

Haigazian University

**The level of Assimilation of Armenians in
Lebanon
As a Function of Involvement with the
Armenian State**

A Thesis

**Submitted in partial fulfillment of the requirements
for the degree of Masters of Arts
to the Department of Social and Behavioral Sciences
of the faculty of Arts and Sciences
at the Haigazian University**

**by
Dzovig Kassabian**

**Beirut, Lebanon
June, 2005**

**Beirut, Lebanon
2005**


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June, 2005**

Date of thesis defense: June 14, 2005

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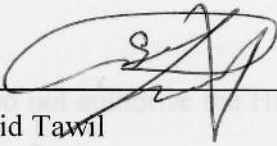
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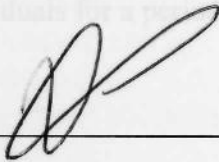
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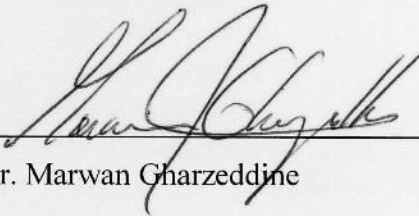
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Acknowledgements

My acknowledgements extend to all the people who have directly or indirectly helped in the realization of this study. I would first like to thank the Dean of Haigazian University, Dr. Arda Ekmekji, for her understanding and support when I needed her most. I am thankful to my advisor, Dr. Daoud Tawil for being a constant source of professional guidance and encouragement. Special thanks to Dr. Ara Sanjian, who helped me beyond expectation and offered constructive criticism on many issues. Thanks to Dr. Gharzeddine for reading my work. I am grateful to Dr. Anny Bakalian, who has been kind and generous in allowing me to use her questionnaire and material from her book. I also appreciate the help of Mrs. Maalouf and Dr. Hout for providing their students as participants in this survey.

My family and friends have helped me extensively. They distributed the questionnaire, assisted on the technical issues and took care of my daughter. Finally, I would like to help God for giving me all that I needed to accomplish this task.

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The level of Assimilation of Armenians in Lebanon

As a Function of Involvement with the Armenian State

Dzovig Z. Kassabian

Haigazian University

Running Head: Armenian Assimilation

The level of Assimilation of Armenians in Lebanon

Abstract

As a Function of

A descriptive-analytical study was conducted using Bakalian's (1993) questionnaire to predict the level of assimilation of Armenians in Lebanon. Three groups were identified based on their involvement with the Armenian state. It was expected that those who visited Armenia twice and more are the least assimilated and those have been to Armenia once or never but do not wish to visit it, the most assimilated. An objective questionnaire was used, which was operationalized along Gordon's seven variables. The survey yielded 275 third and fourth generation Armenian respondents. The results supported the hypotheses. Involvement with the Armenian state could identify the polarized, the traditional and the symbolic ethnics. More of the polarized group expressed intention to repatriate to the Republic of Armenia. The results were also compared to the equivalent groups of Bakalian's survey. Bakalian's sample was found to be much more assimilated than the present sample.

This study is an attempt to evaluate the assimilative profile of the post-Genocide Armenian community in Lebanon. The extent to which the third and the fourth generation Armenians in Lebanon are integrated into the Lebanese society, their intentions to repatriate to the Republic of Armenia and the centrality of the Armenian Genocide in the community's life are the focus of this study. This survey is designed in the frame of Bakalian's study, who in 1986 empirically studied the assimilation of the New York and New Jersey Armenians in mainstream American life. Bakalian's results are best represented in the title of her book, Armenian-Americans: From Being to Feeling Armenian.

Armenian communities had been established out of the Armenian plateau as early as the first century B.C. Since the 10-th century A.D., Armenians had lively communities in Southern and Eastern Europe many of which are now lost to

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Chapter One

Introduction

This study is an attempt to evaluate the assimilative profile of the post-Genocide Armenian community in Lebanon. The extent to which the third and the fourth generation Armenians in Lebanon are integrated into the Lebanese society, their intentions to repatriate to the Republic of Armenia and the centrality of the Armenian Genocide in the community's life are the focus of this study. This survey is designed in the frame of Bakalian's study, who in 1986 empirically studied the assimilation of the New York and New Jersey Armenians in mainstream American life. Bakalian's results are best expressed in the title of her book, Armenian-Americans: From Being to Feeling Armenians.

Armenian communities had been established out of the Armenian plateau as early as the first century B.C. Since the 10-th century A.D., Armenians had lively communities in Southern and Eastern Europe many of which are now lost to

assimilation. In the case of the Eastern European communities, forced conversions to Catholicism and loss of contact with the homeland are regarded the major reasons of integration and loss of identity (Hovannisian, 1997, vol.2). Armenian centers in Southern and Eastern Asia are regarded to be lost (before the 20-th century) due to "the rapid growth and political changes in the world during this century" (Der-Karabetian and Melikian, 1974).

The relatively small number of Armenians who had resorted to the relative safety of Mount Lebanon was also assimilated with the Christian Arabs by the end of the 19-th century (Varjabedian, 1951). The fate of these communities has served as a model to the post-Genocide Armenian communities, which were haunted by the fear of total extinction and ultimate loss.

The Genocide of 1915 and related political developments until 1921 ended Armenian life in Western Armenia and Cilicia (refer to the map). Thereafter, Western Armenians outside Transcaucasia were dispersed mainly in the Middle East, France, Greece and the U.S.A. Hence, thousands of survivors arrived to Lebanon after 1915. As a traumatized remnant of a nation, the priorities of the refugees comprised physical and cultural survival. On their arrival at the Lebanese scene, the Armenians lived as concentrated groups in tight cliques, and initially had the status of foreigners. After they were granted the Lebanese citizenship in 1923, the Armenian community was gradually integrated into the

segregated Lebanese social milieu as a minority group with its unique privileges and rights. The sectarian aspect of the Lebanese population granted this ethnic minority a generous opportunity to maintain its national identity, culture and social life. In fact, Armenians seized the opportunity of the tolerant land and flourished to become from the 1950s the most prominent Diaspora center until the outbreak of the Lebanese civil war. Community and private Armenian schools, churches, literature, music, theater, daily and weekly newspapers, compatriotic, social and cultural organizations as well as an active political life dominated the Armenian community. The compatriotic societies were established in the 19-th century, in the U.S.A. as the early Armenian community was established. Each Compatriotic society was an extension, an extralocation of original homeland. Through the compatriotic society, the immigrant would feel connected to his home back in the homeland. The compatriotic societies organized the inner structure of the Armenian immigrants' community.

Nevertheless, Armenians were aware of the threat of assimilation even in this cultural haven. Uprooted from the homeland and resettled in a foreign land, Armenians were obliged to live in a context, which would automatically serve as a ground for assimilation. Although the tolerant Lebanese milieu sustained Armenian identity and culture, Armenian leaders have never dismissed the fear of assimilation, which by the passage of time has proved to leave its dreaded

imprints, which were shown in the studies indirectly assessing the assimilation profile of the Armenians in Lebanon.

Although Armenians were referred to as nationalistic and clannish, decades of dynamic interplay with the Lebanese mainstream imposed on the Armenian minority a move towards the "core" society. In fact, empirical data attest to the surfacing of assimilation of the Armenians with the Christian Arabs in the 1970s, a trend that was not detected in research literature before the 1970s. Surveys dealing with child - rearing practices, personality styles and the self-image of Armenians suggested that assimilation had crept into the Armenian community. The comprehensive survey of "The Social and Cultural Integration of the Lebanese - Armenian Youth" by Jerejian (1976) confirmed the trend uncovered in previous studies which are mentioned in chapter two. Two complementary surveys about the ethnic orientation of Armenians were carried out before and after the 1975-1977 periods. It was found that after the civil war, the ethnic orientation of Armenians was reshaped. The three Armenian age groups (the elderly, the middle aged and the young) employed in the survey of 1974 had differed on the EOQ, whereas after the civil war the young age group showed similar patterns as the older cohorts on the same measures of EOQ.

The turmoil of the 1970s, however, led tens of thousands of Armenians to flee Lebanon, which was the main cause of the weakening of the Armenian

community in Beirut. Another major event, the emergence of the Republic of Armenia in 1991 affected the Armenian community. The sovereign national state changed the affairs between the Soviet Armenia and ARF (Armenian Revolutionary Federation) which is the most prominent political party in the Diaspora. Armenians in the Diaspora could follow the news and the events that happen in the Armenian State in the privacy of their homes through the Armenian national network. These factors have probably changed the assimilative trend of the Armenians in this country, but only empirical data can provide concrete answers concerning the topic. Among the change factors, a new generation itself suggests a step closer towards integration, which Bakalian (1993) had found in 1986 to be the most significant variable in predicting assimilation of the Armenians in New York .

Problem

Several factors call for the reevaluation of the assimilative profile of Armenians in Lebanon after Jerejian's study, "The Social and Cultural Integration of the Lebanese-Armenian Youth". Generation change, the exodus of many Armenians during the civil war and the reemergence of the independent Armenian state suggest that the assimilative profile of the Armenians has undergone some changes. Therefore, there is a need to assess the integration trend of the

Armenians living in Lebanon and thus provide scientific feedback on one of the major concerns of Armenian reality.

Background

Identity and assimilation are two major themes that have dominated Armenian history since its inception. The Armenian language was the first marker that probably identified Armenians as a distinct people on the Armenian plateau as early as the first millennium B.C. Armenia was located at the crossroads of civilizations, and it came into contact with many rival empires, which fought over annexing Armenia to their own territory and sometimes tried to assimilate Armenians into their own culture. Following the Persian conquest of Armenia in the 6-th century B.C., the Iranian culture was extensively spread in Armenian life. Although the Armenians had kept their unique language, identity and homeland, their social infrastructure was "Iranized". The spread of Hellenism followed after 331 B.C. In fact, the existence of the counterbalancing Eastern and Western cultures saved Armenia from total assimilation. Armenians, politically unable to fight the foreign empires, knew that national survival depended on unique cultural markers. Hence, in 301 A.D., Armenia announced itself a Christian national state and thus dramatically cut its ties with the Iranians. The following Christianization of the Roman Empire impelled the Armenian Church authorities to search for another means to resist integration into the Byzantine culture. An Armenian

clergyman, Mesrop Mashtots, created in 405 A.D. an alphabet for the existing oral Armenian language. Armenia's partition in 385 A. D. between the Byzantine and Iranian powers led the Armenian leaders once again to find a means to maintain the Armenian identity which was threatened under the influence of the two empires. By 607 A.D., the Armenian Church had formally rejected the decisions of the Fourth Ecumenical Council of Chalcedon, held in 451 A.D., which were being supported by the Byzantine emperors. Thus, the Armenian Church emerged as an independent national church. Armenian national identity and church were fused and became inseparable. In later time future, the Armenian Apostolic Church was to follow the Armenian immigrant communities away from their homeland and was a major factor in maintaining Armenian identity in foreign lands. The Armenian Catholic and Evangelical Churches are also national in character (Hovannisian,1997).

The following centuries of foreign occupations, forced deportations and conversions proved Armenians to be a resilient nation. By the 11-th century, Armenians were living mainly on the Armenian plateau and in Cilicia. Subsequently, the Byzantine, Mongol, Mameluke, Ottoman, Persian and Russian empires had exerted their political power on this nation, but no power could assimilate this proud and clannish people into their culture. At the turn of the twentieth century, the Ottoman Turks blamed their ancestors for not having

coercively converted Armenians to Islam, and wanted to correct their ancestors' fault by any means. The American ambassador in the Ottoman empire then, Morgenthau, regarded that "the conditions of the war gave to the Turkish government its longed - for opportunity to lay hold of the Armenians. They criticized their ancestors for neglecting to destroy or convert the Christian races to Mohammedanism at the time they first subjugated them" (Dadrian, 1989, p.257). WWI granted them the opportunity to carry out their premeditated plan of exterminating the whole Armenian nation living under Ottoman rule. Hence, they meticulously planned and systematically carried out the first genocide of the 20-th century, which served as a prototype of the following genocides. Over two million Armenians living in Western Armenia and Cilicia were driven to the deadly Syrian dessert where they were robbed, raped, tortured and became subject to the most inhuman methods of murder. The survivors of this nation lost their families, their loved ones, homes, possessions and perhaps the most important of all, their homeland. They were thus reduced to homeless people, refugees who had lost everything in their lives. However, they had not lost their resilience to live.

Many genocide survivors took refuge in Syria and Lebanon. They arrived in extremely pathetic conditions: semi-naked, starving, disease-stricken and confused. The local Arabs offered them space to live and some international

welfare organizations sheltered the orphans. The refugees yearned to return to their homes. Their life and memories were rooted and meaningful only in their ancestral homeland. Therefore, as soon as WWI was over, most of the refugees returned to Cilicia to rebuild and resettle in their homes. However, not long after, these survivors were destined to receive the second trauma of their lives. Within a year, their dreams had been shattered against the agreement of the French with the Turkish Kemalists in November 1921. The French had agreed to evacuate Cilicia. Abandoned by the French and left at the mercy of the new Turkish nationalist government, Armenians had to abandon their cherished country, leaving all their homes and possessions in flames behind. Then once again, the bulk of the refugees landed in Lebanon and Syria. They waited in vain for international justice to help them return safely to their homes.

The Genocide marked a new era in Armenian reality. It meant life away from homeland, the loss of over 2000 years of material and non-material culture on Western Armenia. Armenians were simply robbed of their ancestral homeland in the full gaze of the international community. The traumatized survivors could not completely understand the overarching implications of the tragedy. The psychological scars the Genocide had left on the survivors characterized the first years of life in refuge. The Armenians had survived what Lifton (1969) described as "a permanent encounter with death... the overwhelming immersion in death"

(Shirinian, 1999, p.10). The numbness and little insight in understanding the catastrophe were prevalent among the refugees. The survivors found "no coping mechanism for such a devastating catastrophe" to alleviate their immense pain and heal the severe psychological wounds (Hovannisian, 1998, p. 179). Consequently, the pain of living the Genocide was mainly trapped in the survivors who passed on this trauma to their descendents. The survivors mainly suffered inability to talk about the "unthinkable", the recurrent theme of self-blame and internalized tragedy. An Armenian writer, Aram Antonian, who had survived the death marches in Der-el- Zor, for example, dwelled on extensive self- blame. He had witnessed how the Armenian night watchmen tortured other Armenian victims, which was a way beyond what the Turkish gendarmes did. He thus regarded the tragedy as an instance of degradation of not only the Armenian character but of the human character per se (Hovannisian, 1992). Partial expression of the "unthinkable" pain was attained in the Armenian art media, literature, music, painting and sculpture.

The first period following the Genocide was thus distinguished by a "conspiracy of silence" characterizing not only the survivors, but also its perpetrators (Karakashian, 2005). Nevertheless, the Armenians gradually raised their voice and talked about their suffering aloud. More so, Armenians worked hard to ensure international recognition of their holocaust. By 2005, legislatures

in some 16 countries around the world have officially recognized the Armenian Genocide as a historical fact.

As mentioned above, Armenian communities had existed in Lebanon before WWI. However, among the post-genocide Armenian survivors and their descendents, one major factor has been added, which did not exist in the earlier communities: the absence of the possibility to return to their Armenian homeland in the life of the refugees. Western Armenia was gone, lost and belonged only to the "irretrievable past". The post- genocide communities thus drastically differ in character and psychology from that of the Armenian immigrants who have been considered as "middlemen minorities", clannish people who worked hard and did not abandon the idea of returning to homeland (Bakalian, 1993). It is therefore important to distinguish Diaspora from emigration.

Emigration is an act based on one's free decision, and however vast is the number of the immigrants, individual initiative is its basis. Immigrants leave their country of origin in a search for a better life, of better opportunities and sometimes fleeing wars. The immigrant can repatriate whenever he desires. Even the exiled can return home when conditions at home get better. In the case of the Diaspora, however, "compelling historical events physically force a population from its territory" (Shirinian, 1990, p.30). The host country regards them as immigrants but in fact, they are literally a "homeless" group. They know that they

can not go back to the place they came from, and that their former territory is simply lost. The implications of the Diaspora/Immigration dichotomy are that communities without a territory on a national homeland where they can eventually return to are coerced to live on foreign lands. Assimilation on foreign lands, among a majority "others" naturally sets stage.

The Turks were well aware that a nation's survival depended foremost on a homeland. Referring to the Armenian Genocide, Hassan Fahmi Bey, in a speech delivered on October 17, 1920 during one of the secret sessions of the first parliament of Kemalist Turkey, offered the following explanation: "those are the things (referring to the massacres) that have only happened in order to secure something that is more holy and valuable than our lives - the future of the homeland" (Shirinian, 1999, p.6).

The first years of the post-Genocide Armenian communities experienced yet another loss. The short-lived independence of Eastern Armenia (1918-1920) also ended in a devastating blow to the Armenian people. In August 1920, in a treaty of peace signed at Sevres between the Allies and Ottoman Turkey, the government in Istanbul was made to recognize "Armenia as a free and independent state" (Treaty of Peace with Turkey, Article 88, p. 25). The US president Woodrow Wilson drew the Western borders of the Armenian state to include the four Armenian vilayets Erzerum, Bitlis, Trebizund and Van (Treaty of

Peace with Turkey, Article 89, p. 25). Nevertheless, the Allies could not or did not want to impose on Turkey the Treaty's provisions with respect to the articles referring to Armenia. Eventually, in 1923, the Treaty of Lausanne signed between the Allies and the Kemalist Turks superseded the Treaty of Sevres, voiding the perpetrators of the Genocide of any territorial obligation towards the Armenians. Hence, the four vilayets mentioned above remained under Turkish occupation. The Allied Powers thus accepted the permanent exile of the West Armenian population around the world. With respect to Eastern Armenia, the Allies had also offered no help to the weakened republic of Armenia, which was surrounded by the Kemalist Turks and the Red Army of Communist Russia. Therefore, in December 1920, the Armenian independent republic had already succumbed to the Communists and it later became part of the USSR in 1920.

Armenian national life in the Diaspora was organized by the political and religious Armenian organizations. The three rival Armenian political parties, the SDHP (Social Democrat Hunchag party), the ADL (Armenian Democratic Liberal Party) and the ARF (Armenian Revolutionary Federation-Dashnaktsutyun), had their separate spheres of influence in the Armenian communities. The ARF, expelled from Eastern Armenia by the Communists was very anti-Soviet, whereas the other parties supported Soviet Armenia and the repatriations of 1946-1949, that took about 90,000 Armenians to the homeland (Goldenberg, 1994). The

opposing political parties had different kind of relationship with Soviet Armenia. Their disagreements among the Armenian political parties mounted to internecine bloodshed of 1958 in Lebanon, which was the major instance among other minor tit-for-tat killings.

For the last two decades, the genocide has been the centrifugal point of the Armenian national agenda. In the homeland, the first public spark of nationalism ignited at the 50-th anniversary of the Armenian Genocide. On April 24, 1965, a crowd of almost 100,000 people gathered around the Opera House in Yerevan demanding that Turkey return the occupied Armenian lands and that Azeris transfer the Armenian inhabited region of Soviet Nagorno-Karabakh to Soviet Armenia (Goldenberg, 1994). After the cold war, the ice between the Diaspora and homeland started to melt and Armenia's tourism gradually flourished. This paved the way to an active relationship between the two, which was extended in the aftermath of the fall of the Soviet Union. However, it was the tragedy and crisis, which struck Armenia at the end of the 1980 that, brought Armenia and Diaspora to one unified entity. The murder by the neighboring Azerbaijanis of Armenians in Sumgait outraged other Armenians worldwide. From the homeland and the Diaspora, Armenians rushed to the rescue of their people in Karabakh. Some Diaspora Armenians did not hesitate to sacrifice their lives to prevent another possible genocide similar to their fathers' similar fate. The tragedy served

as a uniting agent for the worldwide-dispersed people. It united them with an inseparable bond. Armenians had decided not to be victimized once again.

The devastating earthquake followed the upheavals in Sumgait. The catastrophe in 1988 struck Leninagan, now Giumri, and in an instance caused over 20,000 deaths. This natural disaster led to an unprecedented support from the Diaspora. Armenians from all over the world sent medical and other assistance worth millions of dollars. An Armenian multimillionaire, Kirk Kirkorian sent loaded airplanes of relief on his own initiative. The two crises that struck Armenia thus proved to be the cornerstone in the reconciliation of Diaspora-homeland dichotomy. Henceforth, the two entities have grown closer to each other and have united their forces in their central demand - the recognition of the Armenian Genocide by the international family.

Although with the independence of Armenia, a new reality is added to Diaspora's life, old issues remain unchanged. The Armenian Diaspora communities seem to have settled down for good. The ghost of assimilation still haunts. Armenians visit Armenia as tourists since the mid-1950s but very few think about repatriating or permanently resettling in the homeland. What will be the fate of the Diaspora life? Is life severed from homeland similar to the definition of Hagop Oshagan, an authoritative critic, who viewed Diaspora as "an elongated catastrophe, in which decades of hope and aspiration had come to a

tragic end?" (Hovannisian, 1998, p. 182). Are diasporas "condemned to assimilation and political and historical irrelevance?" wondered Lorne Shirinian (Shirinian, 1990, p.27). On the other hand, would Armenianness survive against all odds? Are the Armenians resilient against any measure of annihilation? Is it still relevant to believe that "an Armenian can never but be Armenian?" (Arlen, 1975, p. 36). Would they gradually integrate in mainstream societies, or would they continually update their ethnic boundaries and have well-drawn lines concerning "us" and "them"? Would they repatriate to Armenia eventually? Are the Armenians in the West, like in America more assimilated than the Lebanese Armenians? Does Armenia exist only in the minds of the Diaspora Armenians, as a dream, an ideology? Does the existence of the remaining part of the historical Armenian homeland, the Republic of Armenia, have a concrete impact in the lives of this dispersed nation? The famous Armenian-American writer William Saroyan had believed that Armenia is the living link to one's ancestry. He did not hesitate to offer his advice to Michael J. Arlen, the son of a prominent Armenian-American writer, who consulted him on his search to know his roots. Saroyan told him "If you want to know about Armenians, then you must go to Armenia, or what remains of it. You must go to Erevan - in Soviet Armenia" (1975, p. 37).

Why did Saroyan suggest Arlen to take such a long trip? Could not the latter read history books as a much easier and convenient way to know about his

ancestors? What would Soviet Armenia have to say to an American fellow in search of his roots? In fact, Saroyan himself had visited Armenia as soon as he made his first earnings in the 1930's (Arlen, 1975). His fascination by Armenian life on the homeland is evident in this beautiful description:

I should like to see any power of the world destroy this race, this small tribe of unimportant people, whose history is ended, whose wars have all been fought and lost, whose structures have crumbled, whose literature is unread, whose music is unheard, whose prayers are no longer uttered. Go ahead, destroy this race. Let us say that's again 1915. There is war in the world. Destroy Armenia. See if you can do it. Send them from their homes into the desert. Let them have neither bread nor water. Burn their houses and their churches. See if they will not live again. See if they will not laugh again. See if the race will not live again. (Saroyan, 1936, p. 438).

It is definitely clear that life in the Diaspora is complicated and multilayered. Armenians in the East live in a context very different from the West. Anglo-Saxon conformity in the U.S.A. demanded the immigrants in the country to be "100% American". The Middle East is mainly Muslim in character. Park's theory would predict a slower Armenian assimilation among a Muslim majority compared to those living in the similar Christian world (Bakalian, 1993).

The Lebanese context offers a unique combination of Eastern and Western civilizations. Christians and Muslims go hand in hand in this country. The Armenian community fits the sectarian life of this country. Armenians, it seems, have all the opportunities needed to preserve their national identity in this country. Jerejian's study has shown however that integration was already well in process by the early 1970s.

Rationale

The present study seeks to evaluate the integration pattern of the third and fourth generation Armenians in the light of the emergence of the independent Armenian state. The characteristics of the Armenians as a minority group and the Lebanese mainstream will be presented. Definition of ethnicity, its markers and typologies will follow. The framework of this study is then presented and the present study conceptualized. The sample's involvement with the homeland is used as the indicator response predicting assimilation. Involvement with the homeland is measured by the number of visits to and wish to be in Armenia. In addition to this, the intention of the sample to resettle in the homeland is studied. Finally, the sample's integration profile is compared to its equivalent groups of Bakalian's New York survey. There is no much research about the extent to which Armenians have undergone acculturation in Lebanon since Jerejian's study in 1970. After a period of 35 years, it is expected that the community has

undergone additional change. Generation change is already a de facto reality. It was shown in Bakalian's study to be the strongest predictor along assimilation. In addition to generation change, the Armenian community was depleted during the Lebanese civil war when Armenians fled Lebanon in large numbers. Therefore, generation change, the weakened Armenian community and the emergence of the Republic of Armenia were the factors that called for the need to evaluate the integration pattern of the Armenian community in Lebanon.

A- The Armenian minority and the Lebanese mainstream society

1- The Armenian Minority

Armenians after 1915 arrived in Lebanon as refugees and settled down in the outskirts of big cities. These areas came to be called "camps", "refugee stations" and "tin cities" (Varjabedian 1951, p. 50). These were hurriedly - built tents made from paper, cane-wood and rags. Armenians from different locations, of different social backgrounds and intellectual levels huddled together in areas of several hundred square meters which were also dubbed "tin cities" in reference to the tin from petrol containers (Varjabedian, 1951, p. 52). This proximity and

Literature Review

Chapter Two

Before looking at previous studies about Armenian assimilation, a brief account will be presented about the characteristics of the minority and the mainstream society in this study. Armenians, who arrived in Lebanon, are the minority group, whereas the Lebanese Christian population makes up the mainstream society. Definition of ethnicity with its markers forms will follow. Finally, the groundwork of the study will be laid out:

A- The Armenian minority and the Lebanese mainstream society

1- The Armenian Minority

Armenians after 1915 arrived in Lebanon as refugees and settled down in the entrances of big cities. These areas came to be called "camps", "refugee stations" and "tent cities" (Varjabedian 1951, p. 50). These were hurriedly - built tents made from paper, case-wood and rags. Armenians from different locations, of different social backgrounds and intellectual levels huddled together in areas of several hundred square meters which were also dubbed "tin cities" in reference to the tin from petrol containers (Varjabedian, 1951, p. 52). This proximity and

accumulation naturally generated social, moral and psychological turmoil. The need for some kind of social control system was being felt more than ever. Certain tent cities were eventually brought down and the families therein started to be transported to other areas, the new Armenian neighborhoods.

From 1922 and over the span of several years, the vicinities of Beirut were plotted with a dozen or so densely populated Armenian streets. By 1933, more than three tent cities were dismantled. Financial problems, unemployment and disease were taking their toll on the inhabitants of these camps. But despite these ailments and owing to the studious nature of Armenians, new houses and streets were built, factories and especially artifact establishments flourished and eventually the Armenians started to mark their active involvement in the social, political, industrial and economic domains of Lebanon (Varjabedian, 1951). Armenians, who settled in Lebanon after the Genocide, chose to learn to speak Western languages, especially French and English, before they spoke Arabic since Lebanon was a French mandate and Arabic Baccalaureate was not a requirement. Arabic did not have the prestige in this country as English in America or French in France had. The Lebanese context, which did not press Arabic and hold it as the only means of communication in the country, gave this minority group the chance to preserve their ancestral language in their daily lives (Bakalian, 1993).

Hudson (1968) regarded Armenians "the least assimilated of all religious-ethnic groups in Lebanon" and "the only community that does not use Arabic in normal conversation" (p. 29). He adds that many Armenians felt they were foreigners in Lebanon and were mutually regarded so by the native Lebanese. Hudson regarded that Armenian unity was based on their language and the shared memory of their collective suffering (1968). The question now is how unassimilative have these Armenians remained after decades in the Diaspora.

2- The Lebanese Social Structure

Lebanon's population comprises 18 autonomous Christian and non-Christian sects which are represented in the government. The Lebanese Parliament in fact is a miniature of its mosaic profile. The census of 1932 had shown that the Maronites outnumbered the other sects (Hudson, 1968). Consequently, it was agreed in the Lebanese constitution that the President of the Republic will be a Maronite. The Prime minister's post was later reserved to the Sunnites since they made up the second largest group.

Hudson (1968) views the pluralism of Lebanon as primitive, organized along family and tradition in contrast to the secularized pluralism in the United States of America. Since there is no distinct majority, he argues, all the groups act as minorities, guarding their boundaries and privileges in the country (1968). The autonomous sects exercise full control over the personal status affairs of their

community, a matter that grants them a semi-autonomous status and subsequently means that there is no unified civil law for personal status in this country. The rivalry between the groups in this country led to the inescapable civil war of 1975 - 1990. The Armenian community did not participate as a bloc in this war. Armenians benefited from the status quo. There existed no ground for conflict between the Armenian minority and the other sect. During the turmoil of 1975-1990, the Armenian political parties adopted a united stance to void the already scarred Armenian population further human and property loss (Bakalian, 1993).

B- Ethnicity, its markers and typologies

The word ethnicity stems from a Greek word, "ethnos" meaning people. In old times, when people lived in clans and extended families, ethnicity meant their immediate surroundings. Later on, when people were dominated by other people and were exposed to "foreigners", the word referred to a developed sense of peoplehood, which held a psychological function. Among diverse people and groups, members of one group needed to belong and feel close to their "own" people with whom they shared experiences on diverse grounds. Ethnicity thus refers to identification with one's ancestors.

An ethnic group maintains itself through its culture and social structures. Culture, material and non-material, is explained by Gordon (1964) as "the sum of man's social heritage existing over the world at any given time" (p. 33). Non-

material culture holds all the codes of behavior, which is transmitted via the group's ancestors; material culture is the product of the group's creative life, (Gordon 1964). The Social structure of an ethnic group is the context in which all kinds of relationships between the in-groups take place. The American sociologist Cooley (1955) distinguished between two kinds of contact groups in a social network. The first, which he called the "primary group", is one where all contact is on an intimate and informal level. The second contact group or the "secondary group" entails formal and impersonal ties. When two ethnic groups meet, they get influenced by one another. In case one ethnic group has a minority status with respect to a predominant majority other, assimilation paves its way (Gordon,1964). This process has been defined in many ways. There are complex variables amidst the continuous interplay between minority and majority ethnics. Assimilation is considered complete when one ethnic group is fused with another, and its members do not feel loyalty and belongingness to their original group.

The pace of assimilation varies with the uniqueness of the circumstances in which ethnic groups meet. In America, where ethnic groups have mingled for decades, it has been noticed that ethnicity has not totally been lost. Gans (1979) has come up with the expression "symbolic" ethnicity to refer to the various ethnic groups who have well integrated into the American mainstream, but still maintain feelings of peoplehood (Bakalian 1993). Hence,

symbolic ethnicity is a move away from the "traditional" expression of one's identity. Being a traditional ethnic simply means to live according to the cultural repertoire inherited from one's grandfathers in a de facto mode. A traditional ethnic's ability to think, feel or act is automatic. In contrast to this pattern, symbolic ethnics do not rely on their ancestors' culture in their daily lives. They can let their ethnicity emerge in their lives whenever it is convenient for them. They do not sacrifice any personal venture along success for ethnicity. However, they have the need to belong to a significant group and feel proud of their group's accomplishments. They satisfy this urge by the use of visible objects to express their identity (Bakalian, 1993).

Symbolic ethnicity is at one pole on the ethnicity scale. On its opposite point lie the "polarized" ethnics who are totally submerged in their culture and group life. They fiercely identify themselves with their group and are very active to foster its growth (Bakalian, 1993).

C- The Framework of this study

1 - Bakalian's Survey

In 1986, Bakalian empirically studied the extent to which the Armenian-Americans were assimilated in their host country. Her sample comprised 584 participants from New York and New Jersey. The sampling technique of

randomly picked names from the three Armenian churches' (Orthodox-Catholic-Protestant) address books, plus the snowball sample made her sample representative of the Armenian-Americans in the USA. Her study is referred to as the "New York" sample.

As Bakalian explained in a personal e-mail to the researcher, there is no definition of traditional or non-traditional Armenianness. Consequently, to measure assimilation of the Armenians she has taken the response rates (on Gordon's seven variables on assimilation) of the first generation Armenians (those who were not born in USA) as criteria to compare the responses of the consequent second, third and fourth generations. It is crucial here to explain Gordon's theory and its subtypes, because Bakalian has this theory as the frame of her work. As this study follows closely Bakalian's path, Gordon's theory forms the basis of this survey as well.

Gordon's theory is considered the most sophisticated among the assimilation theories. He constructed a framework of seven kinds or subtypes along which assimilation occurs. Each subtype can proceed at varying degrees, and the variables have a linear relationship with each other. The first subtype, cultural assimilation, which he called "acculturation", marks the start of the assimilation process. Staging at this point, the ethnic group starts to lose its cultural, linguistic, religious values, etc. to that of the other. Gordon (1964) explained that this

subtype can go on forever without leading to the second stage or invariably leads to its following kind.

The second subtype, structural assimilation, is achieved when two groups come into contact through their social institutions. If contact is on a personal or informal level, the interaction between the minority and majority group members inevitably leads to closer ties and eventual intermarriage. If contact is on a more formal level, such as those that do not foster intimacy, then it can deter this type from progress. Gordon (1964) considered structural assimilation as the key towards the subsequent subtypes. His argument was that the third subtype, marital assimilation leads people from mixed families to identify with the majority group, thus experience the fourth type of assimilation that is Identificational assimilation. Subsequently, once the two groups have no set boundaries identifying the in-groups and the out-groups, absence of prejudice and discrimination would mark attitude receptional and behavior receptional assimilation, which are the fifth and the sixth subtypes. Civic involvement and absence of any value and power struggles between the groups sets the final stage towards final assimilation, which makes the final subtype, termed as civic assimilation (see Gordon 1964, Table 5, p.71).

In her study, Bakalian found Armenians significantly assimilated at the cultural and structural variables in the mainstream American society, but, at the

same time, they held on to their ethnic identity, feeling proud of their origins and sharing a strong bond of “we”-ness. The Genocide of 1915 was found to be alive in the consciousness of the sample. Bakalian has explained this dual phenomenon in terms of change in Armenianness: a shift from traditional to symbolic one.

The most significant variable in Bakalian’s survey was found to be generation. She found that the later the generation, the more the drift on the cultural and structural variables. The three variables, which had undergone the biggest change from the first to the fourth generation, were: (a), the spouse being non-Armenian, 31.3 % of the later generation had intermarried, with a change of 53.4% from the first generation and (b), inability to speak Armenian, 22.6% of the later generations did so with a decrease of 74.4 % from the first generation. Finally (c), inability to read/ write Armenian, 9.7 % of the later generations with a decrease of 68.4%. The two variables, which had undergone least change across generation, were pride in heritage and having strong feelings towards Turkey’s denial of the Genocide (Bakalian, 1993).

The basic debate between the traditional Armenians and the symbolics was on language. The first group believed that without knowing Armenian it is impossible to stay Armenian, whereas the symbolics did not believe that being Armenian was contingent on knowing the language. However, the symbolic ethnics held on to their identity (although hyphenated) and believed in family

values consistent of traditional Armenian practices. Bakalian has observed that the Armenian social structure in the U.S.A. is no more able to attract its members. Their absence from the Armenian mainstream is thought by her to be one of the reasons for choosing foreign or “odar” spouses.

With respect to an eventual return to the homeland, Bakalian’s sample expressed a clear intention to stay. The respondents had clearly stated that America was their home and that they did not intend to leave it. The researcher observed that, in contrast to a small group of very active core of polarized ethnics, the majority of her sample in the later generations fall within the description of symbolic ethnics.

Bakalian concluded that assimilation was a good deal on its way among the Armenian - Americans, but their identity and feelings of belongingness were not diluted, they still felt they were Armenian and felt proud of their origins. Armenians had gone through cultural, structural and marital assimilation, but they still acknowledged their roots.

2 - Studies indirectly and directly assessing integration of the Armenians in mainstream Lebanese society

After the 1950s, several studies indirectly assessed the assimilation profile of the Armenians in Lebanon. Few of them are presented in the section below.

Hagop Der – Garabetian and Levon H. Melikian (1974) had predicted Armenians to differ on 6 personality variables from Christian Arabs. They based their argument on the findings of E. T. Prothro, who in 1961 had found different child rearing practices among the Armenian Apostolic, the Lebanese Arab Christians and the Arab Sunnis. Despite the proved link between early child practices and personality styles, Der-Garabetian and Melikian did not find the Armenian sample to be different from the Christian Arabs on the measured personality variables. Armenians had changed towards being similar to the Lebanese Christian Arabs. The researchers had attributed the surprising results to the common environment where the two samples grew up - in other words, to integration. To clarify their findings, they compared their results to a similar survey conducted in 1956. Interestingly, the Armenian sample then significantly differed from the Lebanese Christian sample on 10 of the 15 measured characteristics. This difference had decreased to 2 out of these 15 variables in 1973.

Another subtle indicator of assimilation is the trend of intermarriage. The rate of marrying "out" among the Armenian Apostolic males was reported by Tashjian to score an increase of 3.4 % (from 7.3 to 10.7 %) from 1961 to 1971 (A. Der-Garabedian and E. Oshagan ,1971), which had grown to 11.1% in 1974 (Hovannisian, 1981). This rate has grown even higher by 2005.

Elmasian's report in 1971 shows that Christian and Muslim Arabs did not feel as close to the Armenians as the latter felt for them (A. Der- Garabetian and E.Oshagan, 1977). However, Armenians maintained their group boundaries through significant characteristics, which were visible to the "others". A survey in the fall of 1972 asked the Christian and Muslim Arabs to describe Armenians by choosing 6 out of 96 adjectives, which best characterized the Armenians. The six most frequently assigned characteristics of the Armenians were "revengeful", "hardworking", "industrious", "ambitious", "intelligent" and "nationalistic". It was found that the Christians had ascribed to Armenians more positively loaded adjectives than the Muslims, who had used one negatively loaded adjective: "revengeful" (Hovannisian, 1981). This was explained in terms of the closeness between these two Christian groups, which, nevertheless, suffered a set back at the break of the civil war. A survey conducted before and after 1955-1977 civil war had shown that, the turmoil in the country had led the Armenians to redefine themselves along ethnic lines. In the 1974 survey, the three studied age groups, the Elderly, the Middle aged and the Young, varied from each other in a descending order on the ethnic orientation questionnaire (EOQ). The sample were asked to express their opinion on a 6-point scale to 57 items on EOQ. The young seemed to have moved away from traditional values and practices. All of the three groups however, had low agreement scores on the following three statements: "Armenians in Lebanon must accept that they are first Lebanese then

Armenians", "Armenian children should be encouraged to play with non-Armenian children" and "Armenians in Lebanon should consider Lebanon their homeland". All the three groups also showed to value the use of the Armenian language, felt proud of their ethnic origin and were aware of the problem of assimilation. The survey conducted after 1977 showed the young generation to agree on self-image items as the elderly did. The young cohort, however, remained in disagreement on items which dealt with upbringing and the superiority of Armenian children (A. Der- Karabetian and Oshagan, 1977, A. Der-Karabetian, 1981).

A comprehensive study about "The Social and Cultural Integration of the Lebanese - Armenian Youth" came in 1970 (Jerejian, 1976). Jerejian's sample comprised 16 - 20 year old students (197) and their parents (219). The type of school attended was expected to be the most significant variable in predicting assimilation. Although she found that students' and parents' integration rates were low in general, school type (Armenian vs. non-Armenian school) significantly differentiated between students' integration scores. For example, students who attended Armenian schools spoke Armenian at home 100% of time, compared to 87% of their peers in non-Armenian schools. School type differentiated friendship patterns as well. Those who attended Armenian schools had basically Armenian friends, whereas those who were in non-Armenian

schools had basically Maornite and some Muslim friends. The students also showed a preference to intermarry. Although school was found to be a significant variable across many assimilation indices, involvement with the Armenian social structure like membership in clubs and organizations could better predict the sample's degree of assimilation.

Parents' "structural – theoretical" integration was also found to be more strongly correlated with their children's integration level than school type. The parents' involvement in the Armenian social life was thus highly correlated with their children's involvement rates in the Armenian organizations.

The rate of intermarriage was similar among the "low" and the highly integrated parents. The proportion of intermarriage in the "low" and "high" integration groups was found to be 49 and 51 % respectively.

The results showed that although the students tended to show more integration into the Lebanese mainstream on some indices of integration (for example how to read/ write Arabic) than their parents, on other scores they did not differ a great deal from that of their parents.

In general, Jerejian could identify three types of groups: a majority, which had held on to their culture and yet opted to move towards integration, and two

minority groups: one being very active in their ethnic life, while the other having already been well integrated and assimilated in the Lebanese mainstream.

D-The present study

The two previous studies of Bakalian and Jerejian emphasized the importance of involvement in Armenian social structure, which is in full accordance with Gordon's theory. He had emphasized that the second stage of assimilation, structural assimilation, is the "key" to the other five variables, which lead to total integration. This study intends to consider a broader dimension of Armenian social structure, which since the independence of Armenia has been the focus of Armenian social, political and cultural life. As it was explained in the background in chapter one, the Soviet Armenia's relationship with ARF and its sympathizers in the Diaspora had not been good. The emergence of the Independent Armenian state in 1991 shifted the focal point of mainstream Armenian in the Diaspora towards it. In the already depleted Armenian community of Lebanon, the independent national state has taken the lead in various contexts of Armenian life. Many Armenians from the different Armenian communities around the world are visiting the homeland, buying real estate and are participating in the various arrays of meetings, conventions and festivals. In May 2005, for example, the Diaspora Armenians were invited to participate in a folk dance around the Mount

Aragats to celebrate the independence of the first republic (of 1918). To commemorate the Genocide, Armenians from Lebanon this year traveled to Armenia to take part in the organized public events of April 24. Another example that called the Diaspora to motherland was the comprehensive curriculum convention, held in summer 2004, which invited the Diaspora School representatives to decide on a joint Armenian curriculum.

The present study will highlight the role of these developments in the life of the Armenian community in Lebanon and considers the Republic of Armenia the central point in the Armenian community in Lebanon. Consequently, assimilation will be predicted in terms of involvement with the homeland. Involvement is measured in terms of number of visits and the expressed wish to visit Armenia. The wish to visit the homeland is incorporated in the criterion in order to take into account the financial and other imposed restrictions on an individual, which could have deterred him/her from actual travel. Therefore, this study takes the number of visits and the wish to visit the Republic of Armenia as the significant predictor of assimilation among the third - and the fourth - generation Armenians in Lebanon. Three groups are categorized. Group P: those who have visited Armenia twice and more. Group T: those who have visited Armenia once or have not been there, but wish to visit it again or at any convenient time in the future and Group S: those who have been to the republic once or never but do not wish

to go again or ever respectively. It is expected that Group P is the least assimilated and Group S the most. Consequently, it is expected that Group P will fall into what is known as the polarized ethnics, Group T, the traditional; and Group S, the symbolics.

This study will also compare the third - and fourth - generation of the New York sample to that of their peers in Lebanon. As the findings of Bakalian and Jerejian suggest, although assimilation is in progress in both America and Lebanon, there is a difference of pace between the two. Armenians in America (in 1986) are shown to have undergone significant assimilation, especially cultural, structural and marital. The majority in America are “symbolic” ethnics in contrast to the majority in Lebanon, which in 1970 was shown to have kept a balance between the Armenian and Lebanese cultures. In light of these findings, it is hypothesized that Armenians in Lebanon, three and a half decades after this pioneering study, have continued to march towards assimilation, but in smaller steps than in America.

Lastly, this study addresses the intention of the Lebanese sample to repatriate to the Republic of Armenia. According to Bonachich (1973), Armenians used to be “Middleman Minorities” who had the spirit of “sojourners”, and consequently were “unassimilative”. He had argued that those who gave up the idea of eventual return to homeland implied they were assimilated (Bakalian 1993, 53).

Since the Armenian community was found to be, moving towards assimilation (Jerejian, 1976) it is thought that Armenians in Lebanon, in general, do not have the intention to resettle in Armenia. In other words, out of the three groups in this study, only Group P, supposedly the polarized ethnics have the intention to repatriate to homeland. The other groups are not expected to have much intention to return to Armenia.

To summarize these assumptions, three hypotheses are held:

Hypotheses

H1:

(A): It is hypothesized that the ratios of Groups P will be the highest, the ratios of Group S the lowest and that of Group T in between on all of Gordon's seven variables and the corresponding attitude statements. It is expected that the ratios of the three groups will decrease in the fourth generation.

(B): All the three groups are expected to have similarly intense feelings towards Turkey's Denial of the Genocide.

H2: The ratios in the present study are expected to be much higher than the ratios of the equivalent generations in the New York study on all of Gordon's

seven variables and the attitude statements. The two samples are not expected to differ on the way they feel towards the Turkish denial of the Armenian Genocide.

The dependent variable is assimilation. It is measured by the differences in the ratios on Gordon's seven subtypes of assimilation and corresponding attitude statements.

H3:
(A): Group P is expected to score the highest on all the five attitude statements on "Free Armenia" and Group S, the lowest.

(B): It is expected that Group P will have the highest ratio of respondents who intend to resettle in the republic of Armenia and Group S the lowest.

Independent Variables

In this survey the independent variables are: Involvement in Armenia, divided along three levels and Generation. The number of his / her visits to Armenia and the expressed wish to visit the homeland measures a person's involvement. The three levels of this variable are the following:

- 1- Group P: People who have been to Armenia twice or more and wish to visit there again.
- 2- Group T: People who have been to Armenia once or never and wish to visit Armenia.

3- Group S: People who have been to Armenia once or never but do not want to visit Armenia.

Methodology

The dependent variable is assimilation. It is measured by the differences in the ratios on Gordon's seven subtypes of assimilation and corresponding attitude statements.

The third and fourth generation Armenians living in Lebanon comprised the sample in this study. The first generation was arbitrarily decided to be the refugees Armenians who had arrived in Lebanon after WWI. Their descendants make up the second, third and fourth generations. The participants in the later generations were identified on the basis of their paternal grandfathers' place of birth. Those whose paternal grandparent was born in Western Armenia or Cilicia fell into the third generation and those whose paternal grandfather was born in Lebanon or Syria made up the fourth generation participants.

The respondents were contacted through

(A): Educational institutions, distributed among two Armenian secondary schools, one Armenian intermediate school, two non-Armenian high schools and one university in the following way. From the Armenian Evangelical Shamlan-Tutigian secondary school, one section of 11-th graders, their parents and most of the staff participated. From the M. and H. Arakman College, the 11-th graders

Methodology

Chapter Three

Participants

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The respondents were contacted through:

(A): Educational institutions, distributed among two Armenian secondary schools, one Armenian intermediate school, two non- Armenian high schools and one university in the following way. From the Armenian Evangelical Shamilian-Tatigian secondary school, one section of 11-th graders, their parents and most of the staff participated. From the M. and H. Arslanian College, the 11-th graders

and many of the school's staff participated. From the Boghos K. Garmirian School, the 9-th graders, their parents and some of the school's staff filled out the questionnaire. From the Saint Joseph and Beirut Evangelical school for boys and girls the Armenian students, ranging from intermediate to high school, and some of their parents responded. College students came from Haigazian University, mainly those attending Armenian studies, Psychology and Education classes. Some of their parents also took part in this survey.

(B): The researcher's social network.

Instruments

This study used Bakalian's questionnaire of the "New York" survey, having asked for permission to use it (A. P. Bakalian, personal communication, April 6, 2005). In her survey, she had formatted a questionnaire operationalizing Gordon's conceptual framework of assimilation with objective questions, and had incorporated attitude statements about family, religion, intermarriage and feelings of pride, which fitted each of Gordon's subtypes. Questions irrelevant to the Lebanese population were deleted and some others were added, especially those that dealt with contact with the Republic of Armenia (number of visits, wish, intention to visit and repatriate to homeland). Attitude statements about the Republic of Armenia were also added. The revised questionnaire in this study had two parts. Part I, with its 35 questions, referred to information about the

participant's demographic variables and his / her wish to visit the homeland. Part II included 44 questions and 22 attitude statements. These questions addressed changes in life-styles, the number of visits to Armenia, the intention to visit and repatriate to the homeland.

The attitude statements were measured on a five-point scale, which ranged from strongly agree to strongly disagree. Responses to the attitude statements were considered "High" if the respondents answered with "strongly agree" or "mildly agree". Assimilation was measured by the differences in the ratios on the responses to each of Gordon's subscales.

Procedure

In educational institutions, the survey proceeded in the following way: The researcher phoned Arslanian College and took an appointment to meet the principal. On the appointed day, the researcher presented the principal the letter approved from Haigazian University SBS department. After the principal agreed on the presented request, the day and the class, which was to participate in the survey was agreed upon. The same procedure followed in the five other schools mentioned above. All of the contacted schools agreed to participate in the survey except the Kevork Harboyan School. In Haigazian University, the researcher contacted an instructor of psychology, an instructor of education and the Chair of the Armenian Department and asked them if it was possible to have their students

participate in the survey. It was agreed that the students of the two psychology classes fill out the questionnaire in an appointed class hour, whereas the students attending Education and Armenian courses would fill out the questionnaire at home and then return them.

The students filled the questionnaire during a previously appointed class hour. The survey was briefly introduced to the respondents and some of the items on the questionnaire were clarified (like the meanings of ethnicity, prejudice and discrimination). The students took an average of 35 minutes to complete the survey questionnaire. Those in the Saint Joseph school were not allowed to complete the questionnaire at school, since the principal thought that the parents should give their prior consent to their children's participation in the anonymous survey. Therefore, the students were asked to fill the questionnaire at home after the researcher had introduced the study at school. The students from all the schools took a sample to one of their parents. They were given two days to return the questionnaire. The parents of the participants from Arslanian College were excluded, since they were assumed French educated. Haigazian university students in two introductory Psychology courses also completed the questionnaire during their class hours, plus took a sample to their parents. Students in the Armenian Studies and two Education classes took two samples home, one to be filled out by them and the other by either of their parents.

The respondents, who were approached through the researcher's social network, were some Haigazian students (approached in the library), the staff of the Armenian schools, in addition to the acquaintances of the researcher and her friends.

Limitations

The limitations of this study lie in the biased sample of mostly students and the exclusion of those from low socio-economic class and those who did not have children in schools or university. Second, only those who were contacted in the classroom setting had the chance to receive clarification or explanation about the questionnaire. The rest did not. Despite the fact that people from low socioeconomic class did not have a chance to participate in this survey, however, this fact is not thought to have altered the results of the study in any way.

Results and Interpretations

Chapter Four

Respondents' Profile

Out of the 467 distributed questionnaires, 300 responded within the specified date. Twenty- five were dropped from the sample because they turned out to be second generation Armenians. The remaining 275 made up the sample in this survey. They were divided along a male female ratio of 41.09 and 58.9 % respectively. Most of them (60.36%) were students, which naturally meant that the majority of the sample were young (50.34%) in the age range of 15-20. Naturally, most of the participants (76%) were never married.

Most of the participants, 82.18% belong to the Armenian Apostolic Church. The majority also expressed sympathy with ARF or “Tashnagtustyun” (41.45%).

Other than student, the majority of the participants were found to be employees (18.54 %). For more detail about the characteristics of the participants, see Table One below.

Table 1

Demographic Variables of the Sample

Percentage of Totals		Percentage of Totals	
Sex (N=275)		Religion (N=275)	
Male	113	Apostolic Armenian	226
Female	162	Protestant Armenian	17
		Catholic Armenian	24
		Other	7
Marital status (N=275)		No religion	1
Never married	209		
married	64	Sympathy N=275	
widowed	1	Hunchag	8
Separate/divorced	1	Ramgavar	9
remarried	0	Tashnag	114
		Neutral	85
Age (N=275)		Indifferent	41
15-20	139	Other	18
21-25	49		
		Occupation	
26-30	15	Professional	3
30-35	19	Employee	51
36-40	18	Artisans	6
41-45	15	Clerics	10
46-50	9	Student	166
50-55	11	Service	6

1- Cultural Assimilation: (Five Language variables, Armenian food eaten at home and Attitudes about Sacred Culture)

2- Five Language Variables:

Findings

Hypothesis One:

H1:

(A): It is hypothesized that the ratios of Groups P will be the highest, the ratios of Group S the lowest and that of Group T in between on all of Gordon's seven variables and the corresponding attitude statements. It is expected that the ratios of the three groups will decrease in the fourth generation.

To test this part of the hypothesis, selected measures on each of Gordon's seven variables and corresponding attitude statements will be taken at a time.

Results:

(A):

I - Cultural Assimilation: (Five Language variables, Armenian food eaten at home and Attitudes about Sacred Culture).

1- Five Language Variables:

The five language variables are:

1- Speak Armenian

2- Read/Write Armenian

3- Armenian at Home

4- Agree on Statement One: "It is not possible to stay Armenian without speaking Armenian."

5- Agree on Statement Two: "Our children should learn to speak Armenian."

In the Third Generation, more people in Group P score "high" on each of the five variables. Not only the entire Group P knows how to speak and communicate in Armenian at home, but almost all of them also know how to read and write in Armenian well. This group also unanimously agrees on statement two "Our children should learn to speak Armenian". Slightly less people in Group T speak Armenian at home than in Group P, but even less people know how to speak and read/write in Armenian in this group. However, the two groups believe in statements One and Two (shown above) in same proportion. In Group S, there is a considerable decline in the ratio of those, who use Armenian at home, and even more decline on the read / write variable. Consequently, less people in Group S seem to agree on Statement One, though on the second statement the

decline is slight in degree. These results are all along what was expected except that Group P and T responded alike on Statement One.

Unlike what was expected, Group P in the Fourth Generation seems to show lower ratios on the four language variables from Group T^{Two}, except on Statement One. This is probably due to the small number of only six respondents in Group P in the Fourth Generation, which can be the reason for the misrepresented frequencies. However, lesser percentage of people in Group S practices Armenian at home or in general, but the read/write subscale suffers the most. This lack of interest in the language is also shown in the decreased ratios on the two above mentioned attitude statements .

As expected, generation imposes its effect across the groups' language skills and practices. However, generation has not changed the three groups' attitudes about preserving the language in general (see Table 2 below).

Table 2
Frequencies of Respondents Scoring “High” on Five Language Variables by
Generation and Groups (in percent)

	Third generation			Fourth generation		
	Group-P	Group-T	Group-S	Group-P	Group-T	Group-S
N=275	(31)	(93)	(39)	(6)	(73)	(33)
Speak Armenian	100	89.24	89.74	83.33	90.41	81.81
Read/Write Armenian	93.54	80.64	66.66	66.66	75.34	54.54
Armenian at home	96.77	92.47	79.48	83.33	87.67	69.69
Agree on statement one	83.87	83.87	64.10	83.33	69.86	66.66
Agree on statement Two	100	97.84	94.87	66.66	91.78	90.90
Statement One: “It is not possible to stay Armenian without speaking Armenian”. Statement Two: “Our children should learn to speak Armenian.”						

2- Armenian food eaten at home:

Most of Group P in the Third Generation eats Armenian food at home once a week or more. As expected, Group T shows a small percentage decline in this habit and more decline proceeds in Group S.

In the Fourth Generation, the picture holds the same in the case of Group P and T, while the ratio in Group S continues to decline further.

Against what we expected initially, generation seems to have affected only Group S. For participants in Group P and Group T, generation did not seem to affect their food. It seems they enjoy what they eat!

Overall, the results on the cultural variables show that there is a decline among the three groups, especially in the knowledge of writing and reading Armenian, communicating in the “mother tongue” at home. Cuisine reflects a family’s secular traditions and customs. It is a measure of a group’s secular culture. The fact that the groups still eat Armenian food in the fourth generation shows that the groups have not abandoned this aspect of their secular culture within a lapse of one generation (see Table 3 below).

Table 3

Frequency Distribution of Eating Armenian Food by Generation and Groups

(in percent)

	Third generation			Fourth generation		
	Group-P	Group-T	Group-S	Group-P	Group-T	Group-S
N=275	(31)	(93)	(39)	(6)	(73)	(33)
Few Times a Year	6.45	5.37	12.82	0	4.10	18.18
Few Times a month	9.67	15.06	17.95	16.67	19.18	33.33
Once a week or more	83.88	79.57	69.23	83.33	76.72	48.49
Total	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00

3- Attitude on Sacred Culture:

In Generation Three, the proportion of those who disagreed to see Church separated from Politics was largest in Group P. Group T does not differ much from Group P. The ratio, however, declines in Group S. As it was expected to see such a drift in Group S from traditional aspects of Armenianness, they supported the separation of the Armenian Church from its traditional role of being interwoven with the national life. Against our initial expectations, a larger ratio of Group P in the Fourth Generation favors the unified ethnocultural role of the Armenian Church. Group S significantly declines from Group T towards the “seperationist” ideology.

Generation seems to go along the expected line. The ratios in the Three Groups decrease across Generation. On statement two, “Our people should get their families to the Armenian Church on Sunday’s even if it’s far from one’s home”, the three groups decline from each other. In Generation Three, a higher proportion in Group P agree on taking their children to church despite its distance from home. The ratios in the subsequent groups, T and S, decline respectively. In the Fourth Generation, the decline of the ratios again occurs in the expected way. It is noteworthy to mention that although this statement is partially irrelevant to the Lebanese sample (people do not have to go far in Lebanon to reach an

Armenian church), the Groups do not like to sacrifice a lot in order to attend mass in an Armenian Church.

Generation offers its small negative effect to all of the three groups (see table 4).

Table 4

Frequency Distribution of Respondents Scoring “High” on Two Attitude

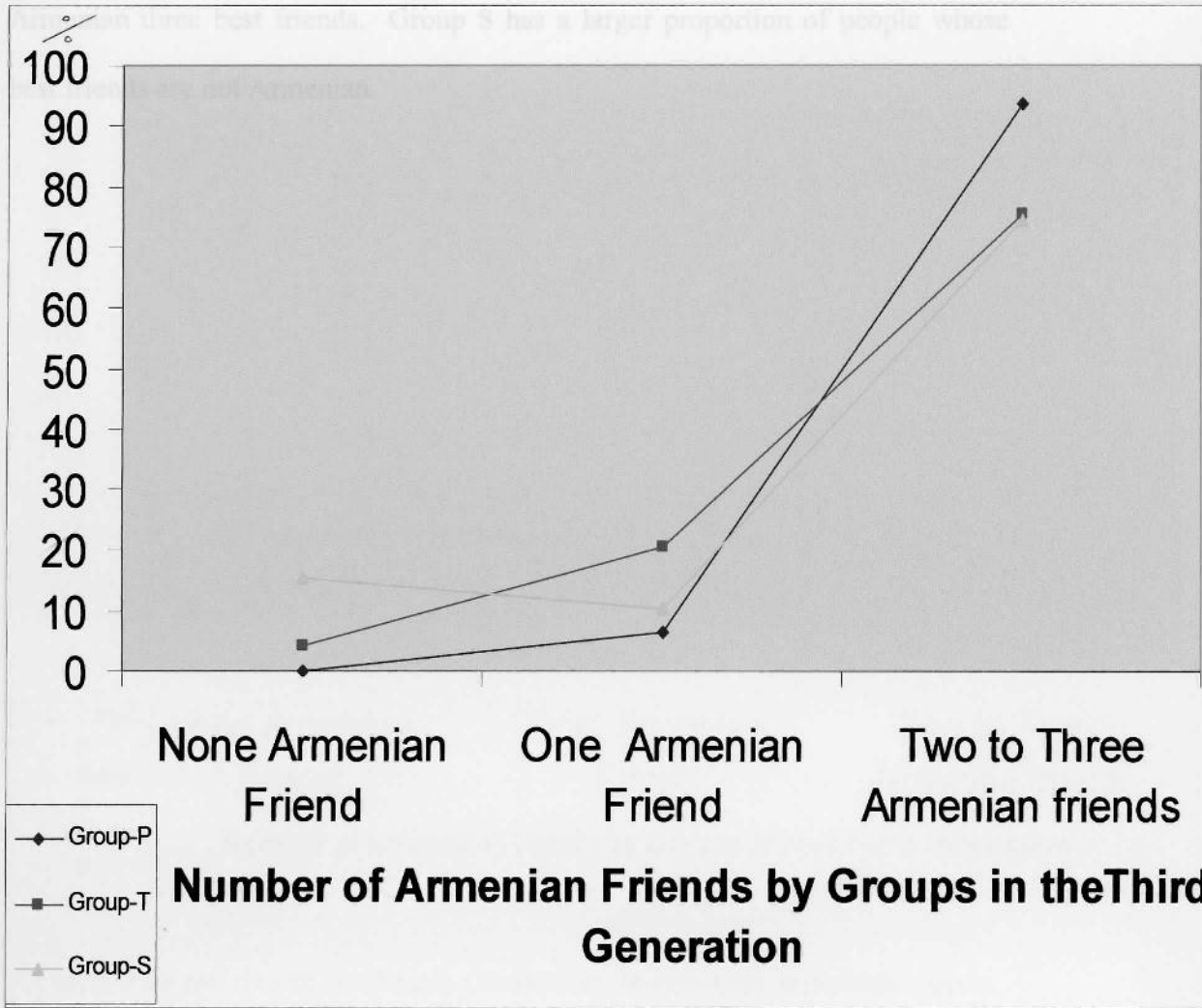
Measures of Sacred Culture by Generation and Group (in percent)

	Third generation			Fourth generation		
	Group-P	Group-T	Group-S	Group-P	Group-T	Group-S
N=275	(31)	(93)	(39)	(6)	(73)	(33)
Statement One	58.06	61.29	33.33	66.66	52.05	24.24
Statement Two	74.19	64.51	51.28	83.33	61.64	42.42
Statement One: “Armenian priests should only preach the Holy Scripts in their sermons and not concern themselves with Armenian issues.”						
Statement Two: “Our people should get their families to the Armenian Church on Sundays even if it’s far from one’s home”.						

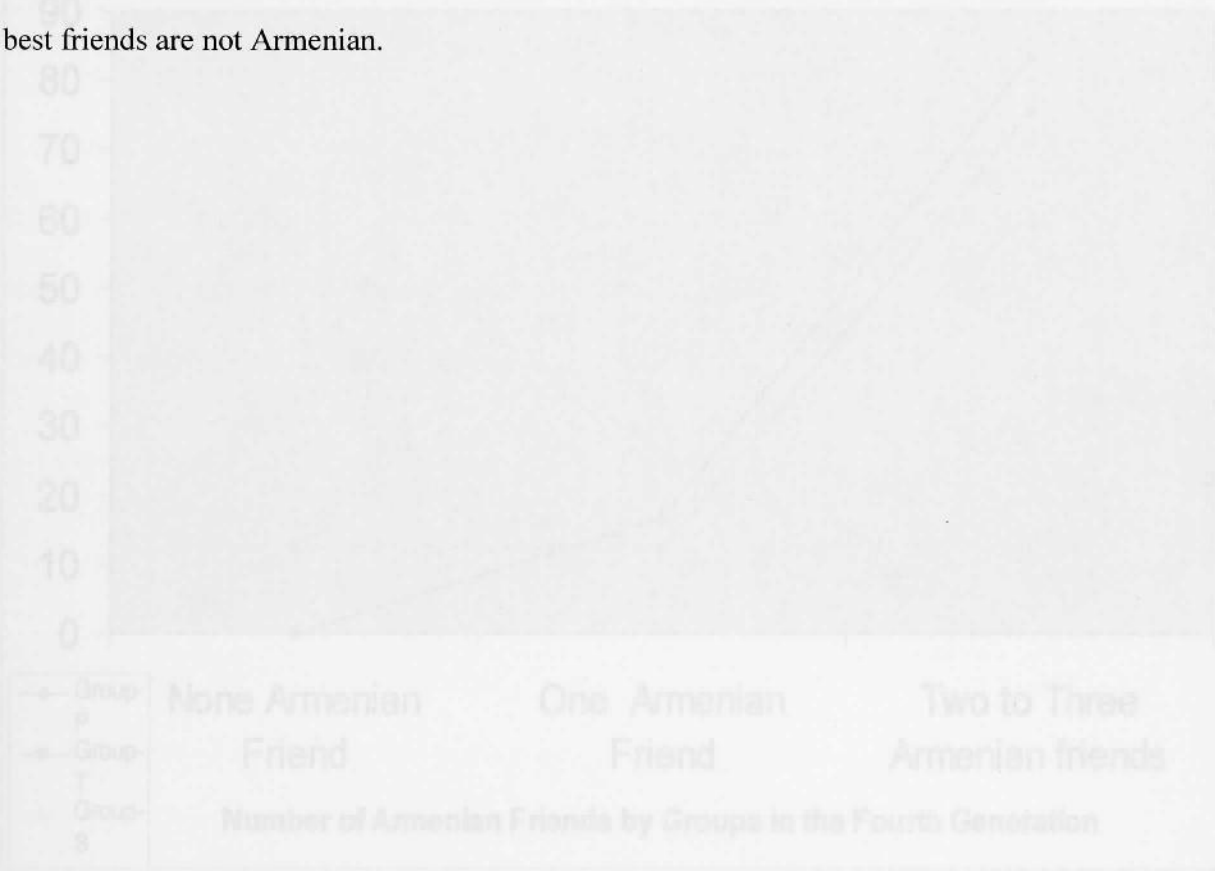
II- Structural Assimilation (Three Best Friends, Consulting Armenian Professionals, Engaging in Public Action and Attitude on Family).

1-Three Best Friends

Graph 1 shows in line with expectation, two-thirds of Group P in the Third Generation have their three best friends all Armenians, and that none of them does not have at least one Armenian amongst his / her three best friends. As expected, this pattern drops drastically in Group T, few of whom already have non-

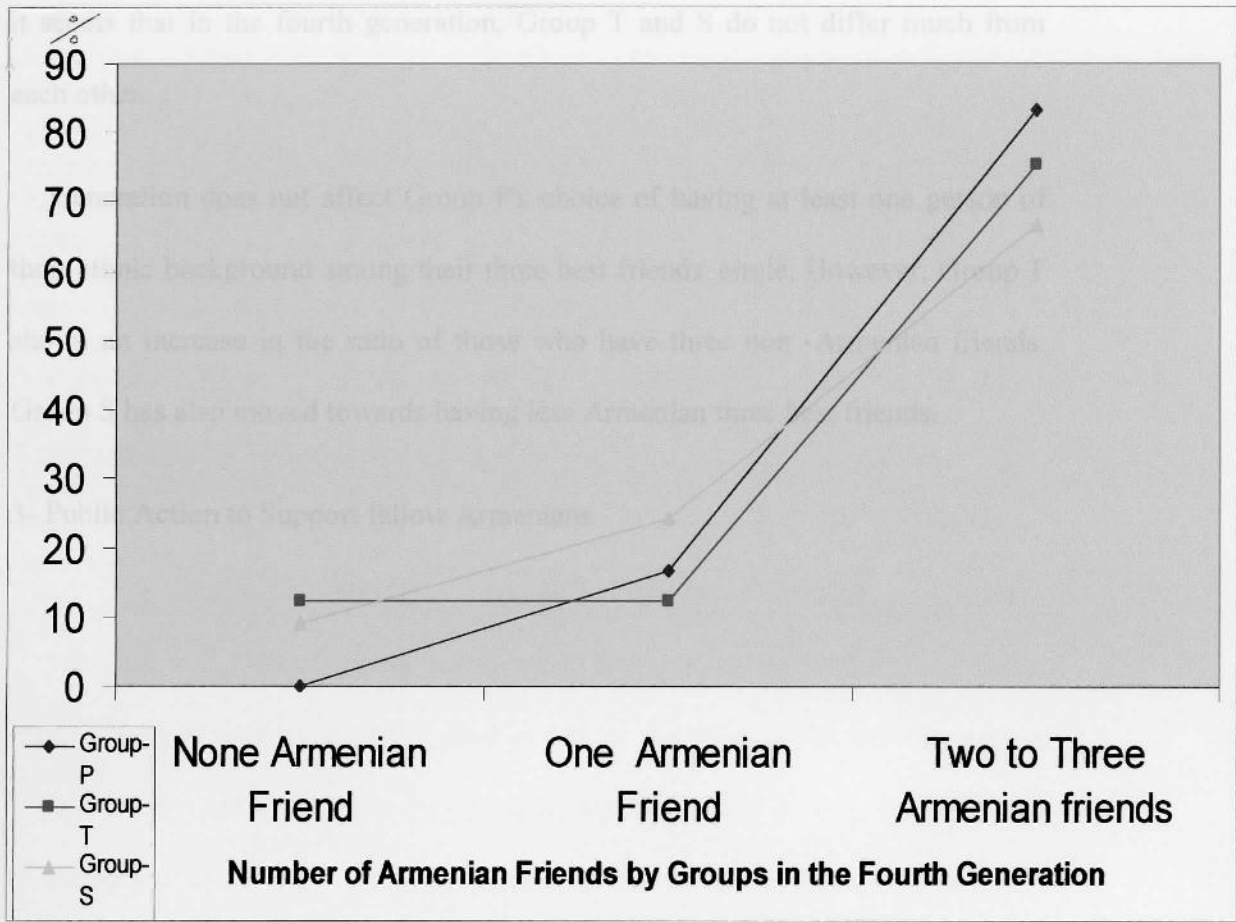


Graph 1 shows in line with expectation, two-thirds of Group P in the Third Generation have their three best friends all Armenians, and that none of them does not have at least one Armenian amongst his / her three best friends. As expected, this pattern drops drastically in Group T, few of whom already have non-Armenian three best friends. Group S has a larger proportion of people whose best friends are not Armenian.



Graph 2 shows that in the Fourth Generation, in line with expectation again, more people in Group P have three Armenian best friends. Group P also differs from Group T on having at least one Armenian among its best friends. No one in

Graph 2 Percentages of Participants with None, One or Two to Three Armenian Friends in the Three Groups in the Fourth Generation by Groups



Graph 2 shows that in the Fourth Generation, in line with expectation again, more people in Group P have three Armenian best friends. Group P also differs from Group T on having at least one Armenian among its best friends. No one in

Group P has three non -Armenian best friends, though 12.33 % of those in Group T have already made that choice. The ratio of those who have three Armenian friends drops considerably in Group S, which however has a slightly less ratio of three non-Armenian friends (9.1 % in Group S and 12.33 % in Group T). Overall, it seems that in the fourth generation, Group T and S do not differ much from each other.

Generation does not affect Group P's choice of having at least one person of their ethnic background among their three best friends' circle. However, Group T shows an increase in the ratio of those who have three non -Armenian friends. Group S has also moved towards having less Armenian three best friends.

3- Public Action to Support fellow Armenians

As expected, Table 3 shows that Group P in the third Generation has a higher ratio of people who have participated in one of the three public actions: getting tuition for Armenian students, furthering Armenian interest in the community and donating money for any Armenian cause. The percentage of those who have not taken part in any of these three public actions increases in Groups T and S respectively.

Table 5 Frequency Distribution of Respondents Engaging in Public Actions to Support Fellow Armenians by Generation and Groups (in percent)

	Third generation			Fourth generation		
	Group-P	Group-T	Group-S	Group-P	Group-T	Group-S
N=275	(31)	(93)	(39)	(6)	(73)	(33)
Get tuition for Armenian students	12.90	9.68	12.82	0	6.84	6.06
Further Armenian interests in your community	29.04	15.06	5.13	16.67	19.18	6.06
Donate money for Armenian cause	32.26	31.18	33.33	33.33	38.36	27.28
None of the above	25.80	44.08	48.72	50	35.62	60.60
Total	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00

As expected, Table 5 shows that Group P in the third Generation has a higher ratio of people who have participated in one of the three public actions: getting tuition for Armenian students, furthering Armenian interest in the community and donating money for any Armenian cause. The percentage of those who have not taken part in any of these three public actions increases in Groups T and S respectively.

In the fourth Generation, unlike what had been expected, Group P members lag behind. The ratio of those who have participated in public action is larger in Group T. As usual, Group S has the smallest ratio of participants who have supported their community in any way. The 50 % rate of non-involvement of Group P in any public action to support fellow Armenians most probably is due to the small number of six people in the fourth Generation. This also can explain the unexpected increase of the ratios of this group from the subsequent generation. In the case of Groups P and S, they do not seem to have suffered the effects of time similarly. More People in Group T have engaged in any pro-Armenian work in the Fourth Generation than its equivalent Group in the previous Generation. This was not in line with the hypothesis as well.

3- Consulting Armenian Professionals

Table 6

Frequency Distribution of Respondents Consulting Armenian Professionals by
Generation and Groups (in percent)

	Third generation			Fourth generation		
	Group-P	Group-T	Group-S	Group-P	Group-T	Group-S
N=275	(31)	(93)	(39)	(6)	(73)	(33)
None	12.90	11.83	25.64	0	16.43	51.51
One or Two	64.52	86.02	66.66	100	73.97	45.45
Three and more	22.58	2.15	7.7	0	9.6	3.04
Total	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00

Table 6 shows that in Generation Three a higher percentage of Group P people deal with Armenian professionals than those in Group T. Group S scores a higher percentage of those who rely only on non-Armenian professionals. Group S is thus moving towards more contact with "out-group" professionals.

In Generation Four, no one in Group P seems to consult non-Armenian professionals. The ratios of Groups T and S however, decrease further on from each other.

Generation seems to have increased the ratios of contact with non-Armenian professionals except in Group P, where the results are accounted for the group's small number as mentioned above.

4- Attitude Statements about Family

Two Attitude statements concerning family values are presented in Table 7. On the First one, "A person should always consider the needs of his family as a whole more important than his own" the Groups show a slightly different pattern as expected. Although in the Third Generation more people in Group P agree on Statement One, more of Group S show they hold this attitude than those in Group T. This finding can be clarified when we consider the New York sample's opinion on this statement. The symbolic ethnics in America differ only by three

Table 7 *on the relatively unassimilated sample of this generation. However, in the fourth generation, much less people in Bakalian's sample agrees on this attitude statement, whereas the mean of this sample slightly increases. This might mean that in a general where assimilation is accelerated, attitude on family matters are not so different.*

Frequency Distribution on Two Attitude Statements about Family by Generation and Groups (in percent)

	Third generation			Fourth generation		
	Group-P	Group-T	Group-S	Group-P	Group-T	Group-S
N=275	(31)	(93)	(39)	(6)	(73)	(33)
Agree on St. One	93.54	64.51	84.61	66.66	82.19	69.69
No opinion on St. One	6.45	12.90	0	33.33	12.32	18.18
Agree on St. Two	100	90.32	92.30	100	82.19	78.78
No opinion on St. Two	0	5.37	0	0	9.58	18.18

Statement One: "A person should always consider the needs of his family as a whole more important than his own".

Statement Two: "A person should always help his parents with the support of his younger brothers and sisters if necessary."

Two Attitude statements concerning family values are presented in Table 7. On the First one, "A person should always consider the needs of his family as a whole more important than his own" the Groups show a slightly different pattern as expected. Although in the Third Generation more people in Group P agrees on Statement One, more of Group S show they hold this attitude than those in Group T. This finding can be clarified when we consider the New York sample's opinion on this statement. The symbolic ethnics in America differ only by three

points from the relatively unassimilated sample of this generation. However, in the fourth Generation, much less people in Bakalian's sample agrees on this attitude statement, whereas the ratios of this sample slightly increase. This might mean that in a context where assimilation is accentuated, attitude on family matters may highlight assimilation level, otherwise, held values about family matters seems to remain at the core of the society. It is noteworthy to mention that assimilated or not with Christian Arabs, this measure of attitude on family will not differentiate the groups, since the family structure among the Christian Arabs and the Armenians is similar. In America, however, Armenians' and Americans' family systems differ to a certain degree.

In the Fourth Generation, the groups move in line with the expectation, expect that again the small number of Group P seems to lower its ratios on the first attitude statement.

Generation has the expected effect but this time only on Groups P and S. In the Fourth Generation, more of Group T shares this attitude than its equivalent group in the previous Generation.

Statement Two, "A person should always help his parents with the support of his younger brothers and sisters if necessary" brings the Groups along the expected line. In the Third Generation, all of Group P seems to believe in Statement Two. Groups T and S, however, are very similar to each other. In the

Fourth Generation, the three Groups show an almost equivalent decline from each other, which was in line with expectation.

Generation shows to have affected Groups T and S only. The unanimous agreement rate of Group P on this statement does not seem to have shaken in the Fourth Generation.

III- Marital Assimilation (Spouse's Ethnicity, five language variables by ancestry, Attitude on intermarriage).

1- The Spouse's Ethnicity

The number of the married participants in this sample was small, only 64, out of which 59 were in the Third Generation and 6 in the Fourth Generation (only natural among the young cohort). Consequently, the data of the Fourth Generation will be ignored.

Table 8

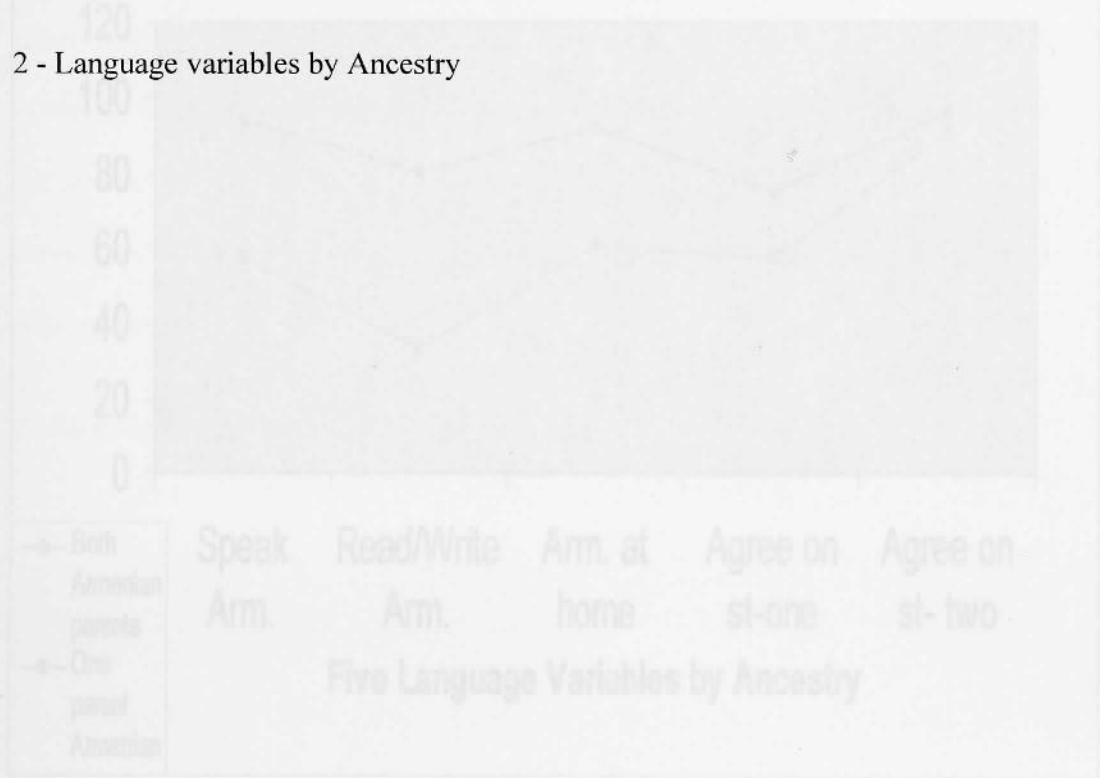
Frequencies of the Spouse's Ethnicity in the Third Generation by Groups (in percent)

	Third generation		
	Group-1	Group-2	Group-3
N=275	(11)	(18)	(29)
Armenian	100	83.33	89.65
Non-Armenian	0	11.12	0
Half-Armenian	0	5.55	10.35
Total	100	100	100

Graph 2

Table 8 shows that all of the eleven people in Group P have married from "within" the group. In Group T, we see somehow more people who have intermarried. However, in Group S, unlike expected, a slightly larger proportion of people have Armenian spouses than those in Group T.

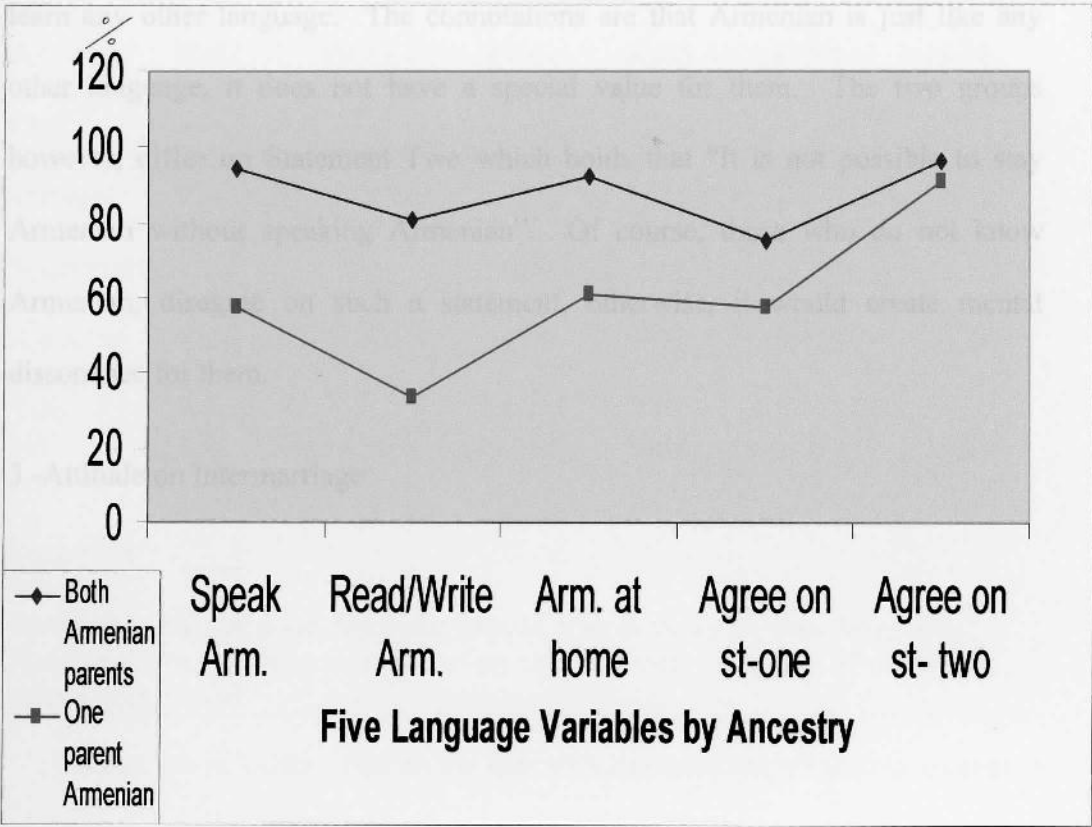
2 - Language variables by Ancestry



To understand the effects of intermarriage on language skills and attitudes concerning them, we have to look at Graph 3. We clearly see that a large proportion of people who have one Armenian parent do not speak Armenian or use it at home. Even a large percentage of them do not read/write Armenian.

Graph 3 groups are similar only in agreeing on Statement Two, which says, "Our children should learn to speak Armenian." They seem to share the belief that their children should learn Armenian, although they act differently on the implementation of this statement. They might agree on that their children should

Percentages of Participants Scoring "High" on Five Language Variables by Ancestry



To understand the effects of intermarriage on language skills and attitudes concerning them, we have to look at Graph 3. We clearly see that a large proportion of people who have one Armenian parent do not speak Armenian or use it at home. Even a large percentage of them do not read/write Armenian.

The two groups are similar only in agreeing on Statement Two, which says, “Our children should learn to speak Armenian”. They seem to share the belief that their children should learn Armenian, although they act differently on the implementation of this statement. They might agree on that their children should learn any other language. The connotations are that Armenian is just like any other language, it does not have a special value for them. The two groups however, differ on Statement Two which holds that “It is not possible to stay Armenian without speaking Armenian”. Of course, those who do not know Armenian, disagree on such a statement, otherwise, it would create mental dissonance for them.

3 -Attitude on Inter-marriage

We can see in Table 9 that on the first attitude statement, which claims that “a good Armenian should always marry another Armenian”, the pattern between Group P and Group T in the Third Generation seems to slightly disagree with the hypothesis. A somehow larger proportion of respondents in Group T agree on Statement One compared to Group P. Group S drastically declines in proportion of those who agree on such a statement. In the Fourth Generation, the groups

Table 9 the predicted way. Group P has the highest ratio of people who agree on
Frequency Distribution of Responses on Attitude Statements on Inter-marriage by
Generation and Groups (in percent)

	Third generation			Fourth generation		
	Group-P	Group-T	Group-S	Group-P	Group-T	Group-S
N=275	(31)	(93)	(39)	(6)	(73)	(33)
Agree on Statement One	83.87	89.24	38.46	66.66	47.94	18.18
No opinion on Statement One	9.67	10.75	15.38	0	12.32	18.18
Agree on Statement Two	90.32	64.51	61.53	66.66	45.20	24.24
No opinion on Statement Two	3.22	16.12	12.82	16.66	21.91	24.24

Statement One: "A good Armenian should always marry another Armenian."
Statement Two: "It is important that my children marry someone of my own ethnic background".

We can see in Table 9 that on the first attitude statement, which claims that "a good Armenian should always marry another Armenian", the pattern between Group P and Group T in the Third Generation seems to slightly disagree with the hypothesis. A somehow larger proportion of respondents in Group T agrees on Statement One compared to Group P. Group S drastically declines in proportion of those who agree on such a statement. In the Fourth Generation, the groups

move in the predicted way. Group P has the highest ratio of people who agree on Statement One and Group S, the lowest.

Generation exerts the expected effect on the Groups. In the Fourth Generation, the ratios in the three groups decline.

On Statement Two, “it is important that my children marry someone of my own ethnic background”, the ratios of the three groups in the two Generations decline from each other in line with the hypothesis.

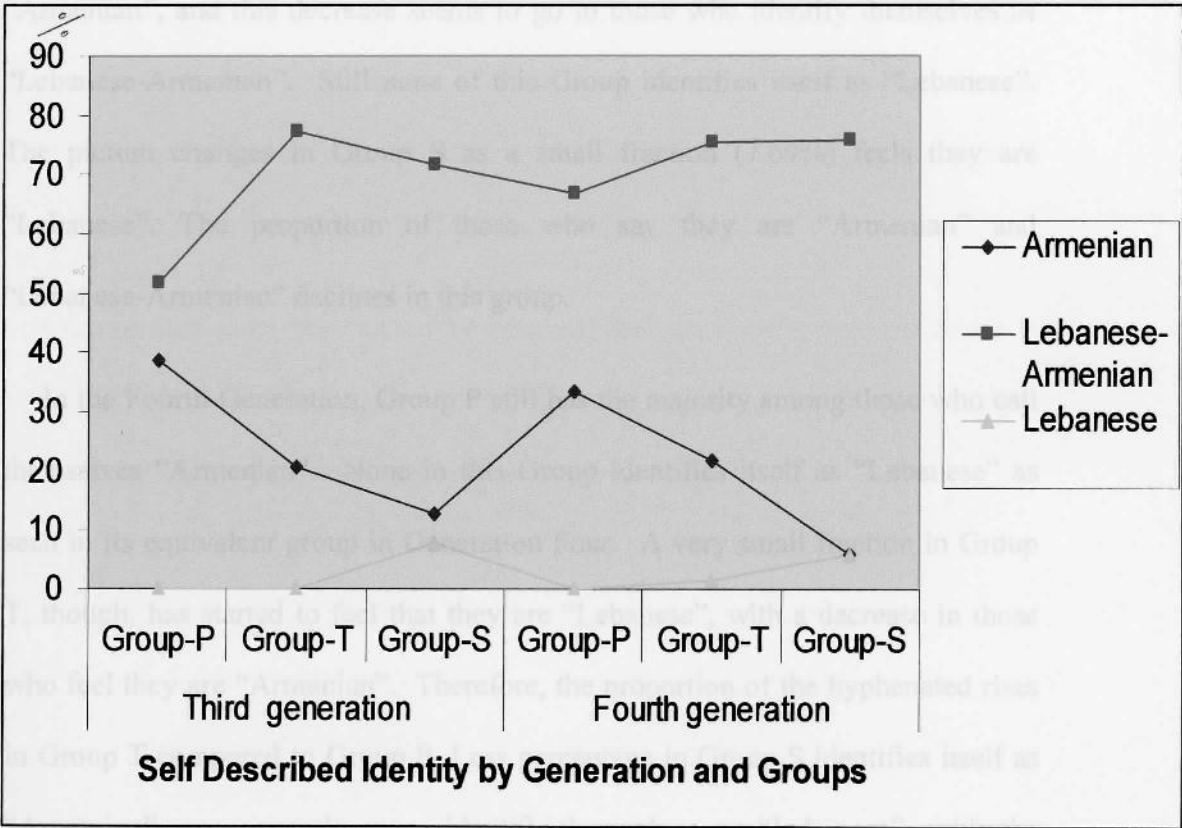
Unlike the slight effect of Generation, here we see that the groups' respective ratios decrease a lot in the fourth Generation. Since attitudes precede behavior, we can infer that a lot more people in the fourth Generation will end up getting married to non-Armenians.

IV- Identificational Assimilation (Self-Described Identity, Attitude on Peoplehood)

1 - Self-Described Identity

Graph 4

Percentages of Self-Described Identity by Generation and Groups



This section of the analysis is crucial because it is the axis around which “peoplehood” rests.

Graph 4 shows how the Groups differ along self - description. No one in Third Generation Group P identifies himself / herself as “Lebanese”. A good proportion of this Group identifies himself / herself as “Armenian”. Almost half of Group P sees itself as “Lebanese-Armenian” and almost 10 % of this group had added

“Armenian-Lebanese” to characterize itself. We do not see such occurrence elsewhere in the table. Group T slightly declines from identifying itself as “Armenian”, and this decrease seems to go to those who identify themselves as “Lebanese-Armenian”. Still none of this Group identifies itself as “Lebanese”. The picture changes in Group S as a small fraction (7.69%) feels they are “Lebanese”. The proportion of those who say they are “Armenian” and “Lebanese-Armenian” declines in this group.

In the Fourth Generation, Group P still has the majority among those who call themselves “Armenian”. None in this Group identifies itself as “Lebanese” as seen in its equivalent group in Generation Four. A very small fraction in Group T, though, has started to feel that they are “Lebanese”, with a decrease in those who feel they are “Armenian”. Therefore, the proportion of the hyphenated rises in Group T compared to Group P. Less percentage in Group S identifies itself as “Armenian”, consequently more identify themselves as “Lebanese”, with the figure of hyphenated identity remaining the same. Therefore, as expected in the hypothesis, the three groups differ in the way they identify themselves.

Generation seems to affect only Groups P and S, which tend to express themselves by a hyphenated identity. A small ratio in Group P stops to call itself “Armenian” and their self-definition takes on the hyphenated form of “Lebanese-Armenian”. A similar decrease is seen in Group S, although almost the same ratio

in the equivalent group of the previous generation had already embarked on being “Lebanese”. Group T seems not to have changed its balanced position across Generation, although the trend of identifying oneself as “Lebanese” emerges slightly in the Fourth Generation. In other words, Group P, assumed an extreme type of ethnics, seems to be affected by Time towards adopting a hyphenated identity first, to replace it later on by the description “Lebanese”.

Overall, therefore, one can safely conclude that the same trends of decline in Armenian unmitigated self-reference between the groups in the third generation are maintained between the groups of the fourth generation.

2- Attitude on Peoplehood.

Table 10 shows that, on the First Attitude Statement, “When I notice an Armenian name on a shop or in the media (such as movie credits, press) I feel happy, proud”, the three Groups slightly differ from the hypothesized model. In the Third Generation, Groups P and T have almost similar ratios, whereas the ratios of Group S slightly differ from Group T. In the subsequent generation, the trend returns to the hypothesized pattern - All in Group P agree on the Statement One, and the ratios of Groups T and S decrease from each other.

Generation seems to have a negative effect only on Group S. However, on the Second Statement, “It is alright to change your name so that you will not be taken as an Armenian”, no one in Group P in the Third Generation

Table 10
Frequency Distribution of Responses “High “on One, “Low “on the Second on
Two Measures of Peoplehood by Generation and Groups (in percent)

	Third generation			Fourth generation		
	Group-P	Group-T	Group-S	Group-P	Group-T	Group-S
N=275	(31)	(93)	(39)	(6)	(73)	(33)
Agreeing on St. One	93.54	95.69	82.05	100	93.15	75.75
No opinion on St. One	6.45	4.30	10.25	0	2.73	21.21
Disagreeing on St. Two	100	73.11	71.79	100	64.38	81.81
No opinion	0	8.6	12.82	0	16.43	18.18
Statement one: “When I notice an Armenian name on a shop or in the media (such as movie credits, press) I feel happy proud”.						
Statement two: “It is alright to change your name so that you will not be taken as an Armenian”.						

Table 10 shows that, on the First Attitude Statement, “When I notice an Armenian name on a shop or in the media (such as movie credits, press) I feel happy, proud”, the three Groups slightly differ from the hypothesized model. In the Third Generation, Groups P and T have almost similar ratios, whereas the ratios of Group S slightly differ from Group T. In the subsequent generation, the trend returns to the hypothesized pattern - All in Group P agree on the Statement One, and the ratios of Groups T and S decrease from each other.

Generation seems to have a negative effect only on Group S. However, on the Second Statement, “It is alright to change your name so that you will not be taken as an Armenian”, no one in Group P in the Third Generation ,

feels it is alright to mask one's ethnic identity by changing one's own name. The ratios of Groups T and S considerably decline from each other. In the following Generation, the trend is somehow different. Although Group P still has the highest proportion of those who feel proud of the success of their fellow ethnics, the least proportion of such people are seen in Group T.

On Statement Two, this time Group T, instead of Group S has the largest proportion of those who think it's alright to hide one's roots by changing one's name. Generation seems to negatively affect Group T only, whereas the ratios of Group S rise in the later generation. We know from Bakalian's study that the New York sample was characterized by sense of peoplehood when it was culturally and structurally assimilated.

V- Attitude receptional Assimilation

Absence of Prejudice

Armenian perception of prejudice in Lebanon is summarized in table 12. There seems to be a drop in perceived prejudice from Group P to Group T. However, contrary to what one may expect, there is no similar drop in perceived prejudice from Group T to Group S. In the fourth Generation, Groups T and S return to the expected fashion. Less people in Group S perceived prejudice

towards them than Group T. The small number of Group P again distorts its characteristic ratios.

Generation seems to decrease the ratios of Groups T and S in the subsequent generation. This implies that the Groups are moving closer towards more perceived tolerance from the Lebanese. As expected, Group S, which is hypothesized to be “symbolic”, is moving closer to assimilation, though it is suspected that not all of the participants really understood the meaning of “prejudice”, because not all the participants had the chance to ask for clarification on the matter (see Table 11 below).

Table 11
Frequency Distribution of Perceived Prejudice by Generation and Groups
(in percent)

	Third generation			Fourth generation		
	Group-P	Group-T	Group-S	Group-P	Group-T	Group-S
N=275	(31)	(93)	(39)	(6)	(73)	(33)
No	54.84	63.45	61.54	100	67.13	75.75
Yes	45.16	36.55	38.46	0	32.87	24.25
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100

VI - Behavior Receptional Assimilation

Absence of discrimination

Table 12
Frequency Distribution of Reported Discrimination by Generation and Groups
(in percent)

	Third generation			Fourth generation		
	Group-P	Group-T	Group-S	Group-P	Group-T	Group-S
N=275	(31)	(93)	(39)	(6)	(73)	(33)
Getting a job	16.12	12.90	2.56	0	13.69	12.12
When dealing with the court	16.12	11.82	5.12	0	13.69	3.03
When dealing with the police	19.35	17.20	7.69	0	10.95	3.03
Admission to school or college	0	6.45	7.69	0	6.84	3.03
Getting scholarship	22.58	13.97	5.12	0	15.06	6.06
Total	74.17	62.34	28.18	0	60.23	27.27

Table 12 summarizes the proportion of those who feel discriminated against in five instances: (a) while getting a job; (b) when dealing with the court; (c) when dealing with the police; (d) when being admitted to College and when getting scholarship.

As expected, a larger percentage in Group P reports discrimination in any of the five instances. The ratio of those who feel the same decreases slightly in Group Two. Nevertheless, in Group S, we see a big drop, which makes this

Group again closer to the Lebanese context than the other two groups. In the Fourth Generation, the total absence of reported discrimination again is believed to be misrepresentative of the group. This finding is again referred to the group's small number. Group T again shows to differ from Group S, as a higher ratio in Group S feels that they are not treated in a different way just because they are Armenians. Again we see the move of this Group towards less distance from the Lebanese which means they are more assimilated than the other two groups.

Generation seems to have the expected effect on Groups T and S. In these groups, the percentage of people who think they are discriminated against decreases across generation. In the case of Group P, the 0% ratio is either a reflection of inflation (because the group is very small in number) or that the six participants in this Group are too young for the items to be applicable to them.

VII- Civic Assimilation

30.34 % of the sample was in the age range of 15-20, and the voting age in Lebanon is 21. The ratio of those who have participated in the elections declines further in Group S, however, the ratio of those who cannot vote is smaller in this Group.

In the Fourth Generation, the majority in the three groups cannot vote (66.67%, 79.43% and 81.81% in Groups P, T and S respectively) since they are underage. That is why we see a very small ratio of voters.

Table 13 *the three groups are expected to have similarly intense feelings towards*
Frequency Distribution of Voting During the Elections by Generation and Groups
(in percent)

	Third generation			Fourth generation		
	Group-P	Group-T	Group-S	Group-P	Group-T	Group-S
N=275	(31)	(93)	(39)	(6)	(73)	(33)
Yes	64.51	34.40	30.76	0	6.85	3.04
No	16.14	22.59	43.6	33.33	13.7	15.15
Can't vote	19.35	43.01	25.64	66.67	79.45	81.81
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100

Table 13 shows that involvement of the Groups in the elections held in Lebanon follows an unexpected pattern. Group P in the third Generation has the highest ratio of voters in the Lebanese parliamentary elections. The proportion of the voters decline almost to its half from Group P to Group S. However, a big section in Group T (43.01%) are underage and hence could not vote, which might be the major reason behind this difference. These results are logical because 50.34 % of the sample was in the age range of 15-20, and the voting age in Lebanon is 21. The ratio of those who have participated in the elections declines further in Group S, however, the ratio of those who cannot vote is smaller in this Group.

In the Fourth Generation, the majority in the three groups cannot vote (66.67%, 79.45% and 81.81% in Groups P, T and S respectively) since they are underage. That is why we see a very small ratio of voters.

(B): All the three groups are expected to have similarly intense feelings towards Turkey's Denial of the Genocide.

Table 14: Feelings Towards Turkey's Denial of the Genocide by Generation and Group (in percent)

	Third generation			Fourth generation		
	(31)	(93)	(39)	(6)	(73)	(33)
Justice	48.38	58.08	31.30	50	49.31	57.58
Anger and Frustration	45.17	32.27	33.33	50	37.03	30.30
Humiliation	0	5.37	7.69	0	9.58	6.06
Indifference	0	1.07	2.56	0	0	0
Understand their behavior	0	0	2.56	0	0	0
Disgust	0	0	0	0	0	3.03
Both are guilty	0	0	0	0	1.36	0
Hatred	0	1.07	0	0	1.36	0
Doesn't know history	0	1.07	0	0	0	0
Revenge	6.45	0	0	0	0	0
Cowardice	0	0	2.56	0	0	0
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100

Table 14 shows that Group P in the Third Generation is divided along those who want Justice and those who feel Anger and Frustration toward Turkey's denial of the Armenian Genocide. No one in Group P feels indifferent towards this issue, and there is a small section who reported "Revenge", which was added by the participants themselves on the questionnaire, and this only appears in this

Table 14 Group T, the percentage of those who ask for Justice rises and the ratio
Frequency Distribution of Respondents' Feelings Towards Turkey's Denial of the
Genocide by Generation and Groups (in percent)

	Third generation			Fourth generation		
	Group-P	Group-T	Group-S	Group-P	Group-T	Group-S
N=275	(31)	(93)	(39)	(6)	(73)	(33)
Need	48.38	58.08	51.30	50	49.31	57.58
Justice						
Anger and	45.17	32.27	33.33	50	37.03	30.30
Frustration						
Humiliation	0	5.37	7.69	0	9.58	6.06
Need to	0	1.07	0	0	0	0
change						
attitude						
Indifference	0	1.07	2.56	0	1.36	3.03
Understand	0	0	2.56	0	0	0
their						
behavior						
Disgust	0	0	0	0	0	3.03
Both are	0	0	0	0	1.36	0
guilty						
Hatred	0	1.07	0	0	1.36	0
Doesn't	0	1.07	0	0	0	0
know						
history						
Revenge	6.45	0	0	0	0	0
Cowardice	0	0	2.56	0	0	0
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100

Table 14 shows that Group P in the Third Generation is divided along those who want Justice and those who feel Anger and Frustration toward Turkey's denial of the Armenian Genocide. No one in Group P feels indifferent towards this issue, and there is a small section who reported "Revenge", which was added by the participants themselves on the questionnaire, and this only appears in this

Group. In Group T, the percentage of those who ask for Justice rises and the ratio of the frustrated slightly declines. Here we see the emergence of a small segment of those who feel “indifferent” towards Turkey’s denial, and a slightly larger portion of the group, which feels “Humiliated”. These two feelings rise in a very small minority in Group S, where we also see a small decline in the portion of those who “Need Justice”. In the Fourth Generation, we can see Group P distributed in equal ratio along “Need Justice” and “Anger and Frustration”. In Group T, we see a further decline in the ratio of those who feel “Angry and frustrated”, and the percentage of those who feel “Humiliated” rises. The small section of those who reported “Indifference” comes back in Group T. Group S also shows a decline on “Anger and Frustration” and this decline is compensated in the same proportion by those, who “Need Justice”. A very small rise in the “Indifferent” ratio is also seen. We can conclude that even Group S, which is drifting away from “Armenianness”, it still feels the need to have Justice granted to the Armenians on the issue of Genocide recognition. The proportion of Armenians who feel the need for justice does not seem to waver all across groups and generations. So much can be said about their feeling of “Anger and Frustration” with higher bumps in Groups in the third and the fourth Generations.

Group-P	Group-T	Group-S	Group-P	Group-T	Group-S
Third Generation			Fourth Generation		

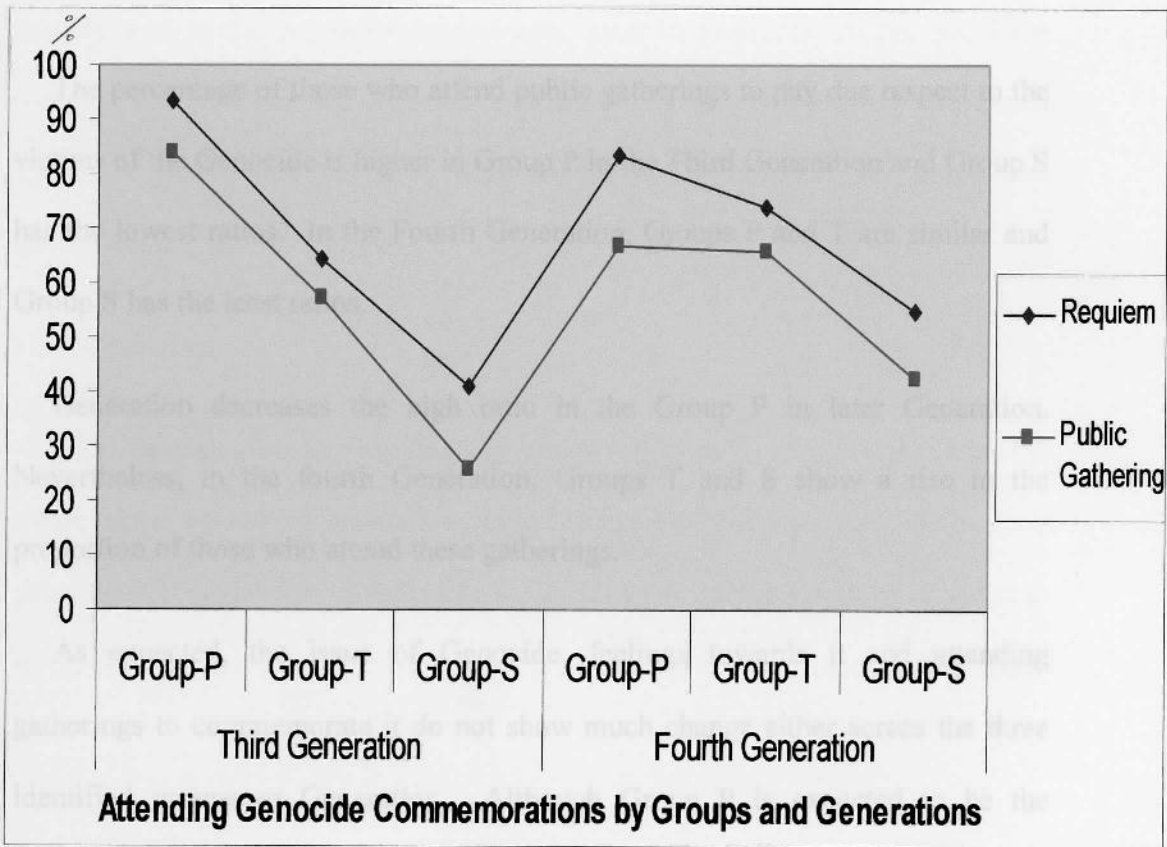
Attending Genocide Commemorations by Groups and Generations

In other words, all the Armenian sample irrespective of age remain consistent in their expression for the need for justice as well as their frustration and anger over Turkey's Denial Policy extended over a period of 90 years so far.

2- Attending Genocide Commemorations

Graph 5

Percentages of Participants Attending Genocide Commemorations in the Third and the Fourth Generation by Groups



Graph 5 shows that the three Groups move perfectly as expected in the hypothesis. It seems that in all the Groups in the Two Generations, more people attend Requiem services than other kinds of public gatherings to commemorate the Genocide.

A larger ratio in Group P attends Requiem services. This ratio decreases in Group T and decreases even more in Group S. In the Fourth Generation, the pattern remains the same. Generation seems only to help decrease the percentages of Group P. The proportion of people in Groups T and S in the Fourth Generation rises.

The percentage of those who attend public gatherings to pay due respect to the victims of the Genocide is higher in Group P in the Third Generation and Group S has the lowest ratios. In the Fourth Generation, Groups P and T are similar and Group S has the least ratios.

Generation decreases the high ratio in the Group P in later Generation. Nevertheless, in the fourth Generation, Groups T and S show a rise in the proportion of those who attend these gatherings.

As expected, the issue of Genocide, feelings towards it and attending gatherings to commemorate it do not show much change either across the three identified groups or Generation. Although Group P is expected to be the

polarized ethnics, the extreme form of traditional ethnics, the other Groups, the traditional (Group T) and the Symbolic (Group S), have not resolved their feelings towards the denial of the crime against the Armenians. In fact, this issue is the focus of much of the lobbying work carried out in the Armenian Diaspora and the homeland. Many Armenian intellectuals express deeply rooted feelings about the Genocide and its continued denial in their works. Atom Egoyan's movie, "Ararat", where the world - famous singer and actor French - Armenian Charles Aznavour took one of the leading roles, raised international awareness, and further caused frustration in Turkey. Therefore, neither Generation nor involvement in the Armenian mainstream seem to divert the Armenians from focusing on this topic since it is the embodiment of an ultimate crime committed against a nation and yet it is still denied by the heirs of the perpetrator government.

Hypothesis Two

H2: The ratios in the present study are expected to be much higher than the ratios of the equivalent generations in the "New York" study on all of Gordon's seven variables and the attitude statements. The two samples are not expected to differ on the way they feel towards the Turkish denial of the Armenian Genocide.

The present sample is compared to its equivalent cohort in Bakalian's survey. Selected measures corresponding to each of Gordon's seven variables and complementary attitude statements will be used.

I- Cultural Assimilation: (Five language variables, Food eaten at home and Attitude on sacred culture)

1 - Five Language variables:

Table 15

Frequency Distribution of Five Language Variables of the Present and the New York Samples by Generation (in percent)

	Third generation		Fourth generation	
N=275	(163)	(41)B. Sample	(112)	(16)B. Sample
Speak	91.41	14.6	87.5	12.5
Read/Write	79.75	4.9	68.75	12.5
Armenian at home	90.18	0.0	82.14	0.0
Agree on St. One	79.14	21.9	69.64	25.0
Agree on St. Two	97.54	68.3	90.18	56.2

Note. The data in columns 2 and 4 in the tables15-31 and the data about the New York sample in Graphs 6-8 are from Armenian-Americans: From being to feeling Armenian (pp. 118, 148, 163, 214, 223, 236, 256, 354, 355, 360, 377, 378, 412, 410, 411) by Bakalian P. A. , 1993, New Brunswick, Transaction

Publishers. Copyright 1993 by the International and Pan-American Copyright Conventions. Adapted by permission from Bakalian.

In Table 15 we see that the Third and Fourth Generation of the present sample differ markedly on all of the three language skills from that of America. In America, Armenian is no longer spoken at home (0%) in the two generations. The "New York" sample nevertheless feels it is necessary to teach their children Armenian, which is shown in the high ratio of agreement on the second attitude statement. The expression "It's easier said than done" holds perfectly true here. These people do not speak Armenian at all in their homes yet most of them believe that their children should learn to speak the "mother tongue".

2 - Armenian Food Eaten at Home.

Table 16
Frequency Distribution of the Present and the New York Sample's Responses of
Eating Armenian Food by Generation (in percent)

	Third generation		Fourth generation	
N=332	(163)	(41)B. Sample	(112)	(16)B. Sample
Few Times a Year	7.37	39.0	8.04	31.3
Few Times a Month	14.72	39.0	23.21	50.0
Once a Week or more	77.91	22.0	68.75	18.8
Total	100	100	100	100

Table 16 shows that the “New York” sample again differs drastically in their habits of eating Armenian food from the present sample. Although the practice of secular culture is the easiest part, it seems Armenians in America have other food preferences. In addition, cooking precedes eating. If the sample or their parents do not know how to cook Armenian food, then automatically there will be few people who would eat Armenian food.

3- Attitude on Sacred Culture.

Table 17 New York sample does not favor the second statement though, which

Frequency Distribution of the present and the New York Respondents on Two

Attitude Measures of Sacred Culture by Generation (in percent) do not want to

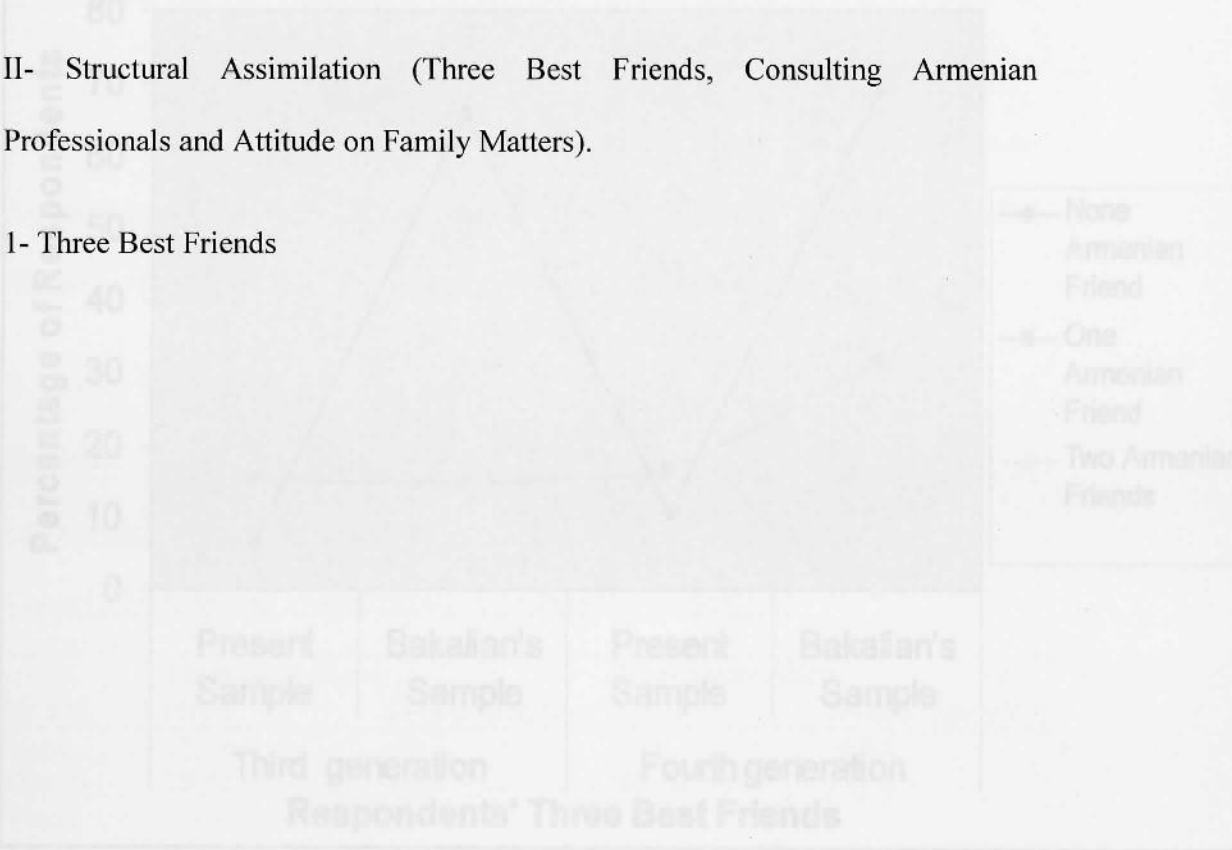
	Third generation		Fourth generation	
N=332	(163)	(41)B. Sample	(112)	(16)B. Sample
Agree on	54	58.4	44.64	53.3
St. One				
Agree on	63.2	29.3	57.14	18.8
St. Two				
Statement One: "Armenian Priests should only preach the Holy Scripts in their sermons and not concern themselves with Armenian issues."				
Statement Two: "Our People should get their families to the Armenian Church on Sundays even if it's far from home."				

It is very interesting to see in Table 17 that Armenians in Bakalian's study agree in a higher ratio on the First Attitude Statement than the present sample. Armenians in America back in 1986 did not want to separate the Church from its national role, whereas a less proportion of people in Lebanon, especially in the Fourth Generation, favor this stance. This is a reflection of the "triple melting pot" phenomenon in America, which poses that the three religions, Catholic, Protestant and Jew has remained resilient to assimilation. Among a multiethnic yet homogenized American society, religion serves as the biggest tie to a person's ethnic roots, and Armenians in America do not want to see their Church separate from its national character. They seem to like the role that the Church holds other than teaching the Bible.

The “New York” sample does not favor the second statement though, which asks one to drive far to get the family to Church on Sundays. It is understandable that in the weekend, unlike the working days, people in America do not want to commute. Hence, we see again that the present sample has a much higher ratio on this attitude statement than their counterparts in New York.

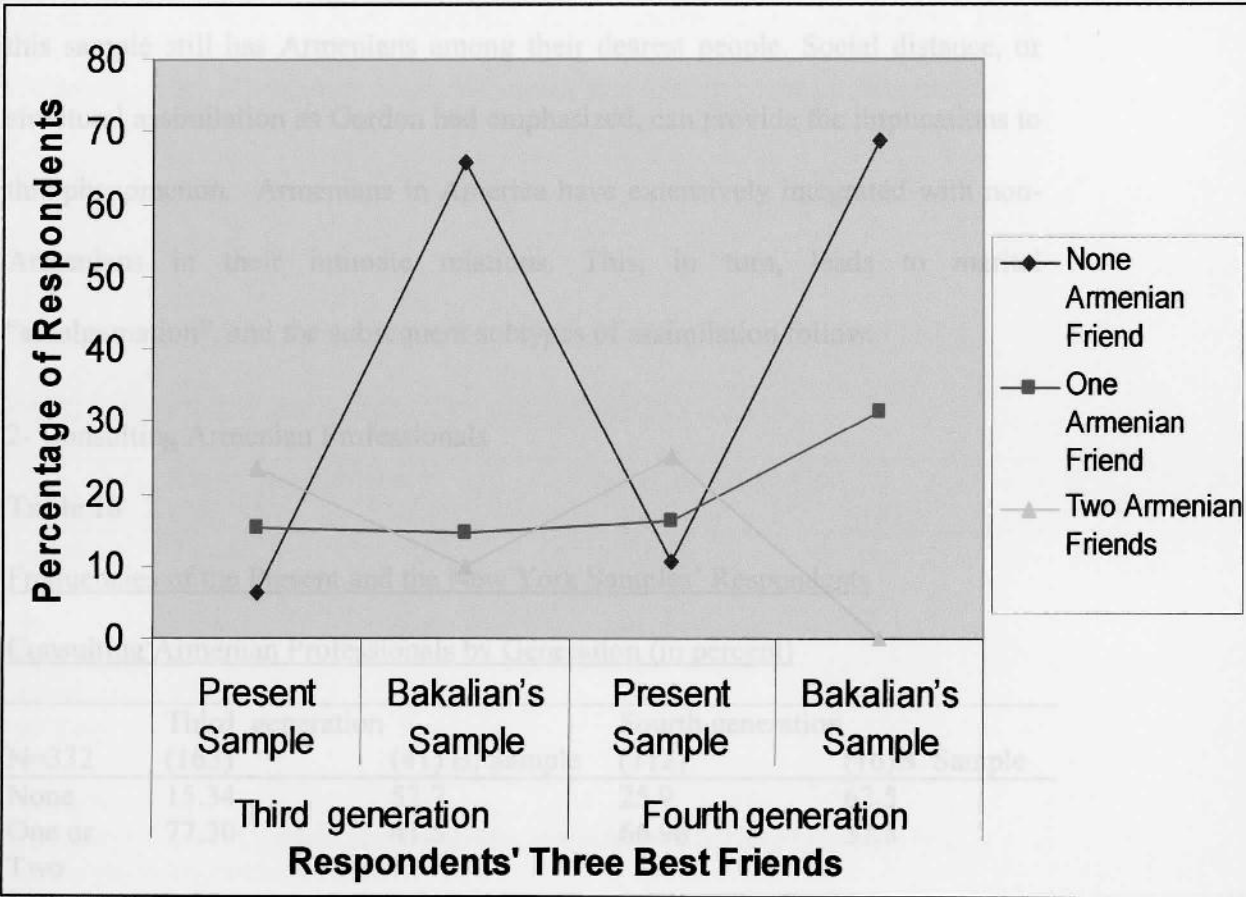
II- Structural Assimilation (Three Best Friends, Consulting Armenian Professionals and Attitude on Family Matters).

1- Three Best Friends



Graph 6 shows that in the Third Generation, the “New York” sample differs greatly from the present one. Armenian-Americans have a high ratio of all three non - Armenian friends. This figure is reversed when it comes to the all three

Graph 6
Percentages of the Participants' Three Best Friends in the Present and New York
Sample by Generation



Graph 6 shows that in the Third Generation, the “New York” sample differs greatly from the present one. Armenian-Americans have a high ratio of all three non - Armenian friends. This figure is reversed when it comes to the all three

Armenian friends. Armenians in Lebanon still make friends with their fellow ethnics.

Graph 6 also shows that, in the Fourth Generation, no one in Bakalian's sample has all three or two Armenians among its close friends, whereas the majority of this sample still has Armenians among their dearest people. Social distance, or structural assimilation as Gordon had emphasized, can provide the implications to this phenomenon. Armenians in America have extensively integrated with non-Armenians in their intimate relations. This, in turn, leads to marital “amalgamation”, and the subsequent subtypes of assimilation follow.

2- Consulting Armenian Professionals

Table 18
Frequencies of the Present and the New York Samples' Respondents
Consulting Armenian Professionals by Generation (in percent)

	Third generation		Fourth generation	
N=332	(163)	(41) B. Sample	(112)	(16)B. Sample
None	15.34	53.7	25.9	62.5
One or	77.30	41.5	66.96	37.5
Two				
Three	7.36	4.9	7.14	0
Total	100	100	100	100

Table 18 shows that in the Third Generation we still have a small fraction of the New York sample who consult three or more Armenian professionals. This figure, however, disappears completely in the Fourth Generation. Compared to

the present sample, in the Third Generation a bigger ratio in America consult all non-Armenian professionals. It is interesting to note that the ratios of the two samples of those who consult non-Armenian professionals increase in almost 10 points from the Third to the Fourth Generation. Therefore, we can conclude that Generation offered the two samples' ratios increased in Generation Four. Evidently, there is no escape from the impact that time imposes on assimilation.

3 - Attitude on Family

Table 19
Frequencies of the Present and the New York Samples' Responses about Two Attitude Statements about Family by Generation (in percent)

	Third generation		Fourth generation	
N=332	(163)	(41)	(112)	(16)
Agree on St. One	74.84	70.7	77.67	56.3
No Opinion	8.58	2.4	15.17	12.5
Agree on St. Two	92.63	70.7	82.14	68.8
No opinion	3.06	7.3	13.39	12.5
Statement One: "A person should always consider the needs of his family as a whole more important as his own".				
Statement Two: "A person should always help his parents with the support of his younger brothers or sisters if necessary."				

Table 19 summarizes the responses on two statements about family values. The two samples in the Third Generation, contrary to the hypothesis, have almost the same ratio of people who agree, "a person should always consider the needs of

his family as a whole more important than his own". In the Fourth Generation, though, we see a decline in the proportion of the "New York" sample compared to this sample. Generation seems to have affected the "New York" sample more than the present one.

On the second statement, "a person should always help his parents with the support of his younger brothers and sisters when necessary", Bakalian's sample in the Third Generation has a lower percentage of those who agree on this statement. The decline in the two samples is mild though in the Fourth Generation. People seem to hold on to their attitudes as they form the core of one's values and personality.

III- Identificational Assimilation (Self described identity and Attitude on Peoplehood).

1- Self - described identity.

Table 20

Frequency Distribution of the Present and the New York Samples' Self-described Identity by Generation (in percent)

N=332	Third generation		Fourth generation	
	(163)	(41)B. Sample	(112)	(16)B. Sample
Armenian	22.08	5	17.85	6.3
Lebanese-Armenian / American Armenian	71.71	72.5	75	68.8
Lebanese/American	1.85	22.5	2.67	25
Other	4.90	0	4.48	0
Total	100	100	100	100

Table 20 shows that, in the Third Generation, the “New York” sample has higher and lower ratios of those who identify themselves as “American” and “Armenian” respectively. The proportion in the two samples that have used hyphenated identity is almost the same. In the fourth Generation, the hyphenated identity in the “New York” sample decreases and the “American” identity increases. Those who have followed a similar course in the present sample are a very small fraction both in absolute terms and in terms of comparison between the two samples.

2- Attitude on Peoplehood.

Table 21
Frequency Distribution of the Present and New York Samples' Responses "High"
on One, "Low" on the Second on Two Measures of Peoplehood by Generation
(in percent)

	Third generation		Fourth generation	
N=332	(163)	(41)B. Sample	(112)	(16)B.Sample
Agree on	92.02	95.1	88.4	87.5
St. One				
No	6.14	2.4	8.04	12.5
Opinion				
Disagree	77.91	78.0	71.43	75.0
on St.				
Two				
No	7.97	12.2	16.07	25.0
Opinion				
Statement One: "When I notice an Armenian name on a shop or in the media (such as movie credits, press) I feel happy, proud.				
Statement Two: "It is alright to change your name so that you will not be taken as an Armenian".				

It is very interesting to note that in Table 21 the fact that although the "New York" sample fared much behind in the cultural and structural scales, a bigger ratio in their sample has a strong sense of peoplehood than the sample in Lebanon. A slightly bigger ratio of Bakalian's sample in the Third Generation agreed on Statement One. In the Fourth Generation, the ratios of the "New York" sample suffer slightly more compared to the ratios of the present sample.

On the second statement, the two samples' ratios are similarly high in the Third Generation. This is also contrary to what was expected. In the Fourth

Generation, there is a decline in the two ratios but, this time, the present sample shows a slightly bigger decline. This probably reflects the fact that the majority of the Armenians in the United States do not like the idea of hiding or being ashamed of one's ethnic identity, which is in accordance with their strong sense of peoplehood seen in their agreements on Statement One.

This strong sense of peoplehood in the "New York" sample has led to Bakalian's thesis that although the Armenians in America are assimilated along the preceding variables, they identify themselves as Armenian-Americans and have a strong sense of "we-ness". Feeling proud of one's ethnic background is reflected in the "cultural pluralism" ideology of the United States. Among the homogenized Americans, people hold on to their roots, albeit symbolically, to satisfy the need to belong and their feelings of uniqueness.

IV- Marital Assimilation (Spouse's ethnicity and Attitude on Intermarriage).

1 - Spouse's Ethnicity.

Table 22

Frequencies of the Spouses' Ethnicity in the Two Samples by Generation

(in percent)

	Third generation		Fourth generation	
N=332	(163)	(41)B. Sample	(112)	(16)B. Sample
Armenian	89.65	37.0	100	0.0
Non-Armenian	3.45	62.9	0	100
Half Armenian	6.9	0	0	0
Total	100	100	100	100

Table 22 shows that the proportion of the intermarried is excessively higher in the American sample than this sample in the Third Generation. In the Fourth Generation, the frequency of the married is small in the two samples. Nevertheless, it is interesting to note that out of the 6 married from the present sample, the rate of marrying Armenians is 100%, and out of the 7 married in the other sample, the rate of intermarriage was 100%. These numbers cannot be taken in absolute terms; however, they may reflect the underlying trend of marital habits.

2- Attitude on Intermarriage

Table 23

Frequency Distribution of the Present and the New York Samples' Respondents' on Two Attitude Statements on Inter-marriage by Generation (in percent)

	Third generation		Fourth generation	
N=332	(163)	(41)B. Sample	(112)	(16)B. Sample
Agree on St. One	76.07	12.2	40.18	0.0
No Opinion	11.65	12.2	13.4	6.3
Agree on St. Two	68.71	17.1	40.18	18.8
No Opinion	12.88	22.0	22.32	18.8
Statement One: "A good Armenian should always marry another Armenian."				
Statement Two: "It is important for my children to marry someone of my own ethnic background".				

It is not surprising to see in Table 23 that the proportion of agreement on Statement One in the Third Generation of the "New York" sample is significantly lower than in this sample. None holds such a value in the Fourth Generation American sample and the ratio in the present sample drops greatly across Generation on this item as well.

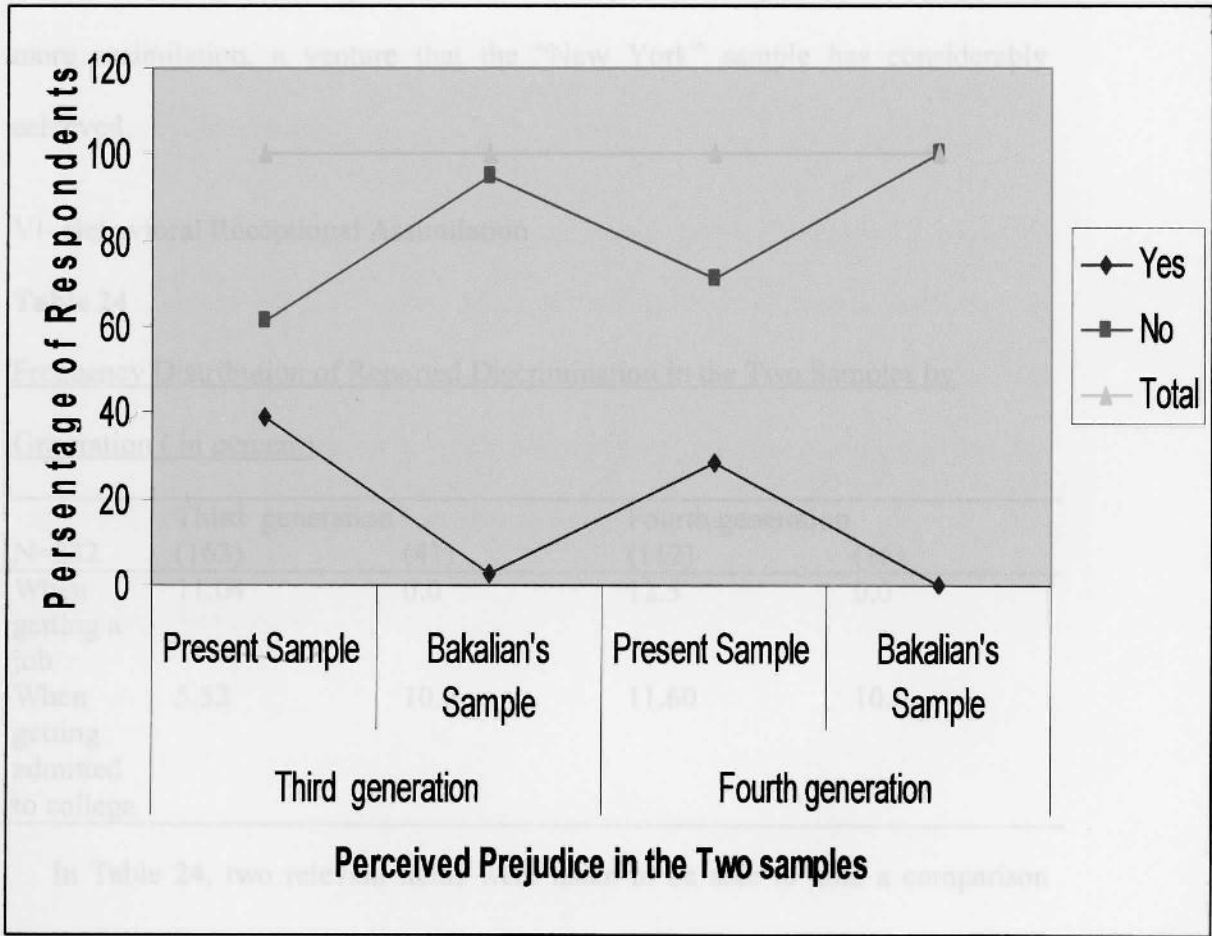
Agreement on Statement Two has again a much lower proportion in the Third Generation "New York" sample than among their peers in this sample. In the Fourth Generation, the ratio in this sample decreases, but increases slightly in the Fourth Generation of Bakalian's study.

V- Attitude Receptional Assimilation.

Reported prejudice.

Graph 7

Percentages of Respondents' Perceived Prejudice in the Present and the "New York" sample by Generation



Graph 7 shows that almost the entire New York sample in the Third Generation feels no prejudice against them compared to the 60 % of those who feel prejudice towards Armenians in this sample. In the Fourth Generation, there is a maximum increase in Bakalian's ratio, taking the proportions of those who do not feel prejudice to a plateau (100%), and the ratio of this sample undergoes an increase of 10%. These figures show that the present sample is moving towards more assimilation, a venture that the "New York" sample has considerably achieved.

VI- Behavioral Receptional Assimilation

Table 24

Frequency Distribution of Reported Discrimination in the Two Samples by

Generation (in percent)

	Third generation		Fourth generation	
N=332	(163)	(41)	(112)	(16)
When getting a job	11.04	0.0	12.5	0.0
When getting admitted to college	5.52	10.0	11.60	10.0

In Table 24, two relevant items were taken to be able to hold a comparison between these two samples. These were (a) reported discrimination when getting a job and (b) getting admitted to college. Compared to a small ratio of reported

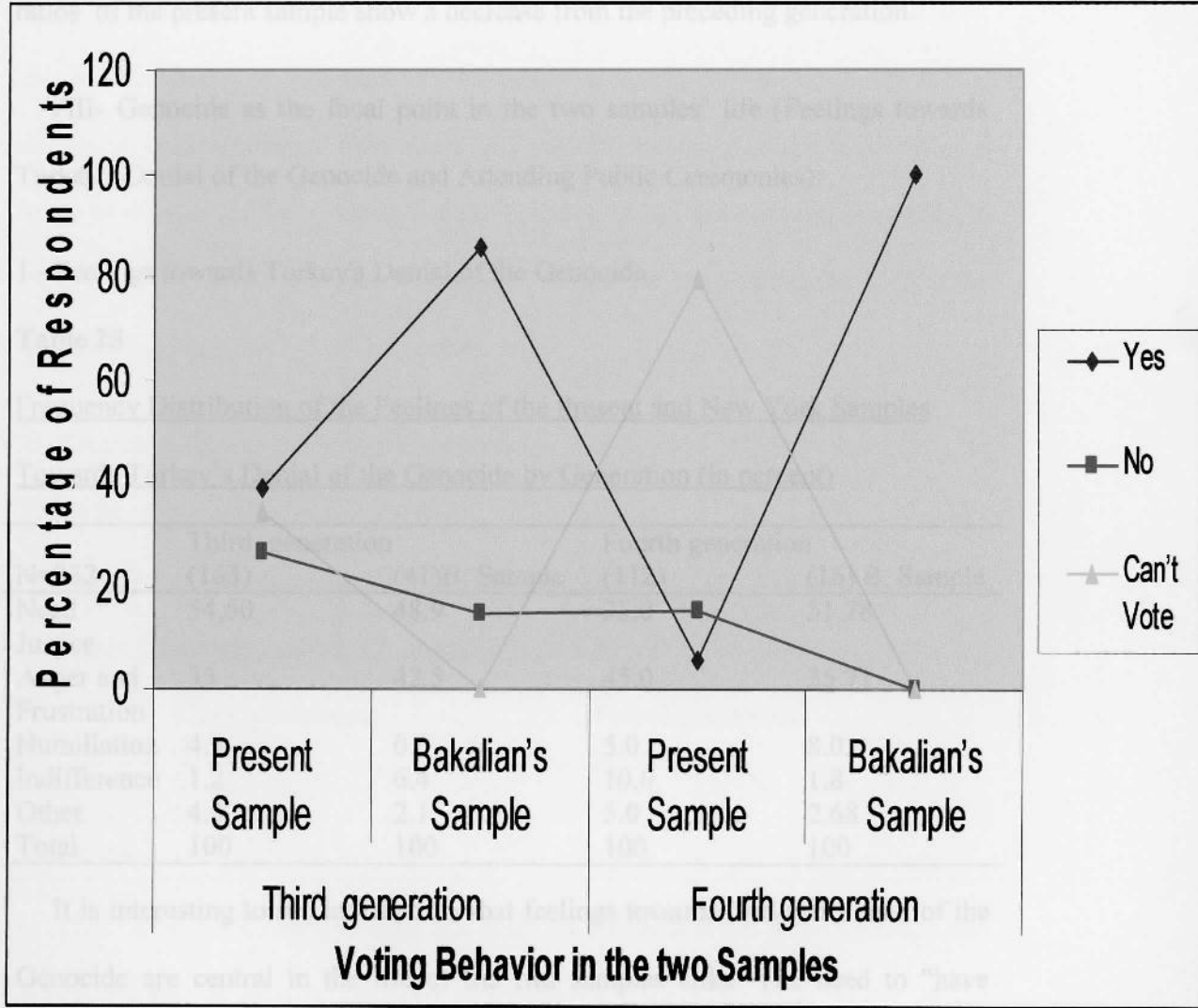
discrimination across the two generations of the present sample, the ratio is zero in the “New York” sample on the “Getting a job” item. They report no discrimination against them when it comes to being employed. However, the picture is different when Admission to College is the issue. This time the “New York” sample reported discrimination in a higher ratio than the present sample and in the Fourth Generation this ratio does not decline. On this item, the ratios of those who feel discriminated against have also increased in the present sample in the Fourth Generation.

The increase in the ratios of the present study across Generation shows that although assimilation is not at its advanced stage, however it is nevertheless, in progress. It is important to remember that Behavioral Assimilation is the item before the last on the seven assimilation variables. Being assimilated on this variable means the group has been almost completely assimilated.

VII- Civic Assimilation

Present Sample	Bakalian's Sample	Present Sample	Bakalian's Sample
Third generation		Fourth generation	
Voting Behavior in the two Samples			

Graph 8 Percentages of Voting in the Present and the New York Samples, During the Elections by Generation



Compared to the "New York" sample, we see in Graph 8 that significantly less proportion of the present sample in the third Generation has voted in the parliament elections than in the "New York" sample. In the Fourth Generation, the ratio of the voters in the "New York" sample reaches its plateau, though the ratios of the present sample show a decrease from the preceding generation.

VIII- Genocide as the focal point in the two samples' life (Feelings towards Turkey's Denial of the Genocide and Attending Public Ceremonies):

1 - Feelings towards Turkey's Denial of the Genocide

Table 25
Frequency Distribution of the Feelings of the Present and New York Samples
Towards Turkey's Denial of the Genocide by Generation (in percent)

	Third generation		Fourth generation	
N=332	(163)	(41)B. Sample	(112)	(16) B. Sample
Need Justice	54.60	48.9	35.0	51.78
Anger and Frustration	35	42.5	45.0	35.71
Humiliation	4.9	0.0	5.0	8.03
Indifference	1.2	6.4	10.0	1.8
Other	4.3	2.1	5.0	2.68
Total	100	100	100	100

It is interesting to see in Table 25 that feelings towards Turkey's denial of the Genocide are central in the life of the two samples alike. The need to "have justice" and "anger" mainly defines these sentiments. The "New York" sample, however, has a higher ratio of respondents who expressed indifference towards

the issue. However, overall, the majority of Armenians in America want justice to be rendered to the Armenians. In Lebanon, in the Third Generation, higher ratios of Armenians feel the need to have Justice than they feel frustrated. The high ratios in the two samples along these two feelings proves that Genocide is an unresolved issue in the life of Armenians, irrespective of their geographical location and level of assimilation. Genocide serves as a common bond in this dispersed people because they share this painful memory, which gives them a sense of similar destiny. Armenians in America in fact are working very hard to compensate for this crime against humanity which has left an immense scar in the historical and present life of Armenians.

2 - Attending Genocide Commemorations

Table 26
Frequencies of Respondents of the Present and the New York Samples Attending Genocide Commemorations by Generation (in percent)

	Third generation		Fourth generation	
N=332	(163)	(41)B. Sample	(112)	(16) B. Sample
Requiem	64.41	17.1	68.75	18.8
Public	54.60	14.6	59	12.5
Gathering				

The “New York” sample does not seem to translate much of its feelings into action, (which is usually the case everywhere). We can see in Table 26 the percentage of those who attend Requiem or other public ceremonies in America is

much less than the ratios of those who participate in such events in Lebanon. However, Generation, the most significant Variable in assimilation of the “New York” sample, does not seem to affect the attending of ceremonies dedicated to this event.

The comparison between the survey conducted in America in 1986 and the present one points an interesting fact. Bakalian had called her sample “symbolic” Armenians for they were found to be culturally, structurally and somehow maritally assimilated. Nonetheless, they had held on to their identity and felt proud of being Armenian. They had not forgotten the case of their people and although they had abandoned most of their cultural practices, even their mother tongue, they had preserved their distinct ethnic traits, which were pride in their heritage, resilience and a strong sense of peopelhood.

Armenians take pride in pointing out that they have survived many calamities, which have buried other nations forever. In America, Armenian has adapted to the homogenizing forces in the country, yet they have preserved the core of Armenianness - pride in their identity.

The case of Armenians in Lebanon is different. Although this sample shows to have preserved many traits of its native culture, it is nevertheless moving towards assimilation in the segregated Lebanese society, where Armenians, it is widely believed, have a much better chance to live autonomously. It is interesting to note

that pride in identity and peoplehood was found to be in bigger proportion in the New York sample than this one. In other words, although culture is preserved in Lebanon but lesser proportion of people are proud to be Armenian than the much more assimilated sample in America. This may be a reflection of Lebanon's social and political structure. Encouraging autonomy on one side, Lebanon limits the minorities' chances to participate fully in the country's political life. An Armenian in Lebanon can never rise the political ladder to become the president of the Republic, even a minister holding an important portfolio. This is reflected in the voting venture of this sample. If they vote or not, not much will be changed in the Armenian's social and political life. Armenians, like the other communities, have a set number of representatives in the parliament. It is quantity and not quality that rules Lebanon. Maronites were given the post of Presidency because they were found to be the majority in the 1932 census. A Lebanese from another sect cannot be the President in this country whatever his qualifications would be. Another source of constraint of ethnic pride is the fact that Armenians, as the only linguistic minority, are under constant pressure from the other Lebanese sects on this issue. Armenians thus feel obliged to prove their loyalty to the country.

We can conclude that being Armenian in Lebanon does not say much. It is attained by birth but it does not promise equal chances in the country's overall

life. In America, the homogenizing ideology has achieved to have a united nation from people with diverse ethnic origins, and at the same time have given equal opportunity to all. The doors are at least legally open to anyone to participate in the country’s political life in the U.S.A.

Hypothesis Three:

	Third generation			Fourth generation		
	Group- P	Group- T	Group- S	Group- P	Group- T	Group- S
N=375	(31)	(43)	(39)	(6)	(73)	(33)
Agree	78.96	39.77	17.94	66.66	43.82	21.22
Agree or Strongly	82.56	58.06	25.63	66.66	65.71	27.28
Agree or Strongly	82.56	58.06	25.63	66.66	65.71	27.28
Disagree or Strongly	17.44	41.94	84.37	33.34	34.29	72.72
Disagree or Strongly	17.44	41.94	84.37	33.34	34.29	72.72

(A): Group P is expected to score the highest on all the five attitude statements on "Free Armenia" and Group S the lowest.

(B): It is expected that Group P will have the highest ratio of respondents who intend to resettle in the republic of Armenia and Group S the lowest.

Results:

(A): Attitude statements on "Free Armenia"
Groups again scored in the hypothesized manner. In both Generations, Group P scores a higher percentage than Group T, which, in its turn, scores higher than Group S.
It is interesting to note that all the Groups show a higher rate of agreement on Statement Four and the lowest rate is seen on the First Statement. Armenia is the "spiritual homeland" of the Diaspora communities, but when it comes to resettling

Table 27
Frequency Distribution of Respondents Who Score “High” (Ethnic Position) on
Five Attitude Statements on “Free Armenia” by Generation and Groups
(in percent)

	Third generation			Fourth generation		
	Group- P	Group- T	Group- S	Group- P	Group- T	Group- S
N=275	(31)	(93)	(39)	(6)	(73)	(33)
Agree on St. one	70.96	39.77	17.94	66.66	43.82	21.22
Agree on St. two	83.86	58.06	25.63	66.66	65.71	27.28
Agree on St. three	74.18	68.81	48.71	100	76.72	30.3
Agree on St. four	93.55	89.24	58.97	100	86.3	60.6
Agree on St. five	83.87	58.06	17.94	66.66	50.7	24.24
Statement One: Armenians in Diaspora should eventually settle in the Republic of Armenia to avoid assimilation						
Statement Two: If necessary ,I will fight for the republic of Armenia						
Statement Three : I believe that one day in the near future we will be able to free Western Armenia						
Statement Four: I consider the Republic of Armenia as the spiritual homeland of Armenians.						
Statement Five: I am willing to live in the republic of Armenia at a convenient time in my life.						

Table 27 shows that on the five attitude statements on “Free Armenia”, the Groups again scored in the hypothesized manner. In both Generations, Group P scores a higher percentage than Group T, which, in its turn, scores higher than Group S.

It is interesting to note that all the Groups show a higher rate of agreement on Statement Four and the lowest rate is seen on the First Statement. Armenia is the “spiritual homeland” of the Diaspora communities, but when it comes to resettling

there, the issue becomes far-fetched. Here, we can once again see that cherishing an ideology lags behind actual performance. We know in psychology that feeling is easier than acting. This instance is an example of the mentioned statement.

The second highest scores are given to Statement Two. In times of absolute necessity, Armenians show willingness to defend and support their “spiritual” homeland. In history, this has been shown several times. In 1918, when the Ottoman Turkish army marched towards Eastern Armenia to absorb that part of the Armenian historical homeland as well, the emergency of the ultimate decision to either be wiped out or survive mobilized all sections of the Armenians in the Eastern Armenia. Historically Eastern Armenia had been under Persian then Russian rule. The result was the victory of the Armenian forces against the much stronger Turkish army. The recent massacres in Sumgait also drove the Armenians to fight more committedly to be victorious. A number of Diaspora Armenians, including some from Lebanon, participated in the war against the Azeris, valuing the freedom of their ancestral lands and fellow ethnics more precious than their own lives. The earthquake of 1988 shook the Diaspora as well, which acted in an unprecedented way to alleviate the painful conditions of the victims. The help was not limited to the enormous amounts of money donated by the most distant and symbolic Armenians. The Diaspora backed up its fellow ethnics in every way possible. These examples validate the agreements on

Statement Two, confirm that, in times of national emergency, Armenians tend to consolidate toward achieving what they see as crucial objectives.

B: Resettling in Armenia

Table 28
Frequency Distribution of Respondents Who Intend to Resettle in the Republic of Armenia by Generation and Groups (in percent)

	Third generation			Fourth generation		
	Group-P	Group-T	Group-S	Group-P	Group-T	Group-S
N=275	(31)	(93)	(39)	(6)	(73)	(33)
No	22.58	35.48	76.93	33.33	49.31	72.73
Yes	48.38	15.05	7.7	0	17.81	3.03
Yes, when Armenia's economy improves	22.58	23.66	2.56	66.67	19.18	6.06
Yes, when I can afford repatriating	0	7.53	2.56	0	1.37	6.06
Yes, when I won't feel secure in Lebanon anymore	6.46	18.28	10.25	0	12.33	12.12
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100

Table 28 shows that the Groups have chosen different answers on the issue of resettling in Armenia. As expected, the majority in the third Generation, Group P wants to resettle in Armenia. Their choice is not contingent on conditions in Armenia. They simply want to live there. The majority of Group T also expresses

such a wish, but their desire to do so waits improvement in Armenia's economy, their financial ability and can be triggered by social and political insecurity in Lebanon. Of course, the majority in Group S do not think of resettling in Armenia. Those who would think of it would do that when he/she will not feel secure in Lebanon anymore. The Fourth Generation dilutes Group P's relative enthusiasm to repatriate. The number of those who do not want to resettle in Armenia have slightly increased. Still, the majority in this group want to go. This time, however, their intention is contingent on Armenia's economic status. Less people in Group T want to change their habitat, and we find only that a quarter of Group S who would like to repatriate to the homeland.

It is only natural to find such results. People in Group P have been to Armenia twice or more. They have probably liked the place they have been to and have thus repeatedly visited the same country. Group T, which comprises those who have either been to Armenia once or have never been there, but wish to visit it one day, naturally do not know much about Armenia, especially those who have never been there. Therefore, they would not think of moving to a place they have not been to. Those who have been there once, and want to visit again, possibly do so because they have had positive experiences in the Armenian context and might realistically consider living there. Group S comprises those who have seen Armenia once or never, yet do not yearn to be in the homeland again or even

once. It is very natural for people to express such intentions because they do not live by their ethnic codes, that is by their cultural markers, like Armenian language, art, literature and traditional Armenian values. On the other hand, they might not know what they are missing, or on the other hand, their visit to Armenia has not been satisfactory. Whatever the reasons are, the “symbolics” would not think of repatriating when they do not even think of visiting Armenia in the first place.

The three groups’ ratios suffer in the later Generation. Intention to repatriate decreases as the rate of assimilation increases.

Besides the hypotheses, it was interesting to find out the type of schools that the three Groups had attended. Table 29 summarizes the picture.

Besides the schools, the relationship of the respondents’ sympathy with various political parties and their religious affiliation to selected measures of assimilation are seen in Tables 30 and 31.

Table 29

Frequency Distribution of Respondents Who Have Attended Armenian Schools
by Generation and Groups (in percent)

	Third generation			Fourth generation		
	Group-P	Group-T	Group-S	Group-P	Group-T	Group-S
N=275	(31)	(93)	(39)	(6)	(73)	(33)
Have attended Armenian schools	90.32	81.72	74.35	50	73.97	66.66
Have attended both Armenian and non-Arm. school	9.68	11.82	5.12	16.66	10.95	12.12
Have attended non-Armenian school	0	6.46	20.53	33.34	9.08	21.22

Interestingly enough, we can see that the ratios of the Groups decline from each other on the type of school attended as well. Despite the ratio in Group P, in the fourth Generation (which is most probably due to its small number), we can see how the groups are distributed along school type. Most of the people in Group P come from Armenian schools. This ratio decreases in the subsequent groups. In the fourth Generation, Group T and S follow a similar pattern as well.

Besides the schools, the relationship of the respondents' sympathy with various political parties and their religious affiliation to selected measures of assimilation are seen in Tables 30 and 31.

Table 30

Frequency Distribution of Respondents With “High” Scores on Selected
Measures of Assimilation by Revised Classification of Sympathy to Political
Parties (in percent)

	Tashna g (114)	Other parties (22)	Neutral (91)	Indiffere nt (47)	Other (1)
N=275					
Speaks Armenian well	96.49	81.81	89.01	82.97	0
Read/ write well	85.96	63.63	68.13	55.31	0
Favor arm. education	87.7	63.63	59.34	46.80	0
Attend requiem on April 24	83.33	72.72	54.94	40.42	0
Attend public activities on April 24	87.7	54.54	45.05	34.04	0

Table 30 shows that 41.45% (114 out of 275) of the respondents sympathize with the “Tashnag”s. We can see that those who expressed sympathy with the “Tashnag” had higher ratios on all of the selected variables. The least ratios on these variables are seen in those who describe themselves as “indifferent” towards Armenian political life.

Table 31
Frequency Distribution of Respondents with “High” Scores on Selected Measures
of Assimilation by Revised Classification of Religious Affiliation (in percent)

	Arm. Apostolic (226)	Other religions (48)	No religion (1)
N=275			
Speaks Armenian well	92.03	75	100
Read/ write well	79.64	54.16	100
Favor arm. education	69.46	50	100
Attend requiem on April 24	67.69	58.33	0
Attend public activities on April 24	59.29	41.66	0

Table 31 shows that 82.18% (226 out of 275) of the respondents are members of the Armenian Apostolic Church. Affiliation with this Church clearly shows higher percentages on all of the selected variables. The results provide support for the recognized role of the Armenian national Church. Those who are Armenian Apostolics seem to be less assimilated than those who are members of other Armenian Churches.

Nonetheless, when we compare the ratios on the selected variables by sympathy to political parties and religious affiliation, we see that the ratios of “Tashnag”s are higher on all of the given variables than that of the Apostolic Church. We can conclude that the affiliated with “Tashnag”s and their

sympathizers are overall less assimilated than those who show sympathy to other parties.

Qualitative Evidence

At the end of the questionnaire, the participants were given a chance to add or comment on anything they wished. Consequently, many interesting remarks were made. They ranged from words of encouragement to issues of belongingness, suggestions advocating national unity and complaints about Armenian issues. Some also wished to have feedback on the results of the survey. The quotations are kept as they originally appeared on the questionnaire. Here are the ones which show belief in integration: "In my opinion, I think that people of Armenia should coagulate and cooperate with other ethnic religions as long as they are living in their homeland", a "traditional" ethnic from the fourth generation. Another respondent from the same group said:

Basically, I consider myself a Lebanese. I am proud of the fact my ancestors are Armenian and I acknowledge their suffering, but I do not live in the past. Lebanon is my home. I have been accepted by non-Armenians more than Armenians who kept judging my father's and my life, since he knew little Armenian and was involved with non-Armenian political parties during the war.... I still can see Armenians who have lived here all

there lives and do not know how to read Arabic properly. They complain their accent is being marked, it is simply their fault.

Another “traditional” Armenian from the third Generation said:

I am proud to be Armenian on the other hand I am Lebanese too. I cannot forget this country welcomed my previous generation and gave them space and land to live on. For me religion is more important than nationality. It's a tragic scene seeing a Christian Armenian girl being married into Islam boy . . .

Another respondent from the same Group commented:

I was born in a Lebanese-Armenian family. My dad is Armenian and my mom is Lebanese. However, I am more Lebanese than Armenian because I was not taught the language nor was I in direct contact with Armenians or Armenian organizations. But, this does not mean at all that I am not proud of being an Armenian + be part of Armenian organizations that work for the Armenian case about the Genocide. I will stick more to my Armenian identity despite the advantages of not knowing the language.

Advocates of the Armenian culture commented:

Every person try to change his personality or his name just not to be taken as an Armenian in Lebanon, is a stupid person with out personality, because every Armenian human being must be proud of himself and proud of Armenia, because it's the first Christian country in the whole world and the best forever.” (a traditional from the later Generation).

Another "traditional" from the Third Generation:

“ . . . I hope one day that I go to Armenia and stay there, feel secure and work, and build my family there, because after all I am an Armenian and I feel more happiness if I am surrounded with Armenian people and live with them as one. Finally, I hope all Armenian people reunite from all around the world and put there hands together and build the city/Armenia and live there... especially multiply there in OWER land . . .”

The polarized ethnics on the other hand have an extreme view. A third Generation polarized Armenian wrote:

I do not care if others or other people know that we have heroic and patriotic acts for our people, I am proud of it no matter whether others

know what we did or accomplished, I do not care of propagandizing what we did, I am proud no matter what happens.

A traditional, Fourth Generation ethnic commented:

TURKEY SHOULD BE FORCED, EVEN WITH THE USE OF ARMS, TO ADMIT HER ACTS CONCERNING THE ARMENIAN GENOCIDE AND SHOULD COMPENSATE FOR THE LOSSES ARMENIANS HAVE SUFFERED AND ON DAY, THE ARARAT MOUNTAIN, ALONG WITH ALL OF WESTERN ARMENIA WILL BE LIBERATED AND RETURNED TO ITS RIGHTFUL OWNERS.

And finally, a traditional ethnic, who has mentioned that he is an ex-Haigazian graduate, suggested to publish the results of this survey in the media and if possible, on a website.

The themes in the qualitative data deal mainly about the hyphenated aspect of the identity of Armenians in Lebanon. This duality is seen in the self-identity of the respondents. As a “Lebanese- Armenian”, an Armenian has to explain and justify his / her dual identity. Instead of regarding one's identity in solid and firm grounds, the sample's self-description is divided, segregated and changing. This change, in the context of living on a “foreign land”, moves along the route of the eventual fading of one side of one's ethnicity and the strengthening and

actualization of the other. It is not difficult to guess the directions of the change arrows. Assimilation in this study has proven to be at slow but steady pace.

Summary of Results

To summarize the findings, we present the measures on which Group P outstands Group T. Here is the review:

1- All of Group P speaks Armenian, which is not seen in Group T. Group P members also unanimously agree that "our children should learn to speak Armenian".

2- Group P has an Armenian background in its friendship and professional contacts. The respondents of this group in the two generations have the highest proportion of two to three Armenians among their closest friends. The majority of this group deals with one to three Armenian professionals. It is important to remember that Gordon had emphasized the role of one's social contacts, especially the intimate relationships to be the cornerstone of the subsequent subtypes of assimilation.

3- No one in Group P, in the two Generations, have all non-Armenian three best-friends. We can infer from this point that they are not assimilated at the more "advanced" types of assimilation. In Group T, however, we see a small

ratio in the third generation of all non-Armenian friends that rises further on in the fourth. In their contacts with professionals, Group T has lower proportions than Group P in the two generations. A difference in the social contacts makes us to consider Group P at a different point in assimilation than Group T. Another interesting feature of Group P is its 0% disagreement rate on the second attitude statement on family in the two generations. Thus Group P, once again stands out among the groups.

4- On self-described identity, Group P also fares ahead. No one in Group P expressed its identity without integrating the term “Armenian” in it. Group P shows a 0% rate on describing itself as “Lebanese” in the two Generations. Although on one in Group T in the third Generation described itself as “Lebanese”, a small percentage of such a description emerges in the Fourth Generation. Complementary to the Identificational variable, Group P also shows a distinctive score when it shows a 100% disagreement ratio on the statement which claims that it is alright to change one's name so that one is not known as an Armenian. Group T has a much different opinion on this matter.

5- On their feelings towards Turkey's denial of the Armenian Genocide, Group P once again stands out. Its members either feel the need to have justice and / or are angry and frustrated. In addition to this distribution, a small section claim revenge, a disposition highly characteristic of an extreme type of ethnics.

In addition to this, no one in Group P across the Generations expresses indifference towards this issue. In fact, we see a steady but small rise from Group T to Group S of those who feel indifferent towards the Denial policy of Turkey's crime against the Armenian nation. Nevertheless, the majority in the three groups react to the issue of Turkey's Denial by either Anger and frustration or demand to have justice. Group P is also distinguished from the other groups by having majority of its members attend genocide commemorations in the two generations.

6- Although the "New York" survey was carried out 19 years ago, we see in the results that Armenians in the context of U.S.A. were integrated much more significantly than the present sample. Nevertheless, while they were found to be almost totally integrated on the cultural, structural and marital scales, we find Bakalian's sample ahead of the present sample in the following points:

a- On one of the two attitude statements on Sacred Culture, the "New York" sample has a higher proportion of people who agreed that Armenian priests should be involved in Armenian issues. It was surprising to find that in the third and the fourth generations, the present sample had smaller ratios of agreement on this statement. This can be explained in taking into consideration the role of the Church in the "New York" sample. America is represented as a "triple melting pot" which is a revised version of the known "melting pot" metaphor. The "melting pot" ideology believed that the various ethnic groups in America can be

assimilated into “Americans”, whereas the “triple melting pot” perspective claim that the three basic religions in America, Protestant, Catholic and Jew serve as buffers against assimilation (Bakalian, 1993). Armenians as any other ethnic group, get into contact with their roots through the Armenian church, which is fused with its national character. It is therefore very possible that Armenians do not want to see the Armenian Church separated from its ethnocultural perspective, because the church is the only context where they are exposed to the unique Armenian traditions and ceremonies. Moreover, there is a very little involvement of Church in politics in America, something which is way beyond the reality in Lebanon.

b- On the two measures of peoplehood, Bakalian's sample shows higher ratios in two instances. In the Third Generation, the “New York” sample shows to have a bigger ratio of people who feel proud of a fellow Armenian's success. On the Second Statement, in the fourth generation this time, Bakalian's sample again has a higher ratio, expressing dislike when an Armenian changes his / her name to mask his / her ethnicity. In the States, change in Armenianness “from being to feeling Armenian” might explain this finding. When ethnicity has become a voluntary, conscious act, the “symbolic” Armenians in the States appreciate their roots and feel proud of it. In Lebanon, being Armenian is also a source of pride, but the “New York” sample, although being much more assimilated than the

former, has a higher proportion of people who share this feeling. It can be that the very definition of “symbolic” ethnicity is nurtured by feelings of pride and distinction, which is the last cornerstone on which the “residual” ethnics rely.

c- The third instance where we see a higher ratio in the “New York” sample towards “ethnic position” is in their reported discrimination when being admitted to college. A small section of Bakalian's sample report being discriminated against on this item, when less people in the present sample report so.

7- The five attitude statements on “Free Armenia” received highest support from Group P, in the two generations. The statement, which was supported the most by the three groups was the one that considered the Republic of Armenia the spiritual homeland of Armenians. The statement, which had the second highest ratios, was the following: “If necessary, I will fight for the Republic of Armenia”. In this statement, the word “fight” can take many forms. One can fight with money, propaganda, militarily or in any other means. Despite the ambiguity of the word, the sample showed readiness to support Armenia and fight for it by any means that they understood, when there would be the need for it. In fact, Armenians have shown to support Armenia before its independence during the two critical times: the upheaval in Sumgait and the earthquake in Gyumri. Armenians have proven to act as a unified nation in times of utmost need, despite the geographical distance between them.

8 - On the issue of who wants to resettle in the Republic of Armenia, again Group P has the highest percentage of people who want to repatriate to the homeland in the two generations. Although two - thirds of Group T in the Third Generation want to resettle in Armenia, this ratio decreases to half in the next generation.

Conclusions

Most of Group P members rely on their cultural repertoire in their daily lives and have preserved their social network to comprise mainly Armenians. This does not mean that the polarized live as a segregated segment of ethnics who refuse anything foreign. They deal with their surroundings but are not trapped in the assimilative wave, since they fiercely hold on to their Armenian culture, traditions, friends and most importantly they have not relinquished the intention to resettle in the homeland. On the other hand, although most of Group T is close to their secular and sacred culture but, in general, they show an inclination to become involved with “out-group” members, identify themselves more in hyphenated form and a smaller proportion of people in this group thinks of going back to homeland. Despite the fact that Group T relies on the Armenian culture and heritage, overall, its less accentuated mode of behavior and attitude compared to the polarized, gives its members the status of traditional ethnics. The Traditional Group, like the Polarized is moving towards more integration, which

is observed in the decrease of their ratios in the fourth generation. Finally, Group S appears to have integrated a proportion of symbolic ethnics. The proportions of this group on the language variables attest to the fact that a section of this group does not know Armenian. Until a few decades ago, Armenians who did not know their language (in contrast to Arabic) were exceptions in this country. They were considered to be the major ethnic group in Lebanon who did not speak Arabic in their homes. Perhaps this exclusiveness is undergoing change.

As to this group's social life, it seems they have assimilated with the "out-group". According to Gordon, cultural assimilation marks the start of the assimilative process, but the social life of a group determines its subsequent integration path. Although not all of Group S seems to have drifted away from their national culture, they show an accelerated tempo of assimilation in most of the variables, nevertheless as shown in the decline of their ratios in the Fourth Generation. More so, the majority of this group in the two generations does not express an intention to repatriate to Armenia. They drift away from the cultural and structural ethnic life, but maintaining a hyphenated identity and strong sense of peoplehood makes this group "symbolic" or almost symbolic ethnics. We can safely claim a proportion of those in Group S already fit the definition of symbolic ethnics and the rest are quickly moving towards being assimilated on the cultural as well as the structural level.

Overall Armenians in Lebanon, in all their forms of ethnicity are marching, in varied pace towards the unavoidable outcome of living out of the homeland. Even the polarized ethnics, who live quite submerged in their community life, suffer the impact of generation change. The inferences are that subsequent generations will pull these ethnics a step further away from their roots and identity. Even sectarian and tolerant country like Lebanon is not a haven or cradle to maintain the Armenian heritage.

In the comparison between the present and Bakalian's samples, we come across a surprising and an intriguing fact. Although the "New York" sample is much more assimilated on all of Gordon's seven variables (and was conducted 19 years before the present sample), it stands out in two points. Bakalian's sample was distinguished in its pride in being Armenian and its unwillingness to see the Armenian Church void of its traditional role: its social and ethnic character. The characteristics of the "New York" sample are referred to the very needs of the symbolics, which characterize the Armenian-Americans.

In this survey, the level of assimilation of the third and the fourth generation Armenians was evaluated by the sample's visits or wishes to visit the Republic of Armenia. The three ethnic groups were thus identified by the respondents' involvement with the Armenian homeland.

The implications of the findings are that, in addition to using extensive questionnaires tapping each of Gordon's assimilation variables, future studies can differentiate Armenians' level of assimilation by the actual number of visits or the desire to visit the Armenian state. The call of motherland, the yearning to be in the context of ancestral land is shown to be related to a person's level of integration in foreign land and alienation from being Armenian. The rise of the independent Armenian state has attracted mostly the polarized Armenians, those who are submerged in their national roots. Although their ethnic identity and heritage is maintained in the Lebanese context, generation, nevertheless, shows to leave its imprint on some of the scales in this group as well. The interplay between the Armenians and the Lebanese mainstream is shown to have given its toll. Lebanon is an Arab country and with the rise of the Pan - Arab nationalist movement has decisively identified itself with the Arab world. Although the Christian Arabs are suspicious of Pan - Arabism, Armenians are only a small minority in this country, and they are being assimilated with the Christian Arabs. To what extent the Armenian leaders of this community are aware of the subtle way in which assimilation has crept in Armenian reality and what they think about the eventual fate of Armenians is a controversial issue. In case the ultimate goal of the Armenian community is to stay Armenian and not to be lost to eventual assimilation, the Armenian community should consider the observable changes in its assimilative profile, which is uncovered in the present data. The

only context that apparently offers the possibility to maintain the Armenian identity and culture is the Armenian homeland, on a fragment of which an independent and democratic state has reemerged in 1991.

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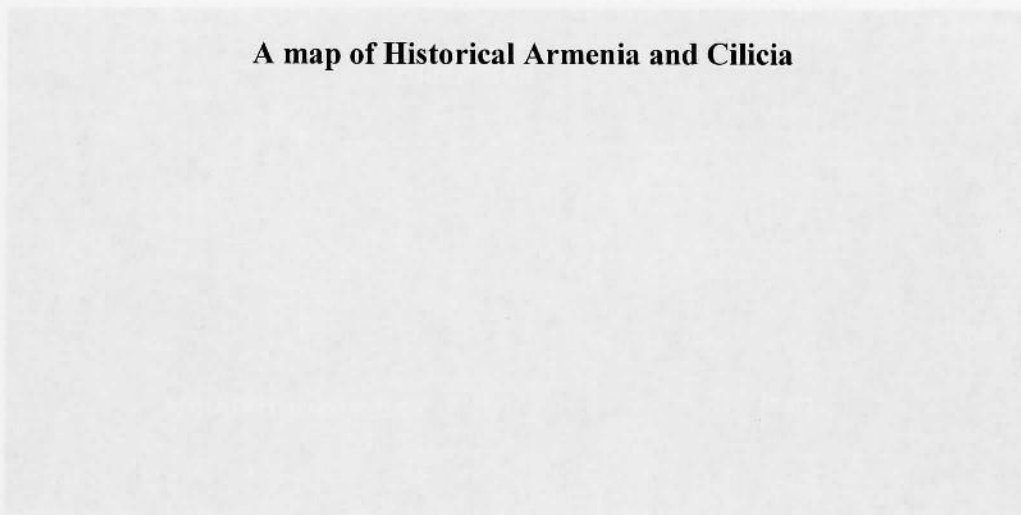
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A Map of Historic Armenia and Cilicia

Appendix One

A map of Historical Armenia and Cilicia



- Historic Armenia is the area bordered in red.
- Western Armenia is the green part.
- The Present Republic of Armenia (Eastern Armenia) is the red area.
- The grey area is the Republic of Nagorno Karabakh.
- Cilicia is the area bordered in red on the Mediterranean coast.

A Map of Historic Armenia and Cilicia



- Historic Armenia is the area bordered in red.
- Western Armenia is the green part.
- The Present Republic of Armenia (Eastern Armenia) is the red area.
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- Cilicia is the area bordered in red on the Mediterranean coast.

Appendix Two

A sample of the letter addressed to the principles of schools

Dear Sir or Madam:

Subject: Research Questionnaire

From: Dr. Tarek, Haidigian University

Tarek Karamian is currently conducting a research project on the topic of "Armenian Champion Lute-Players" in pursuit of fulfillment of her Masters thesis requirements at Haidigian University. She is required to distribute questionnaires to third-generation Armenians, a group which actually forms the parents of the present day Armenian high school students. It would be greatly appreciated if you allow Tarek to send the questionnaire with students at your school to be filled out by their parents and return them the same way. A sample of the questionnaire will be made available for you as requested prior to any decision regarding this matter. Indeed Tarek will be ready to answer any inquiry you may have.

Thank you

Sincerely

Tarek Tarek Ph.D.

Approved by:

Antony Karamian Ph.D.

2000 Department Chair

Antony Karamian



جامعة هايكازيان

Haigazian⁺ University



Հայկազեան Համալսարան

Dear Sir or Madam:

Subject: Research Questionnaire

From : Dr. Tawil, Haigazian University

Tzovig Kassabian is currently conducting a research project on the topic of "Armenian Changing Life-Styles" in partial fulfillment of her Masters thesis requirements at Haigazian University. She is required to distribute questionnaires to third-generation Armenians; a group which actually forms the parents of the present day Armenian high school students. It would be greatly appreciated if you allow Tzovig to send the questionnaires with students at your school to be filled out by their parents and return them the same way. A sample of the questionnaires will be made available for you to inspect prior to any decision regarding this matter. Indeed Tzovig will be ready to answer any inquiry you may have.

Thank you
Sincerely
David Tawil Ph.D.

Approved by:
Ahlam Klailal Ph.D.
SBS Department Chair



Appendix Three

From: Amy Bakalian <bakalian@uconn.edu>

Date: 01/10/2013 10:00:00 AM

To:

Bakalian's permission to use her questionnaire and tables.

CC: "The Journal" <journal.sagepub.com>

Subject: My question regarding your article

Dear Editor,

I have read your article on the traditional, gendered, and organizational identity research and I am very interested in it.

What is a traditional? According to the book by Argyris (1993), a traditional is a pattern of behavior that is repeatedly and consistently performed in the same way. In the context of the article, the traditional is a pattern of behavior that is repeatedly and consistently performed in the same way. The article discusses the traditional of organizational identity research and the traditional of gender research. The article also discusses the traditional of organizational identity research and the traditional of gender research.

There are no other issues that have been raised for this research. The only issue is the issue of research design. It was raised and raised because the research design was not the best design for the research. The research design was not the best design for the research. The research design was not the best design for the research.

Very Sincerely,

Amy Bakalian

Professor and Chair, Center for Organizational Identity

UConn

The University of Connecticut

100 Shennecossett Road, Storrs, CT 06269

tel: 860/405-4500

fax: 860/405-4500

web: <http://www.uconn.edu/~bakalian>

My office is in the building

From : Anny Bakalian <ABakalian@nyc.rr.com>
Sent : Wednesday, April 6, 2005 3:30 PM
To : "Dzovig Kassabian" <dzovinar20@hotmail.com>
CC : "Ara Sanjian" <arasan@cyberia.net.lb>
Subject : Re: questions regarding your survey

     Inbox

Dear Dzovig:
James McKay in Australia created the traditional, pseudo, symbolic, patriots ethnics typology. I did not use it in my survey.
What is a "traditional" Armenian? You need to establish (ultimately arbitrary) benchmarks that measure what is supposedly pre-integration/assimilation patterns in the Armenian population in Lebanon. You need to come up with some cultural measures -- language usage (reading/writing), church attendance, frequency/use of Armenian cultural products (e.g., reading books in Armenian, attending Armenian language plays, singing Armenian songs, etc); structural factors (employment with Armenians/self employed or in the mainstream, friendships with non-Armenians); intermarriage over 2+ generations.... Remember that in Lebanon identity is not a choice. But you can still have integration/assimilation (cultural and structural).
There are no scales that have been tested for different types of ethnicity/identity. The only one I know of measures identity. It was created and tested (vouches for validity and reliability) by Aghop Der Karabetian at the University of LaVerne, CA. I highly recommend that you write to him to ask him permission to use his latest version of his identity scale [derkarab@ULV.edu].
You are welcome to use whatever questions or items you need from my questionnaire.
All the best,

Anny Bakalian, Ph.D.
Associate Director
Middle East and Middle Eastern American Center
(MEMEAC)
The Graduate Center
City University of New York (CUNY)
365 Fifth Avenue (at 34th Street)
New York, NY 10016
Tel: (212) 817-7570
email: ABakalian@gc.cuny.edu
Web Site: web.gc.cuny.edu/memeac

Appendix Four

Dear Participant,

Sample of the questionnaire of the survey

I am a graduate student at Haigazian University working on my thesis. This survey deals with a rather understudied field, about changes in the life-styles of Armenians living in Lebanon. It actually fills a gap in empirical research concerning the stated topic. By answering the questions, you will be helping me finish my study, which is also of value for the Armenian community.

Please feel free to choose any response; there are no right wrong answers.

ANONYMOUS

This study is **ANONYMOUS**. Please do not write your names on the questionnaire.

In case you will have any questions, you can write at dzovinar20@hotmail.com. It would be a pleasure to answer you.

I greatly appreciate the effort and time you will devote for this study. Thank you for giving the needed help.

Yours truly,
Dzovig Kassabian

Dear Participant,

I am a graduate student at Haigazian University working on my thesis .This survey deals with a rather understudied field, about changes in the life-styles of Armenians living in Lebanon. It actually fills a gap in empirical research concerning the stated topic. By answering the questions, you will be helping me finish my study, which is also of value for the Armenian community.

Please feel free to choose any response; there are no right wrong answers.

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This study is **ANONYMOUS**. Please do not write your names on the questionnaire.

In case you will have any questions, you can write at dzovinar20@hotmail.com. It would be a pleasure to answer you.

I greatly appreciate the effort and time you will devote for this study. Thank you for giving the needed help.

**Yours truly,
Dzovig Kassabian**

PART I-DEMOGRAPHIC VARIABLES

THESE QUESTIONS ARE ASKED FOR STATISTICAL REASONS. KINDLY ANSWER ALL THE QUESTIONS.

PLEASE CIRCLE THE NUMBER OF YOUR ANSWER.

- Q-1 Are you presently employed?
1-EMPLOYED
2-UNEMPLOYED
3-RETIRED
4-FULL-TIME HOMEMAKER
5-STUDENT

- Q-2 What is your main occupation now? (If retired, unemployed, what was your occupation when you were working?)

- Q-3 Are you self- employed?
1- NO
2-YES

- Q-4 What is or was the main occupation of your father?

- Q-5 What is or was the main occupation of your mother?

- Q-6 What is the highest grade you completed in school?(If you have a technical or Professional degree please indicate)

- Q-7 What city/country were you born in?
1-Lebanon
2-Other (Specify) _____

- Q-8 If you were not born in Lebanon, what age did you come here?

Q-9 Please indicate for each of the following :place of birth,ethnic background,religious affiliation and approximate year of arrival in Lebanon .(Write "NA" if NOT Applicable)

	CITY/TOWN	ETHNICITY	RELIGION	YEAR
1-Your Mother	_____	_____	_____	_____
2-Your Father	_____	_____	_____	_____
3-Your Mother's Mother	_____	_____	_____	_____
4-Your Mother's Father	_____	_____	_____	_____
5-Your Father's Mother	_____	_____	_____	_____
6-Your Father's Father	_____	_____	_____	_____

Q-10 Do you have children?
1-NO (GO TO Q-11:a)
2-YES(GO TO Q_11:b)

Q-11:a Would you send your children to:
1- Armenian schools
2- Non-Armenian schools

Q-11:b Please consider your each child .Do (did) you send them to Armenian or Non-Armenian schools
If they are (were) in both type of schools, please specify the number of stay in each type.

	TYPE OF SCHOOL			
	Armenian	Non- Armenian	Both type of schools	
			# of Years in Armenian School	# of years in Non-Armenian School
CHILD #1	_____	_____	_____	_____
CHILD #2	_____	_____	_____	_____
CHILD #3	_____	_____	_____	_____
CHILD #4	_____	_____	_____	_____
CHILD #5	_____	_____	_____	_____
Other children	_____	_____	_____	_____

Q-12 What is your religious affiliation?
1-ARMENIAN APOSTOLIC CHURCH (LOUSAVORTCHAGAN)
2-ARMENIAN PROTESTANT CHURCH (AVEDARANAGAN)
3-ARMENIAN CATHOLIC CHURCH
4-OTHER (SPECIFY) _____

Q-13 What is your marital status?
1-Never MARRIED (Please go to Q- 26)
2-MARRIED
3-WIDOWED
4-SEPERATED
5-DIVOECECED

NOTE: In answering the following questions, please consider your current spouse if you are remarried. If widowed, separated, divorced, consider your previous spouse.

Q- 14 How long have you been married?

Q-15 What is (or was) your spouse's main occupation?

Q-16 What is (or was) the main occupation of your spouse's father?

Q-17 What was the highest grade your spouse completed in school?

Q-18 Does (did) your spouse speak Armenian?
1-NO
2-YES

Q-19 Does (did) your spouse read/write Armenian?
1-NO
2-YES

Q-20 Where was your spouse born?
1-LEBANON
2-OTHER (SPECIFY) _____

Q-21 If he/she was not born in Lebanon, at what age did your spouse come here?

Q-22 What is your spouse's religious affiliation?
 1-ARMENIAN APOSTOLIC CHURCH (LOUSA VORTCHAGAN)
 2-ARMENIAN PROTESTANT CHURCH
 3-ARMENIAN CATHOLIC CHURCH
 4-OTHER (SPECIFY)_____

Q-23 Was your spouse raised in this denomination.
 1-NO, THEN WHAT DENOMINATION WAS YOUR SPOUSE RAISED IN?
 (SPECIFY)_____
 2-YES

Q-24 What is the ethnic background of your spouse's father?
 1-ARMENIAN
 2-OTHER (SPECIFY)_____

Q-25 What is the ethnic background of your spouse's mother?
 1-ARMENIAN
 2-OTHER (SPECIFY)_____

Q-26 Did you vote in the last parliament elections?
 1-NO
 2-YES
 3-CAN'T VOTE

Q-27 Please list all persons who presently live in your household (include unmarried children at school). Please indicate their relation to you, and marital status.

	RELATION	AGE	MARITAL STATUS
Person 1	_____	_____	_____
Person 2	_____	_____	_____
Person 3	_____	_____	_____
Person 4	_____	_____	_____
Person 5	_____	_____	_____

Q-28 In the last two weeks, how many times did you telephone or see the following people? (Write 0,1,2,3 etc., in the appropriate column and indicate where each person lives[city or state].If dead or do not have any, write "NA"/ Not applicable.)

	PHONED	SEEN	CITY
Mother/Father:	_____	_____	_____
Sister/Brother:	_____	_____	_____
In-Laws:	_____	_____	_____

Grandparents:

Aunt/Uncle: _____

Cousins: _____

Nephew/Niece: _____

Children: _____

Q-29 Are you officially a member of an Armenian Political party?

1-NO

2-HUNCHAGYAN

3-RAMGAVAR

4-TASHNAGZOUTYUN

5-NATIONAL ASSEMBLY

6-OTHER (SPECIFY) _____

Q-30 Given the chance, where would you like to visit?

1- ANY COUNTRY IN EUROPE

2- THE USA

3- CANADA

4- THE REPUBLIC OF ARMENIA

5- EGYPT

6- OTHER (SPECIFY) _____

Q-31 Have you (would you call) called your child(ren) by ?

1-An Armenian name

2-Non- Armenian name

3-Both Armenian and Non- Armenian names

Q-32 You have attended an:

1-Armenian school.

2-Non-Armenian school.

Q-33 Do you sympathize with any of the following Armenian political divisions?

1- HUNSHAGYAN

2-RAMGAVAR

3-TASHNAGZOUTYUN

4-NEUTRAL (CHEZOK)

5-INDIFFERENT

6-OTHER (SPECIFY) _____

Q-34 How old are you ?

Q-35 Please indicate your sex:

1-MALE

2-FEMALE

PART II-

Now, these questions aim at understanding the life-styles of Armenians. Kindly proceed in answering.

Please Circle the Number of Your Answer

- Q-1 How do you think of yourself, as an: (Circle one answer)
1-ARMENIAN
2-LEBANESE _ARMENIAN
3-LEBANESE
4-AMERICAN
5-OTHER (SPECIFY) _____
- Q-2 How often do you eat Armenian food at home?
1-NEVER
2 -A FEW TIMES A YEAR
3 -A FEW TIMES A MONTH
4 -ABOUT ONCE A WEEK
5-ALMOST EVERY DAY
- Q-3 How many Armenian dishes can you (or your spouse) cook?
1-NONE
2-LESS THAN 5
3-BETWEEN 6 AND 12
4-BETWEEN 13 AND 24
5-MORE THAN 25
- Q-4 Do you speak Armenian?
1-NOT AT ALL
2-VERY LITTLE
3-ADEQUATELY
4-WELL
5-VERY WELL
- Q-5 Do you read/write Armenian?
1-NOT AT ALL
2-VERY LITTLE
3-ADEQUATELY
4-WELL
5-VERY WELL
- Q-6 Have you been to Armenia? (the present Republic or Soviet Armenia)
1-NO (go to Q-8)
2-YES
- Q-7 How many times have you been to the Present Republic of Armenia?
1-NEVER BEEN
2-ONCE
3-TWICE
4-THREE TIMES
5-MORE THAN THREE TIMES (SPECIFY) _____

Q-8 Do you intend to visit the Republic of Armenia in the near future?

1-NO

2-YES

3-I DON'T KNOW

Q-9 How many countries have you been to? (other than Armenia). Circle the number which corresponds to the number of countries you have visited .

1

2

3

4

5+

Q-10 How many times have you been in Soviet Armenia?

1-NEVER BEEN

2-ONCE

3-TWICE

4-THREE TIMES

5-MORE THAN THREE TIMES (SPECIFY) _____

Q-11 How often do you speak each of these languages at home?

(circle one in each column)

ARABIC

ARMENIAN

TURKISH

OTHER

(Specify) _____

1

1

1

NEVER

2

2

2

SELDOM

3

3

3

SOME OF THE TIME

4

4

4

MOST OF THE TIME

5

5

5

ALWAYS

Q-12 Do you listen to "VANA TSAYN" (the Armenian Radio station)?

1-NEVER

2-RARELY

3-SOME OF THE TIME

4-MOST OF THE TIME

5-ALWAYS

Q-13 When was it last time you were in Armenia? (The present Republic of Armenia or Soviet Armenia?)

Q-14 Do you ever think of resettling in the Present Republic of Armenia?

1-NO

2-YES

3-WHEN ARMENIA'S ECONOMY IMPROVES

4-WHEN I CAN AFFORD REPATRIATING

5-WHEN I WONT FEEL SECURE IN LEBANON ANYMORE

Q-15 Do you read Armenian literature (either in Armenian or in translation)?

1-NEVER

2-RARELY

3-SOME OF THE TIME

4-MOST OF THE TIME

5-ALWAYS

- Q-16 Have you ever bought any work of art (painting, sculpture, embroidery, antiques) especially because they were made by Armenians?
- 1-NEVER
 - 2-RARELY
 - 3-SOME OF THE TIME
 - 4-MOST OF THE TIME
 - 5-ALWAYS
- Q-17 Do you receive Armenian newspapers or magazines in Armenian , Arabic, English or French?
Specify the language: _____
- 1-NONE
 - 2-ONE
 - 3-TWO TO THREE
 - 4-FOUR TO SIX
 - 5-MORE THAN SEVEN
- Q-18 Which of the following professionals you deal with are Armenian?(circle your answers)
- 1-DOCTOR
 - 2-LAWYER
 - 3-ACCOUNTANT
 - 4-DENTIST
 - 5-NONE OF THE ABOVE
- Q-19 Have you given (would you give) your child (ren) Armenian or non_Armenian names?
- 1_NO
 - 2-YES
- Q-20 Suppose you own your business ,would you employ other Armenians?
- 1-NEVER
 - 2-RARELY
 - 3-SOME OF THE TIME
 - 4-MOST OF THE TIME
 - 5-ALWAYS
- Q-21 Have you patronized a gas station , mechanic, grocery store, dry cleaner , jeweler, watch repair, etc. solely because they were Armenian?
- 1-NEVER
 - 2-RARELY
 - 3-SOME OF THE TIME
 - 4-MOST OF THE TIME
 - 5-ALWAYS
- Q-22 Have you in the last year attended requiem services for April 24?
- 1-NO
 - 2-YES
- Q-23 Have you in the last year participated in marches , demonstrations ,public ceremonies for April 24?(exclude requiems)
- 1-NO
 - 2-YES

Q-24 How do you describe your feelings towards Turkey's denial of the Armenian Genocide?(you may circle more than one answer)

1-INDIFFERENCE

2-HUMILIATION

3-ARMENIANS DESERVE JUSTICE

4-ANGER, FRUSTRATION

5-OTHER (SPECIFY)_____

Q-25 Which of the following public actions have you been involved in ? (you may circle more than one answer)

1-GET TUITION FOR ARMENIAN STUDENTS

2-FURTHER ARMENIAN INTERESTS IN YOUR COMMUNITY

3-DONATE MONEY FOR AN ARMENIAN CAUSE

4-NONE OF THE ABOVE

Q-26 Do you think there is a lot of prejudice against Lebanese-Armenians in this country?

1-NO

2-YES

Q-27 Have you ever been discriminated against because you were an Armenian in Lebanon? Circle 1 for NO,2 for YES for each of the following questions:

NO

YES

1

2

GETTING A JOB

1

2

WHEN DEALING WITH THE COURT

1

2

WHEN DEALING WITH THE POLICE

1

2

ADMISSION TO SCHOOL OR COLLEGE

1

2

GETTING SCHOLORSHIP

Q-28 While you were growing up, did you and your family visit with other Armenians excluding relatives?

1-NEVER

2-RARELY

3-SOME OF THE TIME

4-MOST OF THE TIME

5-ALWAYS

Q-29 Next , think of the friends you had when you were 17 or 18.How many were Armenian?

1-NONE

2-LESS THAN HALF

3-ABOUT HALF

4-MORE THAN HALF

- Q-30 Think of your three closest friends today. Please , provide the following information for each: sex, age, place of birth ,religion, ethnic background, occupation , education. How long have you known each (in years)?

	SEX	AGE	PLACE of BIRTH	RELIGION	ETHNICITY
FRIEND 1	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____
FRIEND 2	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____
FRIEND 3	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____

	OCCUPATION	EDUCATION	TIME KNOWN
FRIEND 1	_____	_____	_____
FRIEND 2	_____	_____	_____
FRIEND 3	_____	_____	_____

- Q-31 Besides your three closest friends, think of other friends you have today. How many of them are Armenian?

- 1-NONE
- 2-LESS THAN HALF
- 3-ABOUT HALF
- 4-MORE THAN HALF

- Q-32 Now think of the five persons you feel closest to. How many of the five are relatives of yours?

If married , how many of the five are relatives of your spouse?

- Q-33 Would you (do you) send your child(ren) to an Armenian school?

- 1-NO.
- 2-YES (go to Q-35)

- Q-34 If not,why?(You may circle more than one answer)

- 1-LOW ACADEMIC STANDARDS
- 2-INFERIOR SOCIAL MILIEU
- 3-LEARNING ARMENIAN IS A WASTE OF TIME
- 4-EXPENSIVE
- 5-OTHER (SPECIFY)_____

- Q-35 What is the main reason you attend an Armenian church?

(You may circle more than one answer)

- 1-BECAUSE I'VE ALWAYS GONE TO AN ARMENIAN CHURCH
- 2- TO MEET MY FRIENDS
- 3-FAMILY AND FRIENDS EXPECT IT
- 4-TO WORSHIP GOD AND PRAY
- 5- I ENJOY THE SINGING
- 6- TO MAKE ME FEEL BETTER
- 7-KEEPS ME IN TOUCH WITH ARMENIAN COMMUNITY
- 8-TEACH MY CHILDREN ABOUT ARMENIAN CHURCH and CULTURE
- 9-OTHER (SPECIFY)_____

Q-36 Do you attend a non-Armenian church?

1-NEVER(GO TO Q-39)

2-RARELY

3-SOME OF THE TIME

4-MOST OF THE TIME

5-ALWAYS

Q-37 Please specify which non-Armenian church you go to.

Q-38 Why do you attend this non_ Armenian church?

Q-39 Do you abstain from food the day you plan to take communion?

0-DO NOT TAKE COMMUNION

1-NEVER

2-RARELY

3-SOME OF THE TIME

4-MOST OF THE TIME

5-ALWAYS

Q-40 Do you fast or abstain from animal products , or other items, during Lent or Holy Week before Easter?

1-NEVER

2-RARELY

3-SOME OF THE TIME

4-MOST OF THE TIME

5-ALWAYS

Q-41 In the last year, how many (if any) activities did you attend that were sponsored by Armenian organizations? Some activities are held only once a year, others more often. Please circle number(s) fir each type of activity listed below.

TIMES ATTENDED

MUSICAL CONCERT	0	1-2	3-5	6-10	11+
FOLK DANCE	0	1-2	3-5	6-10	11+
ART EXHIBIT	0	1-2	3-5	6-10	11+
BAZAAR/BAKE SALE	0	1-2	3-5	6-10	11+
APRIL 24 COMMEMERATIONS	0	1-2	3-5	6-10	11+
LECTURE /PANEL DISCUSSION	0	1-2	3-5	6-10	11+
PICNIC	0	1-2	3-5	6-10	11+
THEATRICAL EVENT	0	1-2	3-5	6-10	11+
SPORTS MATCHES	0	1-2	3-5	6-10	11+
ARMENIAN CONVENTION/WEEKEND	0	1-2	3-5	6-10	11+
DINNER DANCE(BARAHANTES)	0	1-2	3-5	6-10	11+
"KHRAKHJANK"	0	1-2	3-5	6-10	11+

- Q-42 How many voluntary organizations do you presently belong to ? How many of these are Armenian? A list is provided below to help you remember. Please list ALL organizations you belong to of each type listed, then write the number of Armenian organizations in the second column . Write zero (0) if you do not belong to an organization of the type listed.

	TOTAL # OF ORGANIZATIONS	#ARMENIAN
1-COMPATRIOTIC SOCIETIES:	_____	_____
2-POLITICAL PARTIES:	_____	_____
3-CHARITABLE ORGANIZATIONS:	_____	_____
4-CULTURAL /ARTISTIC ASSOCIATIONS:	_____	_____
5-SPORTS ORGANIZATIONS:	_____	_____
6-FOLK DANCE ENSEMBLE:	_____	_____
7-CHOIRS:	_____	_____
8-SCHOLARLY ASSOC.:	_____	_____
9-PROFESSIONAL ASSOC.:	_____	_____
10-STUDENT ASSOC.:	_____	_____
11-CHURCH COMMITTEES:	_____	_____
12-OTHER (SPECIFY):	_____	_____

- Q-43 Have you in the last year assumed any position of responsibility in any of these organizations? Specify.

- Q-44 How often do you attend activities /meetings of Armenian voluntary organizations in general?

- 1-NEVER
- 2-RARELY
- 3-SOME OF THE TIME
- 4-MOST OF THE TIME
- 5-ALWAYS

- Q-45 How often do you attend non-Armenian voluntary organizations?

- 1- NEVER
- 2- RARELY
- 3- SOME OF THE TIME
- 4- MOST OF THE TIME
- 5-ALWAYS

Q-46 Please respond to the questions below by putting a number from 1 to 5 in the slot next to each statement. The numbers range from 1 (strongly agree) to 5 (strongly disagree), as indicated in the following scale:

1	2	3	4	5
Strongly Agree	Mildly Agree	No Opinion	Mildly Disagree	Strongly Disagree

- _____ It is not possible to stay Armenian without speaking Armenian.
- _____ Armenian "terrorism" in 1980's has soiled the good name of Armenians in Lebanon as a law-abiding, peace-loving people.
- _____ When I notice an Armenian name on a shop or in the media (such as movie credits, press) I feel happy, proud.
- _____ I believe that sending a child to an Armenian school will hinder his/her chances of getting into a good college and improving himself/herself in life.
- _____ Armenian priests should preach only the Holy Scriptures in their sermons and not concern themselves with Armenian issues.
- _____ The division of the Armenian community into various political groups, such as Hunchags Ramgavars, Tashnags, is irrelevant in this day and age.
- _____ I would vote for an Armenian political candidate at local or national elections regardless of party affiliation.
- _____ You can be for your own people first and still be a good Lebanese.
- _____ Our children should learn to speak Armenian.
- _____ I would support Armenian "terrorism" against Turkish military bases.
- _____ A person should always consider the needs of his family as a whole more important than his own.
- _____ A good Armenian should always marry another Armenian.
- _____ A person should always help his parents with the support of his younger brothers and sisters when necessary.
- _____ Armenians in the Diaspora should eventually settle in the Republic of Armenia to avoid assimilation.
- _____ I am willing to live in Armenia at a convenient time in my life.
- _____ If necessary, I will fight for the Republic of Armenia.
- _____ I believe that one day in the distant future we will be able to free Western Armenia.
- _____ I consider the Republic of Armenia as the Spiritual homeland of Armenians

1

2

3

4

5

FINALLY, If you have anything to add or comment on, please go ahead.

[illegible]