know the language or this super whizz at it, I think that to make a good Armenian is just supporting your community and being a stakeholder. A lot of parents like to send their kids to full-time Armenian school or Saturday school, that's how they believe they will develop a good Armenian. I don't think however it makes a difference, as it doesn't separate a kid who goes to St Aloysius or me who went to Galstaun College. (16)

I feel like going to a full-time Armenian school is a little more disadvantageous than going to an Australian school because of the lack of facilities. The Saturday school also has the advantage of just being enthusiastic for the one day a week, and the homework during the week would just be the Australian School homework. You also have two groups of friends, the English and the Armenian friends. (13)

Tarkmanchadz (Saturday school) had textbooks, teachers who knew their facts and we did lots of extracurricular activities. It is enough what they provided me with but once you finish you need to continue yourself and continue to recap so you don't forget. There's more support at Galstaun College but you can always take the step further if you went to Tarkmanchadz and go to friends and family. (3)

I think the fact that it's on Saturdays is not that appealing to many people, like they might do it when they're younger but the amount of people that drop out from when you're about 3 all the way up to when you're 15. People drop out because it's so hard on a Saturday, you've got sport but I think it's better to have it as a Saturday school unit once a week then you have your week to do the work and then you get back into it. (8)

It's good but I don't think it (Galstaun College) should go all the way up to high school, like we live in Australia we shouldn't not communicate with non-Armenians. It's good they communicate with Armenians, but it's Australia, it's meant to be multicultural. The benefit of Saturday is that it's not full time. You go for 5 hours and it's a place where you actually learn. (9)

I'd rather just go to Saturday school so I can have more than one kind of friend. Like I've noticed, people from Hamazkaine they're just friends with all their Armenian friends and when they get outside of it they don't really know how to communicate. (7)

For instance Hamazkaine (Galstaun College), you can go there, but you have to be focused, you have to work really hard, it's a small school so you can't compare how you're doing with the other kids in the state. I would probably recommend Saturday school but you would have to have your own initiative on practising throughout the week. (2)

With the full-time Armenian schools I know a lot of kids are moving out of there, I think probably because of education, like for example Hamazkaine (Galstaun College), their education standards aren't that great, like I know some people that used to go there up until year 10, there's still a class but there are other people going to other schools, they went to Hamazkaine to learn the Armenian language. (2)

The benefit of attending a Saturday school is that you still get to have a life with the Australians, you get to meet...and talk with them and keep your life separate, you have both groups. The benefit of attending a full-time Armenian school is that you feel more at home maybe, like all your friends are from the same background as you, you're around Armenians a lot so it improves your Armenian. The disadvantage of attending a full-time Armenian school is that maybe the competitive levels won't be as high. You might not get a high education or you won't get to have other friends like non-Armenians. There isn't as much competition. (11)

I prefer Saturday schools, just because I don't really want to be surrounded by Armenians 5 days a week that would be overwhelming. I like Saturday school because it was only four hours and you just concentrate really hard for four hours, and then you just go home and that's it, an hour of homework, it's probably more now. The people that go to the full 5 day a week Armenian schools, I've noticed how different the education system is there. (4)

The full-time Armenian school didn't really do that well (HSC), because they didn't have that many students, it's harder because everyone that went there was Armenian, it's better to separate your other friends from your Armenian ones, it's easier when you're just learning like different cultures, like not everyone I go to English school with is like normal Australian, like we're all different cultures. (8)

## B2 Perceived In-group Boundaries Preference of in-group schooling

## Involvement of out-group members

I think it's great, but if they're supporting our cause and not standing against it. If it's a protest for example, say Greeks and Assyrians come and other people that have experienced genocide. If we stand together it increases the number and politicians can see that it's not only the Armenians, it's a greater amount. A big amount of the community and not just one ethnic background, it's like lots of people and lots of cultures all standing for the one thing. (14)

I think non-Armenians contributing to the goals and objectives of Armenian community organisations would serve to expand the influence and effectiveness of these organisations. Additionally, the thoughts and opinions of non-Armenians could be of benefit, as it would provide these organisations with a different perspective that could improve their efficiency. With the combined efforts of Armenians and non-Armenians, the community in Sydney could strengthen its influence and gain the support of key figures thus bringing us closer to the exposure and recognition we need to succeed. (18)

I don't mind, they will learn about us and know we are here, you know, we exist. It's fine as long as they are for us, they don't do anything against us and it's great to have them come because they will know of us. When I say against us, when they do find out we're Armenians, they don't see us in a bad way, they see us for the kind nature we have and how welcoming we are. (15)

I think it's important as it influences those groups and they influence others so we can become a much more powerful ethnic group. (17)

## Involvement of out-group members

I think it's fine but I don't think many do it, I don't think you're meant to do it, I don't see people doing Armenian scouts because it's Armenian scouts, or the basketball clubs cause they're specific Armenian basketball clubs. (8)

So if it's an Armenian team, we're all Armenians, we're all playing together having fun and if there's an outsider, yes you'll make them feel welcome but it's not the same. You've all got the language, you've all got the culture, you get it, there's another person coming in, so yeah that's that. (10)

Well I haven't really seen any non-Armenians, we're just such a kind of strong community, it's kind of like we unintentionally don't let anyone in and I don't think non-Armenians have much interest in participating with the Armenian groups. (5)

It would be a good idea, as it would help the community grow. All I can think of is sport and non-Armenian men coming and organising games, [be]cause it's just annoying because Armenians only hang out with Armenians, it's like just broaden your horizons a bit, there's a whole world out there. (4)

The benefit is they will learn how the culture is and make other people aware of the culture. (11)

A lot of my friends have tried to get involved, but they don't understand that Armenian culture is a whole lot different to Australian culture. They can hear stories about it, but if they ever go and see it they're like, 'oh, woah!' Some of them don't understand how proud Armenians are and how into it they get, they don't understand that it's some big giant event and some of my friends are always like they want to go and try it out, if they want to it's fine with me. (7)

B2

Perceived In-group Boundaries

Inclusion of the out-group

Knowledge of in-group organisations

## Knowledge of in-group organisations

Some people have been brought up and they belong to the church side and some belong to the AYF side...I see nothing wrong with it but other people see, that's not our side we can't be with them. The more you do the better. There are different political groups, there's HOM, ARF, the Hunchakians and those are the three I know. I'm all right with them but I know people who stand against each other, saying we belong to this we don't belong there, but then again when you unite, you become strong, but that's not happening now. (14)

If we look language wise, we have the different dialects, like the *Hayastansis* (Armenians from Armenia), the *Lipantansis* ('Lebanese' Armenians). There have been issues between *hayastansis* and *lipantansis*. Overall, we work together. (19)

There's Ararat, Antranig and Navasart. Navasart is for the Western Suburbs, Antranig is not really for an area, but it's more *arevmdayas* (Western Armenians), and *arevelahays* (Eastern Armenians) go for Ararat. (22)

There are the *arakelagans* (Apostolic Christians)...I forgot the other ones, I haven't really learnt about the other Churches. For sporting groups there's Navasart, Antranig and Ararat for soccer and basketball. There's the Armenian Sydney Dance Company and Nairi Dance Group. For political groups, there's the ARF, is the AYF one? 'There's HOM. I think it's positive to have these groups but it's negative how they don't come together. (17)

Groups serve to strengthen the Armenian identity and promote the values and traditions, which accompany the race. Without these groups the community is unable to leave its mark in Australian society and increase its influence thus preventing the survival of the Armenians in the Diaspora. (18)

I think that it's fantastic how they're all working intertwined. We had the 48th annual Navasartian games, the two dance organisations made food for the athletes...it was really respectable and eye opening. The church is always throwing functions for the youth and getting the youth involved in the Armenian 'off branch' of Christianity, which is fantastic, I think that the way Armenians work cohesively is promising for the future and will do really well with developing the community in the future. (16)

## Knowledge of in-group organisations

I know there are the language groups, the one I speak and the other one. I think I see an issue with all the different groups, it doesn't bring the whole community together, it's sort of like they are all against each other. My friends will be like 'I hate that group over there', they'll be talking about other Armenian dance groups, sports groups, scouts groups. (9)

There are the 'Nav' games where they all come together, there's Navasart, Ararat, Arax, I don't think there are others, we've all come together. (10)

Good, everyone's getting down to it, we have a big dance group of our own, for culture there's a choir...there's one in Chatswood and one in Lidcombe (church). There are soccer, basketball and table-tennis groups such as Antranik, Ararat and Navasart. It's good to have different groups and at the end of the year they all verse each other, it's important, it's good. There is also ANC, a socio-political group. (3)

I am more focused on the Apostolic Church. I don't mind multiple groups because there are different branches of Christianity that Armenians follow, I have a friend and he goes to the evangelical church, whilst I go to the Apostolic one, when I do go. (4)

I think it's all good, but there are some that are quite competitive, the three types of basketball teams and the two dance groups, one thinks they're better than the other. Schools think they're better than the other one. Armenians are as a whole quite competitive but it's not like it's bad competition, sometimes it's stupid...in the end the 'Nav' games...everyone goes and has a party, they don't really care if they didn't win. It's competition but it doesn't really show anything, as dance groups don't compete against each other, basketball groups do but that's how sport is. (8)

There are different church groups, like two or three, the Apostolic one and one out...the Catholic one. I haven't heard of different Armenian sporting groups. (2)

A bit, possibly Muslims, I think because of how the Muslims treat Christians. I don't think they have any problems with the Australians, more like Arabs. (21)

There's some Armenians that I know are racist against other backgrounds, they are racist because of what they've done to us. For example Turks and Muslims, standing against Christianity and other people that stand against us...I don't know if racist is the right word but how they've been grown up here...it's the mentality of how they are...we might think it's a joke but it is racist and if the Australian person understood what they said, the Australian person would be offended, but it's just the Armenian saying this. The good cultures are generally the Greeks, Italians, Assyrians and the Australians they're all right, they say they're good people, we think they're good people but their lifestyle is very simple. (14)

While the Armenian and Turkish community do have a strong opposition in beliefs, I believe the basis of these disagreements is strongly justified. (18)

Obviously the Turkish community...the main target are the Turks. (22)

It's because we're so loving of our culture and so *hayrenaser* (nationalistic)...maybe people in the Armenian community might not like other cultures and may be racist, but generally no. There are cultures who have gone against Armenians in the past for example the Turks. There are Armenians obviously who will not forgive...but they kind of understand that Turks are trying to make a difference and trying to make up, you can't make up for what happened but they're trying to change, so we appreciate that, but what happened in the past, you can't get over that, so there might be something in some people that makes them racist, well just angry. (15)

The narrow minded ones, the small percentile that are nut jobs, a little bit. The other vast majority, no, because they know what it's like being the minority, they don't want to be negative towards other communities. However those nut cases, patriotic really nationalist, obviously the features of nationalism are that your race is the best, fascism and all that, everything else is rubbish, so obviously they're going to be the ones that are ignorant and insensitive to other cultures. (16)

Usually Muslims. (20)

Oh yeah, definitely against the Turks, for example if an Armenian was to marry a Turk, they would get judged very severely by the rest of the community. Just the word 'Turk' lurks in your head, we don't really like to say it, we're very racist against all Turks, we're not born with it but we're influenced from a young age. For example, I've never eaten Turkish food and things like that, very passionate about it. I think Armenians, the youth and the older people view the Australian population much differently. The youth like to communicate with them, they're friendly people and they're kind. (17)

## B2 Perceived In-group Boundaries Racism/Prejudice

I feel we're a very...like I've seen Armenians be aggressive, I feel we come across as a tad too aggressive towards something like this (racism). It's because it's in our history, we've gone through a lot so it sticks to us so, our ancestors had it stuck to them, so they've become protective as to who they are and awake and alert. They get really aggressive. The younger generation doesn't have many negative thoughts about other communities; we have good relationships with other groups. (3)

I think it's because the Asians live in Chatswood near the Armenians, so they're always exposed to them and seeing them, but they're not intentionally racist towards them. (13)

The Muslims because of what happened during the Genocide and the Turks made them convert into Islam, which stopped some from being Christians. (1)

They're not racist to wog communities, because they view themselves as part of the wog community, so we can't be racist to Greeks for example. We're very, very racist to the Asian population, I know my grandma and my father are and I have to just continuously tell them 'stop, it's not right', I don't even know why they're racist towards them, it's just ingrained into us that Armenians are the best race and everyone else is below us. (4)

Not really, I think Armenians are very, well they kind of think they're the best. Well they do...we're the first ones to be Christians, we did this, our language is the oldest, we're the oldest civilization, they're always saying that...and if you say anything they're like 'oh these Australians, they're not even that old, English language that's not even hard'. They're kind of like all about themselves and their traditions and really strong about that, but they're not. I wouldn't say they're racist. (8)

I think we barely meet up as an Armenian community really, so we're not influenced by one another as much as we are by non-Armenians. That's when the racism comes in. (2)

I'll be like racist to myself and be like stereotypical wog style Armenian stuff. But as a whole I don't think...they do it in a joking way, they don't try to personally hurt them. (7)

I think in some part probably, a bit. I think it's just the way they are as a people. Like obviously they hate the Turks so they are racist against them. They probably don't like Muslim people. (1)



Those who know us think we're a *Meghk Joghovoor* (a people to feel sorry for), because of everything that has happened to us and continues to happen to us. (21)

They've come from pretty rough backgrounds, a lot of them after the 1915 'dilemma' I'll be politically correct and say that. A lot of them went onto living in places like Lebanon, Syria, Iran and a lot of them stayed in Armenia and these were harsh backgrounds. (17)

Generally, Armenians aren't very aware of things before the Genocide, not sure if they remember it, those who go to an Armenian school would know, the others wouldn't. (19)

Absolutely; as the community is continuously struggling to successfully voice its opinion and gain the much-needed recognition, the protection of the Armenian community is vital. I feel that Armenians in Sydney feel a need to unite the entire community in attempt to strengthen its influence and achieve its goals such as recognition for the events of the Armenian Genocide in 1915. (18)

In the past they've tried to take out the Armenians, but we stay. For example the Genocide, sorry I am always referring to this, when they tried to extinguish us it never worked out because we're not going to give up, we want to stay Armenian. (15)

Definitely always the Armenian Genocide, top of the list. (20)

I think because we went through a Genocide, we're much more passionate about our history, the nations that haven't gone through much in the past, they're less interested in their history. (17)

I think the most prevalent opposition would be on behalf of the Turkish community, on the basis of nationality and opposing political beliefs regarding the events of the Armenian Genocide. (18)

I believe the level of pride Armenians in Sydney exude undoubtedly surpasses the level of pride of others in Sydney. In my opinion, the reason behind this stems predominantly from the difficulty the community has faced in gaining the necessary recognition and exposure on both a national and international recognition (relating to Armenian Genocide recognition). (18)

We have a really deep history, but we're not proud of the Genocide which was huge. Because of everything our fathers have been through the Genocide means everything to us. So with things in Kessab you kind of understand the things we've been through in the past. We focus so much on Genocide and nothing else. (21)

The Genocide seems to be the most important topic. It doesn't seem to influence them but we hear so much about it. (13)

It's because of the Genocide that we want to protect ourselves, the suffering of our ancestors was really indescribable and impossible to digest particularly for young people, I would have no idea what went on around there. (4)

Yep, they're protection themselves against everyone, compared to everyone in Sydney they see themselves as very small, the genocide and all that stuff...they're really easy to take out. So they have to keep going and preserve and know who they are. (7)

Sometimes the Genocide is brought up a few too many times like it's all about that, it's like oh we did that, but I think it's also a good point because then it's saying like the people back then did this, oh like your relatives went through the Genocide and you're not doing anything to help but it's like well what can you do. (8)

I think that would be a good thing if people knew more than just the Genocide, the musical culture like Gomidas (composer), like I'm learning, it's good stuff. (10)

Armenian school instils that into you (belonging), it doesn't brainwash them but it's just for Armenians to keep going after everything we've been through in 1915 we have to just keep pushing on. (4)

Yes, they need to protect it (the community) so that something like the Genocide never happens again. (1)

Some people would know more than the Genocide, the Genocide is the most common thing they learn about. (6)

## B2 Perceived In-group Boundaries Memory of Genocide

## In-group Organisations

I was part of *Navasart* dance and scouts groups, and *Hamazkaine* Dance but not anymore...*Navasart* was from when I was a kid. The benefit of being part of these groups is that you're exposed to teamwork with Armenians and you form more friendships, and with dancing it's cultural. (20)

I went to the *AYF* camp...I sometimes go to *AGBU* events. The advantage is we get to spend time together and develop bonds; we talk about how we can get more involved in Armenian-related activities. We find ways to speak Armenian. (21)

I'm part of HMEM Basketball and I go to the Church for tutoring. I'm also part of *AYF*, I get to raise awareness of us Armenians to protect us and get us stronger. The tutoring benefits me in my schoolwork. I could have gone to non-Armenian tutoring but the Church one is in Armenian; I thought it would be better (14)

I've been in *badani* and *AYF* for six years. I started with the *Nairi* dance company but I was with the *ASDC* for 6 years. I don't think there's really a benefit other than showcasing dance. The point of *AYF* is that we need manpower to promote what's happening and what's happened and that gives us the opportunity to show others what's happened. (22)

I go to Ararat agoomp (cultural centre)...I'm very involved in my Armenian school. (15)

I use to go to *AYF*, I stopped because of school, but I'm starting again this year. It's for socialising but it's also educational. (19)

Schools teaches you only so much, these organisations teach you more on how to support the community. (22)

I have been part of Antranig soccer; Ararat Scouts; the *AYF* and *ASDC*. I can interact with other Armenian individuals and contribute to the strengthening of the community. I was able to meet new Armenians who shared the same values and beliefs as I did, learn new sporting skills...feel a sense of identity fostered through these organisations. (18)

## In-group Organisations

I do Antranig Basketball, the benefit is I get to see my friends and socialise, it's not like heavily based on sport and it's more social. (11)

I've been in the Ararat basketball team for 6 to 7 months. I was playing netball, I wanted to quit and join something Armenian, I used to go to Armenian dancing a long time ago. So I wanted to do something Armenian, I was thinking of joining Armenian Basketball or *AYF*, I chose basketball; I wanted to make Armenian friends. I didn't think I was missing out by not having Armenian friends; I just really wanted to be involved in the community again. (13)

I'm in *AYF*, the Antranig football team and the Church choir, for a couple of months. The social aspect is the benefit, just building this knowledge of your culture, like the dancing, I enjoyed it. Like with Armenians we all stick together, I think with Armenians there's this instant unity that is formed, this friendship [be]cause we're Armenian, it's like this instant connection with one another whereas if it was a non-Armenian group I'd feel left out instantly. (2)

I dance for *ASDC* and play for HMEM Antranig basketball and I used to do scouts for Ararat. You see other Armenians so that's the benefit. I don't usually see other Armenians often, like other than the days I play with them and dance with them, and make friends with them. (9)

At HMEM soccer, we're able to speak Armenian to each other, we all know each other, it builds a team. I'm in *AYF*, we cater for an event, we're the ones who, say if there's a protest, we organise buses, shirts, put newspapers out in the Armenian newspaper. The benefit is I enjoy it. I like getting involved in that sort of activity, that sort of area of what they do. (3)

I was in Antranig basketball for 5-6 years. I don't increase skill wise playing with them, I broaden my friends group and I like hanging around...I developed through my skills, but I just kept that (HMEM) going for the friend's thing. (10)

B3

## Identification with social categories and group membership

## Out-group Organisations

I decided to go to 'reps', 2 levels under A-league soccer. It's obviously a better experience...being taught new things. It's good to leave and try new things, and then come back and teach. Mixed Martial Arts, I just wanted to try it out...it's not available in the Armenian community. (14)

My parents have always encouraged me to contribute and partake in Armenian organisations as much as possible. (18)

I've never been part of an 'odar' (foreign) church or youth group. I played tennis for a little bit. (22)

I don't take part in any non-Armenian organisations (15, 17, 18, 20, 21)

At the moment none, but I used to be part of sporting groups, like tennis for about two years, then I had to stop because of school. I used to go swimming, just sporting activities. The benefit is you're not surrounded by Armenians and you get to see how they are, and make friends with non-Armenians, it's quite important. (19)

## Out-group Organisations

I've played soccer for non-Armenians since I was in year 4, I did dance since I was like 5, modern dance like jazz. I'd rather play on a normal sort of team. Like the Armenian coaches speak to me in Armenian. I think it just depends what you like, I like to play soccer against a lot of other teams and other dance competitions. The Armenian dance classes are far away and over there. (8)

I played soccer for Northbridge for like two years; the benefit was playing with older guys who were bigger so it built some resistance. Dad took me out, it's the same with school, you're stuck in this Armenian group and can't compare yourself or improve, you can't really be influenced by other kids, and that doesn't allow yourself to grow, to gain experience from other kids. (2)

I do skipping and that's non-Armenian. The benefit is non-Armenian sports makes you, it's more serious and more established. It's less for social aspects and more for actual sports. I did dance at Northbridge Dance Studios, it's different styles of dance and it's more serious. I do tumbling and again it's like more skills based. (11)

I never really enjoyed the netball team as much as I do the Armenian basketball team. It's just not the same. (13)

Skipping, tumbling, I started competitions from Year 4. The benefit is I'm making friends that are not Armenians so there's a balance. Just being able to socialise with people who are different to what my background is. More time is devoted to my Australian activities and groups because I'm mostly attached to the Armenian community, so it's half-half. There's more time with the Australian community but I feel devoted to the Armenian community. (5)


I prefer to stick to HMEM, it's easier to communicate, I feel it's better, I always choose Armenian, I am not much of a non-Armenian person. (3)

I was part of some weird dance group and I did ballet for 10 years in some Russian place. I don't really like being around Armenians, they're just not really my cup of tea, I don't gel with them, they're loud and obnoxious. (4)


## C. Advertisement on Facebook

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**MACQUARIE UNIVERSITY**  
SYDNEY AUSTRALIA



Want to be included in research on the Armenian language  
and receive a free movie voucher?



☐ Are you of Armenian ancestry and born in Australia?  
☐ Are you aged 15-18 years?  
☐ Are you still in school?  
☐ Have you attended an Armenian Saturday school?

If you answered yes to **ALL** the questions above, you are eligible to take part in research  
being conducted by Macquarie University on the Armenian language in Sydney.

You will be asked to complete a questionnaire and attend an interview at Macquarie  
University (date is to be confirmed).

If you'd like to take part email your name, age and telephone number to  
[armen.karamanian@students.mq.edu.au](mailto:armen.karamanian@students.mq.edu.au)

## D. Consent Form

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Department of International Studies  
Faculty of Arts  
MACQUARIE UNIVERSITY NSW 2109

Phone: +61 (02) 9850 7016

Fax: +61 (02) 9850 7054

Email: [marika.kalyuga@mq.edu.au](mailto:marika.kalyuga@mq.edu.au)

Marika Kalyuga  
Head of Russian Studies  
Macquarie University

### **Participant Information and Consent Form**

Name of Project: Ethnic Identity and Heritage Language for Sydney's Armenian Adolescents.

You are invited to participate in a study on Armenian language and identity preservation in Sydney. The purpose of the study is to determine the impact of schooling and community involvement on Armenian language and identity preservation.

The study is being conducted by Armen Karamanian (mob: 0420 801 487; [armen.karamanian@students.mq.edu.au](mailto:armen.karamanian@students.mq.edu.au)), a Masters student with the International Studies Department to meet the requirements of the Masters of Research degree; under the supervision of Dr Marika Kalyuga (work: 02 9850 7016, email: [marika.kalyuga@mq.edu.au](mailto:marika.kalyuga@mq.edu.au)) of the Department of International Studies.

If you decide to participate, you will be asked to complete a questionnaire and take part in an interview. The questionnaire will be provided to you either in person or by mail to be completed before the interview. The questionnaire will take approximately half an hour to complete. The interview will be conducted at Macquarie University during the 2014/2015 summer holidays and will take approximately one hour. An audio recording device will be used to capture the data. The questionnaire will ask questions relating to social identity including information on language, social affiliation; school and community involvement. The interview will raise questions relating to ethnic identity, the status of the Armenian language and its future, group membership and other factors relating to language maintenance. Remuneration for participation in this study will take on the form of a Hoyts movie voucher.

Any information or personal details gathered in the course of the study are confidential, except as required by law. No individual will be identified in any publication of the results. The data will only be accessible by the researcher (Armen Karamanian) and the Chief Investigator (Marika Kalyuga). A summary of the research will be provided to all participants upon completion of the study.

Participation in this study is entirely voluntary, you are not obliged to participate and if you decide to participate, you are free to withdraw at any time without having to give a reason and without consequence.

---

I, \_\_\_\_\_ have read and understand the information above and any questions I have asked have been answered to my satisfaction. I agree to participate in this research, knowing that I can withdraw from further participation in the research at any time without consequence. I have been given a copy of this form to keep.

Parent/Guardian Name: \_\_\_\_\_  
(Block letters)

Parent/Guardian Signature: \_\_\_\_\_ Date: \_\_\_\_\_

Participant's Name: \_\_\_\_\_  
(Block letters)

Participant's Signature: \_\_\_\_\_ Date: \_\_\_\_\_

Investigator's Name: ARMEN KARAMANIAN

Investigator's Signature: \_\_\_\_\_ Date: \_\_\_\_\_

The ethical aspects of this study have been approved by the Macquarie University Human Research Ethics Committee. If you have any complaints or reservations about any ethical aspect of your participation in this research, you may contact the Committee through the Director, Research Ethics (telephone (02) 9850 7854; email [ethics@mq.edu.au](mailto:ethics@mq.edu.au)). Any complaint you make will be treated in confidence and investigated, and you will be informed of the outcome.

**(PARTICIPANT'S COPY)**

# E. The Questionnaire

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## Ethnic Identity and Heritage Language for Sydney's Armenian Adolescents

Name: \_\_\_\_\_

Email: \_\_\_\_\_

### Part A: Language Knowledge

#### MEASURES

**Beginner:** You understand very little of the language when spoken normally. You may be able to order food in a restaurant and buy a train ticket but only with great difficulty.

**Intermediate:** You can converse using basic vocabulary (time, date, weather, family, clothes); you are able to use the present, past, and future tenses more or less correctly.

**Advanced:** You have the ability to converse about opinions, read newspapers and understand the language when spoken normally (on TV, radio, film, etc.) with slight-to-moderate difficulty.

**Fluent:** As fluent speaker you can participate in extended conversations, understand the language when spoken normally (on TV, radio, film, etc.) and figure out meanings of words within context

**Native-Speaker:** You understand essentially everything in the language: all vocabulary, complicated grammatical structures, cultural references, and dialects.

A1. Do you speak English?

- ☐ Yes  
☐ No

A2. If yes, select fluency (Select the most appropriate measure from the list above)

- ☐ Beginner  
☐ Intermediate  
☐ Advanced  
☐ Fluent  
☐ Native Speaker

A3. Do you speak Armenian?

- ☐ Yes  
☐ No

A4. If yes, select fluency (Select the most appropriate measure from the list above)

- ☐ Beginner  
☐ Intermediate  
☐ Advanced  
☐ Fluent  
☐ Native Speaker

A5. Do you speak Western or Eastern Armenian? (More than one can be selected)

- ☐ Western  
☐ Eastern – Armenia  
☐ Eastern – Iran

## MEASURES

**Poor:** Often confused when reading or writing in language; frequent errors when writing and stopping when reading.

**Fair:** Meaning of sentences is occasionally confused or obscured; more frequent errors when writing and stopping when reading.

**Average:** Errors when using vocabulary and reading but meaning of words and sentences are not confused.

**Good:** Minor problems with complex sentences; but generally able to use accurate and appropriate language.

**Very good:** Effective complex sentences, few errors in grammar and punctuation; able to read fluently.

*Wesche, M. (1987). Second language performance testing*

**A6.** Do you read Armenian?

- ☐ Yes  
☐ No

**A7.** If yes, how well do you read Armenian?

(Select the most appropriate measure from the list above)

- ☐ Poor  
☐ Fair  
☐ Average  
☐ Good  
☐ Very good

**A8.** Do you write Armenian?

- ☐ Yes  
☐ No

**A9.** If yes, how well do you write Armenian?

(Select the most appropriate measure from the list above)

- ☐ Poor  
☐ Fair  
☐ Average  
☐ Good  
☐ Very good

**A10.** Do you speak any other language?

- ☐ Yes  
☐ No

**A11.** If yes, which language and what level of fluency \_\_\_\_\_

**A12.** Please select one choice for each

*Mark one for each question (X)*

	<b>Not Important</b>	<b>Somewhat Important</b>	<b>Important</b>	<b>Very Important</b>
a. Learning to speak Armenian for me is	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
b. Learning to write Armenian for me is	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
c. Learning to read Armenian for me is	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
d. The Armenian language is (X) for my Armenian identity	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
e. It is (X) for future generations to learn the Armenian language	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
f. My ability to speak Armenian for my parents is	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
g. My ability to write Armenian for my parents is	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
h. My ability to read Armenian for my parents is	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

## Part B: Language Proficiency and Preservation

**B1.** The Armenian language needs to be passed onto the next generation of Armenians in Sydney. (Select one)

- ☐ Completely agree
- ☐ Agree
- ☐ Somewhat agree
- ☐ Neither agrees nor disagrees
- ☐ Somewhat disagree
- ☐ Disagree
- ☐ Completely disagree

**B2.** The Armenian language should be preserved, as it's an important marker of Armenian culture. (Select one)

- ☐ Completely agree
- ☐ Agree
- ☐ Somewhat agree
- ☐ Neither agrees nor disagrees
- ☐ Somewhat disagree
- ☐ Disagree
- ☐ Completely disagree

**B3.** I consider the Armenian language useful for future generations in Sydney.  
(Select one)

- ☐ Completely agree
- ☐ Agree
- ☐ Somewhat agree
- ☐ Neither agrees nor disagrees
- ☐ Somewhat disagree
- ☐ Disagree
- ☐ Completely disagree

**B4.** Future generations of Armenians in Sydney should be able to speak Armenian.  
(Select one)

- ☐ Completely agree
- ☐ Agree
- ☐ Somewhat agree
- ☐ Neither agrees nor disagrees
- ☐ Somewhat disagree
- ☐ Disagree
- ☐ Completely disagree

**B5.** Future generations of Armenians in Sydney should be able to write Armenian.  
(Select one)

- ☐ Completely agree
- ☐ Agree
- ☐ Somewhat agree
- ☐ Neither agrees nor disagrees
- ☐ Somewhat disagree
- ☐ Disagree
- ☐ Completely disagree

**B6.** Future generations of Armenians in Sydney should be able to read Armenian.  
(Select one)

- ☐ Completely agree
- ☐ Agree
- ☐ Somewhat agree
- ☐ Neither agrees nor disagrees
- ☐ Somewhat disagree
- ☐ Disagree
- ☐ Completely disagree

**B7.** With whom do you speak Armenian? (You can select more than one)

- ☐ Mum
- ☐ Dad
- ☐ Mum & Dad
- ☐ Siblings (sister or brother)
- ☐ Grandparents
- ☐ Teachers
- ☐ Community members
- ☐ Friends
- ☐ Others \_\_\_\_\_



**B8.**How often do you speak Armenian?

- ☐ Never
- ☐ Rarely
- ☐ A few times a week
- ☐ Everyday

**B9.**Outside your home who influences your decision to speak Armenian?  
(You can select more than one)

- ☐ The school I attend
- ☐ Community organisations
- ☐ My extended family
- ☐ I decide to speak Armenian
- ☐ Other \_\_\_\_\_

**B10.** Is there a specific event in Armenian history that influences your decision to preserve the Armenian language? If so, please specify which event.

- ☐ No, Armenian history has no influence on language preservation.
- ☐ Yes \_\_\_\_\_

### **Part C: Social Identification**

**C1.** Which group do you identify with? (Select one)

- ☐ Armenian
- ☐ Australian
- ☐ Armenian (1<sup>st</sup>), Australian (2<sup>nd</sup>)
- ☐ Australian (1<sup>st</sup>), Armenian (2<sup>nd</sup>)
- ☐ Other \_\_\_\_\_

**C2.** Do non-Armenians think of you as: (Select one)

- ☐ an Armenian
- ☐ an Australian
- ☐ an Armenian (1<sup>st</sup>), Australian (2<sup>nd</sup>)
- ☐ an Australian (1<sup>st</sup>), Armenian (2<sup>nd</sup>)

**C3.**On a scale of 1 to 5 how emotionally attached do you feel to the Armenian identity?  
(1 = no attachment; 5 = very attached)

**1          2          3          4          5**

**C4.** Please provide an explanation to your selection above. Why did you select that option?

**C5.** On a scale of 1 to 5 how emotionally attached do you feel to the Australian identity?  
(1 = no attachment; 5 = very attached)

**1          2          3          4          5**

**C6.** Please provide a response for your selection above. Why did you select that option?

**C7.** On a scale of 1 to 5 how strongly do you feel about being with an Armenian in the future?  
(1 = Not important; 5 = Very Important) (Please circle)

**1            2            3            4            5**

**Part D: Social Categorisation**

**D1.**        “Who am I?” (Select One)

- ☐ I’m an Armenian
- ☐ I’m an Australian
- ☐ I’m an Armenian-Australian
- ☐ I’m an Australian-Armenian
- ☐ Other \_\_\_\_\_

**D2.**        “Which group do I belong to?” (Select One)

- ☐ I belong to the Armenians
- ☐ I belong to the Australians
- ☐ I belong to both the Armenians and the Australians
- ☐ Other \_\_\_\_\_

**D3.**        “What type of Armenian are you?” (Select One)

- ☐ I am an Armenian, that’s it.
- ☐ I am a Barskahay (Persian Armenian)
- ☐ I am a Hayastansi (Armenian from Armenia)
- ☐ I am a Lipanahay (Lebanese Armenian)
- ☐ I am a Sooryahay (Syrian Armenian)
- ☐ I am an Australian Armenian.
- ☐ Other \_\_\_\_\_

**Part E: Social Comparison**

**E1.**        Would you prefer to be part of? (Select one from each pair)

- ☐ A non-Armenian sports group
- OR
- ☐ An Armenian sports group
  
- ☐ A non-Armenian religious group
- OR
- ☐ An Armenian religious group
  
- ☐ A non-Armenian dance group
- OR
- ☐ An Armenian dance group
  
- ☐ A non-Armenian youth group
- OR
- ☐ An Armenian youth group

Comments (optional)

**E2.**        In general, which group would you prefer to be a part of?

- ☐ An Armenian group
- ☐ A non-Armenian group

Why?

**Part F: Distinctiveness**

F1. How do you think those outside the Armenian community, in Sydney, view Armenians?

☐ Positive

OR

☐ Negative

OR

☐ Other: \_\_\_\_\_

F2. Do groups in Australian society view the Armenian community negatively?

☐ Yes

☐ No

If yes, who? \_\_\_\_\_

F3. What is your view of the Armenian community, based on what others think of the Armenians in Sydney?

☐ Positive

OR

☐ Negative

☐ Other \_\_\_\_\_

**Part G: General Information**

G1. In which category do you belong?

☐ I attend Galstaun College (Hamazkaine)

☐ I am a graduate of Toomanian/I attended Toomanian

☐ I am a graduate of Tarkmanchatz/I attended Tarkmanchatz

☐ I am a graduate of AGBU Saturday school/I attended AGBU

☐ I attended AGBU Primary School

☐ I attended primary school at Galstaun College (Hamazkaine)

G2. Which grade(s) did you attend the school above? (i.e. K-12, K-6, 7-12, 3-6) \_\_\_\_\_

G3. Has or did your school (selected in B1 above) provide adequate support for you to learn the Armenian language?  
i.e. textbooks and teachers.

☐ No, I did not attend an Armenian school.

☐ Yes

☐ Somewhat

G4. Select your age at time of completing this questionnaire.

☐ 15

☐ 16

☐ 17

☐ 18

G5. Were you born in Australia?

☐ Yes

☐ No

G6. Were your parents born overseas?

☐ Yes

☐ No

End of questionnaire

Thank you.

# F. Interview Questions

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## Interview Questions

### Perceived Vitality

#### Status factors

1. In your opinion, do you think the Armenian community in Sydney is richer, poorer or the same in terms of wealth compared to other communities in Sydney? Why?
2. How successful do you think Armenians are compared to non-Armenians in Sydney in terms of career, education and achievements.
3. In your opinion do you think Armenians have a good reputation in Sydney, why or why not?
4. How proud do you believe Armenians in Sydney are of their culture compared to others in Sydney and why?
5. How proud do you believe Armenians in Sydney are of their history compared to others in Sydney and why?
6. Do you believe you have a role to play in preserving the Armenian language in Sydney and why?

#### Demographic factors

7. Whereabouts in Sydney do you believe Armenians are more obvious as a community?
8. Tell me what you think about Armenians marrying other Armenians.
  - a. Is this the case in Sydney?
9. What in your opinion is able to change the number of Armenians in Sydney, in the future?
10. Tell me what you think about whether the Armenian community in Sydney is big enough to survive as a community in the future?

#### Institutional Support

11. What type of Armenian media is available in Sydney that you are aware of (e.g. newspapers, internet, TV, movies)?
12. If an adult wanted to learn Armenian in Sydney, what would you recommend?
13. If a kid wanted to learn Armenian in Sydney, what would you recommend?
14. Do you know of any support given to the Armenian language by the local, state or federal government?
15. What events have you been to or heard of that promoted the Armenian language and culture?

### Perceived Group Boundaries

16. What is the point of having an Armenian community here in Sydney?
17. What is the purpose of having Armenian schools in Sydney?
18. Do you think Armenians should attend full-time Armenian schools or Saturday schools and why? Which is better?
19. What role did your Armenian school play in teaching you the Armenian language?
20. What do you think about non-Armenians being able to take part in Armenian community organisations?
21. Do you think Armenians in Sydney are racist towards other communities in Sydney?
22. Do you feel that Armenians in Sydney have a view that they need to protect their community?
23. How do you feel about the different Armenian groups in Sydney such as political, dance, sporting, cultural, church groups?

### Multiple Group Memberships

24. Which non-Armenian organisations are you or have you taken part in and what are the benefits of each organisation?
25. Which Armenian organisations are you or have you taken part in and what are the benefits of each organisation?
26. Which Armenian or non-Armenian organisations do you parents take part in?

## G. Ethics Approval

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Ethics application request for amendment approval

Subject: Ethics application (Amendment Request Approval) - Ref # 5201400733

Dear Dr Kalyuga

RE: Ethics Application Entitled: 'Ethnic Identity and Heritage Language for Sydney's Armenian Adolescents'

Reference number: 5201400733

Your amendment request received on 3rd March 2015 has been approved.

Please do not hesitate to contact the Faculty of Arts Research Office at [ArtsRO@mq.edu.au](mailto:ArtsRO@mq.edu.au) should you wish to discuss this matter further.

Regards

Faculty of Arts Research Office  
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Macquarie University  
Balaclava Rd  
NSW 2109 Australia

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