ABSTRACT
              Results of a study which examined the impact of the
Lebanese civil war on the ethnic orientation of Armenians in Lebanon
are presented. A brief historical overview of the presence of
Armenians in Lebanon is given first, focusing on the evolution of
Armenian-Arab relations. A theoretical framework is then provided to
guide the discussion of the survey data. Pre- and post-civil war
surveys of senior high school and university students were conducted.
Results showed that the civil war in Lebanon has sensitized the
Armenian community to its differentiation from other groups,
rigidified its ethnic boundaries, and increased in-group allegiance.
However, an overarching sense of Lebanese national identity is
maintained. The study shows that ethnic identity is not static but
changes over time according to socio-political transformations.
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Ethnicity and Civil War:

The Lebanese-Armenian Case *

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1984

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Ethnicity and Civil War: The Lebanese-Armenian Case

Empirical studies of the impact of traumatic socio-
political events are indeed rare.   The ongoing civil war in
Lebanon provided an opportunity to do such a study.   In 1974,
prior to the onset of open hostilities in the April of 1975,
a survey of the ethnic orientation of Armenians in Lebanon
had been conducted (Der-Karabetian and Oshagan, 1977).   During
a visit to Lebanon in the Spring of 1978 a similar survey was
also carried out to examine the impact of the intervening
years of intercommunal violence.   Such an examination would
provide a test of the situational principle of ethnicity,
on the one hand, and shed some light on the dynamic nature
of ethnicity under conditions of civil upheaval.   To understand
the impact of the civil war on Armenian ethnic orientation
it is important to see it in a historical context.
Consequently, a brief historical overview of the presence
of Armenians in Lebanon is given first, focusing on the
evolution of Armenian-Arab relations.   Then, a theoretical
framework is defined to guide the discussion of the survey
data.

Brief Historical Overview

Despite its small extent (4,000 square miles) and
population (2.5 million) Lebanon is a complex mosaic of

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heterogenious groups. Presently 18 religious-ethnic communities are officially recognized by the government. The first seven of these, including the Armenian Apostolic community, are numerically the largest and hence are of major political importance. Historically, Mount Lebanon, the mountainous central region of the country, has been regarded as a refuge for various persecuted ethnic-religious groups in the Middle East and Asia Minor (Hourani, 1946). These minorities have been able to preserve their identity against numerous foreign occupations and intrusions. The 1926 Constitution of the country, drawn during the French Mandate, further institutionalized and legalized the confessional system and legitimized the sectarian power structure that had existed in the country for centuries. The Constitution specifically states the right of every community to pro-portional representation in various governmental bodies in-cluding the parliament (Spagnolo, 1971).

Different Christian sects form about half the total population. The other half is primarily made up of Shii and Sunni Muslims and the Post-Islamic Druze Sect. In addition to Armenians, who form 8 percent of the total population, there are a number of other small ethnic groups who are ethnically non-Arabs such as Kurds, Circassiams, Turkmans, Jews and Yazidis.

The presence of Armenians in Mount Lebanon goes back to the middle ages (Hovannisian, 1974). However, the surge of recent immigration into Lebanon commenced in the late 19th century as the Ottoman government increased its oppression against Armenians in Turkish-held Armenia and other minorities throughout the Empire. The Contemporary Armenian community in Lebanon came into being only after the 1915-16 massacres. The last major move came from Syria in the years between 1959 and 1966 (Schahgaldian, 1981). The presence of Armenians on the Lebanese socio-political scene was legitimized when they obtained citizenship in 1924 according to the stipulations of the Treaty of Lausanne. This helped define the relationship between the Armenians and the two dominant indigenous groups: Arab Christian and Muslims. While the Muslims, expecially the Sunnis, opposed this decision because it strengthened the Christian majority, the Arab Christians, the Maronites in particular, were pleased since it preserved their dominant political power. In time, both of the indigenous communities gradually accepted the Armenians because of their contribution to the reconstruction of the country after the First World War and their non-interference in internal confessional affairs (Bedoyan, 1979).

The Lebanese census of 1932 legitimized the anticipated role of the Armenians in the political power structure of the

country, giving the Christians a 6 to 5 dominant ratio over
the Muslims (Hourani, 1947). Because of their higher ratio
Christians had greater representation in different governmental
bodies including the parliament. Thus, while the Arab
Christians gained the edge in the political arena, the
Armenians obtained political legitimacy and access to seats
of power.

Initially, the legal integration of Armenians led to the
progressively greater acceptance of the Armenian community
by the Arab Christians on the one hand, and to the greater
tendency by the Armenians to borrow from the Arab Christian
culture, on the other. A mutual decrease in social distance
between the Armenians and the Arab Christians was observed
between 1935 and 1952 (Prothro and Melikian, 1952; Elmasian,
1971). Moreover, Arab Christians demonstrated a strong
positive disposition toward Armenians until the late
sixties (Der-Karabetian, 1981). As the Armenians began to
prosper and get a larger share of the country's economic
resources in the sixties and the seventies (Bouldoukian,
1979), the decreasing trend in the social distance on the
part of the Arab Christians leveled off and began to take
a turn (Elmasian, 1971; Starr, 1976). On their part,
parallel to their growing prosperity, the Armenians continued
the decreasing trend in social distance (Elmasian, 1971).

Furthermore, they demonstrated growing openness to the indigenous Christian culture through greater intermarriage, and internalization of manifest needs and personality characteristics (Melikian and Der-Karabetian, 1977). Also, younger age Armenian groups manifested less intense ethnic orientation (Der-Karabetian and Oshagn, 1977). However, despite their openness, the Armenians continued to maintain distinct ethnic and confessional infrastructures (Libaridian, 1980; Corbin, Griffith, and Rahhal, 1975).

The reliance of the Arab Christians on the unconditional support of the Armenians in the political power structure suffered considerably after and during the 1958 civil war because certain Armenian factions sided with the Muslim-led leftist opposition. Furthermore, as the Muslim's began to challenge the Christian supremacy more openly in the sixties and seventies, the Armenians declined to throw their full weight behind the Arab Christians. They were passive and showed discretion in their support.

When the 1975 civil war broke out Armenians showed a neutral communal stance (Lang, 1976). Some Arab Christians regarded the Armenian posture as an open betrayal of trust developed over a number of decades, and they repeatedly pressured the Armenians to throw their lot with the Christians. The Armenians refused to do so and were frequently harassed for their stance. Although at some cost to themselves, the neutral stance was probably politically a very prudent

decision, since there were Armenians on both the western
(Muslim) and the eastern (Christian) sectors of Beirut.

Thus, cooperation and self-interest has affected the
evolution of the Arab-Armenian relations in Lebanon. The
Arab-Armenian relations were dynamically related to their
constantly evolving competitive-cooperative relationship
with regard to political and economic resources.

Ethnicity and The Situational Principle

The impact of the civil war on ethnic boundaries may
be understood in the framework of Shil's (1957) situational
principle. Situations that involve interaction between
ethnic groups determine the salience of ethnic orientation.
When there is competition for political and economic resources
ethnicity acquires greater salience resulting in stronger
ethnic group allegiance (Glasser, 1958; Patterson, 1975;
Brass and Van den Berghe, 1976, Barth, 1969; Bell and Freeman,
1974).

A civil war is the ultimate manifestation of competition
for power and resources in a polyethnic society and is bound
to raise ethnic orientation.
Lebanon was a precarious republic from its very inseption
(Hudson, 1968). The fragile sectarian system threatened to
break down a number of times during its short life by an uprising
in 1949, an attempted coup in 1961, and two civil wars one in

1958 and another in 1975 (Barakat, 1977). The repeated civil upheavals attest to the built-in competitive socio-political structure of Lebanon where ethnic boundaries are quite salient (Starr, 1978). Ethnicity fluctuates in times of open hostility and subdued competitiveness. Civil upheavals and social turmoil raise group consciousness and ingroup solidarity. Strong group identifications that emerge serves a supportive function as well as reinforce ethnocentrism, (Volkan, 1979; LeVine and Campbell, 1972).

Thus, in the framework of the situational principle, it was expected that there would be a stronger ethnic orientation among Armenians in 1978 compared to 1974. Furthermore, those who participated more directly in the Civil War were expected to demonstrate stronger ethnic orientation than those who did not. It was also expected that the relationship of the Lebanese and the Armenian identities would reflect this same phenomenon.

The Survey Samples

The 1978 sample was composed of senior high school and university students. To make the pre-war and the 1978 samples comparable, respondents were selected from the pre-war sample who also attended high school and university. The pre-war sample was originally part of a study that compared age group differences in ethnic orientation among the Lebanese-Armenians (Der-Karabetian and Oshagan, 1977). Altogether there were

61 males and 46 females in the sample derived from the pre-war study, and 109 males and 137 females in the 1978 sample.

The Ethnic Orientation Questionnaire: This questionnaire was developed prior to the 1975 civil war by Der-Karabetian and Oshagan (1977). It comprised a list of 57 statements referring to preferences of Armenian cultural manifestations, language, homeland, customs and institutions. A six-point Likert-type endorsement scale was used.

The original questionnaire had high internal consistency (alpha=.89). It also showed strong criterion group validity. The 1978 ethnic orientation questionnaire included 50 of the 57 items that showed significant item-total correlations $(p < .005)$. The ethnic orientation scores of males and females did not differ. The questionnaire again showed strong internal consistency. The mean endorsement across 50 items, after reversing the negative ones, formed the individual ethnic orientation score.

The Ethnic Identity Scale: It was administered only to the 1978 sample. The scale is composed of 17 items originally developed by Zak (1973) to measure the dual identity of Jewish-Americans. Der-Karabetian (1981) successfully adopted and used the scale with Armenian-Americans. For the present study the items were properly reworded for Lebanese-Armenians. There were 9 items dealing with the Lebanese identity and 8 items with the Armenian identity. The internal consistency

of the Lebanese and Armenian identity scales were .77 and .67,

respectively.   All questionnaires were administered in Armenian.

Demographic Questions: Besides age, sex, socioeconomic status

and political party membership, the 1978 respondents indicated

their participation in the "protection and well-being" of the

Armenian community. The loss of someone dear or close because

of the fighting was also reported.

Analyses of Ethnic Orientation Scores

Table 1 summarizes the mean scores on the ethnic orienta-

tion questionnaire, the Armenian identity and the Lebanese

identity scales of the different groups. First, the pre-war

ethnic orientation scores are compared with the 1978 scores,

then the Lebanese and Armenian identity scores in the 1978

sample are examined.

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Insert Table 1 here

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As table 1 indicates, the ethnic orientation score of the 1978 sample is significantly higher than the pre-war sample (t= 5.80, p .001). Although the higher 1978 score is consistent with the situational principle it must be interpreted causciously. The difference is significant but the magnitude of the increase is only a quarter of a scale point. The nature of the design does not preclude alternative interpretations of the observed difference, although the two samples are comparable in age, education and gender composition and political party membership. About 30 percent of each sample is composed of Armenian political party members who tend to score higher on ethnic orientation (Der-Karabetian and Oshagan, 1977).

The impact of involvement was examined by comparing the ethnic orientation of those who actively participated in the "protection and well being" of the community with those who did not. Such participation implied one or more duties such as night-guard, patrols, first aid, civil defense and street combat. The mean ethnic orientation scores of 83 individuals indicating active participation was not significantly different from that of 83 other randomly-selected individuals of the 1978 sample (See Table 1). The impact was also assessed by comparing the mean scores of 62 individuals who indicated that they lost someone dear or close to them with 62 other randomly-selected individuals who did not. The scores were also not significantly different (See Table 1).

Thus, the data suggest that there is an increase in the ethnic orientation score in 1978 compared to 1974. In the absence of a control group that did not experience the war it is hard to challenge the argument that the difference may be due to passage of time or other intervening events. However, probably the civil war was the most overwhelming social and personal preoccupation during the 1974 - 1978 period.

Individual Item Comparisons

To explore shifts in the specific aspects of ethnic orientation, the scores of the 1978 sample on each of the 50 items were compared to the pre-war sample. Table 2 indicates the individual item scores of the two samples and the significance of the differences. Twenty-four of the items changed significantly. A close inspection of the changed items reflects a certain pattern. There seems to be a glorification of ethnic descent apparent in the tendency to value and uphold tradition to a greater degree. There is greater desire to maintain old customs (Item 5) and compatriotic organizations (Item 40), increased support for the church

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Insert Table 2 here

(Item 15, 39), higher evaluation of ethnic literature (Item 45) and the Armenian language (Item 38), and greater emphasis of ethnic identity in the definition of the whole person

(Item 13,22). The glorification of ethnic descent is con-
sistent with the notion that shared ancestry is marked off
by cultural attributes (Parsons, 1975; De Vos, 1975; Keyes,
1976) which are accentuated under conditions of intergroup
conflict, possibly to the degree of group narcissism (Volkan,
1979).

In addition to the greater emphasis on heritage a
heightened sense of differentiation from the indigenous non-
Armenian culture is apparent. There is a stronger rejection
of non-Armenian education (Item 16, 48) and business tran-
sections (Item 20). There is an increased tendency to see
the ethnic group as more hardworking (Item 28), more nur-
turant (Item 29) and more family oriented (Item 30). More-
over, there is a lesser tendency to identify as Lebanese
first (Item 2). The rejection of the outgroup stands in
contrast to earlier trends of decreasing social distance
(Elmasian, 1971) and growing acculturation of the younger
age groups (Der-Karabetian and Oshagan, 1977; Melikian and
Der-Karabetian, 1977).

Evidence of differentiation is also seen in the outgroup
marriage pattern after 1974. Examination of marriage certifi-
cates at the prelacy of the Armenian Apostolic Church re-
vealed that the percentage of Armenian men marrying outside
their group increased significantly from 9.8 to 13.0 between
1974 and 1977 (z = 2.46, p < .ool). For women, marriage

outside decreased significantly from 12.5 to 10.5 percent
($\underline{z}$ = 2.38, $\underline{p}$ < .02). While men venture out to bring other
women into the group, outgroup men are not allowed to pene-
trate the group as effectively. Exchange of women in such
manner helps define and protect group boundaries
(Levi-Strouss, 1953). In the present case, the observed
pattern of intermarriage is consistent with the increased
sense of differentiation felt by Armenians.

Taken together, the comparison of ethnic orientation
scores before the war and in 1978, suggests the presence of
the closure affect of the war on ethnicity. The 1978 sample
seems to diaplay stronger ingroup allegiance centered around
the culturally distinctive aspects of the group. There is
also a heightened sense of differentiation and hardening of
the ethnic boundary. The effect of the war as well as the
prior evolution of the Armenian-Arab relations in Lebanon
are consistent with the situational principle of ethnicity.

Analysis of The Relationship of Lebanese and Armenian Identities

A minority status necessarily implies a larger context.
If identification with a minority group is affected in the
present context then it is conceivable that identification
with the larger cultural context may also be affected. In
the framework of Lewinian field theory, simultaneous
participation in two coextensive cultures exposes an
individual to influences from two overlapping psychological

situations (Cartwright, 1951).

In the life space of minority persons, certain forces enhance positive identification with the group by its members, and other forces lead to greater identification with the larger cultural context. The interplay of these forces in a given phenomenclogical situation determines the relationship of the two cultural identities, (Shil, 1957; Patterson, 1975; Stonquist, 1961 Genesee, Tucker and Lambert, 1978; McGuire McGuire, Child and Fujioka, 1978).

Studies by Zak (1973) and Der-Karabetian (1980) have shown that majority and minority identities are not polarized. However, a study by Zak (1976) with Arab-Israeli students showed that the polarization of the two identities was totally accounted for by the perception of the conflict in the area. Given the sectarian conflict in Lebanon one may be tempted to see the two identities as polarized. But, it must also be recognized that the sense of Lebanese nationhood is known to transcend and encompass identification with any one of the major groups in the country (Schahgaldian, 1981).

To test for the polarization of the two cultural identities the Armenian and the Lebanese identity scores of the entire 1978 sample was correlated. It turned out to be virtually zero $(r = -.08)$, indicating the independence and the unpolarized nature of the two dimensions of cultural identity. A correlation

reflects the trend in the relative standing of the two identity
scores and not the difference in their levels. In order to
examine their relative magnitudes the mean identity scores
were compared. The Armenian identity was significantly higher
than the Lebanese identity ($\underline{t}$ = 14.68. $\underline{p}$ .ool). Thus, although
there is an overall stronger ingroup identification, it is not
necessarily associated with weaker Lebanese identification.

The Lebanese and Armenian identities were also found to
be unpolarized for those who lost someone, and for those who
did not lose someone close because of the civil war (Table 1).
But for those who participated in the "protection and well
being" of their community the two identities were correlated
positively (r = +.56). The key to understanding this positive
correlation lies in the active commitment of these individuals
to the Armenian community, on the one hand, and to the
integrity of Lebanon, on the other. This is consistent with
the theory of cognitive dissonance (Festinger, 1957; Bem, 1967)
asserting that commitment to a cause and the investment of
time and effort in it tends to generate positive attitude
towards that cause. That impact of participation on Lebanese
identity is also seen in the identity of participants and non-
participants. The participants scored significantly higher
compared to the non-participants (Table 1).

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Although there is a higher degree of endorsement of ethnic identity, it is not necessarily associated with lower Lebanese national identity. The two identities may coexist at high levels. The civil war in Lebanon has sensitized the Armenian community to its differentiation from other groups, regidified its ethnic boundaries and increased ingroup allegiance. However, an overarching sense of Lebanese national identity is maintained (Schahgaldian, 1981).

In summary, the analysis presented here indicates that ethnic identity is not static but changes over time according to Socio-political transformations; (b) civil strife and upheavals raise ingroup solidarity in ethnic communities; (c) higher ethnic identity is not necessarily associated with lower Lebanese national feeling; (d) communal cooperation as well as sectarian rivalry have been primary factors affecting Arab-Armenian relations in Lebanon.

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. Table 1

The mean and standard deviation of the 1974 and the 1978 samples on ethnic orientation, Armenian identity and Lebanese identity, t-tests and correlations.

Samples	N	Ethnic Orientation	Armenian Identity	Lebanese Identity	Correlations Arm. vs Leb.
Pre-War	107	3.75 (.68)*	—	— .	—
1978	246	4.00 (.55)	4.86 (.70)	3.79 (.90)	−.08
		t = 5.80			
		p < .001			
Partici- pants	83	4.09 (.52)	4.93 (.68)	4.01 (.93)	+.56**
Non-Par- ticipants	83	4.01 (.50)	4.91 (.59) .	3.73 (.92)	+.18
		t = 1.01	t = .20	t = 2.03	
		n.s.	n.s.	p <.05	
Lose Someone	62	3.93 (.57)	4.89 (.94)	3.88 (.94)	−.19
Not Lose Someone	62	4.06 (.53)	4.91 (.74)	3.79 (.79)	+.23
		t = 1.93	t = .58	t = .17	
		n.s.	n.s.	n.s.	

*Numbers in parenthesis represent standard deviations.

**Significant at p <.001.

Table 2

Comparison of the mean item ratings of the 1974 and the 1978 samples on each of the 50 ethnic orientation items

Translated Items (Abridged)	1974 N = 107		1978 N = (Variable)			t Ratio	p**
	Mean	Standard Deviation	Mean	Standard Deviation	N		
1. Armenians and Turks cannot be friends	3.45*	1.7	3.86	1.8	247	2.06	.05
2. First Lebanese then Armenian	4.08	1.9	3.49	1.7	2.45	2.77	.01
3. Shame to speak another language if know Armenian	4.74	1.6	4.98	1.5	247	1.32	N.S.
4. Armenian businesses closed on Armenian holidays	5.03	1.4	5.19	1.1	246	1.05	N.S.
5. Old customs be dropped	4.12	1.6	3.57	1.5	245	3.02	.01
6. Consider Lebanon as homeland	3.81	1.6	3.52	1.6	246	1.56	N.S.
7. Cannot stay Armenian without speaking Armanian	4.46	1.5	4.30	1.6	246	.94	N.S.
8. Armenian schools accept non-Armenians	2.58	1.7	3.38	1.7	247	4.06	.001
9. "Armenian is beautiful"	3.46	1.9	4.17	1.6	246	3.33	.001
10. Speak Armenian if know the language	5.18	1.3	5.24	1.2	246	.41	N.S.
11. Be fanatic to preserve identity	3.62	1.6	3.44	1.6	246	.98	N.A.
12. Those not involved in "Armenian Cause" are as good	4.20	1.7	4.10	1.6	247	.51	N.S.
13. Shame when famous Armenians not acknowledge Armenian origin	4.49	1.4	5.19	1.2	243	4.49	.001

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Table 2 (Continued)

Translated Items (Abridged)	1974 N = 107		1978 N = (Variable)			t Ratio	p
	Mean	Standard Deviation	Mean	Standard Deviation	N		
14. Not blame young for preferring non-Armenian music	4.14	1.4	3.89	1.6	248	1.48	N.S.
15. Support church morally and financially	3.97	1.6	4.62	1.2	247	3.77	.001
16. Sending children to non-Armenian schools has benefits	3.43	1.6	2.87	1.6	245	3.03	.01
17. Help another Armenian in a fight	3.20	1.7	3.10	1.7	248	.59	N.S.
18. Turkish movie attenders are as good Armenians	3.03	1.7	2.53	1.6	246	2.59	.01
19. Those not party members are equally good Armenians	5.05	1.3	4.75	1.3	247	2.00	.05
20. Prefer to buy from Armenian grocer	3.62	1.6	4.06	1.5	247	2.42	.02
21. Law breaking disgraces Armenian people	4.16	1.7	4.49	1.4	239	1.75	N.S.
22. First a person then an Armenian	4.90	1.5	4.06	1.7	242	4.54	.001
23. Good Armenians not belong to non-Armenian church	4.31	1.7	4.53	1.5	243	1.16	N.S.
24. Wrong to have negative attitude toward Armenian culture	4.93	1.3	5.03	1.2	246	.68	N.S.
25. Good Armenians read Armenian newspapers	4.08	1.6	3.80	1.5	248	1.54	N.S.

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Table 2 (Continued)

Translated Items (Abridged)	1974 N = 107		1978 N = (Variable)			t Ratio	p
	Mean	Standard Deviation	Mean	Standard Deviation	N		
26. Armenian political parties better organized	3.90	1.6	3.74	.8	241	.98	N.S.
27. Bothersome to have Armenian neighbors	3.07	1.6	3.02	1.4	244	.25	N.S.
28. Armenians more hardworking	4.31	1.3	5.07	1.0	247	4.92	.001
29. Armenian mothers more devoted to family	3.68	1.7	4.19	1.6	246	2.64	.01
30. Armenian fathers more attached to family	3.65	1.7	4.05	1.5	246	2.11	.05
31. Armenian schools should not overload students with Armenian courses	2.75	1.5	3.28	1.8	247	2.86	.01
32. Armenian prostitutes rare to find	3.60	1.6	4.06	1.4	231	2.55	.05
33. Prefer employment by non-Armenian	3.09	1.5	2.99	1.4	240	.59	N.S.
34. Should settle in Armenian not to assimilate	4.30	1.5	4.23	1.6	238	.39	N.S.
35. Armenian upbringing prevents delinquency	3.96	1.4	4.05	1.3	194	.56	N.S.
36. Not celebrate Christmas on 6th of January	3.27	1.8	2.99	1.7	243	1.36	N.S.
37. Always cheer Armenian team	4.82	1.3	4.81	1.2	246	.07	N.S.
38. Not blame young for failing to learn Armenian	2.99	1.5	2.58	1.6	248	2.31	.05
39. Church not as important today in preserving identity	4.19	1.4	3.03	1.5	240	6.99	.001
40. Compatriotic organizations not needed any more	3.66	1.8	2.71	1.4	231	4.82	.001

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Table 2 (Continued)

Translated Items (Abridged)	1974 N = 107		1978 N = (Variable)			t Ratio	p
	Mean	Standard Deviation	Mean	Standard Deviation	N		
41. Old country folks are different	3.20	1.7	3.23	1.5	228	.15	N.S.
42. Armenians should marry Armenians	4.64	1.6	4.88	1.5	246	1.32	N.S.
43. Taking on foreign names not good	4.11	1.6	3.75	1.6	244	1.94	N.S.
44. Armenian child should play with non-Armenians	3.88	1.6	3.95	1.5	248	.38	N.S.
45. Armenian literature matches international standards	3.46	1.8	4.46	1.4	237	5.10	.001
46. Essential to visit Armenia to stay Armenian	4.25	1.3	4.42	1.3	248	1.13	N.S.
47. Lebanese-Armenian children more gifted	3.74	1.6	3.67	1.4	246	.39	N.S.
48. Non-Armenian education more beneficial	3.66	1.5	3.01	1.5	246	3.73	.001
49. Lebanese cooking as good as Armenian	3.08	1.5	3.93	1.5	244	4.89	.001
50. Should degrade Turks whenever possible	2.92	1.5	4.22	1.5	243	7.47	.001

* Higher the rating higher the ethnic orientation reflected in the item.

** N.S. stands for "not significantly different." The rest represent different levels of significant differences.

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