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Ethnopolitical Entrepreneurs:

Outsiders Inside an Armenian American Community of Los Angeles

A dissertation submitted in partial satisfaction of the requirements for the degree Doctor of Philosophy in Near Eastern Languages and Cultures

by

Daniel Fittante

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ABSTRACT OF THE DISSERTATION

Ethnopolitical Entrepreneurs:

Outsiders Inside an Armenian American Community of Los Angeles

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Daniel Fittante

Doctor of Philosophy in Near Eastern Languages and Cultures

University of California, Los Angeles, 2018

Professor Peter S. Cowe, Chair

This manuscript attempts to broaden scholarship on U.S. ethnic politics and group political incorporation by analyzing the emergence of novel political agents (ethnopolitical entrepreneurs) in evolving suburban spaces (ethnoburbs). The following chapters analyze these phenomena through a case study of the fascinating yet understudied Armenian community of Glendale, California. While Glendale's Armenian community possesses its own history and character, it also reflects dynamic circumstances occurring in a diverse array of other U.S. suburban communities today, such as those affecting the Chinese in Monterey Park, Vietnamese

in Westminster, Filipinos in Daley City, Koreans in Irvine, and many others. These communities force immigration and urban studies scholars to reevaluate traditional assumptions about the urban settlement and political incorporation trajectories of newcomers and other co-ethnic community members. Based upon Glendale's Armenian community, this manuscript attempts to reorient the scholarship on group political incorporation by unpacking the increasingly important role of ethnopolitical entrepreneurs in contemporary American ethnoburbs.

Despite their significance to the political incorporation of immigrants and other group members, ethnopolitical entrepreneurs remain strikingly absent from scholarship on political incorporation. Following the Hart-Celler Act (or Immigration and Neutrality Act) of 1965, immigrants from diverse locations throughout the world began coming to U.S. cities in record numbers. Historically, immigrants with scant resources inhabited city centers and formed ethnic enclaves; some more recent newcomers, however, have brought resources that enable able them to "leapfrog" city centers and settle immediately into wealthier suburban communities. Over time, chain migration has transformed several sleepy, Anglo suburbs into vibrant, multi-ethnic communities, where at least one ethnic group comprises a demographic majority. In these dynamic "ethnoburbs" the majority ethnic community's demographic concentration can enable it to influence local electoral politics. At times, this influence comes in the form of making claims and reallocating city resources on behalf of the community. But, increasingly, the community's influence involves co-ethnic community members (many who are themselves first-generation immigrants) running campaigns and obtaining political office as mayors, city councilmembers, and school board members. The activities of these agents invert many social scientific assumptions about when immigrant political incorporation takes place. While scholars typically assumed political incorporation followed legal and social incorporation, ethnopolitical

entrepreneurs run campaigns (often in the native language of their co-ethnic constituents) that incorporate newcomers before they have acquired the English language and these campaigns begin before many have obtained citizenship. These relatively novel municipal agents therefore influence how many newcomers and pre-existing co-ethnic community members become incorporated into American political institutions. And their emergence reflects shifting loci of political incorporation in many places throughout the U.S. – from marginalized racial minorities in cities to prosperous multi-ethnic immigrants in suburbs.

The dissertation of Daniel Fittante is approved.

Min Zhou

Roger Waldinger

Khachig Tölölyan

Peter S. Cowe, Committee Chair

University of California, Los Angeles

2018

To my family – Dave, Jan, Talia, and Emily.

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"But Why Glendale? A History of Armenian Immigration to Southern California," *California History*, 94 (3): 2-19, 2017.
"Connection without Engagement: The Paradoxes of North American Armenian Return Migration," *Diaspora: A Journal of Transnational Studies,* 19 (2-3): 147-169, 2017.
"Broadening the Discourse: A Critical Assessment of Traditional Accounts of The Life and Adventures of Joseph Emin," *Armenian Review,* 55 (3-4): 1-18, 2017.
"Beyond the Analytical Categories of Armenian Identity," *Journal of the Society for Armenian Studies* 24(4): 56-80, 2016.

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Spanish: Advanced in reading, writing, speaking, and listening
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Introduction

The Armenians of Glendale: An Overview

Armenian Angelenos are an important piece of Los Angeles's ethnic mosaic. However, this intra-ethnically diverse community remains enigmatically absent from academic print. As such, there exists no history of the community or analysis of its many attributes and contributions. This manuscript is a first effort to initiate study of a highly fascinating yet severely understudied population.

Armenians are scattered throughout Southern California. Specific communities, however, boast greater concentrations of Armenians than others. These include communities as diverse as Hollywood, Montebello, Burbank, Pasadena, North Hollywood, and Glendale. The history of each community, in many respects, is quite distinct. Each contributes significantly to the multi-dimensional character of Los Angeles's Armenian communities. As such, no one specific Armenian settlement represents the entirety of the Armenian Angeleno community – or the *Hreshtakahay Hamaynk*.[i]

In addition, Armenians have arrived into Southern California via diverse routes and in diverse waves: They have come in the face of profound tragedy and duress; they have come aspiring to amass wealth and comfort; they have come in pursuit of sun-kissed luxury and leisure; they have come to join family and friends. As such, their story resembles that of many other immigrant communities, and yet it possesses a character distinctly its own. In terms of geographical origins, the community is as kaleidoscopic as its members' motivations: Every continent is represented within the multi-cultural expanse of Los Angeles's varied Armenian population. Apart from internal migration from other U.S. cities, some of the more significant communities of origin include: Armenia, Iran, Iraq, Lebanon, and Turkey. But Argentina,

France, Georgia, Egypt, Russia, Georgia, Syria, Ethiopia, and many others are also important sites of origin. Each sub-community has brought with it a blended Armenian identity, one hybridized within the spatial and temporal contexts in which it took shape.

But the area with the highest Armenian visibility and concentration – not only in Los Angeles but all of the world's Armenian diaspora – is Glendale in the San Fernando Valley. Glendale Armenians constitute ethnic majorities of the population – according to the Census of 2010, about 40 percent of the overall population.[ii] More than 80,000 Armenians currently live in Glendale. On account of its many organizations, churches, and facilities that cater to Armenians, Glendale acts as a hub of Armenian activity in Los Angeles and elsewhere. And because of the community's visibility and successes, Glendale also has become largely associated with the Armenian American diaspora internationally.

Far more than in any other community in the U.S. or perhaps anywhere else in the diaspora, Armenians have transformed Glendale's social, political, and economic fabric. Glendale emerged from a sleepy, conservative, and discriminatory sundown town in the 1960s to a bustling, progressive, liberal city before the turn of the century. And behind this transformation is, in large part, the story of Armenian integration and contribution. Despite its composite make-up, Glendale's Armenian community has a character uniquely its own. Glendale's Armenians have mobilized and integrated by engaging local opportunity structures and becoming incorporated into the political institutions. Community leaders have identified the importance of institutional representation for the community, and, using the existing opportunity structures, ensure that their collective voice reverberates. As with other single ethnic majorities in Monterey Park, Westminster, and Daley City, Glendale's migrant population has added distinct dimensions to the range of political incorporation experiences. Their integration into and interaction with

public institutions have enabled Glendale Armenians to introduce Armenian language classes into the local schools' core curriculum through a dual-immersion program; they have established 24 April, the day commemorating Armenian Genocide, as a school holiday; they have nominated majorities on city councils and boards of education, all who have placed Armenian concerns as priorities on their political agendas; they are in the process of establishing a local museum dedicated to the Armenian people; they have altered the aesthetic and commercial landscape of Glendale fundamentally; and they have done many other things, as the following chapters will demonstrate.

Despite their many visible contributions, they have remained invisible in academic print. This manuscript seeks to correct that oversight by tracking the political incorporation of the community. To be sure, there exist multiple angles from which to analyze this diverse community; its political incorporation is a rather limited lens. As such, I have attempted to introduce the topic to academic discourse from varied perspectives: historical, demographic, and sociological. But, inevitably, a manuscript of this length is bound to open up more prospective discussions than resolve. As such, I hope this analysis catalyzes far more research on the intra-ethnically diverse and culturally influential Armenian communities of Glendale and Greater Los Angeles.

In terms of their political incorporation, Armenians have held various council, assembly, board, education, and mayoral seats. At present, Armenians hold nearly 80 percent of all elected offices in Glendale. And this degree of incorporation into local institutions occurred as a result of grassroots ethnic mobilization efforts. They have accomplished this electoral success on account of several factors considered in this manuscript: (1) mobilized demographic constituencies; (2) the outreach of politicized ethnic organizations and media; (3) backlash from the local

community; and (4) creative political strategies. Learning more about how the Armenians of Glendale have mobilized and incorporated themselves into the political fabric of their community will prove useful for prospective policymakers and politicians as well as social scientists in various academic disciplines.

In the following chapters of this manuscript, I will investigate several facets of Glendale Armenians' incorporation in the last two decades. First, I will provide a history of the community's immigration to and settlement of Southern California. Then I will situate Glendale into discourse on ethnoburbs. While this discourse typically pertains only to Asian American communities, Glendale fits this model and proves its generalizability. I will then demonstrate how ethnoburbs bring together a distinct set of circumstances that give rise to a new, important agent in contemporary U.S. ethnic politics: ethnic political entrepreneurs (or ethnopolitical entrepreneurs). Focused too narrowly on institutions and group dynamics, the literature on political incorporation, I contend, has overlooked the indispensable role of the ethnic strategist and entrepreneur, particularly in evolving immigrant-dominated suburban spaces. But these agents do not act alone. In the analysis, I also investigate how entrepreneurs, consciously or not, string together a series of ethnic attributes in the construction of an ethnic "identity" that caters to the largest voting constituency possible.

As such, this manuscript attempts to shed light on an understudied community while also enriching several social scientific perspectives (particularly on political incorporation). Or, following Josh Kun's description of Jewish cultural contribution to Los Angeles, the following will attempt to explain how Armenians' incorporation or "acculturation itself becomes cultural assertion" (2013, 82).

Incorporation Scholarship: An Overview

Speaking broadly, U.S. history concatenates a series of immigrant incorporation vignettes. Mollenkopf elegantly articulates this concatenation:

> The North won the Civil War in no small measure because urban immigrants bolstered its troop strength. The rise of Catholic ethnic groups to power first the city level and then much later at the state and federal levels (with the election of John Kennedy in 1960) is an artery in the lifeblood of the political circulatory system. Their ambivalent relationship with Jewish immigrant groups in New York City and elsewhere is an important part of the story. The African American migration north around World War I and World War II and their struggle for employment is yet another chapter. Today, the big cities of the United States…face a new chapter in this process, as the largest outsider groups are now made up of immigrants and their children…(111).

To provide an overview of approaches to political incorporation is thus, in a way, to tell the story of America's evolving political history. But incorporation applies in contexts outside of the political arena. Immigration from various corners of the world has shaped every aspect of U.S. society. The immigrants come from various places for various reasons. While large urban spaces tend to receive the bulk of newcomers, immigrants settle in diverse locations across the U.S. Despite its flagging fertility rates, the U.S. maintains growth on account of its immigrant population: According to Passell and Cohn (2008), immigrants will account for 82 percent of population growth between 2005 and 2050.

Because of their diversity, immigrants integrate into American society in equally diverse ways. This is especially true of Los Angeles's immigrant populations. Once the archetypal model, New York City and its economic immigrants from Europe form the basis of traditional theorizations: Framed by Robert Dahl in 1961, this model involves three distinct generations. The first generation settles in the host society; the second generation participates in the host society; and the third shapes policies of the host society. In other words, citizenship precedes participation; participation precedes representation; and representation precedes policy (quoted

from Jones-Correa 2013, 176). Many of the original accounts of political incorporation were framed around Black American incorporation into diverse urban settings (Browning, Marshall, and Tabb 1984). These linear, unidirectional models color most thinking on immigration. In these models, political incorporation occurs based upon one's placement in a teleological sequence of events. To be sure, this model can be used to inform some contemporary experiences of political incorporation; however, it fails to account for several others. While poor, disenfranchised immigrants often settle in more affordable urban dwellings, save their income, and move into accommodations outside of the downtown districts when they can, many now bring resources with them. And, with these resources, they can afford from the outset to purchase suburban homes and operate transnational businesses even without first acquiring citizenship or English proficiency.

There are various ways to approach how newcomers integrate into host societies. A few of the elements that diversify pathways include host society opportunity structures, community response to newcomers, newcomers' attachment to the homeland, pre-existing group networks, demographic character of immigrants and the social remittances they bring to the host society, availability of language-acquisition resources, labor market regulations, welfare systems in place, and many others. Despite the amount of national coverage it receives in multimedia, immigration is a highly localized phenomenon. Newcomers' adjustments depend on their local surroundings, and the ways in which their communities assist or restrict them. Some immigrants arrive into a politically vibrant community, one with a distinct, if not rigid, pathway toward political incorporation. Others must fend for themselves or rely on their children to navigate an alien milieu.

The demographic character of the U.S.' immigrant population has altered considerably over the last several decades. The bracero program brought Mexican guest workers to the U.S. between the 1940s and 1960s (Calavita 2010). Before the 1960s, immigration to the U.S. came from, largely, Mexico or Europe. But this demographic profile diversified and the population swelled following passage of the Hart-Cellar Act in 1965 (Tichenor 2002). As such, immigration to the U.S. has had its densest and most significant impacts from the 1970s onward – in several years, the number of newcomers exceeded a million entrants (Mollenkopf and Hochschild 2009). The effects of this legislation have altered the demographic, cultural, and economic character of the United States; however, these effects are especially salient in Los Angeles, where, according to 2000 census, 40 percent of the city is foreign born. And, within Los Angeles, suburbs are often some of the communities most affected by newcomers and new settlement. These newcomers inhabit and transform Americans urban spaces in ways unique to the already diverse megalopolis.

Legal and Social Incorporation

Newcomers' incorporation follows multiple trajectories: legal, social/cultural, and political/institutional (Gerstle 2010). Legal incorporation relates to the attainment of citizenship. Legal incorporation is determined, largely, by the opportunities and restrictions of the host society's legal machinery (Portes and Zhou 1993; Portes and Rumbaut 2001). Each country's set of laws and admission requirements determine the extent to which newcomers gain legal incorporation. Also, the manner in which a migrant enters a country also determines, in large part, his capacity to incorporate legally. Legal incorporation relates to status, such as those who hold work visa, permanent residency (green card), or citizenship (passport). Obtaining citizenship determines migrants' ability to participate in elections, hold office, and sit on juries

(Gerstle 2010). Despite the ostensive benefits of citizenship, the U.S. has relatively low naturalization rates (Bloemraad 2006). And this isn't necessarily coercive. The majority of migrants choose not to naturalize. Bloemraad has highlighted the complexities of American procedure and inferred that they might explain why these rates are relatively low (2006). Language proficiency is another factor that may prevent legal incorporation (Gonzalez, Barrera, et al 2013). Undocumented immigrants also probably avoid political incorporation lest they face deportation. Others argue the political implications of obtaining U.S. citizenship: Many may not choose to naturalize on account of residual connection to the homeland or a sojourner orientation. Nonetheless, undocumented immigrants play an important role in other aspects of group incorporation even in the absence of legal incorporation. They participate in town hall meetings and community protests, frequent city community centers, parks, and libraries.

Social incorporation is a gradual process, one in which migrants become increasingly acculturated in the host-country (Gerstle 2010). Social incorporation takes place in sustained proximity to American society and events. Participation in socializing institutions, such as work or school, also facilitates social incorporation. A host-society's receptivity to newcomers often determines the speed with which the latter incorporates socially (Portes and Zhou 1993). In addition, pre-existing ethnic networks can also either facilitate or inhibit social incorporation. As before, language also plays a vital role in social incorporation, for it offers migrants a medium through which newcomers can engage in social institutions and events.[iii]

Age compounds this social integration. Adult migrants gain far less exposure to socializing institutions as compared to children (especially regarding educational attainment), and, hence, frequently incorporate at a far more gradual pace (Kastoryano 2002). Should older immigrants work in service sectors among co-ethnics and also live predominantly among co-

ethnics, their capacity for social incorporation and economic mobility may be more limited. Other researchers have found that a strong sense of connectedness to one's ethnic community does not necessarily correlate with limited social and economic incorporation (Putnam 2000). That is, Dawson's theory of "linked fates" (1994, 2001) has limited application in terms of social incorporation. Nonetheless, it is clear that language proficiency plays an integral role in social incorporation of newcomers.

Restricting social incorporation, perceived discrimination or host attitudes also play an important role (Segura 2013). In the aftermath of 9/11, attitudes in the U.S. have become increasingly hostile toward immigrants and their incorporation. Immigrants are often depicted as social pariahs or criminals. These attitude shifts, for example, are reflected in the support President Donald Trump has received for his rhetorical characterizations of Mexicans as rapists and criminals, discussions of building walls at Mexico's expense, and the "thorough vetting" and expulsion of Muslim Americans. These characterizations speak to an attitude common among several Americans in a charged post-9/11 atmosphere. According to Woods (2011), the percentage of Americans who felt immigration to the U.S. should be decreased rose from 41 percent in June 2001 to 58 percent in October 2001 (cited in Albarracín 2016). However, as Bakalian and Bozorgmehr (2009) have noted, in the post-Civil Rights era this backlash against immigrants has, in turn, created its own backlash. Newcomers form coalitions and rally on behalf of their ethnic communities in order to ensure protections against discrimination. In this way, discriminatory attitudes both facilitate and restrict social incorporation.

Political Incorporation

Although political incorporation has received extensive treatment in social scientific scholarship over the last two decades, it was not until recently that scholars began to demarcate its meaning more rigorously. In 2009 and 2013, social scientists produced volumes that survey and assess various aspects of international immigrant political incorporation (Hochschild and Mollenkopf 2009; Hochschild, Chattopadhyay, Gay, and Jones-Correa 2013). As these texts consistently highlight, political incorporation is a wide and unwieldy theoretical model.

What distinguishes incorporation from assimilation? While the term, "assimilation," has fallen out of favor in many academic circles, it remains a powerful and resonant concept in daily parlance. Following Ramakrishnan (2013), assimilation differs from incorporation insofar as the former is

> …primarily concerned with outcomes and processes that operate on individuals, mostly focusing on behavior and attitudes, with group outcomes simply considered as aggregations of individuals as objects of comparison. By contrast, the concept of political incorporation is primarily concerned with the political institutions and their relationships to social institutions such as interest groups, civic organizations, and religious institutions (28).

Ramakrishnan's definition also clarifies the focus of this manuscript – that is, political incorporation: Assimilation's individual outcomes pertain to wide-ranging phenomena, such as educational attainment, intermarriage, cultural identity preservation, occupational mobility, among others. In contrast, incorporation research focuses on the interaction between specific group members' beliefs and national institutions (and agents who work in those institutions). The various outcomes of this interaction foreground the present analysis – that is, I'm primarily concerned with the interplay between ethnic groups and national institutions. To be sure, assimilation literature also discusses institutions, but the focus tends to be on how these institutions affect the individual's integration into society (Ramakrishnan 2013). In addition,

political assimilation is distinct from political incorporation as the former analyzes, for example, the degree to which individual participation or knowledge of the American political system equals that of a native-born. Conversely, incorporation theories also include individuals, but these individuals feature only insofar as they are tied to a group. Further, an institution-focus does not exclude factors outside of the purview of electoral mobilization; rather, it is centrally concerned with the multi-directional and transformative processes affecting institutions and groups.

In terms of immigrant political incorporation, I follow Hochschild, Chattopadhyay, Gay, and Jones-Correa (2013) in defining the concept as "methods or tactics used, by individuals or groups, to make claims about the allocation of material or symbolic public goods" (177). To this I would add, following Briggs, that incorporation is a process, one that involves the attainment of "membership and the capacity for legitimate influence" (326). Because the case study of this analysis features a population whose origins are multipolar and multi-generational and yet whose official racial category is listed as "White," both minority and immigrant proved conceptually deficient. Rather, group-level analyses allow for (1) more inclusive focus of individuals bounded by shared ideological suppositions and (2) greater constructedness of membership and association therewith.

But the meanings of political and incorporation operate distinctly in this definition. While the classical definition of political to denote electoral politics is subsumed in this definition, it also includes several other public activities – such as the work of ethnic organizations and media, community outreach, and public protest. All of these activities include public claims making of various sorts but exclude behaviors that relate more centrally to the labor market or private sphere. However, following Cook (2013), I acknowledge that even "unauthorized" community

members can facilitate claims making and incorporation. As such, this manuscript's analysis of political incorporation pays close attention to claims making activities partaken of by various agents that tend toward incorporation. And incorporation relates, in large part, to groups becoming equitable members of a polity whose public claims making eventuates in the redistribution of public resources. This definition is broad enough to include various activities and narrow enough to ensure clarity of purpose and design.

Armenian American Political Incorporation

In the current research project, immigrant versus group distinctions posed a theoretical challenge. While ethnic organizations, media, and non-Armenians typically refer to Glendale Armenians as a cohesive unit, demographically speaking, their intra-ethnic diversity is significant. At present (2018), the majority of elected officials in Glendale are of Armenian decent. Their origins include America, Iran, Armenia, and Lebanon. And one of the few non-Armenians is married to an Armenian (and runs campaigns with a hyphenated Armenian/Latino surname). As such, over 80 percent of all elected officials in Glendale have some tie to the Armenian community, one that makes up just under 40 percent of the city's +200,000 residents.[iv] Of this population, over 70 percent of those who claim Armenian ancestry are foreign born (according to Census 2010). Over the last few decades, Glendale has become a destination for second and third-generation Armenian Americans who wish to live among other Armenians. With this in mind, is it appropriate to frame the discussion as an example of immigrant political incorporation? or minority political incorporation?

Lieberman (2013) provides a theoretical solution to this challenge by focusing on shared attributes of groups and their relation to politics. Groups consist of both natives and immigrants. As Brubaker points out, a group's sense of shared identity markers provides it with "basic

sources and forms of social, cultural, and political identification" (Brubaker, cited in Joppke 2013, 73). In Lieberman's framing, a set of shared factors affects the incorporation of a group whose "distinctiveness is defined by a culturally or ideologically constructed category such as race or ethnicity" (92). To be sure, groups can consist of various generations and nationalities – as long as they are united by a shared cultural or ideological identity. On account of Glendale Armenians' diversity, political incorporation, in this manuscript, refers to both immigrants and American born Armenians who identify as Armenian (or Armenian American). In this group, many immigrants exist. However, so do there recur quite a few second, third, or even fourth generation Armenian Americans. But they are united (or sometimes disunited) by a shared sense of ethnic ancestry. It is around their sense of shared ethnicity that mobilization and incorporation take place. A group-based ethnic approach allows the construction of identity, one that includes aspects pertinent both to American political participation as well as social mobilization of the group itself. While Lieberman's approach runs the risk of conflating distinct experiences of race and immigration, his focus importantly identifies the significance of ideology in-group dynamics and how constructed elements facilitate interaction with and reconfiguration of both groups themselves and national institutions. A sense of groupness unifies an otherwise disparate population. This approach also understands that political incorporation is process- rather than outcome-oriented. The dynamism of actors and actions in the process of political incorporation, at least where opportunity structures permit, is an on-going negotiation. In this view, an assessment of political incorporation hasn't specific goals in mind; rather, it involves the complex processes of actors either affecting or being affected in a negotiation of group political participation.

Ethnic construction and ideology within an internally diverse population is a dynamic and complex unit of analysis in discussions of group political incorporation. Its effects and implications are also varied. As Jones-Correa (2013) has pointed out, incorporative pathways are multifaceted and, as such, both facilitate as well restrict political incorporation. Glendale Armenian political incorporation relies on the effective construction of shared cultural identity. But, as chapter 4 unpacks, this construction is in a constant state of negotiation and reconfiguration. Nonetheless, despite their internal differences, a sense of solidarity enables them to operate (and vote) as a unit. And this group mobilization has powerful implications in terms of political incorporation.

Varied Contours of Group Political Incorporation

Provisions and Provisos

As stated, group political incorporation is process- rather than outcome-oriented. Even though a great deal of public claims making takes place outside and apart from institutions, the ultimate goal frequently eventuates in electoral representation or group-interest recognition. But, in the present analysis, the dynamic, non-linear processes that occur within any model of political incorporation are highlighted. To be sure, group interaction with institution does, ultimately, eventuate in some fairly fixed outcomes (for example, Irish or Italians have gradually incorporated into "mainstream" Anglo America); however, analyses of outcomes are of an historical order. A social scientific framework on political incorporation should allow for the flexibility and dynamism of multiple incorporative strategies and pathways.

In many ways, political incorporation research accounts for a rather limited experience when assessing overall group experiences (especially those of immigrants). As Mollenkopf (2013) has pointed out, only about a third of the world's immigrants live in societies in which

political incorporation is even an option (108). Consequently, Joppke has asserted, "among the dimensions of incorporating immigrants, the 'political' is probably less important than other dimensions, most notably the economic and social" (2013, 65). This sort of characterization certainly mistakes the profound and transformative significance of political incorporation in some contexts; nonetheless, any model of political incorporation should recognize its descriptive limitations.

Also, there exists considerable research on varied national and international models of political incorporation (Gerstle and Mollenkopf 2001; Koopmans et al 2005; Bloemraad 2006; Hochschild and Mollenkopf 2009; Hochschild et al 2013). To be sure, general theorists of political incorporation have introduced a great many invaluable insights. However, further development of macro-analytical models runs the risk of losing touch with the dynamic processes and strategies currently taking shape. As such, microanalytical projects (location-population specific) stand to benefit the future study of political incorporation. And this is particularly true in areas in which newcomers are playing the most transformative roles – that is, American suburbs. Since the incorporation here deals with the political incorporation of an internally diverse, single ethnic group in Los Angeles (within a municipal governmental system of council management), the outcomes will apply centrally to similar contexts and those with tangential relation. The findings are gleaned from ethnographic microanalyses that took place between 2016 and 2017, but also reflect the author's near decade-long study of Armenian-related topics. This ethnographic, micro-analytical, and in-depth approach is useful in terms of reorienting the scholarship on political incorporation: As stated, multi-ethnic New York City has long been considered the quintessential home of American newcomers. While several important case studies of Los Angeles exist, this analysis attempts to push further along West-coast models

on political incorporation and encourage new paradigmatic accounts based upon ethnographic research in LA's ethnically vibrant communities, particularly its demographically evolving suburbs.

New Approaches

Traditionally, political incorporation theories focused on voting and institutions (opportunity structures). In this view, special attention is placed on naturalization and electoral participation rates of first-generation immigrants. While permanent residents in the U.S. are naturalizing at increasingly higher rates, they still represent a small number of those actually in the country. And their involvement with the political system can, in turn, make it more responsive to their group needs, even when unauthorized (Cook 2013).

Scholarship on how best to study political incorporation covers diverse approaches. Scholars approach the topic of political incorporation with specific assumptions, and apply their lenses thereto. Through these lenses, they see a kaleidoscopic range of foci: individual or group models (Ramirez and Fraga 2008); attitudes and beliefs or opportunity structures (Segura 2013; Koopmans 2005); outcomes or processes (Lieberman 2013; Jones-Correa 2013); inclusion or exclusion (Shefter 1986); immigrants demography or host society policies (Waldinger and Tseng 1992); feedback loops and incorporative trajectories (Jones-Correa 2013; Briggs 2013). All of these elements converge in any analyses of political incorporation. But, based upon their theoretical assumptions and orientations, scholars typically place one or another at the center of their analyses.

The degree to which a person incorporates politically, on its most basic level, relates back to the discussion of legal incorporation. Upon entry, states define and classify newcomers. These classifications include citizen, permanent resident, temporary worker, or illegal alien. Only the

first category can fully partake of political incorporation – in the traditional view. Thus, the extent to which a state allocates citizenship is important to any analysis of political incorporation (see Bloemraad 2006). In the U.S., citizenship is granted to those born on U.S. soil and also to parents of children born in the U.S. and who have lived in the U.S. for at least five years.

But rarely does incorporation follow such a linear trajectory. Rather, the majority of newcomers must navigate through the murky waters of gradual political incorporation, both on the individual as well as group levels. On the individual level, the U.S. has a points system, such that an immigrant's profile determines his or her admission. These profiles consist of demographic factors, such as race, gender, education, occupation, language ability, marital status, and age, but also other characteristics, such as parents' immigration status, date/age of entry, criminal record, and level of democratization of home country. (Ramakrishnan 2005). Once "inside," immigrants' religious, ideological, transnational, or political ties can influence the extent to which they mobilize and engage locally (Hochschild and Mollenkopf 2009). These individual issues all affect the degree to which newcomers can become incorporated (or not). In terms of group membership, the nation to which one belongs also affects entry. Nationals of "enemy" states have far more difficulty entering and engaging politically than those from allied nations. In Europe, entrance from former colonial sites can facilitate entrance rather readily. These colonial ties typically provide newcomers with language skills and political orientations that facilitate their political incorporation in the host society, as well.

The host community also factors into newcomers' political incorporation pathways. By moving into a community with a large concentration of co-ethnics and ethnic organizations, newcomers have considerably more political leverage than those moving into communities of thinly scattered co-ethnics (Hochschild and Mollenkopf 2009). Demographic concentration

coupled with pan-ethnic group cohesion allows newcomers to participate in the political system even before becoming legally or socially incorporated. These pan-ethnic networks provide incorporative feedback loops through which group members gain insight on access (Jones-Correa 2013). These large groups may also have access to locally elected officials who pay close attention to group interests. As such, immigrants or minorities may enter a new municipality with a significant amount of influence merely as members of a specific ethnic community (Ramakrishnan and Bloemraad 2008). This is true of Mexicans, Chinese, or Armenians in several parts of Los Angeles, or Dominicans in New York City, or Cubans in Florida. Newcomers learn about the U.S. political system, join labor unions, mobilize politically (register to vote), through the guidance of co-ethnic community members. In addition, co-ethnics teach newcomers about discrimination and how to protest and protect themselves against it (Fraga 2009). All of these group factors affect political incorporation.

Thus, the pre-existence of ethnic organizations and political agents plays an integral role in the mobilization of specific groups (Verba, Schlozman, and Brady 1995). Mobilized ethnic organizations advocate on behalf of the group, organize protests in the group's interests, and create platforms upon which future ethnic political entrepreneurs can launch their own community-supported campaigns. In sites where a sufficiently dense and mobilized voting blocs meet a well-organized ethnic group, the latter can endorse and campaign for a prospective politician; or, in some circumstances, future candidates may begin their careers inside of the ethnic organization. And these conditions force local governments to make concessions and accommodate the ethnic community (Pickus 2005). And the overall impact of these activities is significant: A politician can now rely on the ethnic organization and local support to launch a career that extends beyond city limits – a councilmember, for example, may run for state senate

or assembly. As such, ethnic organizations create a system of political incubation through which ethnic political aspirants organize local campaigns, which, ultimately, enable them to hold higher office. Thus, the traditional account of ethnic organizations as advocacy groups that facilitate naturalization and encourage claims making (Hochschild and Mollenkopt 2009) belies the larger potential mobilization of these same groups and what moving into a densely concentrated ethnic community can accomplish (see, for example, Eckstein's discussion of Cuban migrant communities in Florida [2009]).

But newcomers' saturation of a host community also brings backlash from the pre-existing population (Rogers 2009). In Los Angeles, this is especially true of communities in which one racial group represented a striking demographic majority before a second arrived and replaced it (for example, the Chinese of Monterey Park, Vietnamese of Westminster, Koreans of Irvine, Armenians of Glendale, and many others). In central Los Angeles, ethnic politics is a deeply rooted phenomenon. As such, two consequences result: (1) far less backlash from the Anglo old guard and (2) far more difficulty for newcomers wishing to enter the political scene – the four dominant groups include: Jews, Asians, Latin Americans, and African Americans.[v] In evolving suburban communities, where whites held a significant majority until the 1970s, considerable hostility has arisen in response to ethnic communities joining the ranks (Horton 1994). Opposition often arises in order to stymie political incorporation amongst the perceived newcomers. As such, dense ethnic concentration and highly mobilized ethnic organizations both facilitate and complicate political incorporation in specific geopolitical milieus. But the scholarship has not evaluated how, in these evolving "ethnoburbs," backlash yields its own backlash and can help unify otherwise internally disparate single-ethnic communities.

In addition to the co-ethnic and non-ethnic community members, community political opportunity structures also bear heavily on incorporation pathways (Alba and Foner 2009). As Koopmans and Statham (2000) have pointed out, these opportunity structures facilitate the extent to which groups act or don't in a new society. These structures determine requirements for obtaining citizenship and the right to participate in the political system (D'Amato 2009). The matrix of individual and group factors come into direct contact with political structures, and the result speaks to the extent newcomers can mobilize or cannot. And, as before, the scholarship has yet to evaluate how the emergence of new agents, who come from the ethnic community and serve in powerful municipal and bureaucratic positions, influence the existing opportunity structures. For all these reasons, new approaches and research methods with cases studies in these dynamic communities stand to enrich considerably scholarship on political incorporation.

The Underbelly of Political Incorporation

Before enumerating the manuscript's primary research questions, I would like to include a brief note on the underbelly of political incorporation. This manuscript describes the political incorporation successes of a single community. To be sure, many communities share affinities with Glendale and also boast many political incorporation successes. However, these communities benefit from resources to which many other groups do not have access (high naturalization rates, dense human networks, concentrated settlement, ethnic media, etc.). As such, I want to address the harsh reality of political disincorporation.

Many lack the resources or opportunity structures to mobilize at even a basic level. They may lack the demographic concentration to mobilize. Or, some may mobilize on behalf of the community, yet their political public claims may remain ignored or unheard. A significant aspect of political incorporation pertains to its failures. Groups make public claims, and, ideally, those

claims materialize into ethnic political entrepreneurs and new public allocations. However, this transition rarely happens seamlessly, if at all. In addition, the claims of groups may not eventuate in progress for the group itself. As such, any account of the political incorporation process should account for both its successes, partial successes, failures, and partial failures. Hochschild and Mollenkopf (2009) refer to the gamut of unsuccessful experiences as "nonincorporation" (25).

By "nonincorporation," they mean "not just that engagement fails to develop further at some point in the process but that immigrants are intentionally excluded from, or choose to remove themselves from, political incorporation" (25). This pertains to restricted entry on the individual level (or subsequent deportation); it reflects self-removal on account of "sojourner" perception in or hostility toward the host society; it speaks to the shortcomings of governments to represent those it serves (that is, tokenism); it speaks to covert prejudice and racism of political institutions; it involves political scapegoating and racial profiling; it may involve the non-institutional activity of groups to seek support via alternate strategies (at the risk of marginalization); and, on the highest level, it points out the inert policies that do not change in response to groups' desires –"legislatures, courts, service agents, interest groups, civic organizations, and so on may refuse to modify their practices or adjust their services to meet immigrants' needs or values" (Hochschild and Mollenkopt 2009, 26). Or, as discussed, group members themselves may resist the transformation of political incorporation. These instances of nonincorporation create rifts in societal fabric, which can, at times, erupt into violence. The scholarship stands to benefit from more research on the mechanisms that prevent groups from incorporating successfully into the polity.

Research Questions

I. What is an ethnopolitical entrepreneur and what does this figure reflect about the evolution of American politics?

Despite their significance to incorporation of immigrants and other group members, ethnopolitical entrepreneurs remain strikingly absent from the scholarship. What is an ethnopolitical entrepreneur? Ethnopolitical entrepreneurs combine two distinct agents: political entrepreneurs and ethnicity entrepreneurs. These agents are relatively novel phenomena. They typically occur in areas where a specific minority group represents a potential voting majority (such as an "ethnoburb"). They are elected officials whose elections occur on account of demographic shifts taking place in several American urban spaces. These shifts have resulted in racially polarized voting in locations wherein there exists an ethnic cluster sizeable enough to influence local elections. The ethnopolitical entrepreneur builds on the scholarship of racial political incorporation (Dahl 1961; Browning, Marshall, and Tabb 1984). It broadens this scholarship's concept of political entrepreneur to evaluate ethnic groups transforming municipal politics in several American cities, particularly suburbs. Borrowing the language of Mollenkopf who describes political entrepreneurs, the ethnopolitical entrepreneur is also an actor who seeks to establish "new governmental bases for exercising new powers" and is "looking for ways to use governmental authority or governmental revenue" (Mollenkopf 1983, 4-5) on behalf of a specific ethnic community. Over time, scholars have noted the evolution of interaction between distinct institutional and community agents.

This concept of the ethnopolitical entrepreneur also pulls on the important yet understudied work of Kasinitz (1992). By the early 1990s, the political and urban landscape of many U.S. cities had changed rather considerably over the previous two decades (following the

Hart Cellar Act). By the time of Kasinitz' writing, urban locales had already started to become transformed socially, culturally, and politically. Building on the existing scholarship, Kasinitz introduced a new agent, which he called "ethnicity entrepreneurs." He defines them as those who make his or her "living by bridging the gap between the polity and the [ethnic] community" (1992, 163). For Kasinitz, ethnicity entrepreneurs "capitalize on both the state's interest in supporting ethnic organizations and the needs of local politicians to make ties to the growing Caribbean community" (1992, 164). These agents bring the community "closer" to opportunity structures and institutions. Kasinitz' focus was largely on the large, diverse government of New York. It, like Los Angeles, had been transformed by increased interaction among ethnic community organizations and political entrepreneurs.

Since the publication of Kasinitz' manuscript, immigrants have also changed their migration and settlement trajectories as well as the institutional agents with whom they communicate. The last couple decades of the 20th century witnessed the ballooning of immigrant socioeconomic profiles, with educated and wealthy immigrants streaming into America's largest cities and most affluent suburbs. They "leapfrogged" over inner-city habitation and settled, immediately, in more affluent and homogenous suburban America. As Li has pointed out (2009), these high-skilled immigrants initially formed an ethnic cluster and then expanded. Ultimately, these ethnic clusters transformed the entire social and political fabric of several suburban sites, such as in Monterey Park, Irvine, and Glendale. As the community developed an ethnic majority, their capacity to transform the local political opportunity structures became apparent. They could vote into office members of their own community. These political aspirants, supported via local ethnic organizations and media, were often themselves immigrants. As such, their rise signaled a new phase in the evolution of American ethnic politics. Mollenkopf's conceptual extension of

the "political entrepreneur" and Kasinitz' "ethnicity entrepreneur" had essentially blurred into the same person. It is this figure of the ethnopolitical entrepreneur (and the communities that give rise to them) that this work largely focuses. They play an integral role in the collectivization and mobilization of communities throughout the U.S. with high ethnic voting blocs.

II. How do ethnopolitical entrepreneurs collective and mobilize co-ethnic constituents?

Ethnopolitical entrepreneurs rely heavily on co-ethnic support. But ethnic groups are neither monolithic nor static. Building on Manheim, Eckstein and Berg have reframed discussions of diaspora along distinct lines: They argue that migrants who move at different times from a specific place constitute distinct "historically embedded generations" (9). Correcting the oversights of transnational and assimilation scholarship, this framework allows far more heterogeneity within any diasporic community in a single site. As Waldinger and Tseng (1992) make clear in their assessment of Los Angeles and New York-based Chinese communities, Eckstein and Berg demonstrate the important role of pre-migration experiences on post-migration trajectories. However, they localize this analysis by demonstrating that different generations are embedded in distinct site-specific socio-historical processes. And, because of this embeddedness, intergenerational cohorts form based upon common political, cultural, and economic values. While generational values may recapitulate themselves inter-generationally alongside the existence of dominant organizational structures, typically the cohort changes alongside emergent societal and international changes – especially, as with Armenians of Glendale, in the wake of significant social upheaval. Building on Waldinger and Tseng's approach, Eckstein and Berg's generational analysis enables researchers to evaluate intra-ethnic diversity through a temporal lens (1992, 2016). To be sure, their important corrective does not

attempt to claim that everyone in a specific generation shares the same values and opinions; demographic considerations, such as age, race, and class heavily color the perspectives of individuals within a generational cohort. However, following Mannheim, they argue in favor of the social formation of perspectives in adolescence. And then they apply this assumption to migration – arguing that migrants bring these perspectives with them to the host society. And these perspectives bear on how individuals within migrant groups relate to one another and the host society (10). This dynamic, Manheim-inspired formulation importantly incorporates pre-migration generational experiences and identifies how migrant differences affect their settlement and engagement with a host society.

On account of the fact that Glendale's Armenian community attributes considerable intra-ethnic and intergenerational diversity, how do ethnopolitical entrepreneurs collective and mobilize their internally diverse co-ethnic constituents? Not all respond to claims of group representation the same way. In order to investigate this problem, this manuscript synthesizes constructivist ethnic politics theory into its discussion of group political incorporation. Chandra (but particularly Van Der Veen and Laitin's application to electoral politics) builds on the pioneering work of Brubaker (2004) to develop a new formulation of ethnic constructivism in application to electoral politics (2012). Chandra's model focuses on how agents construct membership through the activation of a string of ethnic attributes, and how these activations influence electoral results.

More specifically, Van Der Veen and Laitin (2012) analyze the role of diverse agents in electoral politics. They distinguish "basic" agents from those who are referred to as "leaders" (286). Through the activation of a specific set of ethnic attributes, "leaders" partake of public claims making in an effort to create an optimal winning coalition (OWC) to gain the nomination.

In turn, "basic" agents judge and evaluate the "representativeness" of a leader's ethnic identity repertoire (string of attributes taken as a whole). Replacing the term leader for ethnopolitical entrepreneur in the urban spaces described (such as ethnoburbs), Van Der Veen and Laitin's model applies well. For ethnopolitical entrepreneurs must continually recalibrate their own identity repertoires (at least those they project while campaigning) as the internal dynamics of the community evolves. Indeed, as in the case of Glendale Armenians, internal group values within these dynamic urban spaces grow and evolve over time. They may add a new or replace an old dimension, raise the salience of a pre-existing or new dimension, or change an attribute within a given dimension (Van Der Veen and Laitin 2012, 291). As such, this constructivism captures well the means by which ethnopolitical entrepreneurs collectivize and mobilize internally disparate populations.

To this model, I only add that these ethnopolitial entrepreneurs (or "leaders") do not act alone. Rather, they work with or compete against other community agents. These other agents also activate (or sometimes "de-activate") categories of membership. They include people from ethnic organizations, ethnic media, and candidates' teams (strategists, canvassers, fundraisers, etc.). While geospatial models provide an important snapshot of these dynamic communities, the constructivist political incorporation model captures the ever-evolving processes of contemporary urban American political incorporation.

Site Selection

Glendale proved an ideal site for several reasons. Los Angeles Armenians possess a naturalization rate (80 percent) twice that of the national average (40 percent) and, in Glendale, they form a demographic majority (nearly 40 percent). In the last 20 years, ethnopolitical entrepreneurs have relied upon these facts to run successful campaigns and currently hold nearly

80 percent of elected positions.[vi] In addition, elected officials have done much to enact ethnic-slanted legislation on the community's behalf. Some examples include increased subsidized housing (for the elderly) and park space, Armenian dual-language immersion programs in public schools, April 24th (Genocide commemoration) public school holiday, the creation of a state-funded Armenian museum, and city signage in Armenian script, among many others. Because approximately 70 percent of its Armenian community is immigrant, and because nearly 80 percent of the city's elected officials claim Armenian origin (many themselves first generation immigrants), and because this mobilization only began to take shape in the last 20 years, Glendale embodies the rapid evolution of modern U.S. suburban spaces. It therefore is an ideal site to draw insight on the operations of ethnopolitical entrepreneurs in a contemporary U.S. ethnoburb.

Methods

I used mixed methods in collecting data for this manuscript, including in-depth interviews, demographic data analysis, surveying, and archival research. From 2016 to 2017, I conducted over 100 in-depth interviews in order to gain diverse perspectives of Armenian community members and officials in Glendale. For interviews, I relied upon snowballing to generate a diverse sample. In addition, I networked in the community and partook of extensive participant observation. For example, I volunteered on the campaigns of local Armenian American political entrepreneurs and attended Glendale Town Hall meetings. These experiences brought me into contact with various members of the Armenian community: its businesspeople, politicians, commissioners, civil servants, educators, ethnic organizations and media, etc. Through these experiences, I was able to meet and set up interviews with diverse members of the community as well as observe/participate in many community events.

Because Armenian American politicians publically supported my research, I was able to gain considerable access to community dynamics. As a non-Armenian with fluency in the Armenian language, I was uniquely positioned to acquire outsider perceptions while treated largely as an insider. Given my familiarity with Armenian language, history, politics, and culture, I occupied the somewhat intermediate position of the quasi-outsider/insider. During my fieldwork period, I spoke with hundreds of community members and formed several significant friendships with Armenian Angelenos. The nature of these friendships was quite in-depth. I attended several Armenian ceremonies (birthdays, engagement parties, funerals, holiday celebrations). I spent consecutive days with friends and their families – my linguistic proficiency and familiarity with many social practices often made me something of a spectacle among Armenian peers and their relatives. This intermediate position both gave me special access while also enabling me to remain somewhat intellectually distant.

Interviews also enabled me to develop a narrative of Armenians' historical immigration to and settlement of Glendale. Because Armenians' history to Southern California has not yet been written, I relied on oral histories of community members who had lived in Glendale since the 1960s and beyond. These interviews also provided me many insights into the community's internal dynamics. In order to gauge the generalizability of my interview data, I mined IPUMS data and scoured archival sources (such as old newspaper clippings). For contemporary statistics, I used Census data from 2010. I did not rely on the more recent data set (2015 ACS), as the former contains a more representative 10 percent sample.[vii] For archival sources, I relied upon Glendale Central Library's archives and microfilm collections.

During my fieldwork, I also wrote and distributed a survey (see Appendix). Adapted loosely from the Latino National Survey (LNS), the Armenian Angeleno Survey (AAS) consists

of 55 questions, which, largely, can be grouped into three distinct categories: (1) demographic character, (2) policy beliefs/values,[viii] and (3) transnational linkages. I used the online program, SurveyMonkey to collect and store data. The survey generated over 1,050 responses. The majority of those surveyed were between the ages of 18 and 70 (see question 5). The most significant national origins included the U.S. (33.01 percent), Armenia (26.50 percent), Iran (21.84 percent), and Lebanon (9.13 percent) (see question 5). Consistent with census numbers, respondents were slightly more female (57.27 percent) than male (42.73 percent). Speaking generally, those included in the survey reflect a high level of U.S. integration, civic engagement, and educational attainment (see questions 10, 27, and 28). Unlike the manuscript, whose focus is Glendale Armenians, the survey was distributed among Armenians throughout Greater Los Angeles (according to census data, about 40 percent of Armenian Angelenos live in Glendale). As a result, the survey findings do not all bear centrally on this manuscript; however, when relevant, I have included findings from the AAS.[ix]

Outreach for the survey also proved an important part of my fieldwork on account of the sheer number of people with whom I interacted. In addition to extensive person-to-person outreach, I relied heavily on social media platforms and highly visible Armenian Angelenos (to promote the survey). The public support and use of diverse platforms enabled me to undertake extensive data collection with a limited budget. Because the survey sample reflects Armenians from any county of Greater Los Angeles, this project does not rely on its findings to form conclusions about the demographically distinct Armenian community of Glendale. Nonetheless, outreach for the survey helped significantly enrich my fieldwork for this project, particularly the outreach undertaken in Glendale, where a majority of Los Angeles's Armenian community resides.

For reference, I have included the survey results this manuscript's appendix. It is also a rich and original research source, one I hope other academics will use to expand research on Armenian Angelenos and/or compare their case studies therewith.

Synopsis of Chapters

Each chapter focuses largely on some distinct element of Glendale Armenians' historical immigration to and political incorporation into Glendale. Chapter 1 introduces Armenians' historical immigration to and settlement of Glendale. Because the community has not received any prior academic attention, I present a brief historical overview of the community's multi-stranded settlement of Glendale. In Chapter 2, I describe the relatively novel type of urban space that Armenians inhabit in Glendale. To describe this urban space, I rely upon Li's ethnoburb model (2009) in order to help situate Glendale's Armenian community in contemporary American space. This model proves very useful by way of providing snapshot of a highly dynamic phenomenon of urban spatial reconfiguration. As such, after Glendale's Armenian community has been historically described and framed, I argue that that this model of the ethnoburb dovetails with political incorporative theory. Thus chapter 2 provides a sketch of the conditions out of which ethnopolitical entrepreneurs arise.

Chapter 3 builds on the previous chapter by introducing and detailing the ethnoburb's ethnopolitical entrepreneur. To be sure, ethnopolitical entrepreneurs can exist outside of ethnoburbs. But the ethnoburb provides the most relevant conditions requisite for ethnopolitical entrepreneurs to emerge. The chapter's primary goal is to outline the distinct dimensions of ethnopolitical entrepreneurs and their significance in the political incorporation of immigrants and other minority groups. The chapter focuses on Rafi Manoukian and Ardy Kassakhian's successful bids for City Council (1999) and City Treasury (2005), respectively. During these

campaigns, Manoukian and Kassakhian's teams sought to tap the politically dormant Armenian American community. Indeed, based upon their outreach efforts, the number of registered voters skyrocketed during their campaigns. But they also reflect the dynamic spectrum that ethnopolitical entrepreneurs inhabit: While Manoukian is an immigrant whose political career is limited to local politics, Kassakhian is a second generation Armenian, who has demonstrated the capacity to run campaigns for higher political office. Through close analysis of these two figures, chapter 3 introduces and defines the ethnopolitical incorporation.

Chapter 4 develops the previous chapter by focusing in on the unique means by which ethnopolitical entrepreneurs collectivize and mobilize co-ethnic constituents. Drawing from constructivist theory as well as extensive fieldwork, chapter 4 examines how various ethnopolitical entreprneurs and other agents recalibrate ethnic attributes in order to be elected into public office. The constructivist work of ethnopolitical entrepreneurs has bipartite function: it brings together otherwise ethnically disparate groups as well as leads to the successful election of immigrant and minority political aspirants. These aspirants lead to the political incorporation of immigrants based upon the definition posited by Hochschild et al – that is, sustained claims making and the reallocation of public goods (2013). As such, the work of ethnopolitical entrepreneurs, I contend, is crucial in studies of immigrant political incorporation. And chapter 4 seeks to expand the concept by outlining the mobilizationist and constructivist operations of ethnopolitical entrepreneurs.

Chapter 1:

But Why Glendale?
A History of Armenian Immigration to Southern California[x]

Chapter Abstract:

Despite its many contributions to Los Angeles, the internally complex community of Armenian Angelenos remains enigmatically absent from academic print. As a result, its history remains untold. While Armenians live throughout Southern California, the greatest concentration exists in Glendale, where Armenians make up a demographic majority (over 40 percent of the population) and have done much to reconfigure this homogenous, sleepy, sundown town of the 1950s into an ethnically diverse and economically booming urban center. This chapter presents a brief history of Armenian immigration to Southern California and attempts to explain why Glendale has become the world's most demographically concentrated Armenian diasporic hub. It does so by situating the history of Glendale's Armenian community in a complex matrix of international, national, and local events.

Introduction

This chapter attempts to shed some light on the background of the Armenian Angeleno community by providing a prefatory account of Armenians' historical immigration to and settlement of Southern California. The following begins with a short history of Armenian migration to the United States. The chapter then hones in on Los Angeles, where the densest concentration of Armenians in the United States resides; within the Greater Los Angeles area, Armenians make up an ethnic majority in Glendale. To date, the reasons for Armenians' sudden and accelerated settlement of Glendale remain unclear. While many Angelenos and Armenians recognize Glendale as the epicenter of Armenian American habitation, no one has yet clarified why or how this came about. Prior to the 1960s, only a handful of Armenians resided in the ethnically homogenous and notoriously prejudicial community. However, at present, more than 40 percent of Glendale's population of over 200,000 residents claims Armenian ancestry. To be sure, Armenians inhabit several locales scattered throughout Greater Los Angeles and several communities throughout the United States. But there exists no explanation as to why Glendale has become the epicenter of the Armenian community outside Armenia. Based on interviews, archives, and census data, this chapter explores the multilayered settlement of Armenians in Southern California, and, in particular, Glendale.

While this chapter attempts to document Armenians' historical immigration to and settlement of Southern California, it also analyzes these phenomena from various perspectives. Armenian history is often told through a limited prism, one that reflects the internal dynamics of the community in question. However, this chapter's findings reflect the diverse and dialectic variables through which communities shape their communities and their communities shape

them. Armenians represent an important part of Los Angeles's history, and this chapter is a first attempt to explore the internally diverse Armenian Angeleno community's history.

Background

Early Migration to the United States

Armenians' residency in the United States dates back to the American colonial period. The first person identified as Armenian in the New World came, most likely, in 1618 or 1619 (Malcolm 1910, 50). Referred to as "Martin the Armenian," this early Armenian immigrant is mentioned several times in the available records until 1624, at which time, presumably, Martin returned to England with the tobacco he had grown in Virginia (197-199). Several other Armenians followed Martin to Virginia, and their contributions are recorded in various spheres from the mid-seventeenth century onward. By the 17th century, Armenians were already renowned for their silk-weaving production (Aslanian 2011). As such, early colonial figures sought expertise from Armenians abroad around 1653 (Mirak 1983). One of these Armenians, "George the Armenian," has been eulogized in print. John Ferrer endorses early Armenian settlers thus:

> His two Armenians from Turky sent
> Are now most busy on his brave attempt
> And had he stock sufficient for next yeare
> Ten thousand pound of Silk would then appeare
> And to the skies his worthy deeds upreare. (Mirak 1983, 36)[xi]

Despite their numerical and cultural insignificance, the handful of early Armenian settlers, as Mirak eloquently articulates, played a "mythological role for a later generation of immigrant Armenians . . . to feel part of American history; like Yankee bluebloods, they too possessed deep roots in America" (36). Thus, Armenians have been woven into America's multicultural fabric from the very outset.

Armenian migration to North America increased in the nineteenth century. Students and clergymen migrated to the United States for largely educational purposes in the first third of the century. In addition, a clustering of businesspeople moved to the industrializing city centers of the United States; and, toward the end of the century, rural Armenians began migrating in larger numbers than they had previously (Mirak 1983). In fact, by the late nineteenth century, approximately 5,000 Armenians had immigrated to the United States (Bulbulian 2000). As their situation at home became increasingly vulnerable under Ottoman control, these numbers increased substantially during the first two decades of the twentieth century. Although the number of immigrants varied by year (with a rather significant decrease occurring on account of World War I), 1921 alone brought over 10,000 Armenians to U.S. territory (LaPiere 1930). By World War II, approximately 80,000 Armenians had relocated to the United States. A considerable portion came directly or indirectly from Ottoman territory, where they faced considerable hardship and peril (Mirak 1983, 13). However, several also emigrated from Russian territories. On account of voyage expenses, only families with the means to send at least one member could make the trip. However, as the cost to transit between New York and Constantinople dropped during the first years of the twentieth century, an increasing number could afford passage.

As indicated, most Armenians docked in New York (although smaller groupings docked in Boston, Philadelphia, Mexico, and Canada), and, as a result, settled in the Northeast. However, a small number starting in the twentieth century entered via California as well. Those reaching Californian ports often had come from Japan or China traveling via Russia and Siberia (LaPiere 1930, 160).

Armenian immigration to the United States in the first fifteen years of the twentieth century fluctuated dramatically on account of the political unrest in the unraveling Ottoman Empire. The Young Turk movement initially recruited and then persecuted Armenians in various locations throughout Turkey. While the recruitment neutralized emigration, persecution accelerated it. Overall, the number of Armenians residing in the United States increased exponentially during the period leading up to World War I. Most estimates claim that roughly 1,500 Armenians came to the United States prior to 1891; an additional 12,500 Armenians are said to have come between 1891 and 1898; and, rather strikingly, nearly 52,000 arrived between 1899 and 1914 (Mirak 1983, 71). Thus, by the start of World War I, approximately 66,000 Armenians had relocated to the United States.

These numbers continued to expand (between 1920 and 1924, more than 20,000 newcomers arrived) until 1924, when the quota system came into effect (Bakalian 1993, 10). This system, maintained until 1965, significantly curtailed the ingress of Armenians resettling in the United States. Some exceptions to the quota, however, did exist: those Armenians who could procure Nansen passports (documents supplied to refugees by the League of Nations) found a means by which to relocate. In addition, the American National Committee for Homeless Armenians (ANCHA) helped place approximately 4,500 Soviet Armenians who found themselves stuck in Germany or Italy following the Second World War. The Displaced Persons Act exempted these "displaced persons" (DPs). The DPs are revisited in the discussion below, for many of them settled in Los Angeles. Taken as a whole, ANCHA intervened on behalf of 25,000 Armenian refugees from various places throughout the world despite the quotas otherwise placed on many prospective immigrants in the mid-twentieth century (Takooshian 1986). Restrictive immigration policies in the United States curtailed the incremental increase,

with fewer than 10,000 Armenians entering the country between 1925 and 1949. These numbers did not begin to grow again until midcentury.

While there existed a concentration in and around factories scattered throughout the Northeast (with the largest concentrations in industrial cities such as Worcester, Boston, Watertown, Lynn, and Lowell), Armenians were also found in various other places and in various crafts: they worked in the silk in Rhode Island and New Jersey, railroads and electricity in New York, coal mines in Pennsylvania, iron and steel in Illinois, automobiles in Michigan, slaughter yards in Illinois, furniture in Wisconsin, steel and cement in Southern California, and so on (Heitman 1987). Thus, Armenians began planting roots and forming communities in various places from the outset of the twentieth century.

While residing in the eastern United States, Armenian immigrants, like most other twentieth-century immigrants, worked in factories. However, many Armenians, especially those coming from Ottoman territory, had been trained in farming and agriculture. Thus, when they had the opportunity to do so, many opted to venture west, where they could use their skills in a new land.

Early Immigration to California

While most Armenian immigrants worked in manufacturing and industrial capacities, some, as mentioned above, brought with them talent in farming and viniculture. Although they lived in various places throughout California from the late nineteenth century onward, the most concentrated and significant settlement first arose in Fresno. Mirak documents this early settlement in his book *Torn between Two Lands* (1983). In this text, he chronicles the auspicious timing of ambitious Armenians who moved to Fresno just as the fallow fields blossomed into a prosperous agricultural center on account of the irrigation and railroad tracks that had just been

laid (Mirak 1983, 111). The first grouping of Fresno Armenians arrived in the 1870s. Consistent with the entrepreneurial spirit associated with early Armenian settlers, the first Armenians to settle in Fresno were talented business owners. The Seropian family came in the hope that the climate might improve the health of the family's paterfamilias, John. Once settled, they opened a general store in the 1880s (Bulbulian 2000, 22). During their time in Fresno, the Seropians dabbled in the fruit industry, coffee shops, grocery stores, dried fruit packaging, goods shipment, among other enterprises. Their business ventures brought them attention not only among other Fresnans, but also among other Armenians scattered throughout the United States. Seeing the opportunities available in Fresno, Armenians began to follow the Seropians' westward ambitions.

The Seropians and other early Fresnan Armenian settlers (such as Stepan Shahamirian and Melkon Markarian) dabbled in agriculture on land both rented and purchased. Their land acquisitions provided space for subsequent Fresnan Armenians to inhabit. The vast majority of early Armenian settlers migrated to Fresno from other parts of the United States. LaPiere's 1930 study states that 84 percent of early Armenian settlers had moved to Fresno after living, on average, 5.7 years in some other U.S. city beforehand (LaPiere 1930). And Armenians continued to come in large numbers. By the outbreak of World War I, 10,000 were estimated to reside in Fresno—making up about 25 percent of the county's minority population (Mirak 1983, 113). Outbidding competitors, newly settled Armenians acquired lands to cultivate grapes, melons, figs, and other fruits. By 1904, Armenians farmed more than 10,000 acres of land that they owned (Bulbulian 2000, 55). While farming was by no means their only occupation, Fresnan Armenians gained the most prominence (and, later, notoriety) in this occupational field. And the prominence came not only from landholding, but also from capital gain: prior to the Nineteenth

Amendment's prohibitions on alcohol consumption in 1919, prices for raisins soared and Armenian viniculturalists began to amass great wealth. With this wealth, they purchased more property and expanded their business ventures. Although this inflation plummeted in the 1920s, Armenians had already established themselves as a permanent fixture of the thriving agricultural scene of Fresno and its environs.

And Fresno proved a boon for many Armenian farmers, not only those in grapes and raisins. The first and only U.S.-based Armenian community, Yettem—about forty miles southeast of Fresno—developed a commercial pistachio orchard; the first Armenian millionaire in California, Krikor Arakelian, also known as the "Melon King," led melon production; and the Markarians cornered a substantial portion of the fig market—20 percent of U.S. production (73). This early period proved a truly fecund moment in Armenian economic mobilization. Even after the farming industry began to decline, post-genocide Armenians who settled in and around Fresno continued to buy up and cultivate land. While their fortunes were often less auspicious than their predecessors', farming in Fresno still proved a striking improvement from what they had only recently survived. In addition, agriculture didn't require tremendous familiarity with the local institutions, practices, or language, which also favorably oriented many newly arrived Fresnan Armenians to farming.

Armenian residence also expanded beyond Fresno. Other communities quickly sprouted in the environs of this fertile soil. Just as Armenians' settlement of the northeastern United States or Southern California proved diffuse, so too was their settlement of Northern California. Even now, there are Armenian churches in Fresno, Yettem, Fowler, Reedley, and Wahtoke. Although these smaller communities have gradually declined, they testify to the geographical breadth of Armenian settlement and ambition in the early twentieth century.

These early Fresno Armenians overcame adversity and prospered in the face of unfamiliarity, prejudice, and competition.[xii] As Mirak describes them, "Because of their business abilities, work ethic, frugal living, and good management, all in a generally prosperous economic climate, the Armenians in and around Fresno achieved considerable success before World War I" (Mirak 1983, 119). Their success is reflected in the number of local institutions they created—churches, schools, newspapers, restaurants, etc. This impressive community established a precedent of achievement for California Armenians after them.

To be sure, throughout this period, Armenians had already begun to establish residence in Southern California; however, they remain a comparatively quiescent population in the early part of the twentieth century. No one would likely have anticipated that, shortly after the Second World War, the central node of Armenian diasporic activity would shift so rapidly to various sites throughout Los Angeles—Pasadena, Boyle Heights, Montebello, Hollywood, and, most strikingly, Glendale.

Immigration to Los Angeles

The majority of Armenians currently in Los Angeles came in the wake of political tumult in the Middle East and Russia in the latter half of the twentieth century (particularly after 1970). According to data from the AAS, of the Armenians currently living in Los Angeles, less than 4 percent came to the U.S. before 1970; about 12.64 percent came between 1970 and 1980; approximately 18.61 percent arrived between 1980 and 1990; about 16.92 percent came between 1990 and 2000; 19.7 percent came after 2000; and about 29.05 percent are native born.[xiii] Among this immigrant population, several significant streams exist. Of the nearly 200,000 represented by census data, those from the Republic of Armenia make up the largest share (approximately, 58,086); those from Iran make up the second largest population (approximately, 44,340); those

from Lebanon also represent a relatively large group (approximately, 10,195); and many other smaller streams of Armenians (from Syria, Iraq, Russia, Turkey, etc.) comprise this intra-ethnically diverse community. Nonetheless, while the growth of Los Angeles's Armenian community is largely associated with political tumult in the Middle East and Russia in the latter half of the twentieth century, Armenians, in smaller numbers, inhabited the city much earlier. They worked in various capacities. Among the first were artisans who set up carpet shops in Los Angeles and Pasadena. As the Seropians had perceived in Fresno a more salutary climate, these entrepreneurs, such as the Pashigian brothers of Pasadena, typically moved westward for mercantile opportunity in established communities in the late nineteenth century. And, as before, these were trailblazing and ambitious individuals. While their numbers were small, their businesses often became rooted in the city's establishments. The aforementioned Pashigians' rug business, for example, still operates in central Pasadena.

Some of the first—the so-called "Russian Armenians"— came to Los Angeles at the turn of the twentieth century. Their history is aligned with that of the Russian Dukhobors and Molokans. These groups had been persecuted in Russia since the late eighteenth century (Hardwick 1993). In 1895, Czar Nicholas II persecuted the Dukhobors residing in the Caucasus on account of their refusal to serve in the royal military (Mirak 1983, 57). Among those persecuted included a group of 4,000 who were forcibly relocated to Armenian and Georgian villages. After living in close proximity to Armenians for several years, many social ties were forged. In 1898, after securing financial and political relief (from the likes of Count Tolstoy and others), many sailed, ultimately, for Winnipeg, Canada. Transnational circulations, such as letters, eventually resulted in the chain migration of other Dukhobors, as well as their Armenian neighbors, to Canada in subsequent years. From Canada, many Dukhobors relocated to Los

Angeles. And, as such, when the Russian Armenians arrived in Canada, several followed (58). In addition, economic hardship and increasing conflict (in the Russian Revolution of 1905 and the Russo-Tartar Wars of 1905–1907) increased Russian Armenian emigration from the Caucasus to the New World, and, ultimately, to Los Angeles, in the first decade of the twentieth century. This small group of Russian Armenians was among the first in Greater Los Angeles (most prominently in Riverside).

Several of the original Russian Armenians settled in the ethnically diverse community of Boyle Heights. This neighborhood attracted diverse new settlers since it had streetcars—giving commuters access to downtown Los Angeles (Wilson 2013). Its ethnic diversity earned it the moniker "the Ellis Island of the West Coast." In addition, affluent landholders subdivided their estates and began renting them to recent immigrants at relatively affordable rates (28). Boyle Heights's population expanded considerably in the opening decades of the twentieth century; this expansion included Russian Armenians (and Russian Molokans) as well as Jews, Mexicans, and African Americans. The Russian Armenians brought knowledge and the wherewithal to ease their transition into the rapidly expanding American metropolis. Indeed, Los Angeles's population doubled (577,000 to 1.24 million) in the 1920s alone (Tygiel 2001). It was in these settlement pockets that a sense of Armenian community began to emerge.

Even before the mid-twentieth century, however, the distinct migratory streams lent themselves to an intra-ethnically diverse community. A lack of institutional and organizational infrastructure inhibited this regionally diverse population from cohering as an ethnic community.[xiv] In fact, some of the most active community members formed compatriotic societies based upon community of origin (most of which had backgrounds in the Ottoman Empire). The community had several streams: A slow trickle of descendants of genocide

survivors from the Ottoman Empire (via various locations), displaced persons from the Soviet Union, and political refugees from the Middle East relocated to Los Angeles. Not only were they culturally divided but they settled in distinct areas within the city: Pasadena, Montebello, Beverly Hills, and others. As the historian Richard Hovannisian (himself a 1960s internal immigrant from Fresno to Los Angeles) shared in an interview:

> The community largely consisted of two parts. One was old, [the] Ottoman Armenian community. Some of them had come earlier, very early on to LA. But others of [them] had gone to Fresno and bought farms, but then, during the Great Depression, they couldn't make their payments. So they were foreclosed upon. And many of those people moved to LA and became small-shop proprietors, for the most part—mom and pop grocery stores, photo engraving, a number of other things. So they were the bulk of the community. They got things moving here in Los Angeles. But there was also another part of the community that had come very early on, around the turn of the 20C, the so-called "Russian Armenians," who came from the region of Alexandropol, Gyumri, and Kars…. So these people concentrated in East Los Angeles, and they were sort of exotic because they did Caucasian dances, and all the other things that we have now become accustomed to. But, for us Western Armenians, it was quite different because we were more sedate than they were. And it was in those years also that, even in the 50s, that the community got strong enough on its feet that it began to organize groups outside the church.

The foresight of several early figures provided the organizational infrastructure upon which to begin the difficult task of organizing and collectivizing this diverse, dispersed population. These figures, including people such as Mateos Ferrahian, Alex Pilibos, Gabriel Injejikian, Kirk Kerkorian, and Arshag Dickranian, built the infrastructure necessary for Armenians to establish a foothold in Los Angeles. These early years paved the way for rather concentrated streams of Armenians into Southern California. To be sure, as the discussion below will reflect, subsequent waves of Armenians from the a wide array of locations would diversify this already complex population; however, these early visionaries established Armenian schools, churches, businesses, and so on—the ethnic organizations and platforms necessary for the establishment of an Armenian Angeleno community.

Hollywood

Before Glendale, Hollywood was home to the greatest concentration of Armenians in Los Angeles in the latter half of the twentieth century. This community was the first to concentrate sufficient numbers to resemble an Armenian enclave. The community's contributions are pervasive: restaurants, shops, schools, and churches. While Armenians from a variety of places settled in Hollywood prior to Glendale's surge, many have since left. Newcomers in the 1960s came to Hollywood in order to join co-ethnics. While Armenians had settled in Hollywood much earlier in the twentieth century, a significant wave came in the 1970s as Soviet dissidents. A second wave occurred in the 1980s and continued with the fall of the Soviet Union (with the establishment of an independent Republic of Armenia). This community became the ultimate destination for many post-Soviet Armenians (as well as others), who brought a distinct set of cultural and political orientations. But this urban destination appealed increasingly less to Armenian newcomers. As population density and diversification increased in the 1960s through the 1980s, new, distinct waves of Armenian newcomers settled elsewhere. By the 1980s, the impetus had clearly shifted to Glendale and surrounding communities in the San Fernando Valley.

Nonetheless, before this shift took place, Hollywood's Armenian community had accomplished a lot. Hollywood Armenians concentrated their energies in several fields, many of which expanded considerably over the twentieth century. Areas of salient contribution included commerce and automobiles. Armenians became involved in several pre-existing industries and mobilized commercially. Armenians' pride in their contributions gave rise to a district becoming named, perhaps a bit anachronistically, "Little Armenia" in October 2000. Seeing the district named "Thai Town," a community member, Garo Keurjikian, and owner of an automotive

company remonstrated to city councilmember Jackie Goldberg. Goldberg urged the Armenian community to procure 10,000 votes in favor of representation. Through community outreach, the signatures were acquired and the designation assigned. This designation represents Armenians' imprint on the city, even as its Armenian community has waned in recent years.

While Glendale and San Fernando more generally have more recently become the main locus of Armenian Angeleno habitation, most Armenian commercial franchises or chains originated in Hollywood: the popular restaurant chain Zankou's Chicken and the franchise grocery outlet Jon's, for example, began in Hollywood. Armenian automotive work has become quite prominent in Hollywood, and, to this day, Armenians own a substantial portion of local car shops. Close proximity to an urban landscape and a far more integrationist mind-set have also led Hollywood Armenians to adapt forms entirely absent elsewhere in the diaspora, such as the first version of an Armenian street gang, Armenian Power. While the gang began initially as way to protect siblings and friends from pre-existing street gangs, it gradually adapted to harsh urban realities and began dabbling in money laundering, extortion, and other forms of theft.

Hollywood's Armenian population, although scant now, reflects an ethnic enclave. As with other ethnic enclaves, such as the Chinese in Chinatown, the Japanese of Little Tokyo, or the Koreans in K-Town, Hollywood's "Little Armenia" has cultural and historical significance. But Little Armenia also represents a different period and population of Armenian Angeleno history. By the 1970s, Glendale (and its environs) would emerge as the main destination for Armenian newcomers. And the shift away from Hollywood would also reflect differences perceived among this internally diverse community. In an interview with the only Armenian from Armenia to run, albeit unsuccessfully, for council in Hollywood, he shared of his upbringing: "When I was growing up I would go to Glendale. My aunt lived in Glendale. I went

to Glendale to play basketball at Maple Park. But, other than that, I did not really connect with their [Iranian Armenian] culture. They were different.…We didn't interact; there just wasn't much." Armenians' shift from Hollywood to the San Fernando Valley reflected not merely residential priorities or socioeconomic opportunities; this shift reflected internal cultural changes, as well. Nonetheless, as with Pasadena and Montebello before, or North Hollywood and Burbank now, Hollywood Armenians warrant their own, in-depth treatment, for their distinctive character and contributions to the Los Angeles mosaic.

Glendale Armenians

Armenians' spontaneous settlement of Glendale may, at first, seem surprising. To be sure, Armenians had inhabited Greater Los Angeles for nearly a century prior to the 1970s. However, Glendale was home to relatively few Armenians through the 1960s as compared to other areas, such as Hollywood, Montebello, and Pasadena. In addition, Glendale's local ordinances were notoriously prohibitive and discriminatory. Through the 1960s, Glendale was a sundown town—that is, a community in which minority groups were prohibited after the sun had set. The police would often escort non-"white" people in sundown towns to the city limits lest their presence provoke the local population. Armenians' "whiteness" by the mid-1960s may not have been as contested as it had been several decades before. Nonetheless, Armenians continued to face discrimination. One Glendale resident says of the community in the 1960s, "Hispanics and people of Arabic and Armenian descent were tolerated, but only if they lived in areas in the part of town bordering Los Angeles, not in the 'upper' part nearer the hills."[xv] For these reasons, Armenians' rapid, concentrated settlement of Glendale in the 1970s and 1980s may seem a bit peculiar. Why did Glendale become such a popular destination for newly arrived Armenian immigrants in the 1970s? Armenians had already established communities in various places. In

fact, Hollywood's growing Armenian community had already begun to take definite shape by midcentury. As such, it seemed as though this community would grow into Los Angeles's Armenian hub. Nevertheless, by the early 1980s, the momentum had clearly shifted dramatically to Glendale.

Early Years

Among the first Armenians to settle in Glendale were members of the Jamogchian family. According to Paul Robert Ignatius, his grandfather, Avedis Jamogchian, purchased property and built a home in Glendale by 1913 after moving to Southern California in 1911. Avedis became active with the Near East Relief Committee. With this organization, he spearheaded initiatives to assist Armenians left destitute in the wake of genocide. A local judge and manager of the Southern California Armenian Relief Committee, H. N. Wells also participated in the "Armenian Drive" of 1918 and 1919. Wells had spent time in Syria and Turkey, where he experienced firsthand the atrocities Armenians suffered. In his appeal, he wrote passionately on behalf of Armenians and the necessity to aid them in a time of acute distress. He invoked Glendale residents' civic duty to aid Armenians, stating, "It does not seem conceivable that the response to the appeal for funds to help the destitute Armenians will not be answered doubly. Every cent contributed will be sent to the relief of the 4,000,000 known to be starving, to the 400,000 orphans who are actually crying for something to eat. This community [Glendale] will have an opportunity to do its share."[xvi] Wills's appeal and Glendale's response ultimately proved among the most successful in Greater Los Angeles. Thus, Glendale's earliest Armenian inhabitants (and others) undertook intensive outreach on behalf of displaced Armenians. According to the *Glendale Evening News*, Glendale "went over the top in the Armenian Drive" and raised $2,144.58 to contribute to the cause.[xvii] As the same article

observes, “In view of the fact that returns are lagging in Los Angeles and many other communities… it is cheering to know that this city [Glendale] has oversubscribed and helped that much in making good deficiencies elsewhere.” This is among the first recorded outreach efforts between Glendale and Armenians.

According to a thesis written in 1923, about five families, or approximately twenty Armenians, lived in Glendale during the first two decades of the twentieth century.[xviii] The *Glendale Evening News* distributed an article in 1922 entitled “‘Taxi Nish’ Secures Citizenship Papers.” In the article, Nushon Bader Parsekian is identified as a resident of Glendale. A native of “Ban [Van], Armenia,” “Nish” is described as a self-reliant taxi driver whose father was “killed in a rebellion against Turkey.”[xix] Nish moved to the United States in 1909 and settled in Glendale around 1918. The article identifies his residence at 119 West Broadway. A more recognizable early Glendale resident was Paul Robert Ignatius, who ultimately served as secretary of the Navy between 1967 and 1969 as well as assistant secretary of defense under President Johnson. Ignatius has produced a memoir, *Now I Know in Part*, in which he describes his upbringing in early twentieth-century Glendale. This is a useful document that describes the suburban community of that time. Still, Avedis, Nish, Ignatius, and others like them were exceptional, not typical. Only in the 1950s and 1960s did Glendale begin to receive a steadier stream of Armenian newcomers.

In 1976, one of Glendale’s local newspapers spotlighted the city’s burgeoning Armenian community. In it, the author asked, “But why Glendale?,” and answered, “The consensus among Armenians interviewed is that Glendale has become a center for their nationality because it is considered a peaceful, conservative town and therefore a good environment for people who strongly believe in traditions.”[xx] While likely true in a general sense, this doesn’t provide a

concrete explanation for why, out of several peaceful suburbs, Glendale has become perhaps among the most densely concentrated Armenian diasporic settlements. In fact, neighboring Pasadena fit a similar description and had been a site of Armenian habitation since the opening years of the twentieth century. Even more strikingly, Pasadena granted Armenians protected minority status in 1985. By including its Armenian population in affirmative action policy, Pasadena recognized Armenians officially as a minority[xxi]—a status shift that is interpreted along different community lines (Chahinian and Bakalian 2016). Two early twentieth-century court decisions—*In re Halladjian et.* (1909) and *United States v. Cartozian* (1925)—granted Armenians the right to naturalization on account of their determined "whiteness" (Benjamin 2005). As such, Pasadena provided prospective Armenian immigrants an avenue through which to involve themselves in local institutions. Nonetheless, Glendale proved the most significant destination for a large majority of globally migrating Armenians.[xxii] And, by the late 1980s, when President Reagan increased the quota of Soviet Armenians allowed entry to the United States, the conversation had shifted to local Glendale concerns, such as how to fund and integrate the influx of coming students in need of teachers and residents in need of low-income housing.[xxiii] And yet there does not exit an explanation to describe Armenians' rapid and robust settlement of Glendale.

But Why Glendale?

In a general sense, Armenian migration to Glendale relates to U.S. legislation. The civil rights movement of the 1960s played a critical role in transforming American immigration policies. Responding to institutionalized prejudice, African American activists and others advocated on behalf of many marginalized groups. These activists forced the American political system to change its treatment of several oppressed populations. In 1965, Congress passed the

Hart-Celler Act (or Immigration and Nationality Act). Before this legislation, immigration had been restricted largely to immigrants from Western Europe. However, the Hart-Celler Act led to an unprecedented diversification of America, bringing migrants from Asia, Africa, the Middle East, and Southern and Eastern Europe. These immigrants and their children also inculcated civil rights principles and altered American ethnic identification. As Gary Gerstle has argued, "Immigrant groups, both old and new, quickly adopted a similar stance in regard to their ethnic cultures, thereby broadening and intensifying the effort to locate America's vitality in its ethnic and racial diversity" (2013, 306-320). Thus, post-1965 immigrants transformed the United States, both demographically and ideologically. Americans' aggressive, pre-1960s assimilationist attitudes now came into rather stark contact with increasing ethnic awareness and empowerment. Still, as ethnic communities expanded and took root through the 1970s and 1980s, this growing awareness infused many ethnic organizations and community members. On account of the diversity it brought, this legislation marked a decisive shift in American society, one that continues to resonate today.

It is in this charged climate that Armenians began coming to Southern California in large numbers. And the countries from which they came were also undergoing profound internal alterations. By the mid-twentieth century, Armenians had formed distinct and influential communities in diverse locations worldwide. The last several decades of the twentieth century, however, witnessed a radical reconfiguration of these historical communities. Armenians came to Southern California in distinct waves and in response to several upheavals. They came in the wake of the political tumult of or leading up to the Lebanese Civil War (1975-1990), the Iranian Revolution (1979), the Iran-Iraq War (1980-8) the facilitation of emigration from the USSR due

to the Jackson-Vanik amendment (1974) collapse of the Soviet Union (1991), the economic crash of the Republic of Armenia (1992-onwards), and several other international events.[xxiv]

Despite Armenians' scattered presence in the United States before 1965, Glendale would ultimately become the most densely concentrated and diverse Armenian diasporic settlement in the country. Like so many other immigrant groups from various locations throughout the world, Armenian immigrants and refugees alike made Greater Los Angeles their home in the latter half of the twentieth century. Joining already settled co-ethnics, Armenians moved to Hollywood, Pasadena, Burbank, and so on. But Armenians' presence would most thoroughly transform San Fernando's sleepy sundown town, Glendale.

There are many generic ways to answer why Glendale, including its location and access to the highway, the safety of its community, the quality of its schools and college, and its family-oriented neighborhoods. But these qualities existed in several places in Southern California. Three specific factors led to this community's efflorescence: (1) the earlier settlement of Glendale by some noteworthy Armenians—particularly well-to-do families and students from Iran in the 1950s and 1960s; (2) socioeconomic changes occurring in Glendale (and the United States more generally) in the 1960s and early 1970s; and (3) the establishment of Armenian institutions, such as an Armenian church and school, by the mid-1970s.

Several Iranian Armenian families became fairly prominent in business and politics in Glendale. For example, Larry Zarian came to Glendale in the early 1950s. After completing high school in Massachusetts, he moved to Southern California. After a brief stay in Hollywood, he relocated to Glendale. Still a teenager, Zarian spent almost his entire adulthood in Glendale. According to a family member, "a friend told him how great Glendale was and how nice Glendale College was, so he hopped a ride with some guys and came out to California by car

from Boston." In an interview, an Armenian who came from Jerusalem in the aftermath of the Palestinian War of 1948 (along with a small cluster of other Armenians) and studied at Glendale Community College (then Glendale College) in the late 1950s said he remembered about a dozen Armenians enrolled at the college by 1958 (as of 2015, there were 7,277 Armenians registered, making up 32 percent of the 15,843 for-credit students, and 48 percent of the 4,599 non-credit students).[xxv] Zarian moved to Glendale in 1953 and joined this small handful of other Armenian students. He worked as a businessman for many years but eventually became interested in public office. After an unsuccessful bid in 1967, he won a seat on Glendale's City Council in 1983. He was the first Armenian in Glendale to win political office. Zarian, a moderate conservative, was active in Glendale politics for sixteen years, from 1983 to 1999, eventually becoming Glendale's first Armenian mayor. His tenure as mayor occurred between 1986 and 1987, 1990 and 1991, 1993 and 1994, and 1997 and 1998. Zarian's visibility as a public official (and public persona) also attracted newcomers to Glendale as well as influenced a later generation of Armenian politicians. As mayor and public personality, Zarian made Armenians' association with Glendale more salient.

In addition to Larry Zarian, another Iranian Armenian family, the Shirvanians, moved to Glendale on account of the Adventist Church. In an interview conducted with the author, a member of this family said that her family had been converted to Adventism by missionaries abroad and moved to Glendale in order to be close to their church and community. Glendale's boasted the region's most active Adventist community. In addition, the Shirvanian family had strong ties to the Republican Party, and Glendale was also a Republican headquarters before, ironically, Armenian activists helped shift the city's political orientation. The Shirvanian family invested in rubbish collection and amassed a great fortune—establishing Western Waste

Industries in 1955. Their Iranian Armenian network and visible success explain several subsequent Armenians' migrations. Perceiving trouble afoot in the Shah's regime, several friends of the Shirvanians relocated. In fact, many of the first Iranian Armenians who purchased homes in Glendale's hills came directly from the Shirvanians' social network and other families like them. Family and friend networks brought many of the first Iranian Armenians to Glendale; they joined those who had come to study under the Shah's regime. Thus, the presence of prominent Iranian Armenian families brought several other Armenian families to Glendale.

Apart from these early Iranian Armenian settlements, Iran had been sending students to the United States even before the passage of the Hart-Celler Act. After years boycotting Iranian oil, the United States reopened trade once the Shah had been restored in 1953. In the mid-twentieth century, the resumption of oil revenue and aid to Iran bolstered its economy significantly. As Mehdi Bozorgmehr and Georges Sabagh explain, "The oil revenues increased 16 times from $34 million in 1954–55 to $555 million in 1963, and more than doubled to $1.2 billion in 1970–71" (Bozorgmehr and Sabagh 1998, 10). This revenue led to state-sponsored industrialization and modernization initiatives. Despite the inflow of money, Iran lacked the educational facilities and human resources to generate specialists to operate the machinery. The Shah's government therefore invested in education by sending Iranian students abroad in large numbers. The shortage of space in Iran's universities along with the difficulty of entrance exams most likely led to exponential increases in Iranian and Iranian Armenian student visitors coming to the United States—from 18,000 in 1963 to 227,497 in 1997 (10). Since Iranian Armenians had already settled there, Glendale was an attractive option for many students who entered in the 1960s.

Glendale, too, suited many Iranian Armenian students socioeconomically. Those who arrived prior to 1979 often had the resources to travel and study abroad. As such, they represented a relatively affluent segment of Iranian society. Unlike traditional immigrants, Iranian Armenian students came with intellectual and material resources. Iran's economy had boomed, and those from this socioeconomic stratum of society profited from that boom. According to Homa Katouzian, Iran's oil revenues increased from $4.4 billion to $17.1 billion in the mid-1970s alone (1981). Many of the first Iranian Armenians to settle in Glendale, whether directly or indirectly, were the beneficiaries of these new revenue flows. In a personal interview, Richard Hovannisian reflected:

> The Persian Armenians were different from other Armenians because most of them came with some degree of wealth. Whereas Soviet Armenians and even those from the Middle East didn't have that wealth, Iranian Armenians, because of their association with the imperial household and regime and because they are hardworking people, they were able to get a part of their wealth out, sometimes by bribery and other means to the U.S.

Early Iranian Armenians, particularly those whose migrations predate the Shah's demise, could afford to buy homes in relatively affluent neighborhoods as opposed to settling in densely concentrated urban centers. Compared to Hollywood or other urban locations, the conurbation of Glendale presented an appealing alternative to these student visitors and their relatives or social networks. And their selection conditioned their settlement patterns. Similar to the Taiwanese in Monterey Park or first-wave Cubans in several Florida communities, early Iranian Armenian settlers "leapfrogged" socioeconomic impecuniousness and settled in suburban comfort shortly after their arrival. But this population consisted only of a demographic cluster; its numbers were not yet significant enough to play a transformative role in Glendale society.

Glendale itself experienced several sociopolitical changes at the same time. By the early 1970s, Glendale had begun to take on a more progressive character. Just as migrants from Iran,

Cuba, Korea, and elsewhere began settling in Glendale, several city ordinances made new ethnic settlement possible. While many traditions persisted—such as housing discrimination, which targeted African Americans through the early 2000s—the civil rights ethos that had been altering national legislation also became a mainstay of local communities. For example, native Glendale residents protested against the presence of the neo-Nazi headquarters in 1964 (Arroyo 2006). A new generation of Glendale natives sought to oust its prejudicial organizations. In the 1960s, Glendale government officials created new bodies and organizations that sought to safeguard minority rights. Although Armenians would not enter the scene with demographic prominence until the mid-1970s, the 1960s laid a foundation that would enable new ethnic members of society to participate in Glendale's development.

This foundation included an increasingly booming commercial sector. Responding to economic downturn in the 1950s and 1960s, Glendale city officials sought to attract prospective consumers by constructing new shopping malls and opening up new business opportunities. City officials incentivized large companies by waiving business license fees as well as payroll and corporation taxes.[xxvi] For many businesses, Glendale also proved less chaotic than the frenetic downtown district. Nestle, DreamWorks, Disney, Whole Foods, and other corporations eventually established themselves in Glendale, and, in turn, enriched the local economy. In addition, conservative housing measures, ironically, created more opportunities for multi-ethnic newcomers. Among the new business clientele that entered Glendale were several commercial real estate developers. As older Glendale natives moved out, developers came in to build large apartment complexes. This profit-driven scheme provided spaces in which less affluent immigrants could settle. Developers purchased the property of landowners and built several new multi-unit apartment buildings (Arroyo 2006). As Armenians were coming to Southern

California from places such as Iraq, Iran, and Jordan, Glendale's recently constructed affordable housing units provided these immigrants with a peaceful, family-oriented housing option. As such, these commercial changes provided a foundation upon which Armenians could establish themselves.

The tenor of official city discourse also began changing with the emergence of increasingly visible ethnic groups, including, Koreans, Cubans, Filipinos, and Armenians. In 1972, C. E. Perkins, then city manager, exhorted the Glendale Rotary Club to prepare itself as Glendale could no longer remain an isolate in an increasingly diverse America (82). In 1974, the city put forth its most dramatic infrastructural and commercial initiative to date: the construction of Glendale's massive shopping mall, the Galleria. The first wing of the Galleria opened in 1976, and it continued to grow through the early 1980s. At the time of its construction, it was among the largest malls in the United States.

National legislation and local socioeconomic changes overlapped with Armenians' massive multipolar arrival to Southern California. As discussed above, by the early 1970s, they had already formed a fairly visible cluster in Hollywood. Many Armenian newcomers continued to use Hollywood as a settlement springboard; however, by the 1980s, the axis had shifted rather dramatically to Glendale. And this proved true for Armenians of diverse backgrounds. Even Armenians (some second- or third-generation) from other parts of Los Angeles and the United States relocated to Glendale. Only a couple decades after families like the Shirvanians and the Zarians entered the homogenous sundown town, Glendale began to emerge as the most demographically concentrated Armenian habitation throughout the Americas.

As historical outposts of the Armenian diaspora underwent political upheaval, Glendale became one of the foremost destinations of Armenian immigrants and refugees. Unlike the

Iranian Armenians who came to Glendale before 1979, later Armenian immigrants often had to leave everything behind and begin anew. But, on account of the international tumult, the status of those who had come as students also changed to that of immigrant. So they, too, had to leave behind their homes. After the revolution, Iranian Armenian refugees joined their friends and family in Glendale (although typically via another location—such as Austria, Sweden, or Germany—first). By the end of the 1980s, intra-ethnically diverse Armenians had become a visible presence in Glendale. Early migrants owned large homes in the north, while newcomers inhabited small apartment complexes in the south.

As Armenians planted new roots in Glendale, they created important community centers. The establishment of several Armenian institutions made Glendale increasingly visible and accessible to newcomers. Several key institutions and organizations included a branch of the Armenian Revolutionary Federation (ARF), the Iranian Armenian Society, the Homenetmen, the Scouts, and the Armenian Education Foundation. Symbolically, perhaps the most significant Armenian institution—an Armenian church (in conjunction with an Armenian school)—opened in 1975. As Anny Bakalian conjectures, once a specific demographic threshold has been met, Armenians typically establish a church for the community (1993). This signals roots in the community. But the Armenian Church is not a monolithic entity, and association with one branch or another sometimes factors into migration trajectories. From the fifteenth century onward, the Armenian Apostolic Church has existed as two distinct branches with two Catholicoi: at present, these church centers are in Antelias (Lebanon) and Etchmiadzin (Armenia). The Holy See of Cilicia, the head of the Western Prelacy, is located in Antelias. The Mother See of Holy Etchmiadzin is located in Etchmiadzin. Before the establishment of St. Mary's Armenian Apostolic Church in 1975, the Armenian Church with one of the largest congregations was

located in Hollywood.[1] For many Armenians, proximity to an Armenian church (as well as a school) factors into their migration choices. The opening of St. Mary's Church and its attendant school offered prospective Armenian newcomers community structures with which they could engage. To be sure, it is difficult to assess the extent to which a church factored into Armenian decision making; however, family and friend networks within the peaceful, suburban community coupled with the existence of several Armenian institutions, such as a church and school, likely shaped the migratory patterns of many migrants in the late 1970s and early 1980s.

In my interviews, Iraqi Armenians frequently cited access to an Armenian church and school as paramount in their migration choices. While Iraqi Armenians' leanings tend toward Etchmiadzin in Iraq, migration routes via several other places, such as Lebanon, Syria, and Greece, brought them into contact with Antelian churches. Upon settlement, Iraqi Armenians, who lacked the same material resources as early Iranian Armenians, depended heavily on the church. In several interviews, correspondents noted the majority Iraqi Armenian congregationists who visited the Iranian Armenian–funded St. Mary's Church in Glendale in the 1970s and after. One Iraqi Armenian, who moved to Glendale in the 1970s, said of his community:

> This is the only way to help you keep your identity: You have to go to Church and you have to go to school. It was mandatory for us. In the [Armenian] school, we had a religion class every single day.… Everyday you have to have your Armenian classes: language, history, and religion. So this is the only way you can keep the community together.… So when we came here, that was one of the factors.

Another person I interviewed, a relative of one of St. Mary's founders and someone who was raised attending events at St. Mary's, said of the late 1970s: "The Church was growing; they started to have bingo nights. So every Friday we would go to bingo nights. And it became a nice, community church. And it started to grow. And at that point it was a lot of Iraqi Armenians

[1] Nonetheless, Armenian Angelenos have a lengthy and fascinating church history. For a description of the early church history in California, see the unpublished dissertation of George B. Kooshian, *The Armenian Immigrant Community of California: 1880–1935* (UCLA, 2002).

coming and then slowly the Persian Armenians." While several Iraqi Armenians settled in Hollywood and elsewhere, the establishment of an Armenian church in Glendale attracted several of them to relocate to Glendale. The presence of the church thus seems to have resonated especially with select Armenians, such as those from Iraq.

As Armenians' numbers swelled, the pre-existing Anglo community often responded virulently. This antipathy appeared in newspaper journals, city hall meetings, and interpersonal relations. As one non-Armenian former reporter shared in an interview:

> [Armenians] were coming up against such hatred you wouldn't believe.…The hatred was so strong. I remember we had a reporter at the newspaper whose name was Tanya Soussan, and people would see that as "Soussanian" or assume she changed it. And all of us would get calls virtually everyday. But she would get the nastiest calls. "You're one of them. And I can see you just wrote this story to help them. You didn't mention the robber in this was Armenian… wasn't it?! Wasn't it?!"

Armenians received backlash from various socioeconomic quarters: Anglos responded harshly to wealthy Armenians in the north for the elaborate designs of their homes ("mansionization") and the less affluent Armenians for their dense concentration in the south. Development in Glendale had become negatively associated with Armenian overpopulation. For many Glendale natives, Armenians disrupted Glendale's homogeneity and normalcy. Ironically, the backlash probably only helped create, in turn, its own backlash—that is, an increased sense of ethnic cohesion among an otherwise internally diverse and fragmented population. And this cohesion would have significant political implications—at present, Armenians occupy a visible majority (80 percent) of electoral seats in Glendale. Armenians, who had been disregarded as politically insignificant throughout the 1980s, emerged in the late 1990s as a dominant political force. And their business and real estate endeavors, now commonplace throughout the expansive city, also saturated the market.

Armenian presence in Glendale is now practically omnipresent: Armenian shops, restaurants, grocery stores, bakeries, and delis appear on every major artery throughout the city. Armenian businesspeople own and operate many of the non-Armenian establishments as well. Also, as stated, local politics has a distinctly demographic slant. Between 2005 and 2009, there existed a majority Armenian population on Glendale's city council. The majority was regained in 2013 and has remained to date. By voting in increasing number and electing majority officials on the city council (as well as the city school board), Glendale Armenians have relied on Armenian American leadership to make claims and reallocate resources that specifically cater to the Armenian population. These reallocations include affordable senior housing, increased park space (particularly in south Glendale, which has the greatest concentration of Armenian residents), the availability of all city voting material in the Armenian language, the development of a public Armenian Center, the passage of dual immersion (Armenian/English) language programs in public schools, the establishment of April 24 as a school holiday to commemorate the Armenian genocide, the approval to build an Armenian Museum in central Glendale, and other issues. These and many other influences result from Armenians' demographic concentration in the city itself.

Conclusion

Armenians in Greater Los Angeles have evolved and acquired significant influence politically and economically. They play an integral role in Los Angeles's ethnic mosaic. When Adam Schiff defeated James Rogan for the 27th District Senate seat in 2000, both politicians took trips to Armenia, pledged support for genocide recognition, and spoke against Turkish policies. *The Economist* even printed an op-ed entitled, "From Monica to Armenia." During 2016's 25th District Senate race, Supervisor Michael Antonovich unveiled an Armenian

genocide monument in Los Angeles's Grand Park, while Anthony Portantino traveled to Armenia with city councilmember Zareh Sinanyan, and even enrolled in Armenian language courses at Glendale's Community College. Armenians' story and settlement resemble those of many other immigrants, and yet they possess distinct characteristics, too. Their history and contributions warrant more extensive scholarly attention.

Glendale Armenians make up one of the most visible diasporic outposts in Armenian history. Their contributions in several sectors of Glendale are striking. However, the history of any community does not exist in a vacuum. As this narrative reflects, such a history is as much about events taking shape around it as about the community itself. The manner in which this brief history has been constructed is intended as a corrective. Many ethnic community histories rely too heavily on linear and narrowly focused narratives. These accounts present history as though it existed outside of the historical settlements that condition them. As such, the diversity of this community itself, as well as the events shaping it, are at times neglected. A central assumption of this historical overview is that community formation occurs within a complex matrix of local, international, and institutional variables. These variables participate in a dialectic process that facilitates the movement and, eventually, the character of the community itself.

In this brief overview, I have provided a cursory history of Armenian settlement of Los Angeles; considerably more work is required. A thorough historical treatment of Armenians' history in Los Angeles warrants its own research project (or many). While their demographic concentration elsewhere may not match that in Glendale, Armenians have contributed to various localities throughout Los Angeles. Their histories help explain several facets of the community itself as well as American cultural history. Armenian influence is salient in several spheres of Angeleno culture. As several key events laid the foundation for the emergence of new ethnic

communities after 1965, these communities, in turn, shaped key aspects of American civilization and policy-making. I hope this brief history initiates more historical scholarship on the external contributions and internal workings of the Armenian Angeleno community.

Chapter 2:

The Armenians of Glendale:
An Ethnoburb in Los Angeles's San Fernando Valley[xxvii]

Chapter Abstract:

Building on the previous historical overview, this chapter describes the unique geospatial formation of "ethnoburbs." Traditionally, discussions of "ethnoburbs" are restricted to Chinese communities. This chapter expands discussions of "ethnoburbs" by situating Glendale Armenians in these discussions. The chapter posits the following question: is the concept of the ethnoburb generalizable in contexts outside of Chinese immigrant settlements? In this chapter, I contend that the ethnoburb model is generalizable by situating Glendale's Armenian community within this framework.

Introduction

As chapter 1 attests, Armenian settlement of Glendale accelerated after the 1960s. While Armenians' original settlement tended toward Hollywood, eventually the momentum shifted to Glendale. Unlike Hollywood, Glendale represents a distinct sort of migrant habitation. From the 1970s onward, Armenians began to transform the fundamental fabric of Glendale. This chapter evaluates the demographic and geospatial character of contemporary Glendale. The changes altered various pre-existing elements of Glendale; however, these changes also gave rise to new phenomena and agents. While chapter 1 describes the history of the Armenian community in Glendale, this chapter describes its current, demographic character. In order to present the demographic character of the Armenian community, I will situate Glendale in discussions on "ethnoburbs." While the scholarship has limited this designation to Chinese and other Asiatic communities throughout the contemporary U.S., Glendale proves that the "ethnoburbs" model applies in distinctly non-Asiatic contexts. To be sure, each ethnoburb possesses its own specificity (as subsequent chapters will attest); however, fundamental commonalties link populations and spaces as varied as the Chinese of Monterey Park, Vietnamese of Westminster, Filipinos of Daley City, Koreans of Irvine, Armenians of Glendale, and many others. What then is distinct about ethnoburbs and other forms of urban habitation?

Scholars have traditionally understood the habitation of urban spaces in fairly simplistic terms: the marginalized and poor inhabited ghettos; the marginalized and ethnic inhabited enclaves; the upwardly mobile and privileged inhabited suburbs. However, in a post-civil rights era, migration has reconfigured many American urban spaces. Because of the new modes of urban occupation, new theoretical frameworks have also emerged. Wei Li has formulated a framework for analyzing new urban spaces with the model of the "ethnoburb" (1998). According

to Li, ethnoburbs are "suburban ethnic clusters of residential and business districts within large metropolitan areas. They are multiracial/multiethnic, multicultural, multilingual, and often multinational communities, in which one ethnic minority group has a significant concentration" (2009, 29). These ethnoburbs replicate aspects of both the ethnic enclave as well as the suburb. Li's model offers the conceptual tools to understand the transformation of many urban U.S. spaces over the last several decades.

Li's model is based on her study of a specific type of urban settlement in a particular region. As she claims, "The establishment of the Chinese ethnoburb as a new type of ethnic settlement in the San Gabriel Valley (part of the greater Los Angeles metropolitan area) has occurred within a framework of global, national, and place-specific conditions" (79). Subsequent scholarship has expanded upon this model to include various other aspects of international Chinese immigrant settlements (Chang 2010; Chan 2012; Li, Skop, and Yu 2016). To be sure, the Chinese are themselves an internally complex and diverse people and have unique settlement trajectories. However, their immigration to and settlement of the San Gabriel Valley come out of a series of shared global, national, and local events, movements, and policies. As Chapter 1 indicates, Armenian migration pathways to the U.S. closely resemble those of the Chinese as well as other groups. These groups arrived from a similar combination of geopolitical and socioeconomic factors, and their migrations, as a whole, transformed several urban spaces throughout the U.S.

While most scholarship on the ethnoburb has examined the Chinese or other Asian cases (Lin and Robinson 2005; Chang 2010; Chan 2012; Oh and Chung 2014), Li's conceptualization needs to hold up in diverse contexts if we are to think of it as a model. Towards that end this chapter: (1) assesses the generalizability of the ethnoburb model by presenting a demographic

sketch of the Armenian community of Glendale. Borrowing Li's ethnoburb model, this chapter attempts to situate Armenians within these discussions as well as presenting a snapshot of Armenians' demographic influences in contemporary Glendale.

Ethnoburbs

At present, approximately 60 percent of immigrants inhabit suburbs. While this growing trend has increased significantly over the last few decades, immigrants and other ethnic groups have settled in suburbs for many years. In the 1950s and 1960s, more affluent immigrants moved into suburban neighborhoods and formed "small-scale residential clusters" (Li 2009 41). These clusters of individuals established roots in suburban communities. They bought homes, sent their children to the local schools, and worked in local businesses. The presence of these residential clusters did nothing to threaten the bedrock of American suburbia. And, as such, did not transform the overall suburban ecology. Rather, these suburban clusters, while distinct, served as the ethnoburbs' predecessors.

As discussed in chapter 1, with the passage of the Hart-Celler Act in 1965, a new flux of immigrants arrived in much greater concentration. They sought reunification with friends and family, several of which had formed the earlier residential clusters, especially those with the means to "leapfrog" inner-city settlement and establish roots immediately in suburban neighborhoods. This proved true in both the San Gabriel Valley and the San Fernando Valley, with large concentrations settling in Monterey Park and Glendale. As with the Chinese in Monterey Park, Armenians' concentrated settlement of Glendale in the 1980s and 1990s led to the community's restructuring economically, socially, and politically. As business and political entrepreneurs garnered increased success, these communities increasingly developed into a magnet for further co-ethnic migration.

The increasing migration streams had several implications. It caused spillover in surrounding areas. For example, Armenian presence in the San Fernando Valley expanded out of Glendale to include Burbank, North Hollywood, Tujunga, Calabasas, and La Cañada. In San Gabriel, Chinese presence expanded out of Monterey Park to include Alhambra, Arcadia, Alhambra, Rosemead, and San Marino. These new residents disrupted pre-established Anglos' space and identity. As a result, tensions sometimes emerged. However, backlash did not deter the new groups in either location; rather, in a post-civil rights political atmosphere, it very likely led to greater ethnic cohesion and mobilization (Bakalian and Bozorgmehr 2009). In addition, these growing streams had political implications. After President Clinton's Personal Responsibility and Work Opportunity Reconciliation Act of 1996 gave only citizens access to welfare, many immigrants were incentivized to become citizens, which, in turn, empowered them to vote for their own representation. At the same time, increasing high skilled immigrant presence led to community reconfiguration. For example, many of Monterey Park's new residents partook of transnational business exchanges and investments, which transformed the local economy. In this dynamic and charged atmosphere, these suburban communities underwent fundamental changes. Increasing migration streams of high skilled immigrants transformed traditional, Anglo-dominated bedroom suburbs into the multicultural, multilingual, global economic ethnoburbs. But what exactly is an ethnoburb?

Defining an Ethnoburb

According to Li (2009), "ethnoburbs are fully functional communities, with their own internal socioeconomic structures that are integrated into both national and international networks of information exchange, business connection, and social activity" (42). As ethnic community members acquire an increasing number of businesses and real estate properties, more

co-ethnics swell the population of the pre-existing residential clusters. This incremental ingress reworks the socioeconomic and demographic infrastructure of the suburb and transforms it into an ethnoburb. This transformation does not take place seamlessly; the pre-existing population, invested emotionally, economically, and physically, often responds with vehemence and antipathy. This backlash, in turn, can increase the ethic community's sense of cohesion, which can lead to the formation of ethnopolitical campaigns and the establishment of ethnopolitical entrepreneurs in office. As later chapters attest, this has proven particularly true for Glendale's internally diverse Armenian communities. The increased participation of community members in local politics and economics leads to greater social and political integration into mainstream host society – indeed, until the mainstream society itself has fundamentally changed.

According to Li, ethnoburbs are a new type of urban ecology, but also one that combines the ethnic enclave and the suburb. She distinguishes ethnoburbs from ghettos and ethnic enclaves along the following lines: (1) "Dynamics": Ethnic residents own a large portion of the local businesses in ethnoburbs as well as "participate in the globalization of capital and international flows of commodities and skilled, high tech, and managerial personnel" (46); (2) "Geographical locations and density": ethnoburbs exist in larger geographical areas (this habitation may include several municipalities and unincorporated areas) and in lower demographic density as compared to inner-city ghettos and enclaves; and the ethnic community transforms the local population and business structure, with a distinctive ethnic slant; (3) "Internal stratification": ethnoburban residents typically attribute considerable internal diversity – financially, ideologically, and generationally. These internal differences cause group stratification and internal conflict/tension. (4) "Functionality": ethnoburbs act as new "ports of entry" – that is, ethnoburb residents are receptive to mainstream society and its institutional operations. As Li frames this last point,

"Given this mixed environment and daily contacts with people of different backgrounds, ethnic minorities in ethnoburbs are both inward and outward looking in their socioeconomic and political pursuits" (2009, 47). Ethnoburb residents are thus more likely to become involved with local political and community events than their co-ethnics in downtown districts. According to Li, these are the basic elements that distinguish an ethnoburb from ethnic enclaves and ghettos.

For Li, the ethnoburb challenges classical theories of assimilation: concentrated migration into suburban American cities reconfigures spaces and redirects movements of capital. Highly skilled immigrants bring both tangible and intangible resources to U.S. surburbs – such as money, skills, global networks, etc. These resources facilitate the settlement patterns of immigrants in ethnoburbs. From the outset, they enter and participate in global markets. Their global networks and resources enable them to acquire and transform the physical space and economy. Consequently, the suburb takes on a new, ethnic slant. These transformations involve the establishment and/or acquisition of local ethnic institutions (such as schools and churches), political and social organizations, businesses, real estate, and restaurants. As the community transforms and as new co-ethnics move in, the integration trajectories of newcomers alters. While such trajectories do not resist assimilation indefinitely, they provide newcomers the conditions to preserve ethnic practices for an extended period of time.

As stated, however, this transformation disrupts the pre-existing community's status quo and generates conflict with previously established (typically Anglo) residents. Suburbs haven't the same histories as urban centers: Until recently, these communities have been less affected by the absorption of multi-ethnic newcomers. Past immigration waves assimilated immigrants through multiple generations before they resettled into suburban communities; ethnoburbs are demographically distinct in that the immigrant population hasn't yet acculturated. As Zhou (et al)

articulate of Chinese ethnoburbs, "This phenomenon distorts the correlation between levels of acculturation and residential assimilation predicted by conventional assimilation theories. It opens up the possibility that immigrants' initial place of residence is not simply a staging ground for somewhere better, but is in fact their final desired destination" (2008, 76). High skilled newcomers threaten middle class Anglos' space and boundary making. Pitched confrontation results as immigrants become the targets of Anglos' discomfort with the changes. As a result, concentrated immigrant settlement can engender "white flight" out of the suburbs back into city centers.

Li and others, however, have a distinct region and population in mind – San Gabriel Valley's Chinese. And, as such, they have created a model that most accurately defines Chinese migration of a specific sort. Scholarship has significantly expanded the conceptual forcefulness and regional distinctiveness of the ethnoburb model; however, it is most often associated with Chinese immigration. While there are some exceptions (Wen, Lauderdale, and Kandula 2009; Schneider 2014), the generalizability of the model hasn't yet been sufficiently demonstrated. As a result, its status as a model remains in question. The analysis below investigates its applicability to San Gabriel Valley's northwest neighbor, the San Fernando Valley. The following pages test the generalizability of the model by applying a culturally distinct population to it – Glendale's intra-ethnically diverse Armenian community.

Glendale Armenians and Monterey Park Chinese follow similar settlement trajectories. For example, Armenians' historical immigration to Glendale took place along a similar tripartite trajectory: (1) From the late 1950s until the early 1970s, it began to experience a scattering of non-Anglo newcomers. Following the growth of suburbanization throughout the U.S., Armenians (as well as other groups) began moving to Glendale in small numbers. (2) Between

the mid-1970s and the early 1990s, Armenians came in increasingly larger numbers. Unlike their predecessors who came largely from only a few locations, these newcomers were far more multi-local in origin. They came from the Soviet Union, Lebanon, Egypt, Iran, Iraq, and other locations. These newcomers were also far more socio-economically mixed than their more affluent predecessors. At that time, Glendale began to become a significant Armenian port of entry. (3) From 1990 until today, Glendale has become a global symbol of the Armenian diaspora. It now attracts Armenians from every corner of the world and from every economic walk of life – including other places around the U.S.

Glendale: An Armenian Ethnoburb

With an increased Armenian presence, Glendale's local economy and institutions transformed. The community's political entrepreneurs and ethnic organizations established channels through which an expanded ethnic economy could grow. In addition, they sought recognition for their traditions and beliefs (to date, Glendale School District stands alone in hosting a national holiday on April 24 in recognition of the Armenian Genocide; there also exists dual immersion language programs in some of Glendale's public schools). And local Armenians' real estate ventures enabled Glendale's housing market to expand. For an ethnoburb to emerge, an ethnic business and residential sector must converge on one site. And this is precisely what took place in Glendale.

Demographic/Residential Profile

The San Fernando Valley occupies a large geographical area. Glendale itself is the third largest city in Los Angeles County. The geographical density, as compared to the older settlement in Hollywood, a neighborhood in the city of Los Angeles, is considerably lower. As indicated above, Armenians' concentration in Glendale has led to significant spillover in

communities such as Burbank, Tujunga, Calabasas, and North Hollywood. In addition, Armenians own and operate a great many businesses in these communities. But the only community with a majority population is Glendale, where Armenians' presence can be observed by the ubiquity of signage in the Armenian script, the concentration of services and stores that cater to the Armenian population, the number of publically advertised specialists with Armenian surnames, the unique architectural design of Armenian churches, and even the use of Armenian language on several city streets. The Anglo Republican bastion of the 1950s has become a multilingual, multicultural, multiracial/multiethnic community.

From 1970 onward, Glendale's overall population grew at a rapid rate. Even as many Anglo residents moved out, newcomers far outpaced the rate of those leaving. Unlike surrounding towns, whose populations increased more gradually, census data for Glendale report a city population of 132,664 residents in 1970, but 201,020 45 years later in 2015. The Armenian community grew the most visibly. Because of Armenians' multi-locality and categorization as "white" on official data, they are an especially elusive group to track demographically. Nonetheless, the data do afford insight into Glendale's evolving demography. The table below reflects the sites of origin into Armenians' increasingly intra-ethnically diverse population:

Table 1: Glendale's Population Growth, 1990-2010

	1990 (identity/origin)	2000 (identity/origin)	2010 (identity/origin)
Iran	13,404 (17,126)	18,853 (25,123)	22,405 (27,480)
(Post) Soviet	7,549 (8,432)	16,327 (18,313)	28,616 (29,503)
Lebanon	2,114 (3,043)	2,540 (4,364)	2,094 (3,313)
Iraq	982 (1,284)	1,595 (2,280)	1,975 (2,811)
Syria	900 (1,266)	1,384 (1,796)	557 (1,583)
California	2,576 (54,561)	7,932 (58,385)	15,364 (60,773)
All Countries (self-identifying)	29,996 (17% overall population)	52,249 (27% overall population)	74,511 (39% overall population)

Source: U.S. Bureau of Census, 1990, 2000, and 2010

The table above reflects the character of the Glendale Armenian community. The sites selected are not exhaustive. Armenians came to Glendale from various other countries in smaller number (such as Turkey, Egypt, France, Syria, and Jordan). In 2010, the American Community Survey (ACS) reported that self-identifying Armenians listed over 16 countries as their birthplaces. The sites above, however, are the most numerically significant. They represent approximately 92, 93, and 95 percent, respectively, of all reported Glendale Armenians in each census report. Later migrations reflect geopolitical events in Armenian host societies, such as Syria and Iraq. In addition, Armenian immigrations from Armenia and the former Soviet Union spikes between the 1980s and the 2010s. These latter migration flows have diversified Glendale's predominant Iranian Armenian population. But these numbers are not static: they fluctuate depending on various factors (political upheaval, immigration policies, and the like). Post-Soviet Armenian migration has also begun to increase to locations near Glendale, such as

Burbank, Tujunga, and North Hollywood. In addition, the table reflects internal Armenian migration to Glendale. These internal immigrants previously lived in diverse locations throughout the U.S. The highest concentration of internal immigrants comes from within California – an increase of nearly 600 percent from 2,576 in 1990 to 15,364 in 2010. This reflects the growing visibility of Glendale as a distinct hub or, as Li articulates, "port of entry" for newcomers and established Armenians alike. The table thus includes both the numbers of those who self-identified as Armenian as well as sites from which Armenians migrate to Glendale. These numbers set up a range of representation: For example, between 18,853 and 25,123 Iranian Armenians were living in Glendale by 2000. Of the 6,270 who reported Iranian origins, it is difficult to determine what percentage self-identifies as Armenian (Glendale has a relatively small Iranian population). Nonetheless, the tables indicate that Armenians represented at least 39 percent of Glendale's population in 2010.

Armenians weren't the only group to diversify Glendale's population. Glendale also contains relatively large concentrations of non-Armenian migrants; as of 2010, the largest groups include Mexicans (10,609), Koreans (9,708) and Filipinos (9,663). Glendale's foreign-born population is about 55 percent. To be sure, many who move to Glendale are temporary residents. Glendale functions as a springboard location for many Armenians and non-Armenians, who relocate to other locations thereafter.

Socioeconomic Profile

In terms of profession, Glendale Armenians exist in every socioeconomic and professional sector. According to IPUMS ACS Sample 2010 data, 47 percent of Glendalians with an undergraduate degree were Armenian, and 29 percent of those who had obtained a graduate degree were Armenian. Glendale Armenians, therefore, obtain undergraduate and

graduate degrees at higher rates than the national averages. Glendale Armenians also participate in every sphere of the local economy. Their business and cultural influence is omnipresent. Armenians own many prominent local businesses that serve the local economy, such as Pacific Food Mart, Paradise Pastry, Lord Bakery, The Lahmajoun Factory, Carousel and Raffi's restaurants, the Tumanyan Khnkali Factory, Charles Billiard, Tavern on Brand, Karas, The Famous, Eden on Brand, and many, many others. The following table represents some occupational trends in Glendale.

Table 2. Percent Armenian, Selected Occupations, Glendale, 2010

	Armenian representation
Occupation	
Chief Execs and Public Admins	32%
Managerial Positions	36%
Salespersons	40%
Physicians	32%
Subject Instructors (HS/College)	37%
Teachers	23%
Supervisors	32%
Drivers (truck, delivery, tractor, bus, and taxi)	52%
Laborers (construction and otherwise)	42%
Computer systems analysts and scientists	33%

Source: U.S. Bureau of Census, 2010 IPUMS ACS

Given their socioeconomic and educational diversity, Glendale Armenians show a visible presence in both high skilled and low skilled professions. They are especially prominent in managerial and high tech positions. Glendale also hosts several Armenian-founded international

organizations, such as ServiceTitan or Kradjian Importing Company, which generate hundreds of millions of dollars for Glendale's economy. Armenian real estate and business investments have also contributed to Glendale's thriving economy and created jobs for Armenians and non-Armenians alike. These investments enrich Glendale with resources both locally and internationally. Local Armenian companies and businessmen are thus participating in the globalization of capital flows as well as the enrichment of the local economy.

But the Armenian community is an internally diverse population. Some sub-groups gravitate toward specific occupations more than others. However, many of these occupations overlap. The table below provides an overview of Glendale's three most prevalent Armenian sub-groups by birthplace: Iranian Armenians, Armenians from Armenia or the former Soviet Union, and California Armenians. According to the 2010 ACS, Glendale had 22,405 Iranian Armenians (30 percent overall Armenian population in Glendale), 28,616 Armenians from Armenia or the former Soviet Union (38 percent of overall Armenian population), and 15,367 California Armenians (about 20 percent). These three groups made up 88 percent of Glendale's Armenian population (IPUMS 2010):

Table 3. Origins of Armenians Employed in Selected Occupations, Glendale, 2010

	Armenia and former USSR	**Iran**	**California**
Occupation			
Engineers	40%	60%	--
Physicians	71%	29%	--
Financial Manager	54.3%	9.6%	28.3%
Drivers	63%	37%	--
Customer Service	47%	53%	--
Teachers	49%	39%	--
Reg. Nurses	77%	23%	--
Nursing Aides	76%	17%	6%

Source: U.S. Bureau of Census, 2010 IPUMS ACS

Of the populations specified, each group has rather distinct reporting habits. Among California Armenians, 12,332 out of 15,367 (80 percent) did not report their occupation; among Iranian Armenians 9,518 out of 22,405 (42 percent) did not report their occupation; and among Armenians from Armenia or the former Soviet Union, 8,486 out of 28,616 (29 percent) did not report their occupation. Despite the fact that the disproportionately low rate among California-based Armenians skews their occupational representation, some general work-related distinctions can still be gleaned. For some occupations, there is a distinct majority: Iranian Armenians form a majority among engineers, chief executives, and public administrators, whereas Armenians from Armenia or the former Soviet Union form a clear majority among financial managers, physicians, registered nurses, and nursing aides. But for many other positions, these occupations are fairly evenly divided among the different groups. The difference among teachers and customer service representatives, for example, is negligible. As such, the data do show clear

professional divides among Armenians from different countries. They also show areas in which Armenians are absent: For example, Armenians represent small fractions among several industries in the public service sector, such as the police force or fire department (although census data indicate that they exhaustively represent the "protective services"). According to Glendale's Workforce Demographics Report, 2003-2016, Armenians make up 10.1 percent of the police department and 7.1 percent of the fire department. That Armenians represent nearly 80 percent of all elected offices in Glendale but only about 15 percent of school principals reflects the uneven distribution of Armenian in civic positions.

Political Profile

One of the areas in which Glendale Armenians are the most visible is in local electoral politics. Before 1999, only one Armenian, Larry Zarian, had ever been elected to public office in Glendale. Zarian proved a formidable local politician, serving in various capacities until 1999. By the end of his political career, however, a new generation of Armenian political agents launched a series of campaigns that transformed this bastion of conservatism into a far more staunchly Democratic community. From the end of Zarian's tenure until the present, Armenians have gradually saturated electoral politics. Their initiatives and reforms have led to more park spaces throughout Glendale, greater opportunities for businesses, and increased housing for the elderly. In addition, they sit on just over 50 percent of all commission boards. The tables below show their political representation:

Table 4. Glendale Commission Boards[xxviii]

	Armenian	**Non-Armenian**
Design Board	5	0
On the Arts and Culture Commission Board	4	1
Civil Service Commission	4	1
Community Development Block Grant Advisory Committee	4	1
Building and Fire Appeals Commission	3	2
Commission on the Status of Women	3	2
Planning Commission, Transportation and Parking Commission	3	2
Audit Committee and the Parks, Recreation, and Community Services Commission	2	3
Glendale Housing Authority board	1	1

Oversight Board for the Glendale Successor Agency	1	7
Glendale's Water and Power Commission	1	4
Historic Preservation Commission	1	5
Vector Control District	0	1
Metropolitan Water District	0	1

Table 5. City of Glendale's Electoral Seats

	Armenian	**Non-Armenian**
City Council	4	1
Board of Education	4	1
Glendale Community College Board	3	2
City Clerk	1	0
City Treasurer	1	0

Source: For current posts, please visit www.glendale.edu, www.gusd.net, and www.glendaleca.gov.

The tables reflect the extent to which the Armenian community has become an integral part of city governance. Because of their migration trajectories, Armenian Angelenos attribute staggeringly high naturalization rates (80 percent or twice the national average) and vote at relatively high rates in Glendale. And this mobilization results from the joint efforts of various actors, such as co-ethnic elected officials as well as ethnic organizations and media. Even "unauthorized immigrants" (Cook 2013) become involved by participating in civic life – town

halls, demonstrations, and other venues. Relying on a highly mobilized population, those elected to office have organized campaigns and, with support from ethnic media, organizations, and financial donors, have successfully established majority of elected seats. At the time of my fieldwork, these initiatives only seem to be increasing along with Armenians' electoral representation. As subsequent chapters will bear out, elected success is a particularly distinct aspect of Glendale's Armenian ethnoburb.

Conclusion

The apparent commonalities between the ethnoburb communities in Monterey Park and Glendale are quite striking: Just as the majority of early Taiwanese migrants of the San Gabriel Valley (Monterey Park) came with more financial and educational resources, so too, did Iranian Armenians seek out a middle-class community in which they could "leapfrog" into a comfortable suburb. In addition, as with the Chinese in Monterey Park, Armenian migrants in Glendale disrupted the previous residential and commercial sectors. They engaged in real estate acquisition thereby driving up the value of property and building multi-unit complexes. These developments, as before, opened up living opportunities for more newcomers and led to higher levels of density in certain districts. Both the Chinese and the Armenians became visible business owners in several economic sectors, with commercial merchandise and signage that clearly catered to co-ethnics. And, just as subsequent waves of migration significantly diversified the intra-ethnic character of Monterey Park's Chinese community, Glendale Armenians splintered along several fault lines as political upheavals brought new Armenians from Lebanon, Iraq, Armenia, and Russia into the same site in subsequent decades. This upsurge of Armenian and Chinese residents undermined the previous dominance of white ownership and control – economically, commercially, and politically. And, as with the Chinese in Monterey Park, these

expansions were responded to with vehement backlash and resentment from the old guard. This vehemence appeared in newspaper clippings, city council meetings, and everyday interactions. And both communities experienced backlash over the establishment of houses of worship (Li 2009).[xxix] Also, as with the Chinese in San Gabriel Valley, who spread from Monterey Park to adjacent communities such as Alhambra and Hacienda Heights, Glendale Armenians have spilled over into the San Fernando Valley in places like Burbank, Tujunga, and North Hollywood, with the most affluent settling in the highly exclusive community of La Cañada (just as the affluent Chinese settled in wealthy San Marino). In addition to the demographic shift, Glendale Armenians and Monterey Park Chinese thus confirm Li's assertion about the socioeconomic stratification of an ethnoburban community. Even the pattern of initial entrance into political office reflects the uncanny similarities between the two cases: Glendale's first Armenian American politician, Larry Zarian, took office in 1983; Monterey Park's first Chinese elected official, Lily Lee Chen, was elected mayor in 1983. These vastly distinct cultural communities have experienced strikingly parallel incorporative experiences. Given the foregoing analysis, the Chinese San Gabriel Valley model Li has introduced can be expanded to include a rather distinct population – the multi-polar Armenian population. This suggests that the ethnoburb model needn't be confined solely to Asiatic populations but can be applied among other groups, as well. While each community has its own distinctions, the ethnoburb model proves a particularly suitable framework to describe their uncanny similarities.

Thus, the foregoing analysis does situate Glendale into discussions of ethnoburbs: (1) Its internal "dynamics" reflect a distinctly Armenian consumer market yet one that is integrated into international socioeconomic contexts. Glendale Armenians have noticeable economic and political leverage. In addition, Glendale Armenians play key roles in globalizing capital and

international flows of commodities and personnel. The concentration of Armenians maximizes their ability to create community, political, and financial networks. (2) Glendale has the "geographical locations and diversity" of the ethnoburb insofar as it exists in a suburb of large geographical area and lower density than that of the inner city. It is also surrounded by several unincorporated areas within San Fernando Valley. In addition, Armenians' presence has transformed local residential and business aesthetics and practices. This concentration of Armenian organizations, churches, businesses, and residences suffuses all parts of Glendale, so much so that significant spillover has occurred throughout the San Fernando Valley. And, as such, its boundaries are porous and arbitrary. Also, (3) the tables above reflect the internal stratification of Glendale's demographic composition. Armenians occupy every socioeconomic and professional stratum. Their national differences create distinct residential and economic strata in the north and south of Glendale. As the above analysis documents, the establishment of Glendale's Armenian cluster in the 1970s and 1980s led to a significant increase in its population. These replenished numbers strengthen the socioeconomic structure and power cleavages of the group. Finally, Glendale's (4) "functionality" is that of an ethnoburb inasmuch as it now operates as a "port of entry" (47): Glendale's Armenian population has gone mainstream, particularly in certain sectors, such as local politics in which it represents nearly 80 percent of elected officials. As such, Glendale Armenians might be characterized as both "inward and outward looking in their socioeconomic and political pursuits" (47). Glendale Armenians engage with multiethnic populations and ensure the success of the Glendale without sacrificing a sense of loyalty and commitment to their own ethnic community. And, as Li reflects of the Chinese ethnoburbs, the same holds for Glendale Armenians: "Although there are class differences and conflicts within the ethnic group, the group often unites in solidarity to fight for

their rights wherever those rights are threatened. Cultivating an ethnic consciousness leads to growth and prosperity" (47). Consequently, Glendale can comfortably be situated in discourse of ethnoburbs. Their inclusion extends discussions of ethnoburbs and proves the generalizability of the model.

Nonetheless, several qualifications should be noted: The first relates to transnational business ventures and the globalization of capital. To be sure, Armenians participate in several industries that globalize capital. They also participate in the international circulation of high tech and personnel. Glendale hosts several prominent international organizations: Disney, Dreamworks, Nestle, and others. Armenians participate in several sectors of these global companies and globalize its capital. They also contribute with their own multi-million dollar companies. But Armenians come to the U.S. under rather distinct circumstances than those from Taiwan or Hong Kong. Dispossessed of their historical communities and without a financially stable home country economy, Glendale Armenians simply haven't the same sort of transnational economic relationship with a home government or its financial institutions. This does not diminish their business contributions to non-Armenian corporations and banks, but it warrants reference. The second qualification pertains to group size. Armenian numerical representation worldwide is difficult to determine; however, it most probably does not exceed 11 million. In contrast, the Chinese global population exceeds 1.3 billion. These salient disparities reflect differences in transnational transactions, migratory trajectories, and potential replenishments.

Apart from these differences, Glendale and Monterey Park have been transformed from sleepy Anglo suburbs into multilingual, multicultural, and multiracial/multiethnic metropolitan ethnoburbs. But, from the snapshot gleaned of these dynamic and prosperous communities, what

does it tell us about their futures? These groups are in a constant state of negotiation with various factors. Their pre-migration differences and intra-ethnic diversity come into daily contact with local actors and factors. And these interactions produce varied results. While the ethnoburb model presents an important and dynamic analysis of how urban ecology has changed over the last several decades, it does not help us understand in what direction these communities are evolving. Nonetheless, it does present a snapshot of the circumstances out of which a new set of ethnic political agents have emerged.

Conclusion

The foregoing provides a demographic snapshot of Glendale's Armenian community and situates this community into discussions of ethnoburbs. Li's ethnoburb model provides scholars with the tools for understanding why certain urban centers have undergone such radical changes in the past few decades. I contend that the model, established to analyze the Chinese of San Gabriel Valley, is generalizable to fit a diverse array of communities. I have attempted to expand this discourse by situating Glendale and the San Fernando Valley into discussions of ethnoburbs. But this models is applicable in various other contexts, as well: for example, the Koreans of Irvine, the Vietnamese of Westminster, the Filipinos of Daley City, and many others. However, I have also attempted to introduce the ethnoburb model as an ideal one through which to study immigrant political incorporation. More specifically, ethnoburbs describe the conditions under which arise new ethnic political agents – ethnopolitical entrepreneurs. In the context of ethnoburbs, these new political agents help integrate newcomers into the political system. As the next chapter will attest, ethnopolitical entrepreneurs force scholars to reevaluate immigrant/group political incorporation. But what exactly is an ethnopolitical entrepreneur? While this chapter has introduced the conditions out of which they arise, chapter 3 will introduce

a spectrum of ethnopolitical entrepreneurs. Because ethnopolitical entrepreneurs win political office at different stages of a generational continuum, it is necessary to provide a detailed analysis of what they are and how they function.

Chapter 3:

The Rise of Ethnopolitical Entrepreneurs: Outsiders Inside an Armenian American Community in Los Angeles

Chapter Abstract:

This chapter expands upon an important yet overlooked aspect of contemporary U.S. ethnic politics – the ethnopolitical entrepreneur. The ethnopolitical entrepreneur combines Mollenkopf's iteration of the "political entrepreneur" with Kasinitz' "ethnicity entrepreneur." While these figures have traditionally been understood as distinct, new urban spaces in the U.S. have created the conditions necessary (as described in chapters 1 and 2) for their convergence. The result of this convergence inverts many social scientific assumptions about immigrant political incorporation: The campaigns of ethnopolitical entrepreneurs rely upon the mobilization and incorporation of newcomers, and, as a result, seek to incorporate immigrants politically before they have become socially or even legally incorporated. But ethnopolitical entrepreneurs also inhabit a dynamic, spectrum of experience. This chapter seeks to shed light on this spectrum by presenting the experiences of two Armenian American ethnopolitical entrepreneurs in San Fernando's ethnoburb of Glendale.

Introduction

Now that the history and demography of Glendale's Armenian community have been described, we can shift the discussion to the manuscript's central unit of analysis: ethnopolitical entrepreneurs. These understudied figures can occur in various urban spaces; however, the conditions of the ethnoburb prove especially auspicious for their emergence. But what are ethnopolitical entrepreneurs? Why are ethnoburbs so particularly suitable for their emergence? And what is distinctive about their role in immigrant political incorporation? This chapter seeks to engage and answer these questions through the theoretical framework of political incorporation.

As earlier articulated, scholarship on political incorporation has highlighted important factors, such as existing opportunity structures (Koopmans and Strathan 2005), group dynamics (Bloemraad 2006), backlash from the pre-existing community (Bakalian and Bozorghmehr 2009), and pre-migration social remittances (Levitt 2009; Eckstein and Berg 2015). These factors are essential in order to understand group political incorporation. However, evolving U.S. demographics and urban spaces have changed how newcomers become politically incorporated. As a result, there exists a gap in the scholarship on political incorporation. This gap relates to a relatively recent phenomenon in American urban politics: the ethnopolitical entrepreneur.

The ethnopolitical entrepreneur merges Mollenkopf's iteration (one he inherits from the trailblazing political incorporation scholarship of figures such as Dahl, Browning, Marshall, and Tabb) of the "political entrepreneur" – that is, one who seeks to establish "new governmental bases for exercising new powers" and is "looking for ways to use governmental authority or governmental revenue" (1983, 4-5) with Kasinitz' "ethnicity entrepreneur" – that is, one who makes his or her "living by bridging the gap between the polity and the [ethnic] community"

(1992, 163). Ethnopolitical entrepreneurs are playing an increasingly indispensable role in the mobilization and incorporation of several groups, particularly many newcomers in suburban communities. Ethnopolitical entrepreneurs also reflect an evolution in U.S. ethnic politics. They invert many scholars' assumptions about when political incorporation takes place among immigrants. The common assumption is that political incorporation occurs quite late as compared to other forms (such as legal or social) of incorporation (Hochschild et al 2013). Some of the variables that are assumed to delay political incorporation include legal status, English proficiency, and perceptions of discrimination.

But the ethnopolitical entrepreneurs' success depends on the political incorporation of co-ethnic newcomers, many of whom have not yet achieved social or, at times, even legal incorporation. They run immigrant-targeted campaigns by relying on ethnic media and organizations to mobilize internally diverse co-ethnics through educational and socialization processes that conduce to immigrant political incorporation and electoral success. And these figures' success is particularly salient in the evolving urban contexts of ethnoburbs, where single ethnic communities form demographic majorities. In places as diverse as Monterey Park, Irvine, Westminster, and Glendale, there exist (or have existed) high levels of political incorporation among first generation immigrants. Consequently, these newcomers have voted into office several co-ethnic (often also first generation immigrant) elected officials to city councils, mayoral seats, boards of education, and other municipal offices. And they have done this in the face of the aforementioned obstacles that the scholarship assumes inhibit the successful incorporation of newcomers (Hochschild et al 2013). As such, ethnoburbs are particularly suitable sites in which to study the activities of ethnopolitical entrepreneurs.

In order to characterize the breadth and complexity of ethnopolitical entrepreneurs, this chapter expands upon the concept by introducing two distinct Armenian American entrepreneurs: Rafi Manoukian and Ardashes (Ardy) Kassakhian. A native of Beirut, Lebanon, Manoukian represents a particular sort of entrepreneur – the immigrant ethnopolitical entrepreneur. Manoukian came to the United States during his adolescence. At present, Manoukian is the City of Glendale's acting Treasurer. Kassakhian represents another example of a successful ethnopolitical entrepreneur; however, he also represents a distinct sort – the second-generation ethnopolitical entrepreneur. Apart from a brief stint during his childhood, Kassakhian (Boston native) was raised in the United States. Manoukian and Kassakhian represent the spectrum of ethnopolitical entrepreneur experience as well as the evolving roles of ethnopolitical entrepreneurs in their dynamic, ethnoburban communities. Manoukian's native fluency in the Armenian language and immigrant status enable him to connect with Glendale's majority Armenian immigrant population, whereas Kassakhian's non-native ("imperfect") Armenian, non-Armenian spouse, and second generation status can, at times, generate stumbling blocks. On the other hand, Kassakhian's familiarity with American institutions and background experiences provide him opportunities to transcend local, ethnic politics. The trajectories of their careers document an important and dynamic evolution in U.S. ethnic politics.

Ethnopolitical Entrepreneurs: A Review

Because of their centrality to group political incorporation processes, the fact that ethnopolitical campaigns have received so little attention in the scholarship is striking (some exceptions include Orleck 2001; Brubaker 2004; Wimmer 2004; Soehl 2012). Traditionally, political entrepreneurs and immigrants were distinct agents. They come out of the tradition of racial/ethnic political entrepreneurs in analyses primarily of African American urban

experiences. Trailblazing scholars, such as Dahl (1961), Browning, Marshall, and Tabb (1984), pioneered studies of racial political incorporation. Their research focused on several urban centers throughout the U.S. This focus resulted from African Americans swelling several cities' populations and the subsequent legislative changes taking place beginning with New Deal politics of the 1930s and 1940s. From the New Deal era programs to those of the Great Society (1960s and 1970s), federal aid to cities increased exponentially. A progressive ethos among many policymakers helped initiate diverse programs to assist those most adversely affected by expanding free market practices. Nonetheless, this aid wasn't solely philanthropic: the concentration of prospective voters in America's expanding city centers induced prospective political candidates (or political entrepreneurs) to assist those who, in turn, could help them achieve electoral office. American cities significantly influenced (and, for many decades, determined) presidential elections (Eldersveld 1949), and therefore it was a matter of pragmatics to focus on cities' prospective voters. The resulting initiatives remained in place through Nixon's presidency. Only later, once President Reagan had taken office, did the Republican Party break from a city-centered approach.

Browning, Marshall, and Tabb (1984) analyzed the shifting dynamics around U.S. cities from three distinct vantages: the civil rights movement, increased federal aid programs, and party demographics. These factors led to the formation of liberal coalitions, whose members sought political office for various mayoral and city council seats and, in turn, pushed policies that would benefit minority communities in several city centers. The concatenation of these processes was what Browning, Marshall, and Tabb called "political incorporation" (1984). In these urban centers, skillful political entrepreneurs took advantage of increasing opportunity structures to provide disenfranchised city residents political and social benefits. In turn, the city residents

would help secure political entrepreneurs' career pursuits by voting the latter into office. Mollenkopf defines a "political entrepreneur" as one who seeks to establish "new governmental bases for exercising new powers" and is "looking for ways to use governmental authority or governmental revenue" (1983, 4-5) – these agents were quite distinct from those whom they sought voter support. Over time, scholars began to document the upshots of interactions between agents from national institutions and ethnic communities. As such, the conceptual basis of political incorporation (and entrepreneurs) expanded.

When Kasinitz published his book, *Caribbean New York* (1992), the political incorporation and public policy implications of these distinct agents' interactions had become increasingly clear. He introduced "ethnicity entrepreneurs" and defined them as those who make his or her "living by bridging the gap between the polity and the [ethnic] community" (1992, 163). For Kasinitz, ethnicity entrepreneurs "capitalize on both the state's interest in supporting ethnic organizations and the needs of local politicians to make ties to the growing Caribbean community" (1992, 164). These agents bring the community "closer" to opportunity structures and institutions. Kasinitz' theory marked an important evolution in processes of newcomer political incorporation; however, the scholarship did not adequately engage this theoretical framing. Nonetheless, its increased relevance today reflects the importance of Kasinitz' contribution.

Building on notions political entrepreneur and ethnicity entrepreneur in the context of ethnoburbs, I argue that the last few of decades have witnessed a gradual blurring of the political and ethnicity entrepreneur. The locus of political incorporation has shifted, in part, from cities to suburbs and from racial minorities to immigrants. While Mollenkopf and Kasinitz both analyze New York, where the size of the polity and its complexity require inter-ethnic coalitions, much

of today's immigration converge in suburban communities.[xxx] In these dynamic ethnoburbs, the smaller size and greater homogeneity and concentration provide the conditions necessary not only to fill the gap between the community and polity; rather, community leaders now organize the community in order to control the polity. Thus, the emergence of the blended figure of the ethnopolitical entrepreneur in these latter contexts reflects an important evolution in U.S. urban demographics as well as ethnic politics.

The ethnopolitical entrepreneur is thus an actor who seeks to establish "new governmental bases for exercising new powers" and is "looking for ways to use governmental authority or governmental revenue" (Mollenkopf 1983, 4-5) on behalf of a specific co-ethnic community. In the 1990s, Kasinitz distinguished between the ethnicity entrepreneur and the ethnic political aspirant, who "cannot afford to be tagged as the representative of one group exclusively" (238). But ethnopolitical entrepreneurs' success depends, in large part, on their association with their co-ethnic constituents. They often come from the community itself – either through its ethnic organizations or media. In fact, they are frequently immigrants themselves or run campaigns that target and rely centrally upon co-ethnic support. However, native-born ethnopolitical entrepreneurs can run successfully, as well. While their initial campaigns are quite similar, the political trajectories of immigrant and second-generation ethnopolitical entrepreneurs can ultimately diverge.

Ethnopolitical entrepreneur is not a static category: One may transcend ethnic politics or, conversely, be limited thereto. Particularly among the second-generation ethnopolitical entrepreneur, one may launch his or her career in a local municipal seat qua ethnopolitical entrepreneur, and, later, run for higher office. A good example is Judy Chu, who won elections in Monterey Park, California, and then ran for a congressional seat to become the U.S.

Representative for the 27th congressional district of California. As with processes of political incorporation, the ethnopolitical entrepreneur's role fluctuates and evolves over time. Rather than rely on an intermediary to broker communication with institutional elites, ethnopolitical entrepreneurs make use of ethnic concentrations (particularly in ethnoburbs) in order to become the institutional elite themselves. While they operate as American politicians, their motivations for running campaigns and their ability to obtain office usually depend upon the mobilization of co-ethnic constituents in communities wherein co-ethnics constitute a potential voting majority.

As with political entrepreneurs before them, ethnopolitical entrepreneurs seek to gain elected office by empowering newcomers and reallocating municipal resources on behalf of their community. They do so by instructing how local government functions and also how these functions affect co-ethnic newcomers. While the following analysis focuses on Glendale's Armenian community, the same concept would apply in communities as diverse as the Chinese in Monterey County, Vietnamese in Westminster, Koreans in Irvine, Cubans in Dade, Filipinos in Daley City, and many others.

Glendale's Ethnopolitical Entrepreneurs

Rafi Manoukian

Although Glendale had voted an Armenian immigrant, Larry Zarian, into office in 1983, a paradigmatic shift did not occur until Manoukian ran for city council in the late 1990s. As such, Armenian immigrant political incorporation markedly accelerated during the 1998 campaign. In fact, Manoukian shared in a personal interview that he deliberately launched his campaign the year after Zarian stepped down. While other Armenians did attempt to hold office, such as Berdj Karapetian in 1989, it required the vision and shrewdness of a small cadre of

entrepreneurs to seize emergent opportunities and launch new ethnopolitical strategies in Glendale.

Unlike Zarian, Manoukian was the first Armenian elected official in Glendale to run on a platform of ethnic mobilization. In an interview, he noted that Glendale's uninspiring voting turnout galvanized his desire to run:

> Before 1999, we got involved in a lot of the elections. And some council members got elected with something like 5500 votes. And I thought to myself that's nothing for a population of over 200,000 people. And, in general elections, I know turnout was very low…At that point I decided to run.

As such, Glendale's Armenian political incorporation began, in part, with a few aspiring ethnopolitical entrepreneurs who saw potential in a mobilized Armenian community.

Coming to the U.S. in his teenage years, Manoukian served in the Air Force and, after, attended college at California State University, Northridge (CSUN). Despite migrating in 1975 and serving in the U.S. armed forces, he did not, in fact, obtain U.S. citizenship until much later, in 1992. Manoukian worked with Glendale's Armenian National Committee (ANC), where he received his first exposure to grassroots initiative and municipal political processes. But it was personal experiences that prompted his interest in political office. In a personal interview, Manoukian shared the following:

> I'm Armenian; I served in the Air Force…I was a FOB ("fresh off the boat") from Lebanon. I had a green card; I wasn't a citizen. They weren't going to let me work on their jet engines. "You're welcome, Mr. Foreigner, to our top secret engines." I didn't understand that until much later. Other immigrants told me about their experiences in the military. But my thinking was, 'Here I am; I shoveled shit for your country for four years. Even if I'm not a citizen; I joined the Air Force with a green card. You're not going to tell me, just because I only have a green card, I don't have any rights.' We would go to these events, and there would be people walking around collecting signatures. And they would say, "Oh, are you a citizen?" And I'd say, "No," and they'd completely blow me off…It would just piss me off. So I became a citizen! The reason I ran was Glendale was overtly Armenian at that time. Even some of the politicians, they would say, [Armenians] don't vote; just ask money from them. And they would completely ignore the Armenian community.

When the opportunity arose to run for city council, Manoukian seized it. But he did not act alone; central to his campaign in Glendale were figures such as Adrin Nazarian (current member of California state Assembly, 46th district), Paul Krekorian (current member of Los Angeles City Council, 2nd district), and Eric Hacopian (political strategist). Along with Manoukian, they were among the first to recognize the potential of a mobilized Armenian community in Glendale.

In the late 1980s and into the early 1990s, several activists began pondering how best to use the potential of Armenians in Greater Los Angeles. In an interview, one of these early activists, Paul Krekorian, said he wanted to figure out, "How can we put this growing Armenian population, which was now starting to come in at much greater numbers, how can we get them more engaged in public affairs and utilize the numbers of this community to pursue their interests?" While working on Bill Clinton's campaign, Krekorian developed extensive experience in grassroots organizing. And, while working as a neighborhood activist on Jackie Goldberg's campaign for city council in 1993, Krekorian collaborated with political strategist, Eric Hacopian, who was the field consultant on the same campaign. Finding a commonalty in their shared democratic activism and Armenian heritage, they formed a strong working relationship. Shortly thereafter, they teamed up with another Armenian democratic activist, Adrin Nazarian, who had worked as an aide for Congressman Brad Sherman between 1997 and 1999. In 1998, Nazarian, Hacopian, and Krekorian worked together on Barry Gordon's democratic campaign for a congressional seat. Gordon lost the election by only three points. The effectiveness of their grassroots initiatives created awareness of potential elsewhere. As Nazarian related in an interview, "Election day comes, [Gordon] gets 46 percent of the vote; Rogan gets 49 percent of the vote, doesn't even break majority…So the minute we saw that we thought, 'Wait a minute, there's an opportunity here. If we flip enough Armenians to vote democrat, we

can take on Rogan. So let's do a test run.'" And the opportunity to undertake a "test run" simultaneously emerged: In 1998, as Krekorian prepared for an assembly race, Glendale resident, Rafi Manoukian, himself a long-time activist for ANC, expressed the desire to campaign for city council in Glendale. Krekorian had also worked with several people from ANC before 1998, and, with Hacopian and Nazarian, they formed a team of volunteers (that included Ardashes Kassakhian) and ran Manoukian's campaign. These ethnopolitical entrepreneurs and strategists brought with them considerable insight and experience, and all wanted to use these tools to realize Armenians' political potential. The intention of their experiment in Glendale, as Nazarian emphasized in a personal interview, was "to test the voter registration drive, the voter absentee drive, the turnout effort, etc." But the result of this experiment surprised even those organizing it: They registered thousands of new voters and won the 1999 council election. This election established a precedent and paradigm for every subsequent Glendale Armenian political campaign.

In achieving this unprecedented success, Manoukian and those with whom he worked seized several opportunities. While the most significant opportunity related to demography – that is, Armenians had sizably settled and acquired citizenship in Glendale (Armenian Angelenos naturalize at an alarmingly high rate of 80 percent, twice the national average) – other opportunities also arose. For example, fortuitously, television stations began running 24-Armenian programming at about the same time. As such, Rafi Manoukian and others could consistently appear on Armenian television and explain not only the importance of voting but also how to do so. Ethnic media provided a medium through which ethnopolitical entrepreneurs could communicate their vision (and the means of achieving it) to the community at large. As the campaign's communications director articulated in an interview:

> That time Charter came into Glendale and bought out Marcus Cable [in 1998] and decided they would start a 24-hour channel. In an effort to increase subscribers to their higher tier of programming, they opened up a channel on that. And we were instrumental in helping people migrate from basic cable to the second tier. And we were granted, and Horizon was granted the channel. So we worked in conjunction with Charter. So that was a fortuitous time for these campaigns because what we had started with Rafi was spearheading how to vote. So Rafi's commercials were him as the spokesperson on how to vote…

Ethnic media replicated this method in a congressional race pitted between Rogan and Schiff the following year (Schiff currently represents communities with the highest Armenian concentration in Los Angeles -- Little Armenia, North Hollywood, Glendale, and Burbank). The timing proved especially auspicious for ethnopolitical entrepreneurs to realize their objectives.[xxxi]

But they also recognized the need to unite an internally diverse population of people. Apart from organizational density, Armenians' intra-ethnic diversity and backgrounds impede their political collectivization and participation. In a personal interview, Nazarian spoke of experiences he encountered:

> We started going to apartment buildings, and south Glendale became a big hub for that. We registered almost 3,000 new voters. By election day, we got almost 6,000 out to vote, which almost tripled the highest performance in election prior to that in Glendale. Rafi ended up winning. He got a total of, I think, 7,200 votes. I think it was a complete shock to the community…[Armenians] voted. They got the result. So they were like: this is not like the old country. This isn't like Lebanon where we're duking it out with Maronites; this isn't Iran where we just stay quiet and go about our way…it's not Armenia, where, government is never at your door to help…So this was this sense of, "wow, we can actually do this."

Before the 1999 election, a minority of Armenians in Glendale had registered to vote. So the main thrust of the campaign relied upon voter registration. And Manoukian's campaign proved effective: Armenians voted in increasingly large numbers in subsequent elections. These latter elections resulted in near saturation of Glendale's political institutions. The people involved in Manoukian's campaign canvassed tirelessly and increased voter turnout exponentially. In addition, they employed two other distinct techniques: absentee voting and ride sharing. And

changing circumstances facilitated Armenian political entrepreneurs' undertaking. As another Glendale Armenian politician, Ardashes (Ardy) Kassakhian, acknowledged in an interview:

> Absentee ballot was a key part of the strategy. At that time…Clinton changed the welfare laws. It was changed in a way that it [meant] you had to be a citizen to get benefits. So a lot of the Armenians who didn't care about being citizens had become citizens because of Clinton's change in the rules. But they were not registered…So we went and tried to register as many voters as we could.

The ethnopolitical entrepreneurs seized national opportunities to actualize their goals creatively.[xxxii] In terms of the ride-sharing program, Manoukian explained: "We basically told people, 'if you don't have a ride, we'll provide one on election day.' We had a number of people with cars hanging out with some sort of communication device…They would call into our office for a ride, and we'd send someone to go pick them up…That was a major factor." And the results surprised the strategists as much it did their opponents. The way political campaigns were run in Glendale had been reworked. In a personal interview, Hacopian conceded:

> In order to mobilize Armenians to vote, we formed a more elaborate campaign. Back in the day, there was a limited number of voters. They all knew the process. You didn't have to get them to vote. You could run campaigns for five or ten thousand dollars. Well, Armenians also donate to campaigns at much higher rates than other people. So, essentially, they raised the cost and how much you can do.

This campaign proved a catalyzing moment for Armenian ethnopolitical entrepreneurs in Glendale. While Manoukian was the frontrunner of this campaign, his race brought together a series of people who have themselves launched successful political careers. These were some of the first actors to realize the significance of a unified and mobilized Armenian population in Glendale. And their mobilization in Glendale had much broader implications: The sundown town of the 1960s, conservative bastion of the 1970s, and the headquarters of the Nazi Party through the early 1980s had, rather suddenly, became an important democratic hub of Armenian political incorporation.

In 1992, Bill Clinton became the first Democratic presidential candidate to win Glendale since FDR. And this momentum only continued moving forward progressively. In 2000, the Economist ran an article entitled, "From Monica to Armenia,"[xxxiii] in which the author acknowledges that Armenians and other liberal newcomers in the area would determine the congressional race between Jim Rogan (Republican and major proponent of Clinton's impeachment) and Adam Schiff (Democrat and major proponent of Armenian Genocide recognition). While figures, such as Larry Zarian and former California Governor George Deukmejian, had previously established an association with Armenian Americans and the Republican Party, these activists dramatically shifted this association. According to data from the AAS, for example, Los Angeles Armenians self-identify as "Democrat" at about a 42.8 percent rate.[xxxiv] In fact, Rogan's bid was perceived as so dependent on Armenians that the congressman traveled to Armenia and lobbied for the establishment of an ultimately unsuccessful Republican-sponsored Genocide recognition resolution in the House – unusually atypical behavior for any Republican.[xxxv]

The work and vision of a small cadre of ethnopolitical entrepreneurs and strategists led to a surprisingly successful ethnic campaign. The campaign relied heavily on canvassing, absentee voting, ride sharing, organizational support, internal financial support, and multimedia coverage. The campaign brought a variety of different actors together to work toward the achievement of the ethnopolitical entrepreneurs' vision. Ethnopolitical entrepreneurs and strategists managed all of these variables. They established a precedent, one replicated in subsequent campaigns. But this was the model that led to Glendale Armenians' successful political incorporation.

As stated, Manoukian's campaign created a platform and strategy that subsequent Armenian ethnopolitical entrepreneurs followed. Indeed, this initial campaign proved

transformative, ultimately reshaping the electoral landscape of the City of Glendale. According to Political Data Inc. (PDI), Glendale Armenians' voter turnout in 1997 (pre-Manoukian) was 728. In the 6th April election of 1999, however, the number increased to 3,389. And the numbers continued to increase afterwards. For example, Glendale Armenian voter turnout in the 21 September 2004 election was 5,140. By 2010, the number had increased further to 7,044. By the time Zareh Sinanyan ran for City Council (on 2nd April 2013), Armenian voter turnout was 9,274. In the primaries for City Assembly 7 June 2016, the number had increased to 12,184.

As a result of Armenian political incorporation, the political axis in Glendale has completely realigned, one that had pitted new Armenians against old Glendale residents to one that is now pitting new Armenians against other minorities and against white liberals. The year 2005 witnessed three Armenians, Ara Najarian, Bob Yousefian, and Rafi Manoukian, taking three out of the five available City Council seats. In that same year, Ardashes Kassakhian replaced Doris Twedt as Glendale's City Clerk. Yousefian and Manoukian had both served as mayor to Glendale previously – in 2004-2005 and 2002-2003 as well as 2005-2006, respectively.

Ardashes (Ardy) Kassakhian

The brief overview of Glendale's 1999 city council election reflects the importance of individual ethnopolitical entrepreneurs in the processes of group political incorporation. Several pre-existing factors converged to actualize the visions of these entrepreneurs – a strong sense of ethnic identity (albeit regionally diverse), the existence of opportunity structures, a naturalized population eligible to vote, and co-ethnic financial, organizational, and multimedia support. Despite the intra-ethnic diversity of an internally diverse Armenian community (e.g., coming from Armenia, Iran, Iraq, Lebanon, Syria, and the U.S.), the ethnopolitical entrepreneurs helped establish a pathway through which Armenian newcomers and other co-ethnics could access and

participate in their local political institutions. As an immigrant himself, Manoukian ran a campaign that resonated with the majority Armenian population in Glendale (the vast majority of which is foreign born). Manoukian represents an important evolution in American ethnic politics (particularly in large urban concentrations, such as ethnoburbs): the ethnicity entrepreneur, the political entrepreneur, and the immigrant have increasingly evolved into the same person.

While a majority of Glendale's ethnopolitical entrepreneurs are themselves immigrants, they represent only one end of a spectrum. Second generation Armenians have also entered the political scene. They recreate all the same modes of the immigrant ethnopolitical entrepreneur – canvassing, absentee voting, ride sharing, organizational support, internal financial support, multimedia coverage – but, simultaneously, introduce new challenges as well as advantages.

Ardashes "Ardy" Kassakhian was born in Boston, Massachusetts, 1976. His Armenian father was born in Jerusalem, and his Armenian mother, in Athens. The two met as students at Yerevan State University (YSU). His mother's family repatriated in 1947, and his father moved to Soviet Armenia in the 1960s in order to pursue his higher education. Upon completing his degree at YSU, his father was accepted to graduate school at Harvard University. After moving around a few times, the Kassakhian's settled in Southern California in 1984 (and, via Hollywood, in Glendale in 1985). For college, Kassakhian attended UCLA, where he became involved in the Armenian Student Association (ASA). He ultimately became the student group's sitting president. In 1997, he spearheaded a student-initiative to prevent the endowment of a chair of Ottoman Studies in the Department of History. His success with this initiative made him quite visible among Armenian Angelenos. People from the community associated Kassahkian with his successful student activism. Local Armenian leadership sought him out and helped him make several important connections. For example, through his contacts with Armenian

organizations, such as the Armenian Assembly and ANC, he was introduced to the Congressman, Frank Pallone (who had ties with Armenian American organizations). At this meeting, Congressman Pallone offered Kassakhian an internship in D.C. In D.C., Kassakhian learned deeply about American politics and ethnic lobbying. Most importantly, however, he learned of the importance of co-ethnic political representation. As he shared in a personal interview: "I could count on both hands and both feet the number of Armenians on the Hill in D.C. And I saw what kinds of decisions were being made in D.C. And I thought, 'this is pathetic.'" In D.C., Kassakhian learned about the internal workings of American government and the importance of group representation. These experiences inspired Kassakhian to run for office locally and aspire to hold higher office nationally. As he relayed in a personal conversation: "We [Armenian Americans] sit here wringing our hands back here in Glendale and our other ghettos, but we don't even show up on the field. If we don't show up, why do we complain about the outcome and score?" Through this trip and several subsequent return visits to D.C., Kassakhian deepened his investment in co-ethnic mobilization and electoral politics. These experiences coincided with Manoukian's campaign, which launched in 1998. As such, once back in Los Angeles, he volunteered to help undertake outreach on the campaign. With increased community visibility, Kassakhian received the opportunity to intern for Congressmember Frank Pallone, which helped him see ethnic politics and lobbying at the national level.

His student activism, volunteer experience (on Manoukian's 1998 campaign), and D.C. internship motivated Kassakhian to seek political office in 2004. In this year, he ran for city clerk, which had been recently vacated by Doris Twedt. The 2004 city clerk election was heavily contested, with nine candidates (four Armenian) running for the position. Kassakhian was the first to obtain the office by election since 1929 – previously designated by the city council. In

launching his own campaign, Kassakhian worked with the same cadre that helped Manoukian get elected in 1999. However, as a second-generation immigrant, Kassakhian had a distinct experience. In some ways, this made little difference. To be sure, Kassakhian implemented and expanded upon all of the same strategies Manoukian (et al) had employed previously. And his campaign's success reflects the growing awareness and success of ethnopolitical entrepreneurs. However, as a second generation Armenian American, Kassakhian's experience is distinct from that of Manoukian. As Manoukian had gained many insights from his grassroots outreach with ANC in Glendale, student organizations (particularly ASA) provided Kassakhian considerable grassroots experience. Kassakhian's experiences in D.C. also provided him with insights and ambitions that Manoukian did not aspire to achieve. And, because of his student activism at UCLA and with youth organizations, Kassahkian targeted new prospective voters. He campaigned on platforms of mobilizing Glendale's youth, such as the high school and college students. His orientation toward youth and Armenian incorporation helped increase Armenian visibility and influence in local electoral politics. He also worked closely with other Armenian elected officials, ethnic organizations, and ethnic media. Building on the strategies of Manoukian and his team, Kassakhian widened Armenian ethnpolitical entrepreneurs' demographic range by including generations of Armenians who had spent most of their lives in America. Kassakhian therefore reflects a distinct sort of elected official: the second-generation ethnopolitical entrepreneur.

And the second-generation ethnopolitical entrepreneurs' distinctions extend beyond outreach. They also reflect self-perception. Above Manoukian spoke about feeling foreign (referring to himself as a "FOB") and the extended delay in obtaining U.S. citizenship. In contrast, Kassakhian spent two years of his youth in Armenia. His experiences as an American

living in Armenia contrast rather strikingly with Manoukian's experiences as an Armenian living in the U.S. As Kassakhian shared in a personal interview:

> I went to school in Hayastan (Armenia) for two years, first and second grade I went to school in Yerevan...I remember being upset when my parents dragged me to Yerevan. I remember at the airport asking my mom 'Do they have chicken McNuggets in Hayastan?' And being livid when there weren't any. I remember a kid in Yerevan breaking my Darth Vadar action figure, like she tore off the head of it, I mean, they don't have super glue in Hayastan! They only had one flavor of ice cream in Hayastan: It was white! It wasn't even vanilla! But even those things that are comical, it resonates.

Unlike Manoukian, himself a 1.5 generation immigrant, Kassakhian's Americanness is taken for granted. Their divergent backgrounds and experiences of the U.S. highlight the scope of ethnopolitical entrepreneurs. In addition, unlike Manoukian, who articulated a sense of otherness, the second-generation political entrepreneur may identify more in his capacity to unite communities. In a personal interview, Kassakhian shared the following: "I realized as someone who is born here, raised here, speaks the language, who understands many aspects of the culture, it was incumbent upon me to be an advocate for these people. That, like, I could be the bridge between them and that culture. I had to be a spokesperson." Unlike Manoukian, as a second-generation ethnopolitical entrepreneur, Kassakhian comes to his role with a strong sense of group belonging both as an Armenian and an American representative.

Kassakhian has faced some challenges that Manoukian did not. For example, Kassakhian's spouse is not Armenian. In addition, he speaks Armenian with something of an American accent. As such, the "authenticity" of Kassakhian as an ethnic representative is sometimes questioned. However, as an American, he also has advantages that Manoukian does not. For example, Kassakhian's political socialization and familiarity within American institutions enables him to "transcend" the ethnopolitial entrepreneur role and run for higher office. Similar to Judy Chu of Monterey Park, Kassakhian's political beginnings may depend on

mobilizing co-ethnic support; however, he has since run for higher office among major non-ethnic constituents outside of Glendale.[xxxvi] The abovementioned self-perception of a person who acts as a bridge may help (post) second-generation ethnopolitical entrepreneurs use local elections as a springboard to seek higher office. In contrast, Rafi Manoukian, similar to Lily Chen of Monterey Park, has not campaigned beyond Glendale. For the immigrant ethnopolitical entrepeneurs, their campaigns tend to be limited to local elections, where co-ethnics maintain a potential majority of voters.

Nonetheless, as stated, despite these differences, Manoukian and Kassakhian approached their campaigns rather similarly. As Manoukian complained about the short shrift Armenians received from political entrepreneurs, Kassakhian had similar things to say. In addition, despite their divergent backgrounds and orientations, both understood their obligations to the community in rather similar language. In a personal interview, Kassakhian relayed the following:

> My dad came to states because he got into Harvard University. So it's not like my family came here as refugees. We didn't come here barefoot, you know, tired and huddled masses, yearning to breath free. We were here because my dad and my mom were super smart, hardworking people. So there was a sense, like, "Damn it, we deserve to be here! And we're going to contribute to this country that attracts the best and the brightest…" There was a period of adjustment and discrimination, not just against Armenians from non-Armenians here in the US, but also by Armenians to Armenians. There were these people, like, "Who are these people making us look bad, these these rabiz, these FOBs." And I realized, at that moment, that I had an obligation as someone born here, raised here, who spoke the language, who understood many aspects of the culture, it was incumbent upon me to be an advocate for these people. I could be that bridge between them and that bridge. I had to be a spokesperson. They could not speak for themselves.

Ethnopolitical entrepreneurs' inspiration often comes from serving the community, and, as such, they rely on mobilizing co-ethnic constituents to secure elected office. As an ethnopolitical entrepreneur in Glendale, Kassakhian recreated the same models Manoukian's team had introduced. In his campaign for City Clerk, he relied heavily on outreach, absentee voting, ride sharing, organizational support, internal financial support, and multimedia coverage. As with

their ethnoburban communities, first and second-generational ethnopolitical entrepreneurs reflect a dynamic spectrum, one with several fundamental commonalties but also with several generational differences. Because of their outreach efforts, ethnopolitical entrepreneurs have demonstrated to Armenian Angelenos the importance of co-ethnic representation. According to data culled from the AAS, for example, over 28.36 percent of Armenian Anglenos indicated that it was "very important" that those for whom they vote be Armenian, and 41.14 percent said this is "somewhat important."[xxxvii]

Conclusion

Despite their generational differences, Manoukian and Kassakhian worked with ethnic outlets to invert traditional paradigms and introduce new models by which immigrant political incorporation is taking place. Their outreach efforts increased Armenian immigrant voter registration and encouraged political participation among both citizens and non-citizens. Because their target population was, largely, co-ethnic constituents, their campaigns took place, largely, in the native language and through ethnic media sources – which made proficiency in English an unnecessary part of newcomers' political incorporation. Ethnopolitical entrepeneurs' campaigns are, in this sense, an education in contextual knowledge and American political socialization. In fact, Manoukian and Kassakhian's campaigns, which were motivated by the need for local co-ethnic representation, promoted greater local, civic awareness among newcomers as compared to second or third generation community members. Also, by making reference to homeland and history, they also root immigrants' transnational ties in the local and cultivate group cohesion; in other words, ethnopolitical entrepreneurs "translate" how everyone within the community is impacted by U.S. legislation and policy. As one other ethnopolitical entrepreneur from Iran who gained office, in part, with the assistance of his Armenian-language television program, asserted,

"My program appeals to every Armenian because the subject matter is concentrated on political and social issues of the United States…So everyone who is living here wants to listen because they will benefit. My point is, regardless of where you came from, everyone is living here, you have to know the rules and regulations here." And these outreach efforts have proven effective: According to data from AAS, 52.24 percent of respondents state that they are "very interested" in politics and public affairs, while an additional 36.87 are "somewhat interested."[xxxviii]

In the capacity of political socialization and incorporation, ethnopolitical entrepreneurs play an increasingly important role in the lives of many U.S. immigrants, particularly evolving suburban spaces. Their electoral success and local publicity alleviate perceptions of marginalization. They thus reflect an important evolution in U.S. ethnic politics, one very little studied. And this shift inverts extant models of immigrant political incorporation in large urban centers throughout the U.S. As such, ethnopolitical entrepreneurs warrant far more social scientific attention. This analysis represents only the mobilization of a single, internally diverse, ethnic community. But the conditions that meet in Glendale exist in many other communities in suburban spaces. As such, political incorporation scholarship will benefit from more analyses of ethnopolitical entrepreneurs from diverse cultural and regional backgrounds in equally diverse ethnoburbs.

Chapter 4:

Constructivist Theories of Political Incorporation: The Mobilizing Mechanisms of Ethnopolitical Entrepreneurs

Chapter Abstract:

This chapter highlights the utility of applying constructivist theories of ethnic politics to political incorporation research. The analysis demonstrates how ethnopolitical entrepreneur emphasize, consciously and unconsciously, specific attributes, which determine, in part, whether co-ethnics support their candidacy. Specific emphases lead both to the nomination of prospective politicians as well as the political incorporation of newcomers. By applying constructivist theories of ethnic politics to the study of political incorporation, this chapter expands and refines discourses in both fields of study. Political incorporation research lacks the fluidity of ethnic constructivist theory and ethnic constructivist theory lacks an empirical basis. Based upon a case study of the intra-ethnically diverse yet highly mobilized Armenian community in Glendale, California, the paper's findings synthesize the strengths of both analytical perspectives.

Introduction

Chapter 3 introduces the concept of the ethnopolitical entrepreneur and seeks to define it by presenting two distinct case studies. These agents are playing an increasingly important role in the incorporation and mobilization of newcomers. As such, ethnopolitical entrepreneurs are important units of analysis in studies of political incorporation. We have already seen that several scholars have made impressive efforts to refine analyses of political incorporation (Hochschild and Mollenkopf 2009b; Hochschild, Chattopadhyay, Gay, and Jones-Correa 2013). In the previous chapter, we explored *what* an ethnopolitical entrepreneur is on a spectrum of generational experience. Nevertheless, this definitional chapter did not offer a direct method for assessing *how* ethnopolitically entrepreneurs incorporate newcomers and other co-ethnics. To a certain extent, this omission makes sense: groups become politically incorporated through a wide array of processes. It is impossible, therefore, to state a single, reliable method through which ethnopolitical entrepreneurs incorporate newcomers. But the means by which political incorporation takes place via ethnopolitical entrepreneurs can be more rigorously assessed if the processes describing them attribute sufficient plasticity.

In this chapter, I attempt to do just this: I will apply a necessary corrective to political incorporation by borrowing a framework from constructivist ethnic politics theory. This application has the plasticity necessary to evaluate the processes by which certain groups become incorporated politically. In terms of constructivist ethnic politics, I will be applying Van Der Veen and Laitin's agent-based theory, for it bears directly on electoral politics (2012). In their assessment, political leaders' capacity to win and stay in power stems from demographic distribution and ethnic representation. That is, how agents construct group membership has direct electoral ramifications; these constructions determine, in part, the voting tendencies of their

constituencies. Political agents employ ethnicities through three distinct mechanisms: (1) attribute replacement, (2) change in salience, and (3) attribute recombination (279). These mechanisms determine a political leader's success (or failure). But, in addition, these mechanisms also influence the voting behaviors and mobilization of constituencies. As such, ethnic construction helps understand the processes through which political incorporation takes place in contexts wherein ethnic constituencies comprise a significant share of the voting bloc.

Because of Glendale Armenians' relative novelty and intra-ethnic diversity, their ethnic identity is relatively fluid. The competing strings of attributes used to define Armenian group membership manifest this fluidity. Despite the fluidity, Armenian demographic concentration has created considerable political distribution of benefits. As stated, Armenian political entrepreneurs have seized the opportunity and currently occupy over 70 percent of all electoral seats. Their success, however, rests on the efforts to mobilize and incorporate politically the internally diverse Armenian population. And, on account of Armenians' near saturation of local government, a new dilemma has arisen: Armenians competing with other Armenians in order to obtain office. While Manoukian's campaign could employ rather generic attributes in order to mobilize the internally diverse population, Kassakhian ran against three other Armenians in his 2004 campaign. Now Armenian American political candidates have to represent themselves in a way that resonates with the highest concentration of voters. As the previous chapter indicates, candidates have little control over some of these attributes – for example, Armenian language facility or spousal ethnicity; however, there exists a broad range of other ethnic attributes that candidates emphasize in order to appeal to the largest share of voters. Applying Van Der Veen and Laitin's agent-based theory, this chapter explores some of processes by which ethnopolitical entrepreneurs compete with others in order to incorporate co-ethnic newcomers.

Constructivist Ethnic Politics

A theoretical model that can enhance studies of political incorporation occurs in Chandra's (et al), *Constructivist Theories of Ethnic Politics* (2012). Although the work does not explicitly seek to resolve problems that occur in theories of political incorporation, it presents a framework through which political incorporation theorists can advance new case studies. Chandra (but particularly Van Der Veen and Laitin's application to electoral politics) builds on the pioneering work of Brubaker (2004, 2006) to develop a new formulation of ethnic constructivism in application to electoral politics. Chandra's model "corrects" political incorporation theories by focusing on how groups construct membership via ethnic identity, and how these constructions influence electoral results. The constructivist model Chandra advances establishes fluid and dynamic boundaries of ethnic identity. These fluid and dynamic boundaries enable specific agents (or community leaders) to mobilize communities based upon varied political, social, and/or economic factors.

Building on Chandra, Van Der Veen and Laitin (chapter 7) analyze the role of agents in winning electoral politics. They distinguish between "basic" agents and "leaders" (286). Leaders (or, in this context, ethnopolitical entrepreneurs) offer coalition specification that satisfies the membership requirements themselves through which they obtain office. By activating a specific subset of attributes of their ethnic identity repertoire, leaders partake of public claims making in an effort to create an optimal winning coalition (OWC) to secure the nomination. In turn, "basic" agents evaluate the ethnic identity repertoire of the leader to determine if her attributes continue to match those of the agent. Leaders, in turn, are continually "updating" or recalibrating their own identity repertoires: they may be adding a new or replacing an old dimension, raising the salience of a pre-existing or new dimension, or changing an attribute within a given dimension

(291). As basic agents and leaders update their ethnic identity repertoires, the distribution (or combination) within the specific population changes over time. As such, this is an evolving and dynamic process, in which attributes recombine over time and individuals as well as groups modify their identity repertories.

Adapting Chandra's model, Laitin and Van Der Veen identify the processes by which ethnic identities change: (1) attribute replacement, (2) change in salience, and (3) attribute recombination (279). The first process involves a group population acquiring attributes of the majority population (Moscow Armenians, for example, "passing" as Russian). The second process involves circumstantial differences bringing about increased salience of specific attributes. In the case of Armenians, a significant contest of attribute salience has resulted from the multi-polar mass exodus of Armenians and re-settlement into a single site in Glendale. The third process involves the grouping of a specific set of attributes on one or more dimensions into categories. This process involves traditional groups redefining themselves – for example, after the fall of the Soviet Union, the category of "Soviet Armenian" became "Armenian." While this analysis disaggregates these processes, all three take place simultaneously and influence electoral politics. For electoral success, political leaders must: (1) mobilize constituencies and (2) win elections. When their constituencies consist largely of a specific subset of the population to which they belong and claim to represent, political entrepreneurs success depends, in large part, on the mobilization of this subset. In the present analysis, however, the focus will be on a new set of agents – ethnopolitical entrepreneurs.

As indicated in chapter 3, ethnopolitical entrepreneurs combine two distinct agents: political entrepreneurs and ethnicity entrepreneurs. These agents share many commonalities with other figures in U.S. history, such as Irish ward bosses of the early 20th century. But they operate

in evolving U.S. suburban spaces ("ethnoburbs"). In addition, the scholarship lacks a clear conceptualization of how they operate. As we have already made clear, they are often elected officials (or community leaders who help co-ethnic candidates get elected) whose elections occur on account of demographic shifts. These shifts have resulted in ethnically polarized voting in locations where there exists an ethnic cluster sizeable enough to influence local elections. These political aspirants, supported via local ethnic organizations and media, are often themselves immigrants. As such, their rise has signaled a new phase in the evolution of American ethnic political leadership. The "political entrepreneur" and "ethnicity entrepreneur" have essentially blurred into the same person. It is how this figure of the ethnopolitical entrepreneur and other organizational leaders operate that this chapter largely focuses. They play an integral role in the collectivization and mobilization of communities throughout the U.S. with high ethnic voting blocs.

Furthermore, adapting Chandra's constructivist approach, ethnopolitical entrepreneurs mobilize based upon varied, dynamic formulations of ethnicity that come from interaction with the community itself. This is a significant departure from previous scholastic accounts. The scholarship has traditionally understood ethnic political entrepreneurs' use of ethnicity as static, domineering, and essentialist. For example, Lal argues, "Ethnic identity entrepreneurs representing subordinate/minority groups acquire a very extensive power by virtue of their office and professional credentials which enables them to construct and enforce their specific conceptions of what ethnic identity is and the cultural requirements this essentialized identity entails" (396, 1992). In contemporary ethnic politics, ethnopolitical entrepreneurs typically can no longer rely on professional credentials to impose essentialized identities onto co-ethnic

constituents. Rather, they participate in a dynamic interaction with co-ethnic constituents, one in which different attributes of ethnicity are repeatedly recalibrated.

As such, the way ethnopolitical entrepreneurs construct group membership has direct electoral ramifications. Following Chandra, Laitin and Van Der Veen point out that this is especially true in "ethnic campaigns." Leaders both rely on already "activated" categories of ethnic identity and also "activate" (recombine) categories themselves. Whether consciously or not, the way in which ethnopolitical entrepreneurs string together attributes of ethnic categories determines, in part, their success or failure. I would only add that these leaders do not act alone. Rather, they work with or compete against others who are themselves activating (or sometimes "de-activating") categories of membership. These other agents include people from ethnic organizations, ethnic media, and candidates' teams (strategists, canvassers, fundraiser, and others.). Because the success of ethnopolitical entrepreneurs depends, in large part, on the political mobilization of their co-ethnics (and vice versa), Chandra's model on constructivist ethnic politics is an important yet overlooked measure to asses group's political incorporation.

The Constructivist Mechanisms of Political Incorporation

This section relies upon Laitin and Van Der Veen's three processes to document the mechanisms by which Armenians have become politically incorporated into Glendale. As described above, these mechanisms include (1) attribute replacement, (2) change in salience, and (3) attribute recombination (279). As stated in chapter 2, Armenian Angelenos and their ethnopolitical entrepreneurs often identify as Democrats. However, as the research reflects, race and ethnicity play a more significant role in many group members' voter selection than party orientation (Hajnal and Trounstine 2014). AAS data reinforce these findings: among those surveyed, approximately 69.5 percent indicated either "very important" or "somewhat important"

in response to the question, "How important is it for you that a candidate is Armenian?" Only 30.49 percent indicated that it was not important.[xxxix] In contrast, 42.80 percent self-identified as "Democrat," while 17.81 percent self-identified as "Republican (an additional 23.74 percent self-identified as "Independent)."[xl] These numbers reflect the fact that, among Armenian Angeleno voters (many of whom reside in Glendale), ethnicity is a significantly stronger determiner than political party.

Attribute-Replacement

Attribute replacement occurs when a minority population invests in attributes of the majority population. By acquiring these majority population attributes, minority group members will be able to "pass" (Laitin and Van Der Veen 2012, 280). But by acquiring too many majority attributes, agents (particularly ethnopolitcal entrepreneurs) run the risk of losing their social capital or reputation among co-ethnics. While Armenians may view negatively the loss of certain Armenian attributes, few condemn the acquisition of American attributes. As such, ethnopolitical entrepreneurs maintain a delicate balance between appearing sufficiently American to Americans and sufficiently Armenian to Armenians. As one entrepreneur confessed in a personal interview,

> In my campaign, it was very important to me, and not just for electoral value but for societal value, for me to forcefully contradict that [prejudice]. So I talked about my Armenian dad who fought on Okinawa in the United States Marine Corps. And I showed my Cub Scout experience to grab the racists by the lapels, and say, "My name ends in –ian and I am every bit just as American as you, and if you don't like it, you don't understand what America is all about". So that was actually a big part of what we tried to do in the campaign.

By incorporating certain traditions associated with mainstream America (service in the U.S. Marine Corps, membership in the Cub Scouts), this leader deliberately publicized American attributes to emphasize his concomitant American and Armenian loyalties. The same politician spoke extensively about the coalitions he had formed with several other groups, and how

necessary they were to win "higher" seats (congress, assembly, etc.) than those on the local municipal level (council, clerk, etc.). Without "replacing" at least some Armenian attributes with American attributes, ethnopolitical entrepreneurs face challenges obtaining higher seats in electoral politics. However, by "passing," entrepreneurs garner increased votes among non-ethnic constituents. Thus, acquiring, activating, and publicizing majority attributes can lead to increased support. Once placed in office, this politician has worked toward policy making that cater to both mainstream America as well as the Armenian community.

But these attributes need to be believable; therefore, the entrepreneur stands to benefit by embodying the attributes projected. One political entrepreneur, perhaps the only elected official of Armenian descent in Glendale who receives considerable support from both Armenians and non-Armenians, stated the following:

> I was very Anglo growing up…So I was kind of like your All-American kid growing up with a weird name. You know, captain of the football team, swim team, little league…[But] I'm a true Armenian American. I think I have strong ties to Armenians, and I think I can relate to Hayastancis (Armenians from Armenia). But I've got strong American roots, where I can relate to the old white Republicans. So I do play that. But that's just me. Forget the political: I still have those two spheres of life.

To be sure, the entrepreneurs who were born in the United States and yet grew up in a traditional Armenian household found they could handily replace attributes. Their ability to "pass" as either American or Armenian gave them a significant advantage over more recently arrived entrepreneurs as well as second or third generation Armenian Americans. For example, second or third generation Armenians, conversely, often had to "validate" their Armenianness. Because they attribute so many majority attributes and so few minority attributes, they have to acquire and activate commonsensical attributes more closely related to the internally diverse Armenian community. One successful entrepreneur, for example, whose family has lived in the United States for multiple generations, spoke of the challenges encountered when dealing with

Armenian media. The chief of staff for a political leader described how ethnicity fragmented one campaign:

> He was very overt about him not being 100 percent Armenian. That was not even a question. And the language part was also an issue. And he continued this beyond the election race. It boiled down to attacks based on policy positions. There was a ban on gay marriage on the ballot…so they spun it that the [candidate] wants to teach homosexuality to kindergarteners. It was stuff you can't even imagine. So he would use these irrational, obscure policy positions to hammer him, and say, 'This is why he's bad for us. This is why you need to vote for [opponent's name].'

Attribute replacement can cut both ways in terms of influencing electoral results. In the example above, some agents involved with media attacked the entrepreneur for not attributing a sufficient salience of attributes identifiable as "Armenian."

Change in Salience

Ostensibly, one might mistakenly take Armenian cohesion for granted. However, as stated, Glendale's Armenian population attributes tremendous intra-ethnic diversity. According to Census data from 2010, fewer than 30 percent of Armenians in Glendale were born in the United States. The remaining majority comes from a variety of origins in the Middle East, Europe, post-Soviet countries, and others. The geographic diversity parallels the generational differences, with those coming to Glendale at various stages of their lives and forming distinct generational cohorts.[xli] As such, for ethnopolitical entrepreneurs, constructing a sense of cohesion meant selecting which attributes to include (or which to neglect). In a personal interview, one elected official spoke of experiences he encountered:

> We started going to apartment buildings, and south Glendale became a big hub for that. We registered almost 3,000 new voters. By election day, we got almost 6,000 out to vote, which almost tripled the highest performance in election prior to that in Glendale. Rafi ended up winning. He got a total of, I think, 7,200 votes. I think it was a complete shock to the community…[Armenians] voted. They got the result. So they were like: this is not like the old country. This isn't like Lebanon where we're duking it out with Maronites; this isn't Iran where we just stay quiet and go about our way…it's not Armenia, where,

> government is never at your door to help…So this was this sense of, 'wow, we can actually do this.'

This leader knew very well that the agents whose votes he sought understood their category of Armenian identity in very distinct ways. So, instead of imposing a new set, the main thrust of the campaign relied upon activating attributes about which those with whom volunteers spoke formed a commonsensical agreement. Thus, for many of those who worked on campaigns, finding a common ground meant activating something as basic as a common Armenian surname. One of the volunteers thoroughly involved in canvassing efforts shared his experience:

> You definitely have to tailor your message to your audience. So, as an Armenian from Iran, I had a much easier time with people from Iran, based on dialect, based on culture, there was a lot more familiarity. So I could breeze through that quicker. There was a lot more trust between me and them. They would look at me, and say, 'he's one of us,' and feel a lot more comfortable. With Armenians from Armenia, or from Lebanon, or from other Arabic countries, there was a bit of a language barrier because of the Western dialects. And somewhat of a cultural difference…But, ultimately, the main message was: 'we need someone in our community to represent us.' And once you got passed the trust issues and the dialect issues, and you stripped it down to that message of, 'Look, there's no other person with an –ian name on that council…' They understood that…And so that was the main tool…Once you got to down that, people were on board.

As this person articulates, Armenians from different regions understood their identities differently. In many of my interviews, Armenians, particularly from the first generation, stressed differences among different segments of the community. These differences related not only to region but also time of arrival. One respondent who came to the U.S. in the early 1960s (before the Iranian Revolution of 1979) explained her experience of the Armenians who settled in subsequent waves:

> We were more nationalistic than the immigrants from Soviet Armenia…When they came, the first wave assimilated very fast because they didn't have any national traditions to keep. But the Iranian Armenians had kept their old Armenian traditions; they were more religious, attached to the church…Among Iranian Armenians, most of them, I can say maybe more than 60 percent of them, were coming from the rural areas after the Revolution…so when they opened their mouths, they were kind of [using] Persian words mixed with that. So probably the Soviet Armenians had a reason to look down on them.

This person stressed not only the differences she perceived between her Iranian Armenian culture and that of the Soviet Armenian culture but also her pre-Revolutionary, urban Iranian Armenian culture from that of the post-Revolutionary rural Iranian Armenian culture. The theme of intra-ethnic differences occurred constantly in my interviews with Armenian immigrants. Thus, confronted by such a broad range of cultural and linguistic differences, leaders must make salient specific issues with which they would encounter less resistance. This "stripping down" of attributes and increasing the saliency of specific attributes created more cohesion amongst an internally diverse population. The person interviewed acknowledged that he had to look past the differences he felt between himself and those with whom he spoke. As an Iranian Armenian, salient issues related to language or food had to be avoided, for these issues lacked saliency amongst other Armenian sub-groups. And this shift in saliency has proven effective: Armenians have been voting in increasingly larger numbers between 1999 and the present. The process of changing the salience of specific attributes helps explain the success of the ethnopolitical entrepreneurs and those with whom they work.

For Armenians, the country of Armenia has recently become a salient attribute of Armenian identity. Prior to its independence from the Soviet Union, many Armenians in the Diaspora did not consider Armenia a central dimension of their ethnic identity. However, subsequent to its independence, the attribute salience of Armenia has heightened considerably, at least symbolically. According to data from AAS, only about 6.31 percent indicated that they land in Armenia; about 11.94 percent indicated they owned a house; and less than 1 percent owned a business. In addition, only 1.26 percent have voted in an Armenian election since coming to the U.S.[xlii] In interviews with over 100 community members, however, the emotional or symbolic attachment to Armenia recurred with particular salience. This is likely especially true in Los

Angeles and Glendale, as migration has overlapped with the country's independence and efforts to gain an economic, political foothold. As such, in Glendale's internally diverse population, Armenia has emerged as a salient attribute that unites Armenians from various places. And this emphasis has strong electoral implications. For example, a Los Angeles-based Armenian newspaper general editor stressed the centrality of the national cause:

> [For example,] if I'm talking about Electric Yerevan,[xliii] I'm talking about the importance of the aspirations for those residing in Armenia, but also making sure that people sitting here know why it's significant for that [event] to prevail. Because it's a national agenda that we're pursuing. And our mission has always been to advance that national agenda. Otherwise, my existence as a diasporan is stupid. I'm just someone of Armenian origin living in Los Angeles…So the way we speak to everyone is that everything is based on this national ideal.

For this particular editor, the attribute of national allegiance had especially powerful salience. This change in salience has helped unify an otherwise internally fragmented population. While Armenians come to Glendale from a wide assortment of geopolitical spaces, the emerging salience of the nation attribute expands readership and influences a growing electoral constituency. The same newspaper also runs several political ads and hosts ethnopolitical entrepreneurs for interviews. Once the set of attributes is operationalized, it has far-reaching political incorporative potential.

But efforts to change the saliency of specific attributes can generate backlash (and political disincorporation). In my interviews, one divisive theme that recurred related to how leaders speak about "traditional Armenian" values (or attributes). These "traditions" or secondary attributes were typically related to gender, sexuality, masculinity, and domesticity. During their campaigns, Armenian candidates have been attacked by opponents for failing to embody an ethnic identity repertoire perhaps reminiscent of values espoused by specific generational cohorts. In these political contests, replacement "American attributes" contend with

other attributes. For example, in 2010, the 43rd district's assembly election pitted two Armenians against one another: a man and woman. In this campaign, the man used ethnic media to attack the woman on account of the fact that she was divorced and childless. He attempted to activate a series of attributes associated with what he claimed were "traditional Armenian" identity markers. The secondary attributes of unmarried (divorced) and childless were stressed to disqualify (or restrict) her categorical Armenian ethnicity. In a personal interview, the woman candidate spoke of these ethno-gendered attacks during her campaign:

> Try running without being married or not having kids! Oh!...They like their boys more than they like their girls. And there was hostility toward me. If you have me and you have him, the two Armenians, there was hostility. And there was another Hayastanci [Armenian from Armenia] woman, who would be on TV, and just say crazy things like I left my kids in an orphanage in Armenia. Or, I didn't color my hair back then, so callers would call in and say something like, 'Give her ten bucks so she can color her hair.' And there was an underlying curiosity as to whether I was gay or lesbian.

On several campaigns, this ethnopolitical entrepreneur received hostility from other Armenians based upon her gender, her appearance, or her sexuality. The salience of attributes the female leader stressed, as related to her level of education, independence, and professional success contended with the salience of the attributes her opponent stressed, based upon his notions that Armenian women should be married and have children. Her opponents' effort to restrict this change reflects the contentiousness of processes involved in identity reconfiguration. While successful in several local elections, the effort to change the operative repertoire split Armenians and eventuated in political disincorporation. In 2010 43rd district assembly election, the divided Armenian population did not succeed in rallying a strong Armenian voter turnout and securing the nomination. As a result, neither Armenian candidate won the election.

Attribute recombination

As agents focus on specific attributes in order to influence electoral results and facilitate political incorporation, they can as handily combine a new set of attributes to mobilize a population. As before, these agents often rely on commonsensical attributes recognizable to most individuals. However, there does not exist a consensus view of what it means to be Armenian American. As such, leaders can string together basic attributes (such as "Armenian-speaking") with secondary attributes to reconfigure the ethnic identity repertoire. In fact, because of the novelty and multi-locality of Glendale Armenians, many in leadership roles are especially influential. These agents work with or compete against others who are themselves activating (or sometimes "de-activating") categories of membership. Those who participate in processes of attribute recombination include those from ethnic organizations, ethnic media, and candidates' teams (strategists, canvassers, fundraiser, and others). While research has already demonstrated that ethnic organizations do not inhibit political incorporation (Portes, Escobar, and Arana, 2008), my research suggests that they, in fact, expedite it. What Timothy Smith (1978) wrote of ethnic organizations in the 1970s applies to Glendale Armenians today:

> Ethnic organizations coalesced out of both economic and psychic need and found meanings for personal and communal life in the cultural symbols and the religious idea that their leaders believed were marks of a shared inheritance and, hence, of a common peoplehood. Both the structure and culture of these emerging ethno-religious groups helped participants compete more advantageously with members of other groups (1168, quoted from Bakalian and Bozorgmehr 2009, 98).

This insight resonates with Armenians' political incorporation in Glendale. Ethnic organizational agents have had to recombine and synthesize diverse cultural symbols and descent-based attributes to attract newcomers. They can also add secondary attributes that encourage voter participation and electoral success of ethnopolitical entrepreneurs. These organizations, thus, construct ethnicity and employ it as a category to increase community awareness of Armenians'

political potential, help establish reform on behalf of the community, and even groom future ethnopolitical entrepreneurs.

One organization, in particular, has had especially visible political influence in Glendale – The Armenian National Committee -Western Region (ANC-WR). As a grassroots political organization, their interests dovetailed with the vision of the ethnopolitical entrepreneurs of Glendale. In fact, the entrepreneur who helped run the first ethnopolitical campaign in 1999, Rafi Manoukian, had worked for this organization for several years. He was joined and aided by key political strategist (many of whom had ANC backgrounds) and other ethnopolitical entrepreneurs to create a political incorporative pathway that would influence subsequent Armenian incorporation efforts in Glendale. While the organization itself is non-partisan, the entrepreneurs' desire to incorporate Armenians politically overlaps with ANC's goal to affect local, state, and national legislation, such that it conduces to Armenian concerns (Genocide recognition, Karabagh/Artsakh support, Azeri and Turkish pressure, etc.). This interaction, over time, has evolved. More recently, ANC launched an initiative, HyeVotes, whose primary purpose is to register Armenians to vote during campaign periods in which ANC believes Armenians have a stake. While ANC did this before the creation of HyeVotes, in 2012 it launched a separate initiative. And this initiative has proven effective, in part, because of how it has recombined ethnic categories: According to its leadership, HyeVotes has registered over 25,000 new Armenian voters (from personal interview with the chairperson of ANC-WR). During my fieldwork, Armenian political entrepreneurs consistently admitted that they no longer dedicated nearly as much energy to outreach among Armenians, as that had become the domain of ANC's subsidiary, HyeVotes. As such, over time, Armenian political organizations and entrepreneurs have formed an uneven and, at times a vaguely symbiotic relationship. For this symbiosis to

achieve its stated goals, organizational actors involved have to work to activate a similar set of attribute-values for the ethnic identity repertoire of "Armenian."

Part of their success, therefore, is remaining aware of the changing internal demographics of the "Armenian" population and its attribute configurations. Over the last half-century, membership rules for Armenians have altered considerably. As the Armenian community itself has undergone such fundamental alterations, the organization, which spans several states throughout the U.S., has evolved its outreach rhetoric accordingly. Armenians from different countries brought quite distinct ethnic identity repertoires. Lebanese Armenians, Iranian Armenians, post-Soviet Armenians, Syrian Armenian, Iraqi Armenians came with distinct secondary attributes by which they defined membership in the category "Armenian." As such, ANC, the diaspora's most prominent grassroots organization, has had to adapt to these expanding categories. But the expanding categories also presented an opportunity: Armenian identity in the United States (Glendale), as stated, hadn't yet been fixed; rather, it possesses considerable fluidity. As a result, ethnic organizational agents could add new attribute-values to the set of already operative attributes for the Armenian ethnic identity repertoire. As Armenians entered Los Angeles in greater numbers as a result of several international upheavals in Iran, Iraq, Lebanon, and the former Soviet Union, the pre-existing, largely post-Genocide survivor Armenian generation (and its organizations) had to adapt. And they adapted by adding new attribute-values to the pre-existing ethnic repertoire. As one official from ANC articulated about the pre-existing identity repertoire, "The American Armenian community was not very politicized at that time [pre-1970s]; it was for self-preservation, maintaining the identity, language, etc. There wasn't a lot of political activism." But new influxes of Armenians forced organizations to add attribute-values, including political activism, to the existing operative

repertoire. According to the AAS, 78.81 percent of those surveyed indicated that they "typically" vote in U.S. elections.[xliv] A leading figure in this organization summed up this evolution in an interview:

> So we have this amalgam of different elements in our community, and this has shaped how our organization has functioned. So with the ANCA, originally, it was almost exclusively Genocide recognition, but, as the community [in Los Angeles] started to evolve, we started to evolve beyond Genocide recognition. We started seeking solution and reparation. And when Armenian became independent in 1991, it needed support from the Diaspora…One of our organizational priorities is also to help and support the development and safety of Armenia. And that's through lobbying of foreign aid and just Armenianess about Armenia. And then when Artsakh [formerly Nagorno-Karabagh], when that war happened from 1991 to 1994, again, the same thing: There was this uprising in nationalism to join the fight – not literally, but with support. So that's our third priority – seeking the independence and security of Artsakh. And the fourth priority has been the community mobilization, community development, community organizing. So that falls into the local realm.

While strategists need sometimes to pare down on what specific attributes they activate, this agent highlights the efficacy of adding or recombining attributes. Both, in different contexts, conduce to mobilization and political incorporation (with the success of an ethnopolitical entrepreneur). Through these recombinations not only are electoral campaigns won but the ethnic identity repertoire is reconfigured. Once mobilized, those subscribing to this category of Armenian can make claims more publicly and influence policies, which, in turn, increase political incorporation among newcomers. By successfully stringing together a combination of attributes and activating an ethnic repertoire, agents construct identity in ways that speak not only to electoral results but also the political incorporation of groups.

But, as before, these efforts to recombine ethnic identity can engender resistance. In interviews with those involved on several campaigns, there existed a real consciousness of Armenians' pre-migration categories of ethnicity. One person interviewed with extensive canvassing experience admitted that, on the campaign trail, the canvassers define the category of

"Armenian" as "one community," but those with whom they speak sometimes stress internal differences. In one anecdote, a volunteer recounted:

> This one woman said, 'I watch all these television programs where they are talking about politics. Why is that Parskahye [Iranian Armenian] woman call in and ask these questions about when do we vote, how do we vote.' And she goes off on this tangent about Armenian women in Iran never had to work; therefore they aren't educated and don't know how to vote or how to do anything. Therefore, we should only canvass with Parskahyes because they are dumb…I said to her, 'What difference does it make? At the end of the day, we've all been through a struggle – whatever country we come from. We've all survived. And now we're here as one community. If you can't think of us as one community, it's your fault!'

The canvasser who relayed this story is herself Iranian Armenian, and the Armenian woman who judged Iranian Armenian women is from Georgia. This anecdote reflects the contending views on ethnic attributes that emerge as a one leader (or her team) vies to reconfigure the attributes of an ethnic category.

Conclusion

Various agents have relied on the construction of ethnic identity to facilitate (or inhibit) Glendale Armenians' political incorporation. Older models of constructivism do not account for the varieties of ways ethnicity is employed in processes of political incorporation. Chandra (et al), however, have introduced a model that unpacks the complexity of agents' uses of ethnicity in various campaigns. This model helps us understand *how* ethnopolitical entrepreneurs operationalize ethnicity in order to collectivize and mobilize otherwise internally fractured peoples. There is no single approach. Ethnopolitical entrepreneurs and other agents, whether conscious or not, are consistently negotiating ethnic identity, particularly when there exists considerable fluidity in the existing identity repertoire. When fluidity obtains, the main mechanisms by which ethnicity changes include (1) attribute replacement, (2) change in

saliency, and (3) attribute recombination. As the examples above demonstrate, all of these processes are at work simultaneously by various agents.

What Chandra's model doesn't explicit accomplish is (1) ethnographic data to demonstrate the practical ways in which these mechanisms take place; and (2) a clear link to political incorporation, a process intimately tied to constructivism in ethnic politics. Political incorporation scholars, in turn, stand to benefit from applying a constructivist framework to their specific studies in various contexts. The model captures the dynamic complexity of processes of political incorporation. As the data above demonstrate, constructivist models can illuminate several aspects of political incorporation that haven't been sufficiently documented. This model is particularly useful for analyses of newcomer incorporation in ethnoburbs, where a single ethnic community obtains a demographic majority. In these intra-ethnically diverse communities, different ethnopolitical entrepreneurs emerge to "represent" the group as a whole. However, they have to distinguish themselves from other ethnopolitical entrepreneurs. This creates a competition for "authenticity" among ethnopolitical entrepreneurs. The attributes they string together have direct electoral implications. While the previous chapter introduces these dynamic agents, this chapter has highlighted the evolving dynamics of ethnoburban ethnopolitical incorporation. These highly dynamic communities constantly evolve, and future scholarship should pay attention to the way ethnopolitical incorporation changes as the predominantly first-generation ethnic community becomes predominantly second generation.

Conclusion

On a sunny afternoon in February 2018, I sat outside Urartu, a popular Armenian-owned café in Glendale. As I waited for a meeting, I overheard the conversation of a group of about ten Armenian Glendale youth. Based upon the USC sweaters a few wore, they were presumably undergraduates, aged between 18 and 22. They spoke with youthful exuberance and volume, which made not overhearing their conversation impossible. I pondered code-switching as the conversation vacillated between Armenian and English without any consistency that I could discern. But then, at some point, a youth announced to the group, "Guys, we should have a Vernissage[xlv] here in Glendale. Can you imagine how many people would show up?" In all seriousness, another picked up this thread immediately, "Yeah, man. When I'm the mayor of Glendale, I'll definitely make that happen!" I was struck that a group of young people would spend their Saturday afternoon brainstorming how to make Glendale a better place in which to live, and that, among them, at least some aspired to hold local municipal office. In this moment, the influence and significance of my research subject — ethnopolitical entrepreneurs — manifested itself with the puissance of youthful ardor. To be sure, these municipal agents run campaigns that target and depend on co-ethnic voters. But this outreach is not purely opportunistic. These campaigns and tenures involve socialization, mobilization, education, and integration. These agents do not only bring outsiders inside American political institutions; rather, they transform the institutions themselves. And, in the process, they demonstrate to their communities that participatory opportunity structures in any democratic municipality are intended to serve their interests if only they become sufficiently informed to engage these structures.

And the outreach of these ethnopolitical entrepreneurs has influenced not only Glendale's population but also its institutions. On 4, April 2017, Glendale citizens voted into office 11 new elected officials. These new municipal representatives serve as the city Clerk and Treasurer, and on Glendale's City Council, Unified School District, and Community College board. Of the newly appointed officials, 9 were Armenian Americans.[xlvi] Armenian Americans make up roughly 40 percent of Glendale's population. However, at this time, they represent over 70 percent of all elected municipal officials. In a public statement, an Armenian National Committee of America (ANCA) spokesperson celebrated "their" candidates' success, stating:

> The ANCA-Glendale Board congratulates all winning candidates, their victories are a true reflection of our community's collective voice. Although, this election posed many challenges, I am proud to say that with the support of our community our endorsed candidates came out victorious. We are excited to work with our elected officials to actualize our policy priorities, such as the development of affordable housing in South Glendale, support for small business, job creation, safety, and the construction of the Armenian American Museum. We are confident that our elected officials will work hard to ensure a brighter future for our city, our schools and college.[xlvii]

In the days that followed, several Armenian ethnic news media ran articles expressing their praise of Glendale's Armenian officials and the people who voted them into office. Indeed, this level of Armenian representation was unprecedented in Glendale's history. Only in 1998, with the election of Rafi Manoukian, had the community begun electing into office Armenian Americans.[xlviii] In a very short period of time, the Armenian American community of Glendale had become a formidable municipal majority among elected officials. In fact, only a few decades prior to Manoukian's election, Glendale had been a bastion of conservatism and the headquarters for the Nazi Party as well as the Ku Klux Klan. Through the 1960s, Glendale was a sundown town. Archival editorials and personal interviews provide countless instances that bear out the open backlash Armenians encountered. However, within a 50-year period, much of this outward antagonism had subsided. The political opportunity structures proved principle institutions

through which these changes took place. This manuscript has focused on these political and socio-demographic changes and the transformative agents that emerged from these changes.

Through the theoretical framework of ethnoburbs and political incorporation, this work has sought to introduce to academic scholarship the understudied Armenian Angeleno community, with a special focus on Armenian Americans' most demographically concentrated habitation in Glendale. In terms of the theoretical model, I am building on the important contributions of Mollenkopf, Hochschild, Jones-Correa (et al). In 2009 and 2013, these social scientists produced two volumes that survey and assess various aspects of immigrant political incorporation (Hochschild and Mollenkopf 2009; Hochschild, Chattopadhyay, Gay, and Jones-Correa 2013). These volumes attempt to introduce definitional rigor to studies of political incorporation. They also seek to expand the scholarship with new methodological and theoretical insights. This manuscript has applied and expanded this scholarship. I have attempted to broaden this scholarship by applying Li's model of ethnoburbs as well as Chandra's framework of constructivist ethnic politics.

In terms of a Glendale Armenian case study, I have chosen it for two distinct reasons: (1) Glendale, as with other communities, represents one of the most dynamic urban spaces in the United States – namely, the ethnoburb. And (2) the accelerated political mobilization and saturation of electoral seats of Glendale's Armenians have made it particularly useful to evaluate the strengths and weaknesses of political incorporation theory. As this study reflects, social scientists should broaden how they evaluate political incorporation to include ethnopolitical entrepreneurs. They are playing an increasingly important role in bringing newcomers and other co-ethnics into U.S. political institutions.

Review of Chapters

Chapter 1 provides a historical overview of Armenian immigration to and settlement of Southern California. To date, there exists no foundational narrative to track this community's regional history. As such, I relied upon oral histories of long-term residents as well as archival material to construct a narrative of Armenians' history in Los Angeles, with a special focus on Glendale. This history isn't intended to be comprehensive. As a social scientific manuscript, I could only dedicate limited space to the history of this intra-ethnically diverse population. One hopes far more extensive treatments are forthcoming. Nonetheless, this chapter also provides a corrective: While typical accounts of Armenian (and other ethnic) history tend to evaluate their case studies in a vacuum, chapter 1 attempts to demonstrate that the history of Armenian Angelenos occurs within a complex matrix of variables. And, within this matrix, the variables are shaping the internal community dynamics as much as the community is shaping the external variables.

Chapter 2 situates Glendale's Armenian community in the ethnoburb model – that is, it sets the stage for conditions under which ethnopolitical entrepreneurs emerge. According to Li (2009), "ethnoburbs are fully functional communities, with their own internal socioeconomic structures that are integrated into both national and international networks of information exchange, business connection, and social activity" (42). As ethnic community members acquire an increasing number of businesses and real estate properties, more co-ethnics swell the population of the pre-existing residential clusters. This incremental ingress reworks the socioeconomic and demographic infrastructure of the suburb thereby transforming it into an ethnoburb. In this framing, ethnoburbs are a new type of urban ecology, but also one that combines the ethnic enclave and the suburb. Li introduces these variables as distinct to the

ethnoburb: (1) “Dynamics”: Ethnic residents own a large portion of the local businesses in ethnoburbs as well as “participate in the globalization of capital and international flows of commodities and skilled, high tech, and managerial personnel” (46); (2) “Geographical locations and density”: ethnoburbs exist in larger geographical areas (can include several municipalities and unincorporated areas) and in lower demographic density as compared to inner-city ghettos and enclaves; and the ethnic community transforms the local population and business structure, with a distinctive ethnic slant; (3) “Internal stratification”: ethnoburban residents typically attribute considerable intra-ethnicity diversity, financially, ideologically, and generationally. These internal differences cause group stratification and potential internal conflict/tension; and (4) “Functionality”: ethnoburbs act as new “ports of entry” – that is, ethnoburb residents are receptive to mainstream society and its institutional operations. Ethnoburb residents are thus more likely to become involved with local political and community events than their co-ethnics in downtown districts. According to Li, these are the basic elements that distinguish an ethnoburb from ethnic enclaves and ghettos. Li, however, has a distinct region and population in mind – San Gabriel Valley’s Chinese. And, as such, has created a model that most accurately defines Chinese migration of a specific sort. However, this model is applicable elsewhere. As this manuscript has demonstrated, Glendale also fits the model. As such, it, as with Monterey Park and many other communities (to name only a few: Westminster, Irvine, and Daley City), provides a snapshot of an ever-changing urban geography in the U.S. But the ethnoburb model is also useful for scholarship on political incorporation. For, when the previously enumerated conditions converge, new political agents arise – ethnopolitical entrepreneurs. These agents play an integral role in incorporating newcomers and co-ethnics into U.S. political institutions. And

they invert social scientific assumptions about when, in the process of integration, political incorporation takes place.

Chapter 3 attempts to define the ethnopolitical entrepreneur. Political incorporation theory provides the theoretical plasticity necessary to study the ever-changing dynamics of America's ethnically diverse urban geography. However, political incorporation scholarship has some rather significant oversights and shortcomings. Among perhaps its most significant oversights is the absence of ethnopolitical entrepreneurs.

As chapter 3 details, ethnopolitical entrepreneurs merge political entrepreneurs and ethnicity entrepreneurs – they are elected officials whose elections occur on account of racially polarized voting and who often act on behalf of their co-ethnic constituents. That is, the ethnopolitical entrepreneur is an actor who seeks to establish "new governmental bases for exercising new powers" and is "looking for ways to use governmental authority or governmental revenue" (Mollenkopf 1983, 4-5) on behalf of a specific ethnic community. When Mollenkopf wrote about the term, "political entrepreneur" – that is, one who seeks to establish "new governmental bases for exercising new powers" and is "looking for ways to use governmental authority or governmental revenue" (1983, 4-5) – ethnicity and political entrepreneurs were distinct. Over time, scholars analyzed the upshots of interactions between agents from national institutions and ethnic communities. Kasinitz published his important manuscript, *Caribbean New York* in1992. The political incorporation and public policy implications of these distinct agents' interactions had become increasingly clear. He terms these agents "ethnicity entrepreneurs" and defines them as those who make his or her "living by bridging the gap between the polity and the [ethnic] community" (1992, 163). For Kasinitz, ethnicity entrepreneurs "capitalize on both the state's interest in supporting ethnic organizations and the

needs of local politicians to make ties to the growing Caribbean community" (1992, 164). These agents bring the community "closer" to opportunity structures and institutions. Their interaction brought about significant policy change. However, this gradually blurring agential dichotomy has accelerated in the last two decades. In several urban municipalities (particularly ethnoburbs) in North America, immigrants or ethnicity entrepreneurs and political entrepreneurs are often the same person. In the 1990s, Kasinitz distinguished between the ethnicity entrepreneur and the ethnic political aspirant, who "cannot afford to be tagged as the representative of one group exclusively" (238). But ethnopolitical entrepreneurs' success depends, in large part, on their association with their co-ethnic constituents. These agents play an integral role in the mobilization of immigrants and minority groups.

As such, chapter 3 notes their absence in the political incorporation scholarship and analyzes the campaigns of Rafi Manoukian and Ardy Kassakhian. During these campaigns, ethnopolitical entrepreneurs mobilized Armenian community members. Their strategies have become a benchmark for all subsequent Armenian American ethnopolitical entrepreneurs. But the chapter also reflects the spectrum of experience among ethnopolitical entrepreneurs: Manoukian is a first generation immigrant, while Kasskhian is second generation. While their campaigns overlap in several significant ways, they attribute distinct strengths and weaknesses. Manoukian's ability to be relatable among Glendale's predominately foreign-born Armenian population gives him an advantage in securing local support and securing office, whereas Kassakhian's experience in American institutions and among more youthful demographics enables him to expand newcomer incorporation to a larger demographic and run for higher office. By presenting this spectrum of experience, chapter 3 attempts to define broadly the ethnopolitical entrepreneur.

Chapter 4 develops the previous theme by investigating the activities of ethnopolitical entrepreneurs. In Glendale, ethnopolitical entrepreneurs, in collaboration with city officials, have reallocated public goods with a distinct group leaning: increased subsidized housing (for the elderly) and park space, Armenian dual-language immersion programs in public schools, April 24th (Genocide commemoration) public school holiday, the creation of a state-funded Armenian museum, city signage in Armenian script, among many others. The mobilization of immigrants has varied policy implications. Borrowing from constructivist theories of ethnic politics, chapter 4 explores the processes through which ethnopolitical entrepreneurs construct "groupness" so as to mobilize otherwise underrepresented populations.

Borrowing from Chandra's volume (particularly Van Der Veen and Laitin's application to electoral politics), chapter 4 seeks to delineate the distinct operations of ethnopolitical entrepreneurs, which mobilize otherwise marginalized and internally diverse groups. Chandra's (et al) model can enhance group political incorporation theories by focusing on how groups construct membership via ethnic identity, and how these constructions influence electoral results. They distinguish between "basic" agents and "leaders" (286). Leaders (or, in this context, ethnopolitical entrepreneurs) offer coalition specification that satisfies the membership requirements themselves through which they obtain office. By activating a specific subset of attributes of their ethnic identity repertoire, "leaders" partake of public claims making in an effort to create an optimal winning coalition (OWC) in order to secure the nomination. In turn, "basic" agents evaluate the ethnic identity repertoire of the "leader"/ethnopolitcal entrepreneur to determine if her attributes continue to match those of the agent. Entrepreneurs, in turn, are continually "updating" their own identity repertoires: they may be adding a new or replacing an old dimension, raising the salience of a pre-existing or new dimension, or changing an attribute

within a given dimension (291). As basic agents and leaders update their ethnic identity repertoires, the distribution (or combination) within the specific population changes over time. As such, this is an evolving and dynamic process, in which attributes recombine over time and individuals as well as groups modify their identity repertories.

Adapting Chandra's model, Laitin and Van Der Veen identify the processes by which ethnic identities change: (1) attribute replacement, (2) change in salience, and (3) attribute recombination (279). The first process involves a group population acquiring attributes of the majority population (Moscow Armenians, for example, "passing" as Russian). The second process involves circumstantial differences bringing about increased salience of specific attributes. In the current example, the circumstance that has led to a significant contest of attribute salience is the multi-local mass exodus of Armenians and re-settlement of disparate Armenians into a single site in Glendale. The third process involves the grouping of a specific set of attributes on one or more dimensions into categories. This process involves traditional groups redefining themselves – for example, prior to the fall of the Soviet Armenians, the category of "Soviet Armenian" became "Armenian." While this analysis disaggregates these processes, all three take place simultaneously and influence electoral politics. Nonetheless, these processes, taken as a whole, explain more systematically the mechanisms by which ethnopolitical entrepreneurs mobilize (that is, involve in voting) co-ethnics.

Future Scholarship

This manuscript has focused largely on municipal institutions and elected officials; however, group political incorporation involves several other variables that have received little attention in the scholarship. For example, the scholarship stands to benefit from more analyses of

the role of city bureaucrats (as well as civil servants) and the everyday experiences of group political among the individuals who vote ethnopolitical entrepreneurs into office.

While the scholarship offers many important insights, it frequently overlooks the perceptions and experiences of the very population it purports to study – that is, the immigrants or other group members themselves. The scholarship has not sufficiently delved into the personal experiences and perceptions of immigrant political incorporation. In an article on structuration from one of the aforementioned volumes, Ewa Morawska makes a similar point, stating:

> Existing research has almost exclusively focused on the 'external' measures of immigrant/ethnic group members' political involvement in the host society, such as taking up citizenship, voting participation, and engagement in other pubic sphere activities. I opt for the understanding of the 'political' that besides its legal-institutional aspects also includes people's notions of the rights and duties of citizenship and a good (and bad) state and its operations, and their practical applications of these ideas in their everyday lives (2013, 137).

A few scholars have included immigrant experience and perception. This scholarship spins off the existing political incorporation framework and assesses processes related to *bureaucratic incorporation*. Jones-Correa (2005, 2010) identifies the emergence of different bureaucracies (service-oriented and discipline-oriented) based upon demographic shifts and suburban transformation. Building on this research, Lewis and Ramakrishnan (2007) demonstrate the important role of law enforcement (civil servants) in facilitating newcomer incorporation in developing policies and practices separate from elected officials. Further, Marrow (2009) finds that external governmental policies structure how municipal bureaucrats respond and interact with newcomers. As she argues, "Government policies can therefore influence incorporation processes by exerting both direct 'control' over bureaucrats' behaviors and indirect 'influence' (Meier and O'Toole 2006) over bureaucrats' conceptions of their professional roles" (759). And, from a slightly distinct vantage, Calvo et al (2017) demonstrate

that interactions with medical health representatives influence immigrants' perceptions of their belonging in American society. Thus, scholarship on bureaucratic incorporation enriches that on political incorporation by demonstrating that co-ethnic representation does not necessarily correlate with newcomers' self-identifying as incorporated.

This more inclusive approach warrants more attention, for it leaves many questions still unresolved. For example, do newcomers perceive the benefits of their political incorporation? Does newcomer political incorporation require those incorporated to understand the institutions and processes involved? Scholars have demonstrated that race/ethnicity underlies voter motivations in a surprising variety of contexts (Hajnal and Trounstine 2014). Are newcomers' motivations merely symbolic? Have co-ethnic elected officials merely tapped into this symbolic advantage? And, if so, would it be appropriate to assert that these newcomers are indeed "outsiders no more" (Hocschild 2013)?[xlix] To be sure, scholarship has assessed voter demographics among racial and ethnic groups (Yang 1994; Portes and Rumbaut 2006; Bueker 2005; Bevelander and Pendakur 2009). But it has not sufficiently assessed the everyday experiences of those who (ethno)political entrepreneurs target and incorporate. One hopes future research will dedicate more energy to these important questions and issues.

Challenges and Limitations

The work and fieldwork introduced several important limitations and challenges. While institutional agents (Armenian and non-Armenian alike) provided tremendous support and encouragement, many actors from ethnic organizations and the community itself remained a bit aloof and suspicious. To be sure, non-co-ethnic positionality factored in bipartite fashion: It gave me far more capacity to evaluate my case study from an outsider perspective (one reinforced rather recurrently in the fieldwork), but also prevented certain access. However, as the study

focuses more centrally on the workings of integration into American institutions as opposed to the internal workings of Armenian American organizations, access proved a very small issue as institutional actors were, again, very receptive and transparent.

In addition, the project has certain temporal limitations. As it documents what has been taking place with, largely, first generation immigrants in Glendale, it offers only limited insight in terms of what changes will take place as second and third generation Armenian immigrants increasingly become the majority in Glendale. While I anticipate the gradual percolation of ethnoburb immigrants into executive, managerial, and civil municipal sectors, future research should augment this temporal limitation to account for the generationally dynamic population in places, such as Glendale and its environs.

[i] When the audience is Armenophone, I often use the translation *Hreshtakahay* to refer to an Armenian Angeleno. This is transliterated Armenian (reformed orthography). Following Armenian linguistic conventions, the expression is a compound, consisting of an ethnonym and toponym: In Armenian, "hreshtak" means "angel" (as in Los Angeles) and "hay" means "Armenian." While not a commonly used expression, I believe *Hreshtakahay* succinctly translates Armenian Angeleno.

[ii] *American FactFinder, United States Census Bureau.* "U.S. Census Bureau – Ancestry: 2010 – Glendale city, California.

[iii] According to Jimenez (2011, cited in Albarracín 2016), Latin American migrants Limited English Proficient (LEP) rate is 64.7 percent; Asian migrants LEP is 46.9 percent; and European LEP rates average 29.8 percent.

[iv] For updated information, visit the Glendale's city website: http://www.glendaleca.gov/

[v] Insight gleaned from personal discussion with Professor Raphe Sonenshein.

[vi] Despite this saturation of electoral politics, Armenians' demographic representation in the municipal workforce is much smaller. At present, Armenians are noticeably underrepresented among Glendale's municipal bureaucrats and civil servants, particularly in positions of senior leadership.

[vii] Nonetheless, it should be noted that migration to Glendale from various sites is a dynamic and fluctuating phenomenon. As such, the less representative 2015 data sets contain distinct numbers.

[viii] Following LNS, the survey evaluates Armenian Angeleno policy beliefs along three categories: (1) mainstream policy concerns (that is, policies that affect all groups equally); (2) ethnic politics, and (3) economic safety issues. American mainstream policy beliefs anticipate the following: (1) greater support for American military intervention in the Middle East; (2) declining opposition to abortion and same-sex marriage; (3) declining support for immigration; (4) declining support for state intervention on domestic affairs.

[ix] While survey data nearly match census data for most demographic factors, some exceptions did exist. The most significant disparity related to amount of formal education. As stated, the sample reflects a population that reports a college education (including professional and graduate degree holders) at more than twice the census numbers. I evaluated any differences when isolating those who have formal education form those without, and the results reflect near parity on most issues. Nonetheless, some exceptions did occur. For example, the general population (GP) watches TV for the news less (41 percent) than those without formal education (WFE) (49 percent); GP reads the news far more (49 percent) than WFE (31 percent); GP relies more heavily on English-only content (71 percent) than WFE (53 percent); GP is more likely to be registered to vote (83 percent) than WFE (63 percent); GP typically votes more (79 percent) than WFE (61 percent); GP voted less for Donald Trump (19 percent) than Hilary Clinton (26 percent), and, conversely, GP voted more for Hilary Clinton (41 percent) than WFE (23 percent); GP is more likely to identify as Democrat (43 percent) than WFE (34 percent); consistently, GP have a less favorable opinion of Donald Trump (21 percent) than WFE (34 percent); GP approves of legal marriage for same sex couples (52 percent) at a higher rate than WFE (34 percent); relatedly, GP is less likely to have no opinion on same sex marriage (17 percent) than WFE (29 percent); GP believes that abortion should always be legal at a higher rate (46 percent) than WFE (34 percent); and GP believes undocumented immigrants should have access to a guest worker program at a higher rate (51 percent) than WFE (36 percent). In sum, there is noticeable deviation in results from questions: 18, 19, 20, 21, 26, 27, 28, 31, 46, 47, 49 (figures rounded). Otherwise, the results reflect only minor deviation. WFE consists of about 25 percent of respondents.

[x] A modified version of this chapter (same title) has been published: Fittante, Daniel. 2017. "But Why Glendale? A History of Armenian Immigration to Southern California." *California History,* 94 (3): 2-19, 2017.

[xi] The poem features in Peter Force, ed., *Tracts and Other Papers*, vol. 3, no. 53 (1886), 31–35.

[xii] For further details on the local prejudiced leveled at Armenians, see LaPiere, *The Armenian Colony in Fresno County*, Mirak, *Torn between Two Lands*, and, for how these prejudiced affected the second generation, Bulbulian, *The Fresno Armenians*.

[xiii] See question #7 from the AAS in the Appendix.

[xiv] The first Armenian Apostolic Church of Los Angeles, The Holy Cross Church, was consecrated in 1922. Political fracture, however, eventuated in the formation and consecration of St. James Church in 1942. A Congregational Church, Gethsemane, had previously formed in 1916; it also would fracture into the Masis (1925) and Immanuel Congregational (1930) Churches, respectively.

[xv] See also the following: http://sundown.afro.illinois.edu/sundowntownsshow.php?id=1107.

[xvi] *Glendale Evening News*, January 8, 1919.

[xvii] Glendale Evening News, January 20, 1919.

[xviii] Aram Yeretzian, "A History of Armenian Immigration to America with Special Reference to Conditions in Los Angeles" (Master's Thesis, University of Southern California, 1923), 38. Some other early Armenian settlers included the Pampians (or Pampaians) – Haigazoon, Vahan, and Hasmig. *The City of Glendale South Glendale Historic Context Statement* indicates that: "The 1920 Census identifies Glendale families with the surnames Ablahadian, Arklin, Bogohossian, Geradian, Hadian, Ignatius, Magariam, O'Gassim (Ogassin), and Sahgian" (2014, 21).

[xix] *Glendale Evening News*, July 22, 1922. In Van, Armenians launched a defense against the Ottomans during the Hamidian Massacres in 1896. The same community would also defend itself against the Ottomans during the genocide in 1915. This latter initiative is known as the Defense or Siege of Van.

[xx] *Glendale News-Press*, August 28, 1976.

[xxi] *Glendale News-Press*, April 24, 1985.

[xxii] However, this is not to suggest that Pasadena did not also experience a surge in Armenian inhabitants.

[xxiii] See these newspaper articles: *Daily News*, "Schools Seeks Funds to Aid Armenians," March 20, 1988; *Glendale News-Press*, "Armenian Emigration Threatens Funds," April 1, 1988; *Los Angeles Times*, "Supervisors OK Funds for Armenian Groups," November 11, 1989.

[xxiv] Prior to 1965, the Egyptian Revolution (1952) had also depopulated a prominent Middle Eastern Armenian community and brought many Armenians to the United States. To be sure, Armenian communities continue to thrive in some places, such as Beirut and Tehran, but in much smaller numbers.

[xxv] For up-to-date statistics, see Glendale's campus demographics page at: http://www.glendale.edu/about-gcc/about-gcc/institutional-effectiveness/research/campus-profile/campus-profile-access-noncredit-demographics.

[xxvi] See http://articles.latimes.com/1996-06-16/opinion/op-15622_1_city-officials. **"**Glendale's 'Racist Shadow' Shrinks as City Transforms Itself," Gregory Rodriguez, June 16, 1996.

[xxvii] A modified version of this chapter (same title) will also appear as a journal article: Fittante, Daniel. Forthcoming. "The Armenians of Glendale: An Ethnoburb in Los Angeles's San Fernando Valley." *City & Community*.

[xxviii] For listing of current board members, see http://www.glendaleca.gov/government/departments/city-clerk/boards-and-commissions (accessed on November 18, 2016).

[xxix] See also: and http://articles.latimes.com/1995-04-18/local/me-56083_1_historic-preservation-ordinance

[xxx] In fairness, however, residential segregation and gerrymandering continue to enable many NYC candidates to run in fairly homogenous districts.

[xxxi] AAS data reinforce this point: Among those surveyed, approximately 40.59 percent claimed that they get news from television "daily" while an additional 16.43 percent indicated they do on "most days" (see question #18).

[xxxii] The approach to absentee voting, however, has changed: Before 2005, the absentee votes would be mailed to the campaign office. And people from the campaign office would then submit them to the City Clerk's office. They would submit thousands of absentee voting at a time. However, in 2005, Glendale passed a law, in which absentee votes had to be sent directly to the Clerk's office. This change, however, hasn't caused a substantial change in voter turnout.

[iii] In 2016, Kassakhian lost to Laura Friedman in a bid for the 43rd district assembly seat.
[xxxiii] That is, Monica Lewinsky.

[xxxiv] See AAS question 31 in the Appendix.

[xxxv] For a detailed description of this aberrant act, see the New York Times article, "The 2000 Campaign: The House Races; Republican's Unusual Gift: A Vote on the House Floor," October 7, 2000.

[xxxvii] See AAS Question #32 in the Appendix.

[xxxviii] AAS Survey Question #21.

[xxxix] See AAS question #32.

[xl] 9.9 percent indicated no preference ("Don't care") and 5.9 percent didn't know ("Don't know"). See AAS question #31.

[xli] For example, Iranian Armenians or Soviet Armenians who grew up in pre-revolutionary Iran or Soviet Armenia bring a distinct set of social remittances than those who were socialized in a post-revolutionary Iran or Armenia.

[xlii] See AAS question #53 and #55. A further note on ownership: During academic year 2014-2015, I undertook fieldwork of Armenian American "return" migration. I interviewed over 60 returnees, of which only two had ever owned a business in Armenia.

[xliii] Electric Yerevan refers to mass protests that occurred in Armenia's capital city, summer of 2015, against a tax increase in the cost of electricity.

[xliv] See AAS question #27.

[xlv] A large, open-air market in central Yerevan, Armenia.

[xlvi] Although it should be conceded that four of these seats featured candidates running unopposed (the non-Armenian candidate also ran unopposed).

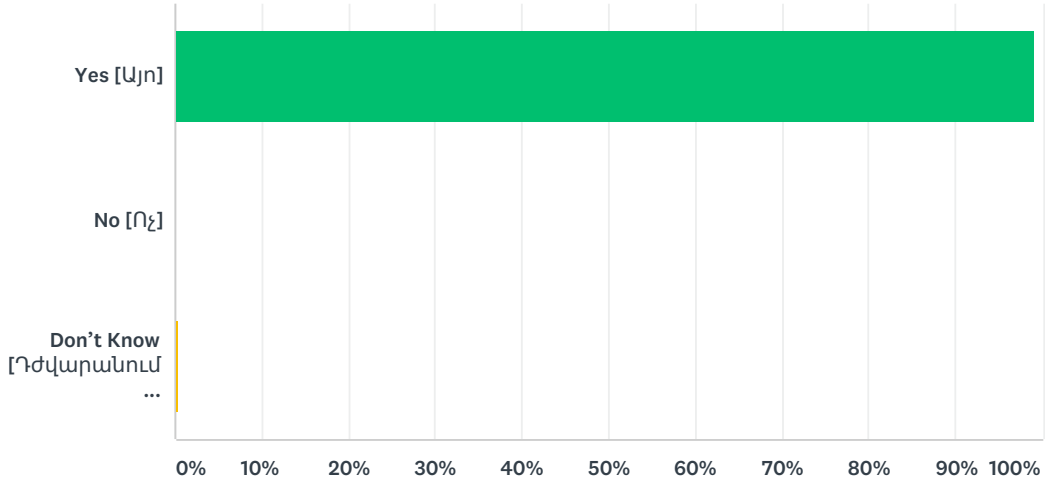
[xlvii] Source: http://armenianweekly.com/2017/04/06/landslide-victory-for-anca-endorsed-candidates-in-california/

[xlviii] Larry Zarian, the first Armenian American voted into office in 1983, accomplished this task with very low voter turnout among Armenian Americans.

[xlix] Or, in the language of Alba and Foner (2015), "strangers no more."

Q1 Do you consider yourself Armenian or a person of Armenian origin? [Դուք Ձեզ հա՞յ եք համարում, թե՞ հայկական ծագում ունեցող անձ:]

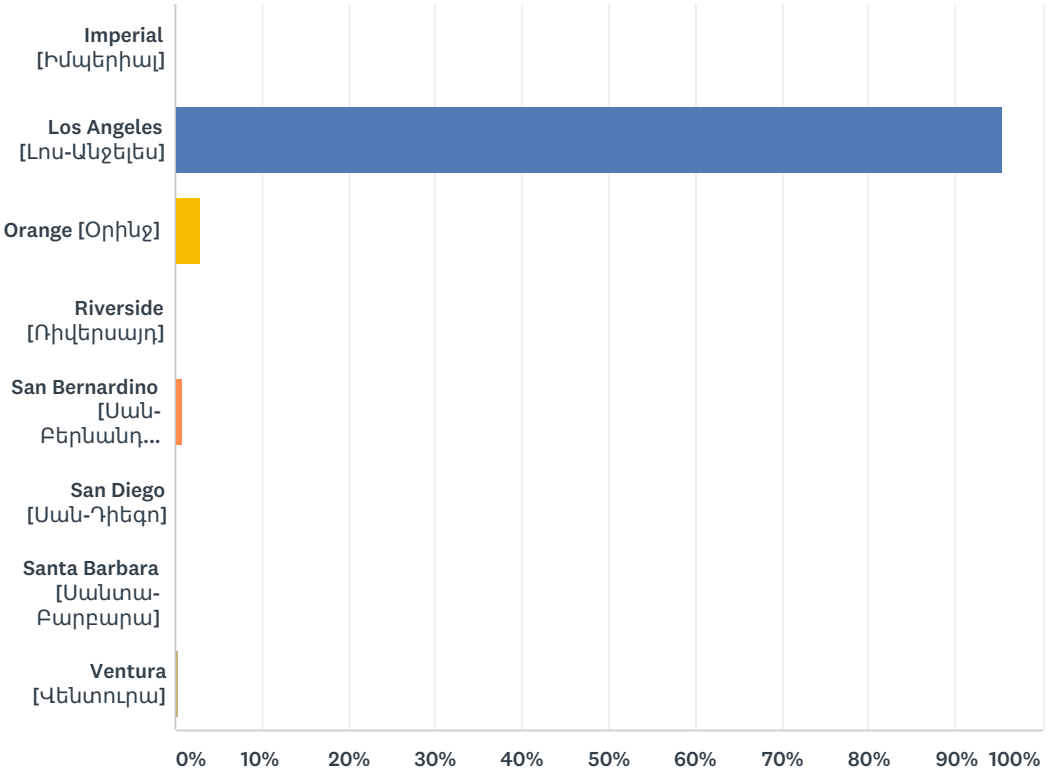
Answered: 1,045 Skipped: 9



ANSWER CHOICES	RESPONSES	
Yes [Այո]	99.23%	1,037
No [Ոչ]	0.29%	3
Don't Know [Դժվարանում եմ պատասխանել]	0.48%	5
TOTAL		1,045

Q2 In which of the following counties do you live: [Հետևյալ շրջաններից (քաունթի) որո՞ւմ եք բնակվում:]

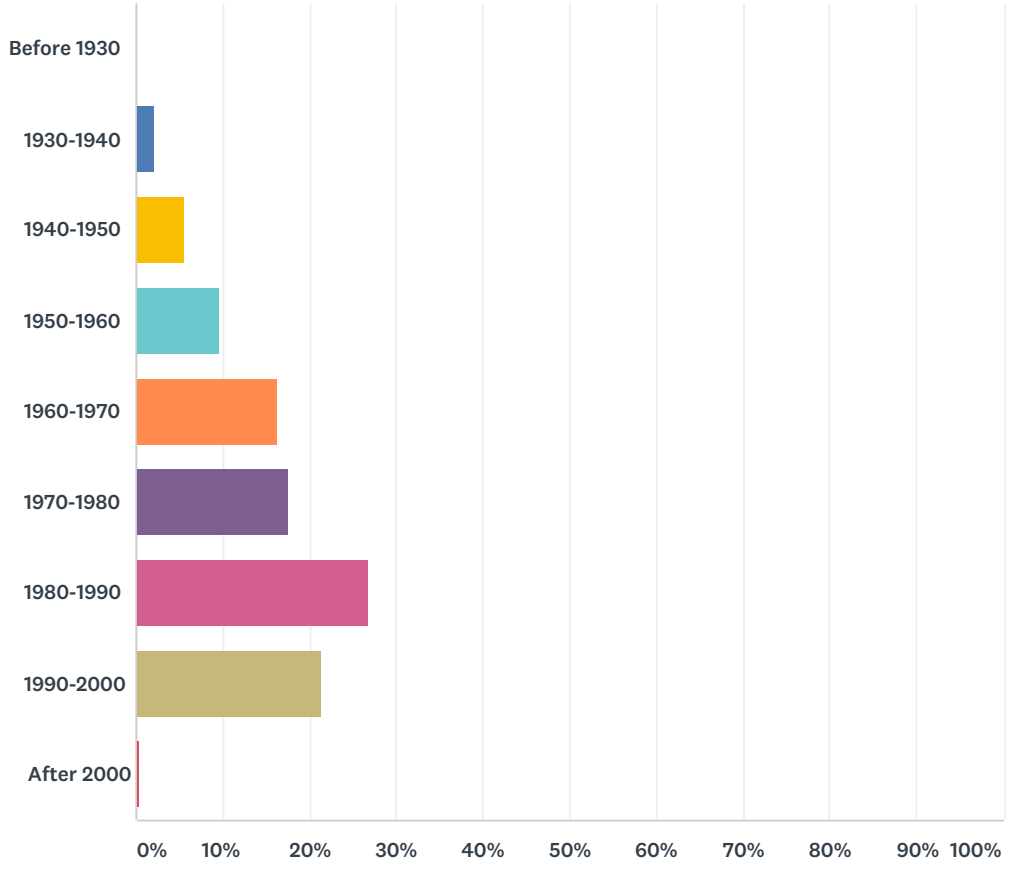
Answered: 1,048 Skipped: 6



ANSWER CHOICES	RESPONSES	
Imperial [Իմպերիալ]	0.00%	0
Los Angeles [Լոս-Անջելես]	95.42%	1,000
Orange [Օրինջ]	2.96%	31
Riverside [Ռիվերսայդ]	0.29%	3
San Bernardino [Սան-Բերնանդինո]	0.76%	8
San Diego [Սան-Դիեգո]	0.10%	1
Santa Barbara [Սանտա-Բարբարա]	0.00%	0
Ventura [Վենտուրա]	0.48%	5
TOTAL		1,048

Q3 What year were you born? [Ձեր ծննդյան թի՞վը:]

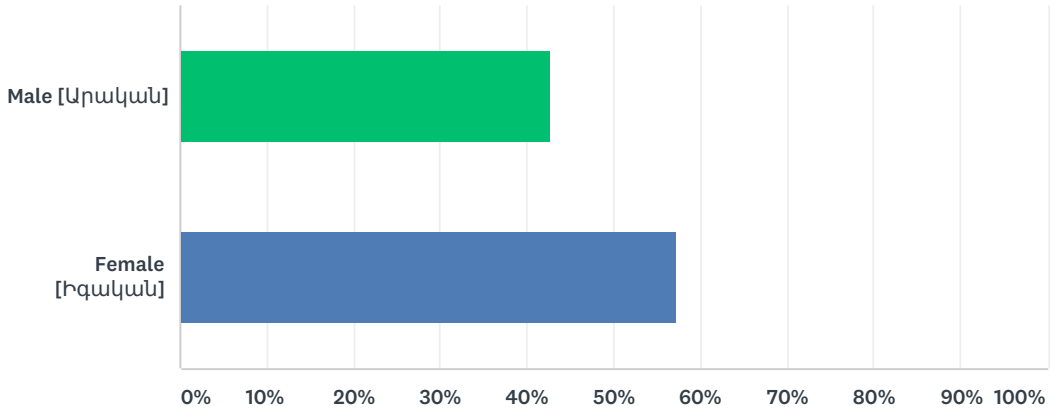
Answered: 1,028 Skipped: 26



ANSWER CHOICES	RESPONSES	
Before 1930	0.29%	3
1930-1940	2.04%	21
1940-1950	5.54%	57
1950-1960	9.63%	99
1960-1970	16.34%	168
1970-1980	17.51%	180
1980-1990	26.85%	276
1990-2000	21.30%	219
After 2000	0.49%	5
TOTAL		1,028

Q4 Are you male or female? [Ձեր սե՞ռը:]

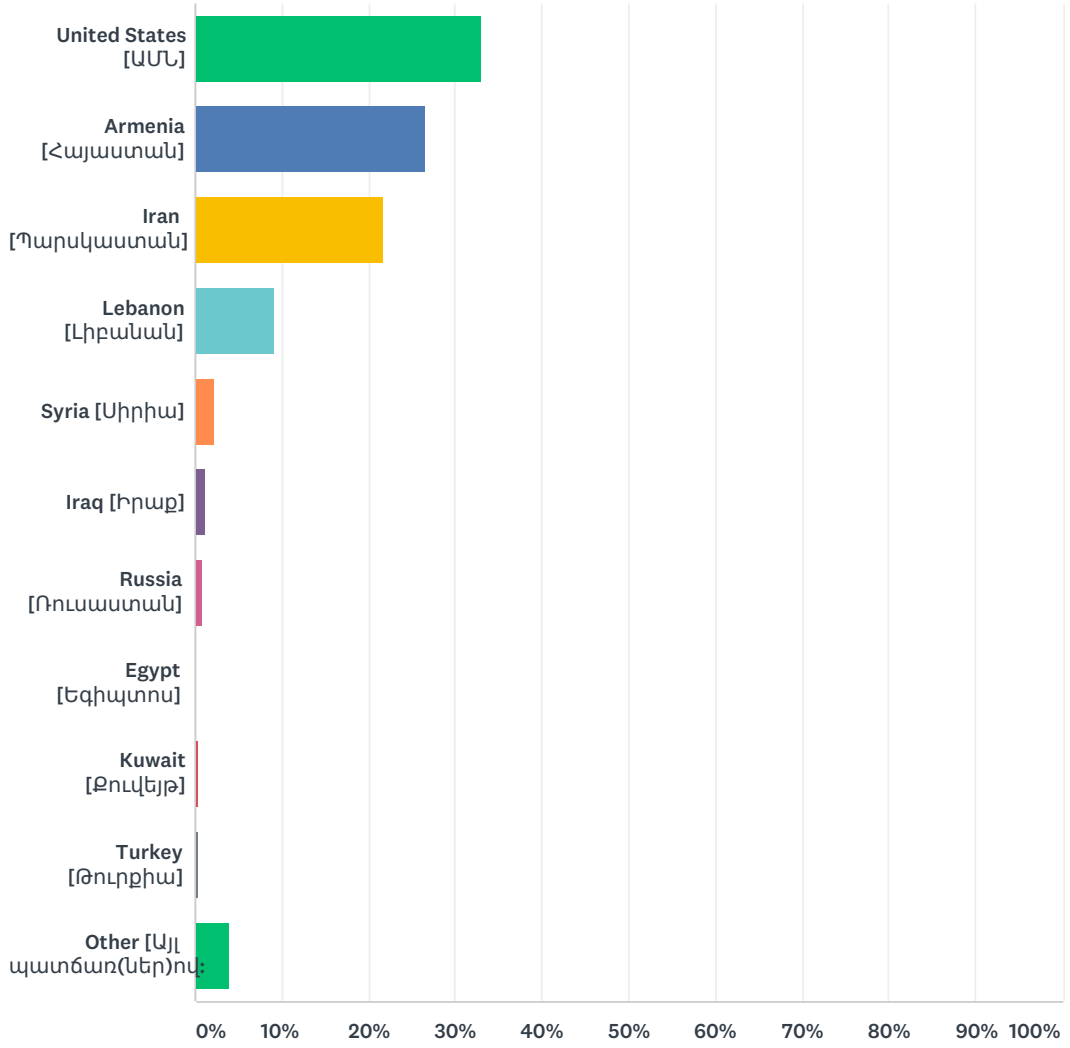
Answered: 1,039 Skipped: 15



ANSWER CHOICES	RESPONSES	
Male [Արական]	42.73%	444
Female [Իգական]	57.27%	595
TOTAL		1,039

Q5 In what country were you born? [Ո՞ր երկրում եք ծնվել։]

Answered: 1,030 Skipped: 24

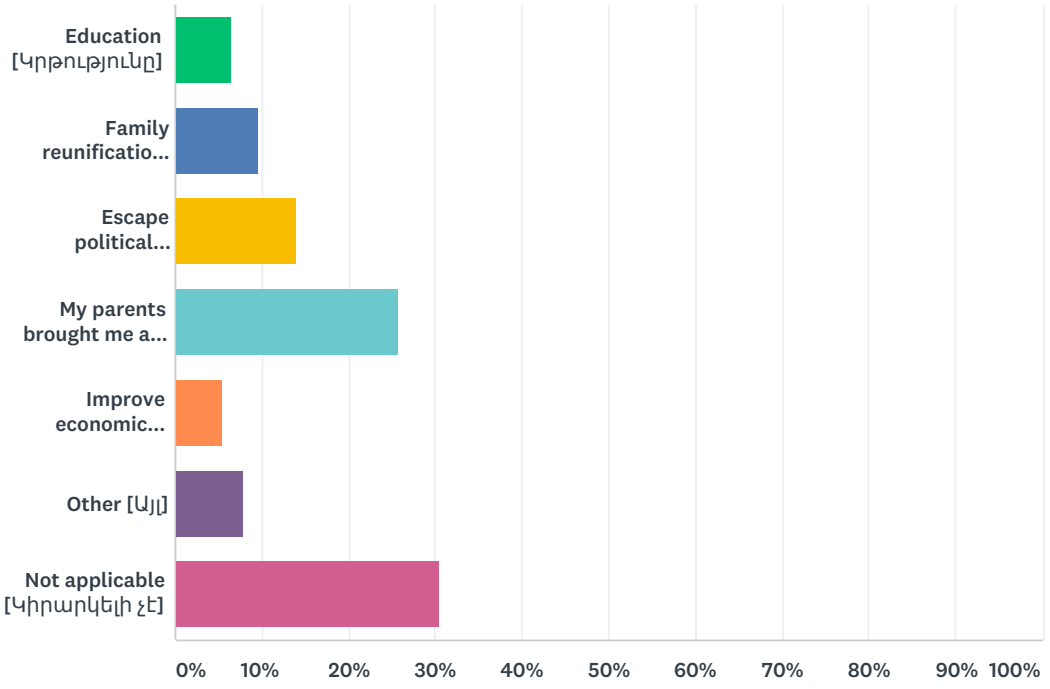


ANSWER CHOICES	RESPONSES	
United States [ԱՄՆ]	33.01%	340
Armenia [Հայաստան]	26.50%	273
Iran [Պարսկաստան]	21.84%	225
Lebanon [Լիբանան]	9.13%	94
Syria [Սիրիա]	2.33%	24
Iraq [Իրաք]	1.17%	12
Russia [Ռուսաստան]	0.78%	8
Egypt [Եգիպտոս]	0.29%	3
Kuwait [Քուվեյթ]	0.49%	5
Turkey [Թուրքիա]	0.39%	4

Other [Այլ պատճառ(ներ)ով:	4.08%	42
TOTAL		1,030

Q6 If applicable, what would you say is the main reason you came to live in the United States? [Ի՞նչն է Ձեզ բերել Ամերիկայի Միացյալ Նահանգեր (եթե ԱՄՆ-ում չեք ծնվել):]

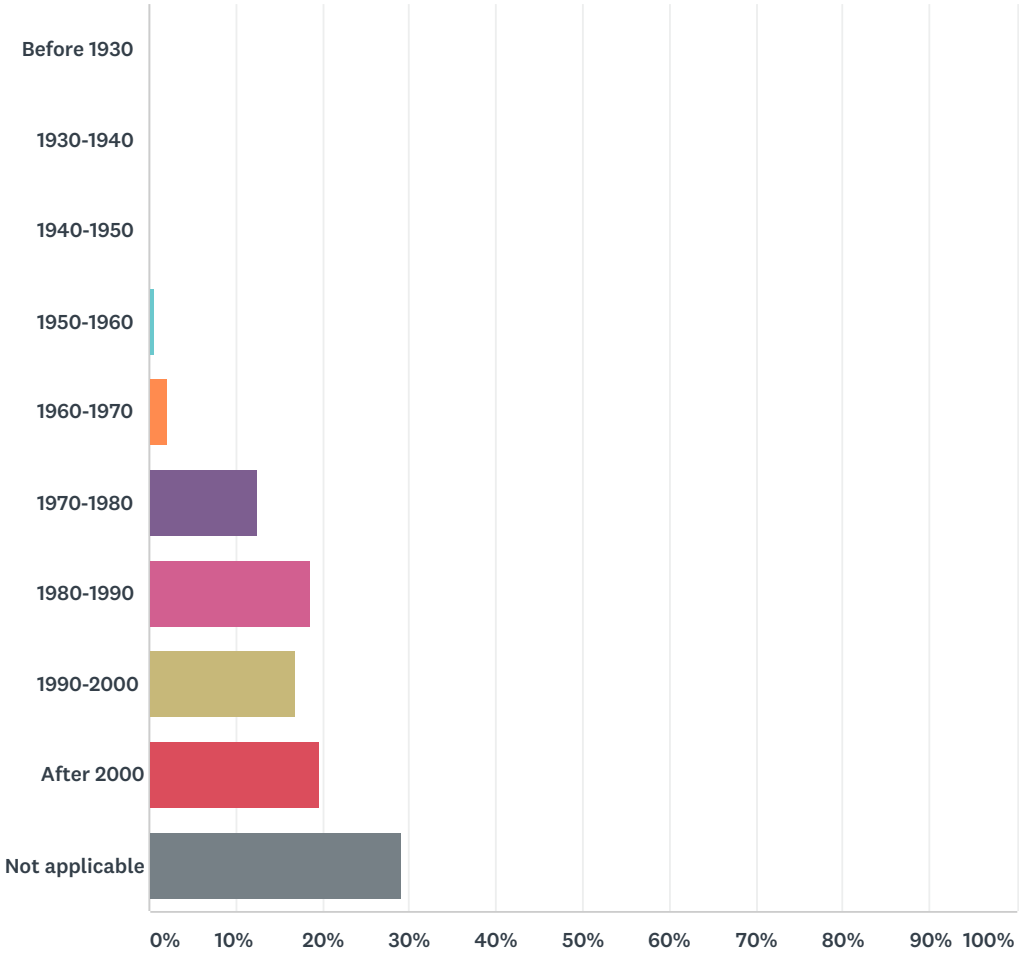
Answered: 1,038 Skipped: 16



ANSWER CHOICES	RESPONSES	
Education [Կրթությունը]	6.55%	68
Family reunification [Ընտանիքի հետ վերամիավորվելու ցանկությունը]	9.63%	100
Escape political turmoil [Քաղաքական խառնաշփոթից խուսափելու ցանկությունը]	14.07%	146
My parents brought me as a child [Ծնողներս են ինձ բերել երեխա ժամանակ]	25.72%	267
Improve economic situation [Տնտեսական կարգավիճակի բարելավումը]	5.49%	57
Other [Այլ]	7.90%	82
Not applicable [Կիրարկելի չէ]	30.64%	318
TOTAL		1,038

Q7 When did you first arrive (to live) in the US? [Ե՞րբ եք առաջին անգամ ժամանել ԱՄՆ (բնակվելու նպատակով):]

Answered: 1,005 Skipped: 49

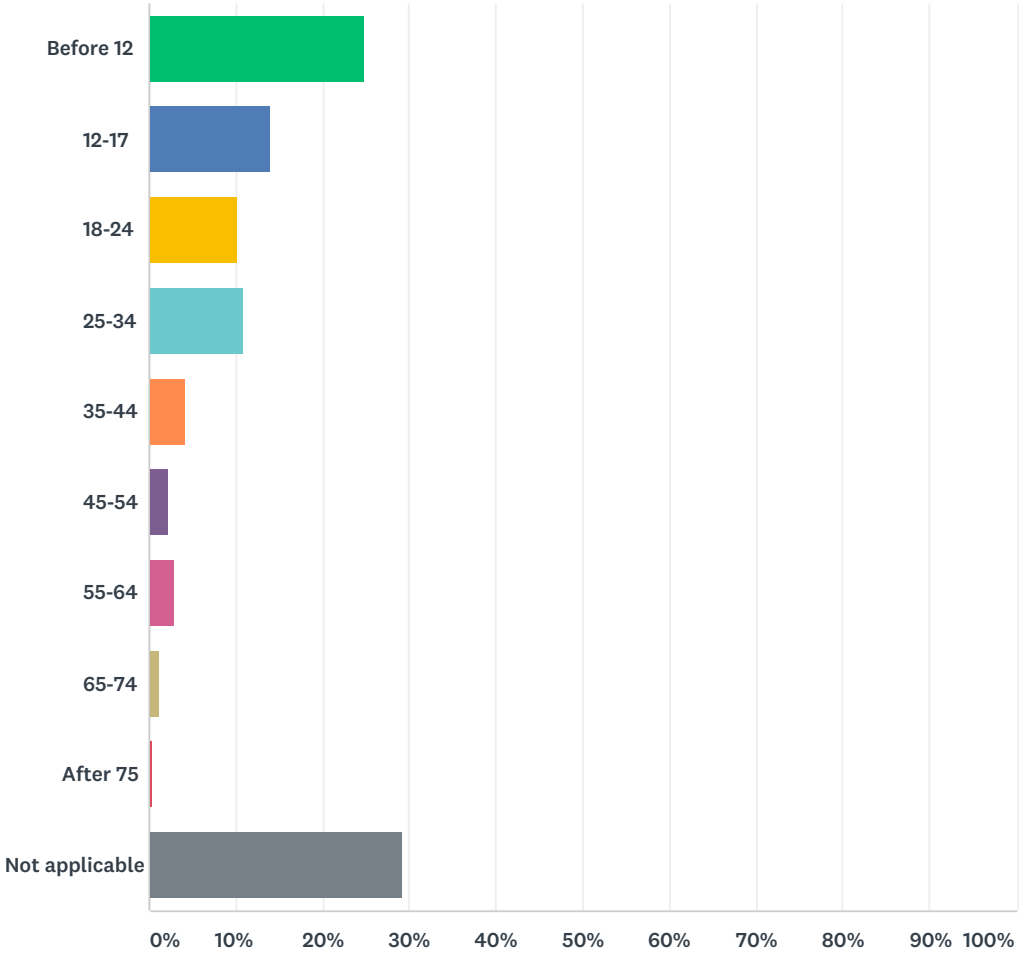


ANSWER CHOICES	RESPONSES	
Before 1930	0.00%	0
1930-1940	0.00%	0
1940-1950	0.20%	2
1950-1960	0.70%	7
1960-1970	2.19%	22
1970-1980	12.64%	127
1980-1990	18.61%	187
1990-2000	16.92%	170
After 2000	19.70%	198
Not applicable	29.05%	292

TOTAL	1,005

Q8 Age at time of arrival [Sɯɲhpɒ]

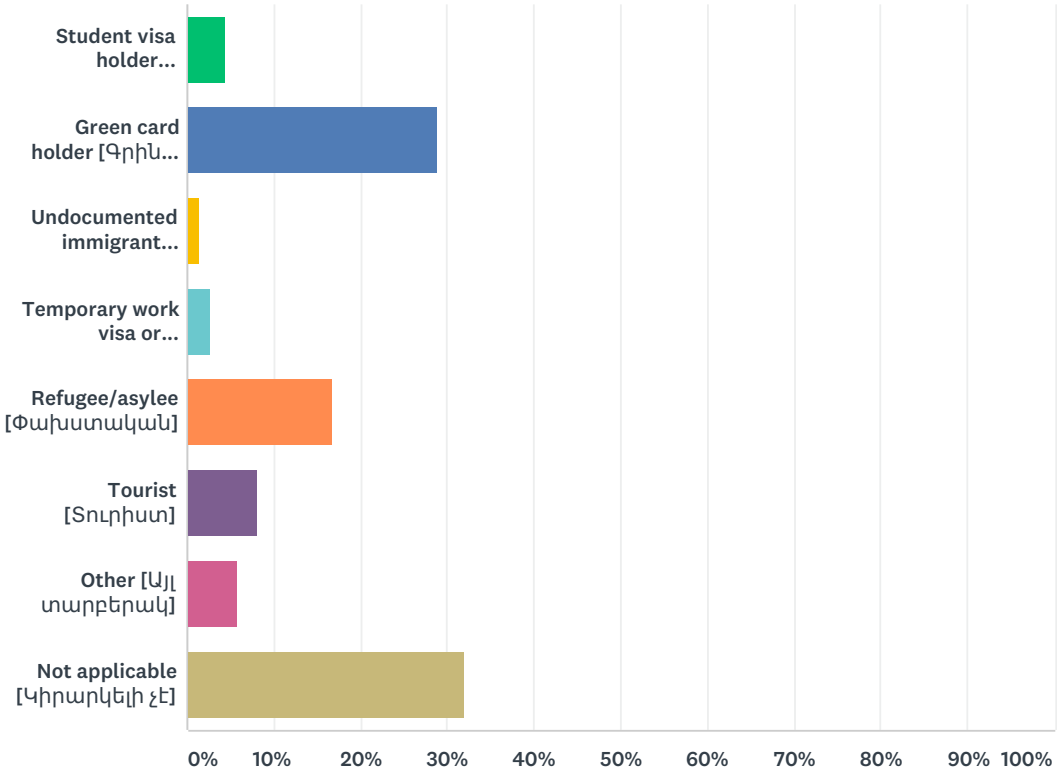
Answered: 991 Skipped: 63



ANSWER CHOICES	RESPONSES	
Before 12	24.82%	246
12-17	13.93%	138
18-24	10.19%	101
25-34	10.80%	107
35-44	4.14%	41
45-54	2.22%	22
55-64	2.93%	29
65-74	1.21%	12
After 75	0.40%	4
Not applicable	29.36%	291
TOTAL		991

Q9 If applicable, when you arrived in the US, which best described your immigration status? [Ո՞ր տարբերակն է ավելի լավ նկարագրում ԱՄՆ ժամանելուց հետո Ձեր սկզբնական քաղաքացիական կարգավիճակը (եթե ԱՄՆում չեք ծնվել):]

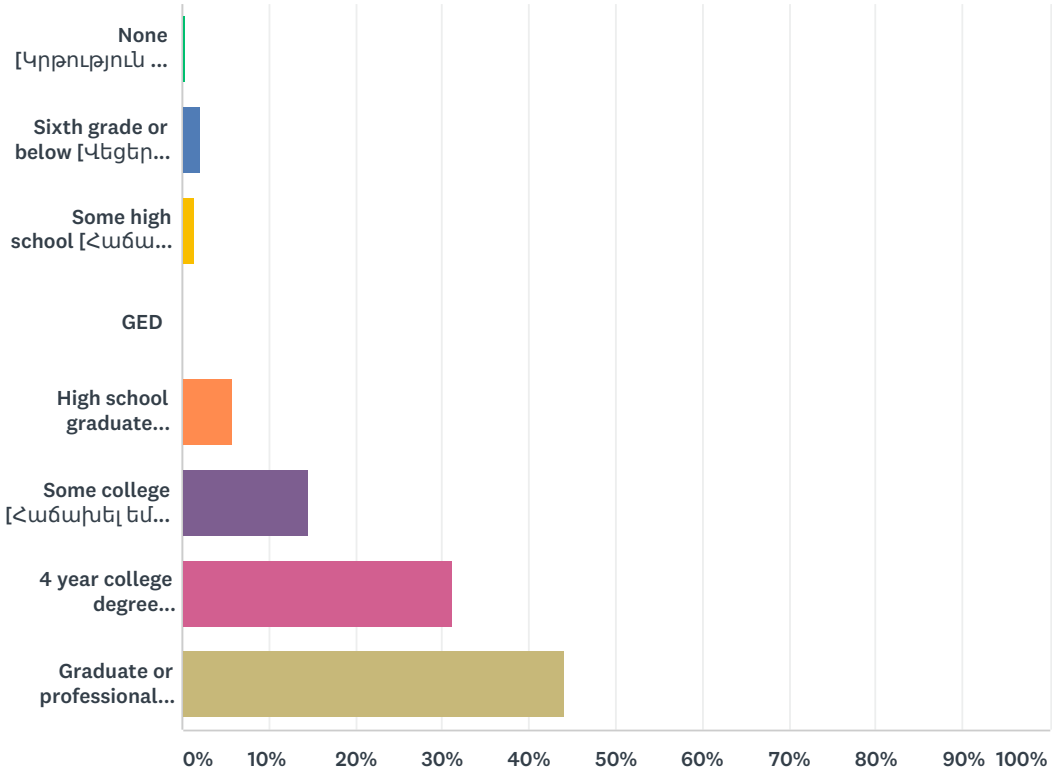
Answered: 1,024 Skipped: 30



ANSWER CHOICES	RESPONSES	
Student visa holder [Ուսանողական վիզա]	4.49%	46
Green card holder [Գրին քարդ]	28.81%	295
Undocumented immigrant [Չգրանցված ներգաղթող]	1.37%	14
Temporary work visa or business visa holder [Ժամանակավոր աշխատանքային վիզա կամ բիզնես վիզա]	2.73%	28
Refugee/asylee [Փախստական]	16.70%	171
Tourist [Տուրիստ]	8.11%	83
Other [Այլ տարբերակ]	5.86%	60
Not applicable [Կիրարկելի չէ]	31.93%	327
TOTAL		1,024

Q10 What is your highest level of formal education completed? [Ո՞րն է ձեր ստացած կրթական ամենաբարձր աստիճանը]

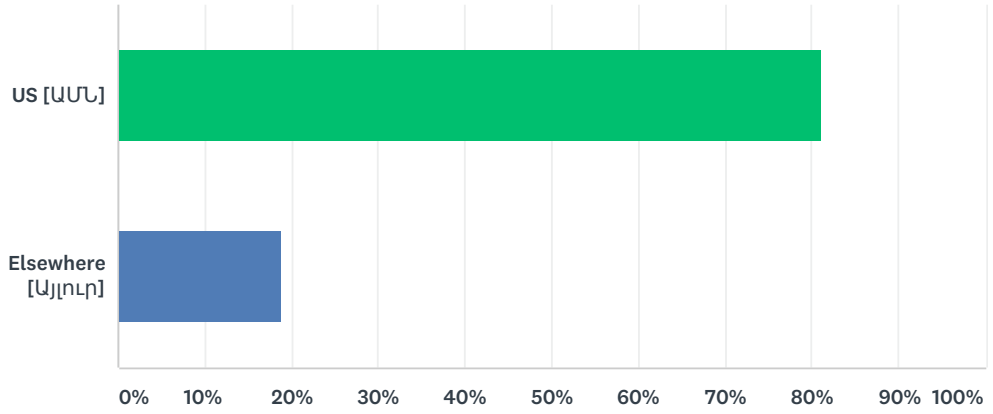
Answered: 1,048 Skipped: 6



ANSWER CHOICES	RESPONSES	
None [Կրթություն չեմ ստացել]	0.38%	4
Sixth grade or below [Վեցերորդ դասարանի կրթություն կամ ավելի քիչ]	2.19%	23
Some high school [Հաճախել եմ միջնակարգ դպրոց]	1.53%	16
GED	0.19%	2
High school graduate [Միջնակարգ դպրոցի շրջանավարտ եմ]	5.82%	61
Some college [Հաճախել եմ ուսումնարան]	14.60%	153
4 year college degree [Համալսարանի շջանավարտ եմ]	31.20%	327
Graduate or professional degree [Մագիստրատուրա կամ ասպիրանտուրա ավարտել եմ]	44.08%	462
TOTAL		1,048

Q11 Where did you complete your highest level of education? US or elsewhere? [Որտե՞ղ եք ստացել Ձեր կրթական ամենաբարձր կոչումը:]

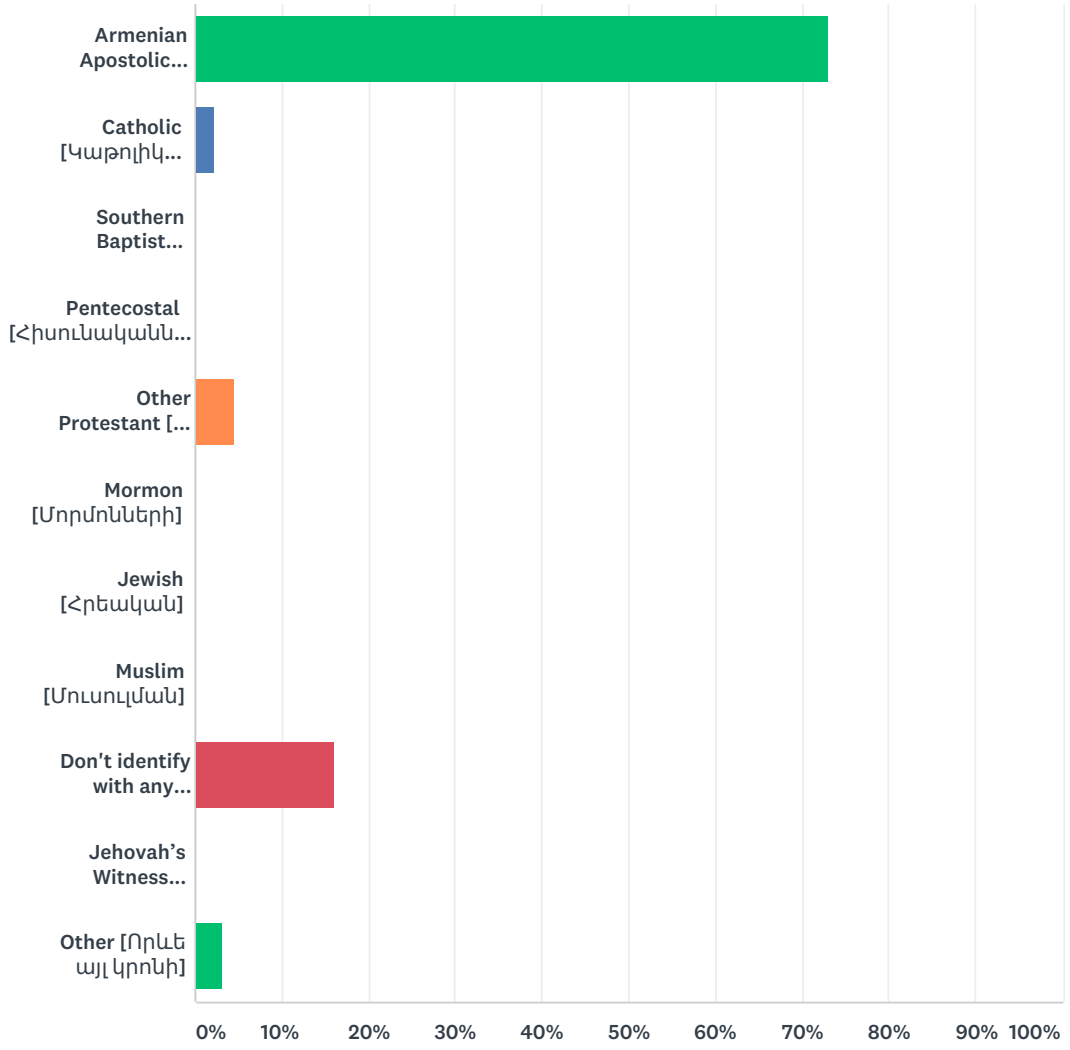
Answered: 1,028 Skipped: 26



ANSWER CHOICES	RESPONSES	
US [ԱՄՆ]	81.23%	835
Elsewhere [Այլուր]	18.77%	193
TOTAL		1,028

Q12 With what religious tradition do you most closely identify? [Կրոնական ո՞ր ավանդության եք հետևում հիմնականում:]

Answered: 1,049 Skipped: 5

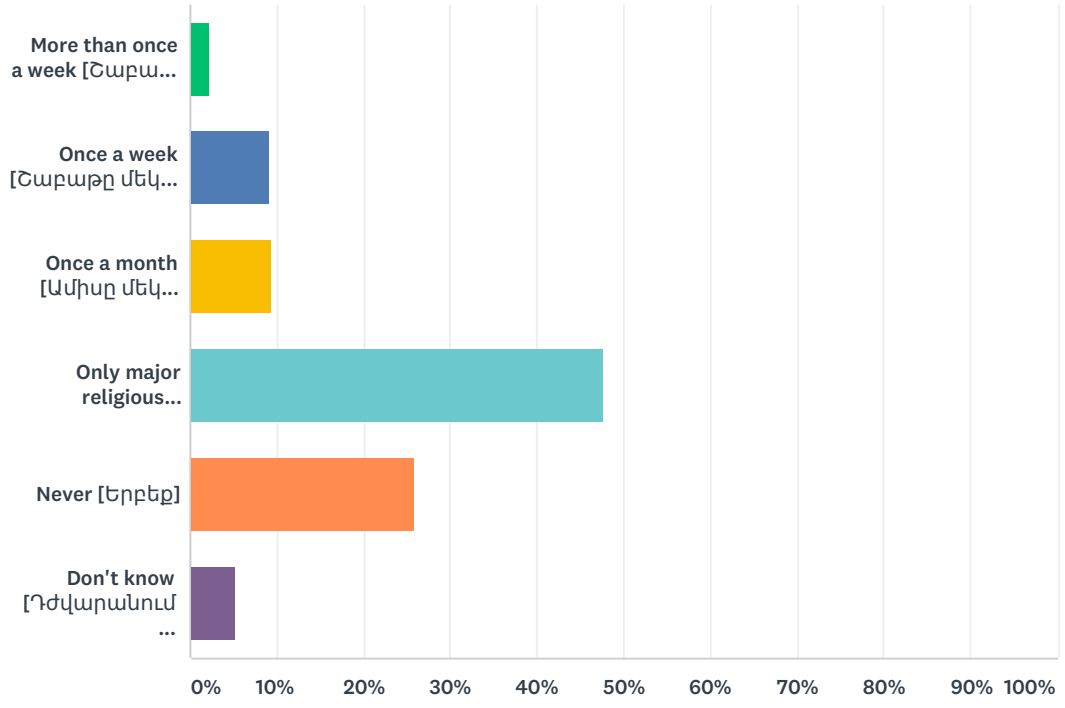


ANSWER CHOICES	RESPONSES	
Armenian Apostolic [Հայաստանեայց առաքելական եկեղեցու]	72.93%	765
Catholic [Կաթոլիկ եկեղեցու]	2.38%	25
Southern Baptist [Հարավային բապտիզմի]	0.19%	2
Pentecostal [Հիսունականների]	0.19%	2
Other Protestant [Այլ բողոքականների]	4.67%	49
Mormon [Մորմոնների]	0.10%	1
Jewish [Հրեական]	0.10%	1
Muslim [Մուսուլման]	0.10%	1
Don't identify with any religious denomination [Ոչ մի կրոնական ավանդության չեմ հետևում:]	16.21%	170

Jehovah’s Witness [Եհովայի վկաների]	0.10%	1
Other [Որևե այլ կրոնի]	3.05%	32
TOTAL		1,049

Q13 How often do you attend religious services? Do you attend: [Ի՞նչ հաճախականությամբ եք մասնակցում կրոնական արարողությունների:]

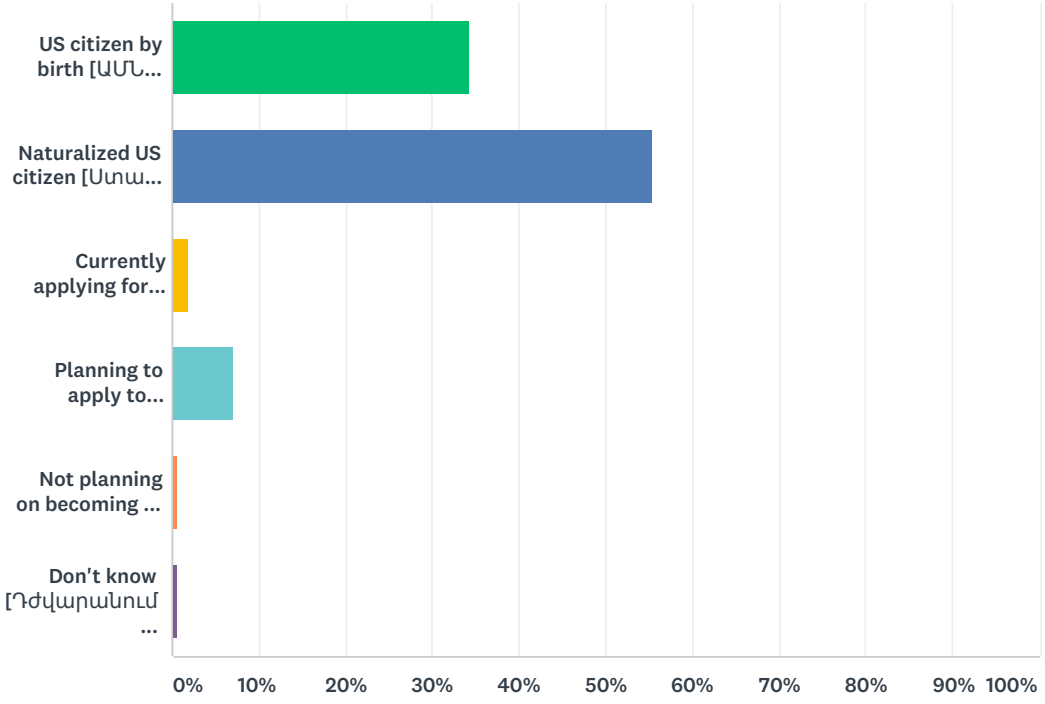
Answered: 1,044 Skipped: 10



ANSWER CHOICES	RESPONSES	
More than once a week [Շաբաթը մեկ անգամից ավելի]	2.30%	24
Once a week [Շաբաթը մեկ անգամ]	9.29%	97
Once a month [Ամիսը մեկ անգամ]	9.48%	99
Only major religious holidays [Մասնակցում եմ միայն հիմնական կրոնական տոներին:]	47.80%	499
Never [Երբեք]	25.96%	271
Don't know [Դժվարանում եմ ասել:]	5.17%	54
TOTAL		1,044

Q14 Are you a US citizen, currently applying for citizenship, planning to apply to citizenship, not planning on becoming a citizen? [ԱՄՆ քաղաքացի՞ եք, դիմում եք քաղաքացիության՞ն, պատրաստվո՞ւմ եք, թե՞ չեք պատրաստվում դիմել քաղաքացիության:]

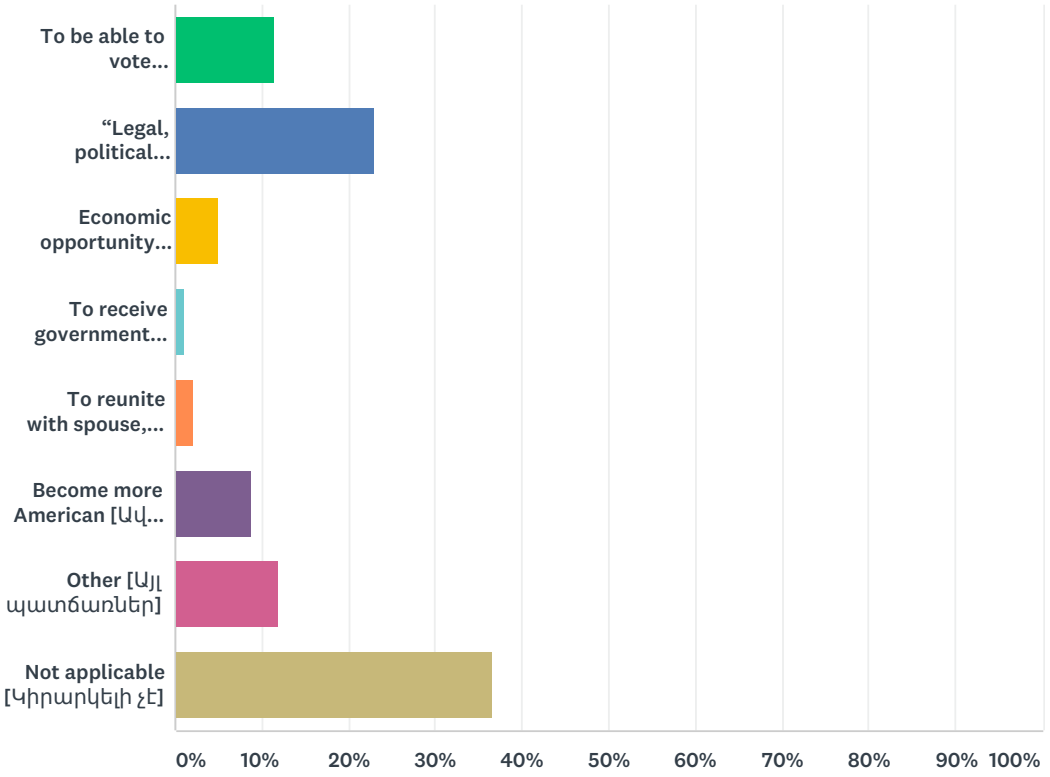
Answered: 1,045 Skipped: 9



ANSWER CHOICES	RESPONSES	
US citizen by birth [ԱՄՆ քաղաքացի եմ ի ծնե]	34.35%	359
Naturalized US citizen [Ստացել եմ ԱՄՆ քաղաքացիություն]	55.41%	579
Currently applying for citizenship [Ներկայումս դիմում եմ ԱՄՆ քաղաքացիության]	1.91%	20
Planning to apply to citizenship [Պատրաստվում եմ դիմել քաղաքացիության]	7.08%	74
Not planning on becoming a citizen [Չեմ պատրաստվում քաղաքացիության դիմել]	0.57%	6
Don't know [Դժվարանում եմ ասել]	0.67%	7
TOTAL		1,045

Q15 If applicable, what would you say is the main reason you chose to become a US citizen? [Ո՞րն է ԱՄՆ քաղաքացի դառնալու Ձեր հիմնական դրդապատճառը:]

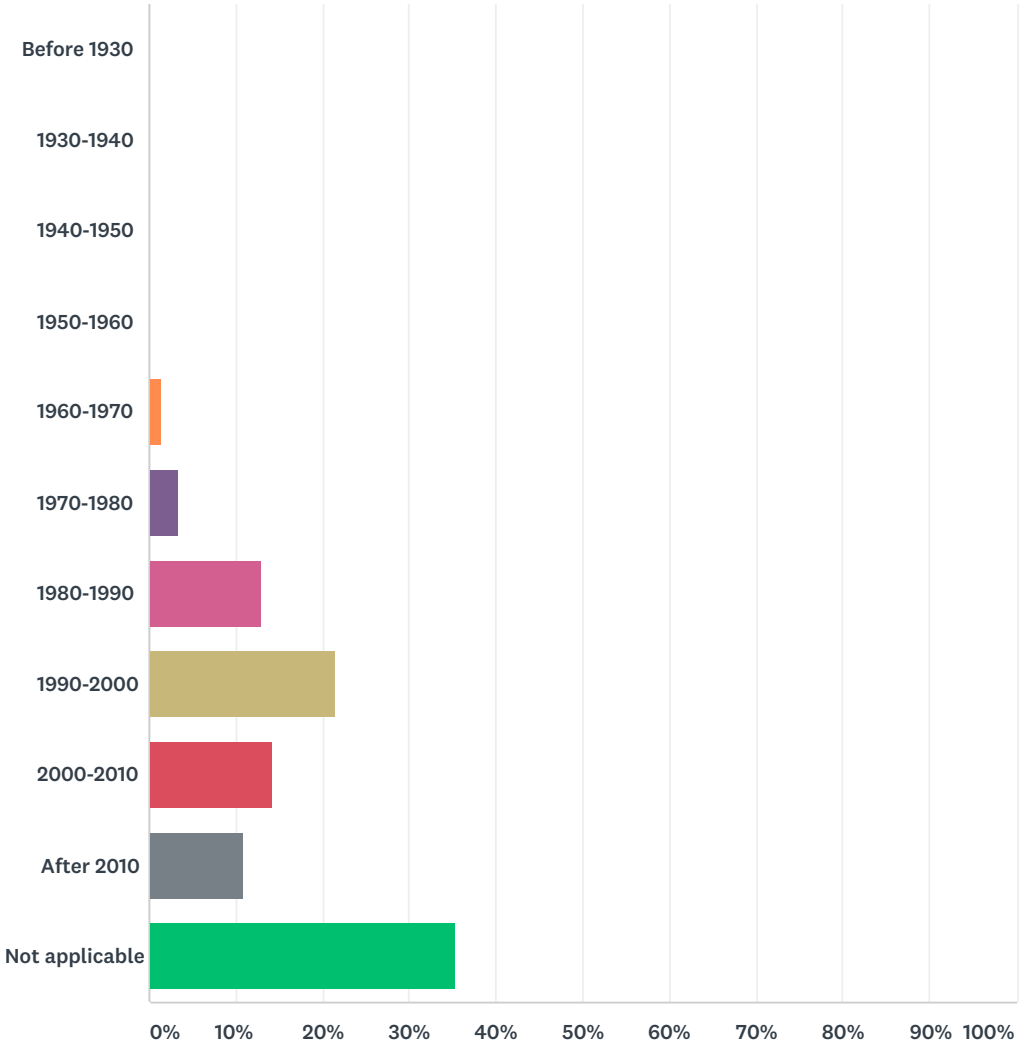
Answered: 1,023 Skipped: 31



ANSWER CHOICES	RESPONSES	
To be able to vote [Քվեարկելու իրավունքը]	11.44%	117
“Legal, political rights or civil rights” or “So people would not treat me unfairly” [«Օրինական, քաղաքական կամ քաղաքացիական իրավունքը», կամ՝ «Ոպեսզի մարդիկ ինձ անարդար կերպով չվերաբերվեն»:]	22.97%	235
Economic opportunity [Տնտեսական հեռանկարը]	4.99%	51
To receive government benefits [Պետական աջակցություն ստանալու հնարավորությունը]	1.08%	11
To reunite with spouse, family, and/or children [Ամուսնուս, ընտանիքիս և/կամ երեխաներիս հետ (վերա)միավորվելու հնարավորությունը]	2.15%	22
Become more American [Ավելի «ամերիկանանալու» ցանկությունը]	8.70%	89
Other [Այլ պատճառներ]	12.02%	123
Not applicable [Կիրարկելի չէ]	36.66%	375
TOTAL		1,023

Q16 When did you become a US citizen? [Ե՞րբ եք ԱՄՆ քաղաքացիությունը ստացել։]

Answered: 971 Skipped: 83

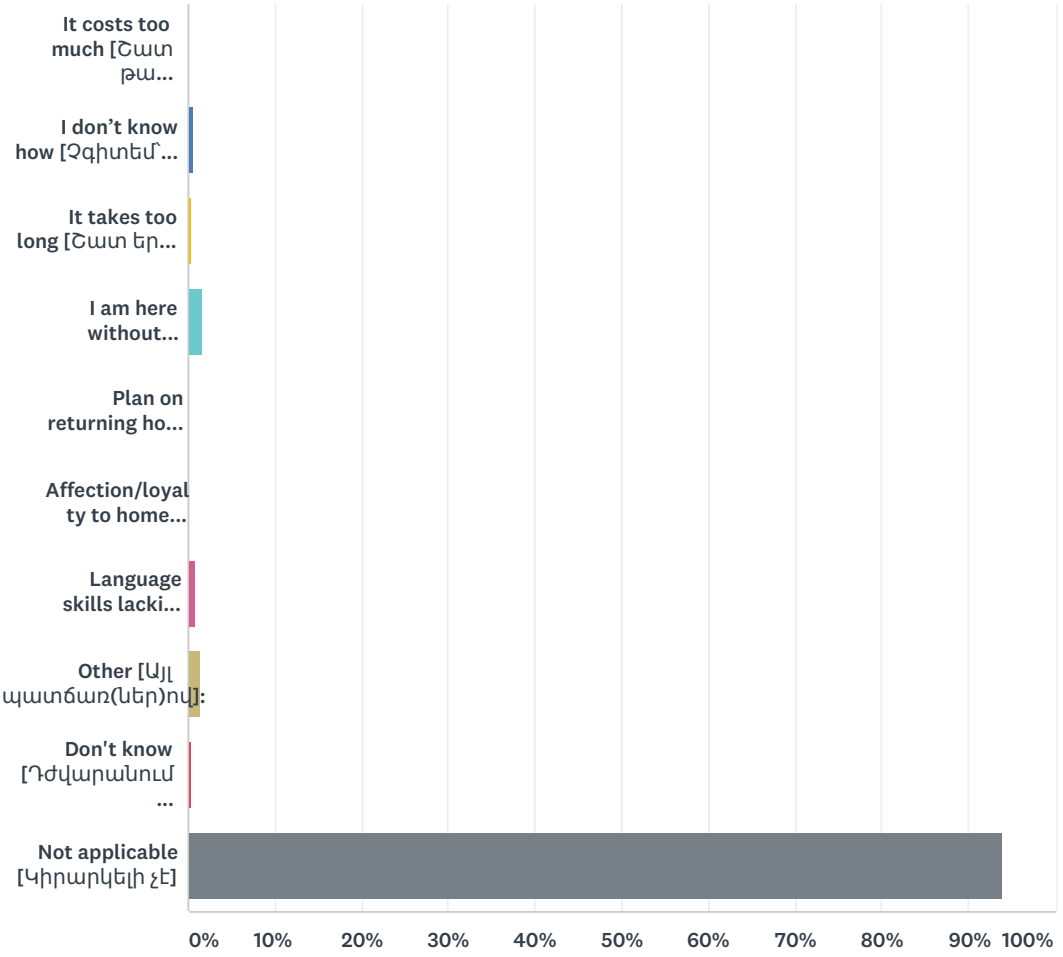


ANSWER CHOICES	RESPONSES	
Before 1930	0.00%	0
1930-1940	0.10%	1
1940-1950	0.00%	0
1950-1960	0.21%	2
1960-1970	1.54%	15
1970-1980	3.30%	32
1980-1990	12.98%	126
1990-2000	21.52%	209
2000-2010	14.21%	138

After 2010	10.81%	105
Not applicable	35.32%	343
TOTAL		971

Q17 If applicable, what would you say is the main reason you have not naturalized? [Ինչո՞ւ եք որոշել չդիմել քաղաքացիության:]

Answered: 903 Skipped: 151

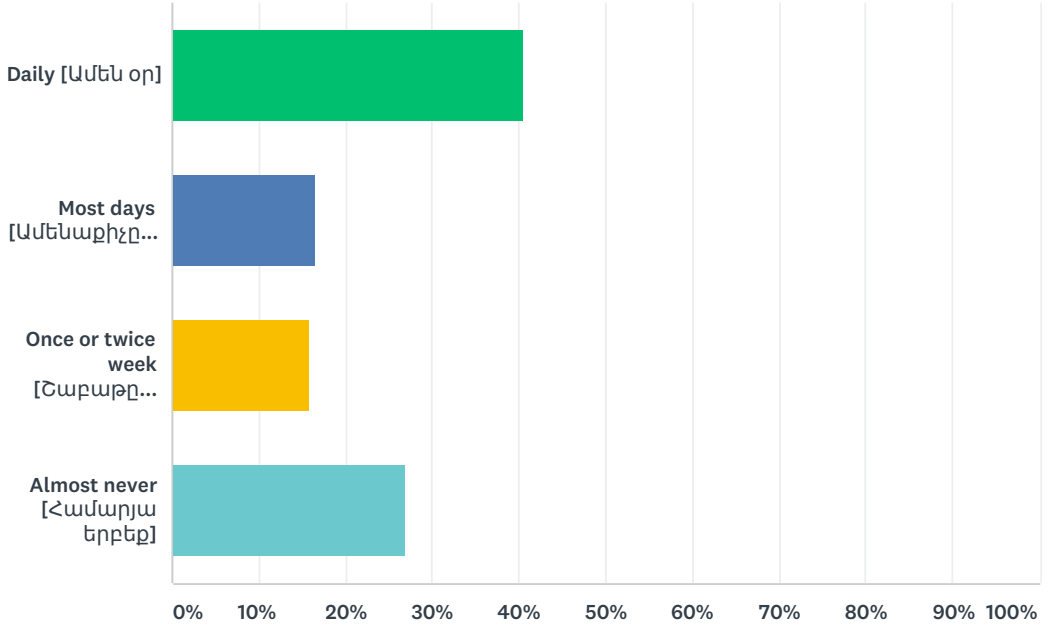


ANSWER CHOICES	RESPONSES	
It costs too much [Շատ թանկ արժե:]	0.22%	2
I don’t know how [Չգիտեմ՝ ինչպես դիմել:]	0.66%	6
It takes too long [Շատ երկար գործընթաց է:]	0.33%	3
I am here without necessary documents to become naturalized/not yet eligible [(Առայժմ) քաղաքացիության դիմելու համար անհրաժեշտ փաստաթղթեր(ը) չունեմ:]	1.66%	15
Plan on returning home [Պատրաստվում եմ վերադառնալ հայրենի բնակավայր:]	0.11%	1
Affection/loyalty to home country [Երկրիս հանդեպ սերը/հավատարմությունը չի թույլատրում:]	0.22%	2
Language skills lacking [Անհրաժեշտ լեզվական իմացության պակասի պատճառով:]	0.89%	8
Other [Այլ պատճառ(ներ)ով]:	1.44%	13
Don't know [Դժվարանում եմ ասել:]	0.44%	4
Not applicable [Կիրարկելի չէ]	94.02%	849

TOTAL	903

Q18 How frequently do you watch news on television? [Ի՞նչ հաճախականությամբ եք հեռուստատեսությամբ հետևում լրատվական հաղորդումներին։]

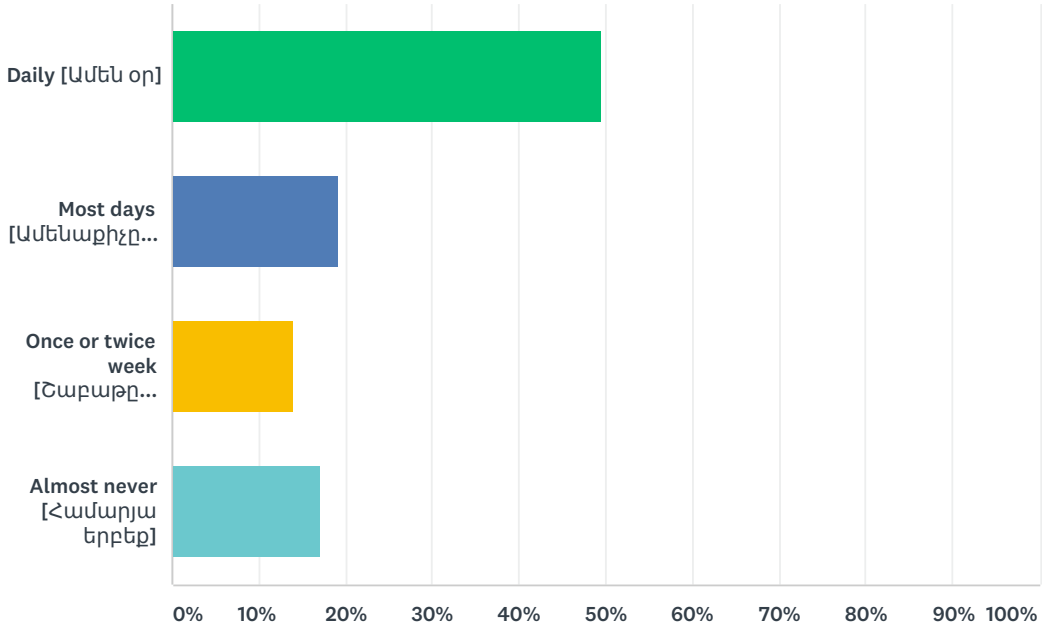
Answered: 1,047 Skipped: 7



ANSWER CHOICES	RESPONSES	
Daily [Ամեն օր]	40.59%	425
Most days [Ամենաքիչը շաբաթական չորս օր]	16.43%	172
Once or twice week [Շաբաթը մեկից երկու անգամ]	15.95%	167
Almost never [Հազվադեպ երբեք]	27.03%	283
TOTAL		1,047

Q19 How often do you read a newspaper (or news online)? [Ի՞նչ հաճախականությամբ եք թերթ կարդում:]

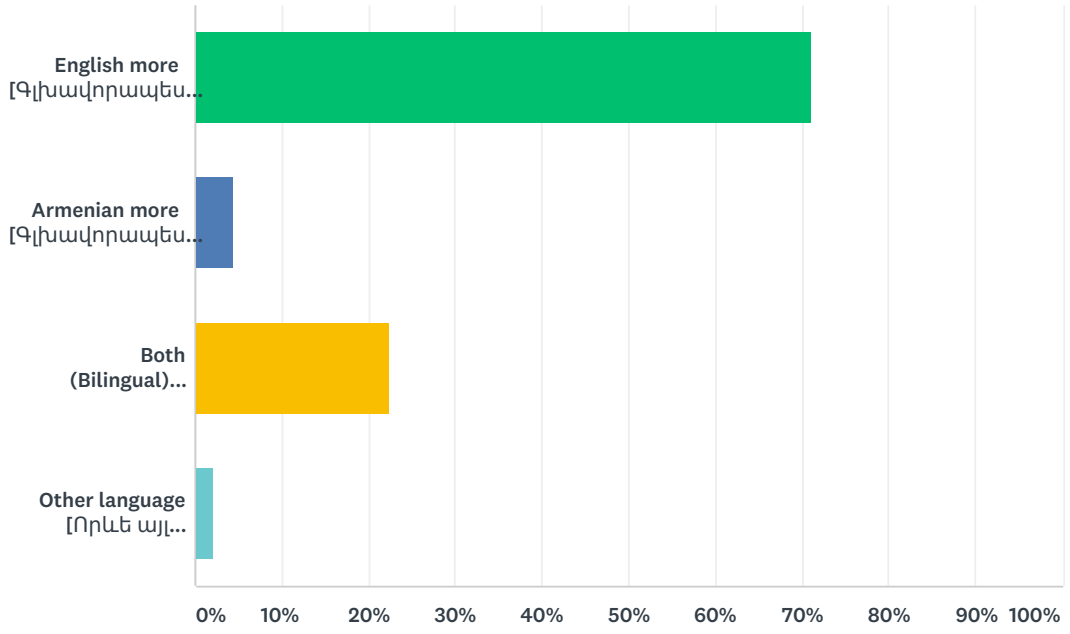
Answered: 1,045 Skipped: 9



ANSWER CHOICES	RESPONSES	
Daily [Ամեն օր]	49.57%	518
Most days [Ամենաքիչը շաբաթական չորս օր]	19.23%	201
Once or twice week [Շաբաթը մեկից երկու անգամ]	14.07%	147
Almost never [Հազվադեպ երբեք]	17.13%	179
TOTAL		1,045

Q20 For information about public affairs and politics, do you rely more heavily on Armenian-language television, radio, and newspapers, or on English-language sources? [Քաղաքական և հասարակական իրադարձությունների մասին տեղեկություն ստանալու համար ավելի շատ հենվում եք/վստահում եք հայալեզու, թե՞ անգլիալեզու աղբյուրների (հեռուստատեսություն, ռադիո, պարբերականներ) վրա:]

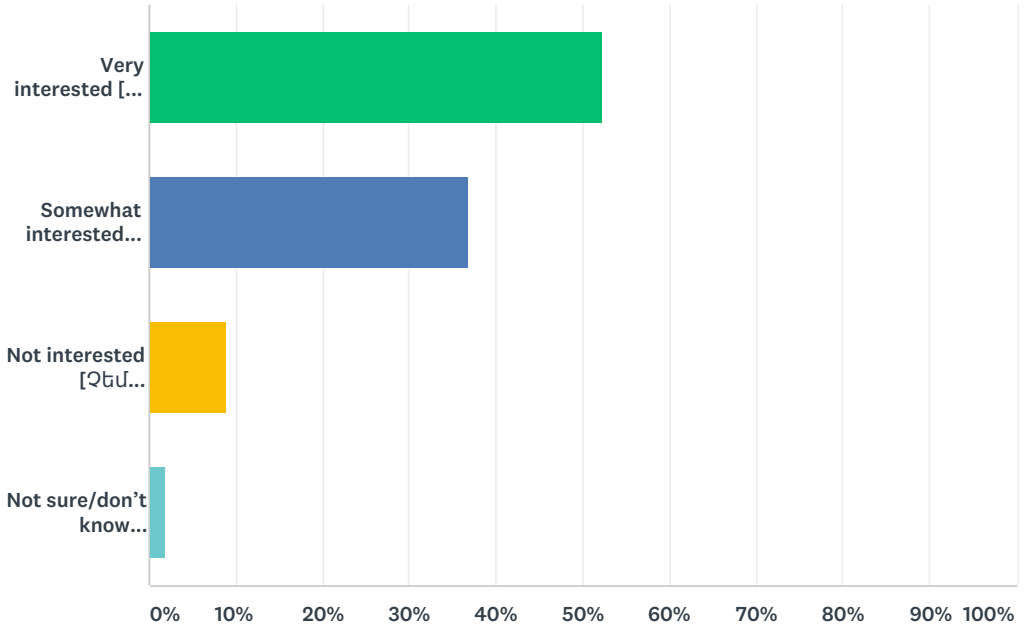
Answered: 1,050 Skipped: 4



ANSWER CHOICES	RESPONSES	
English more [Գլխավորապես անգլերեն]	71.14%	747
Armenian more [Գլխավորապես հայերեն]	4.48%	47
Both (Bilingual) [Ե՛վ հայերեն, և՛ անգլերեն:]	22.29%	234
Other language [Որևե այլ լեզու]	2.10%	22
TOTAL		1,050

Q21 How interested are you in politics and public affairs? [Որքանո՞վ եք հետարքրքիվում քաղաքական և հասարակական իրադարձություններով։]

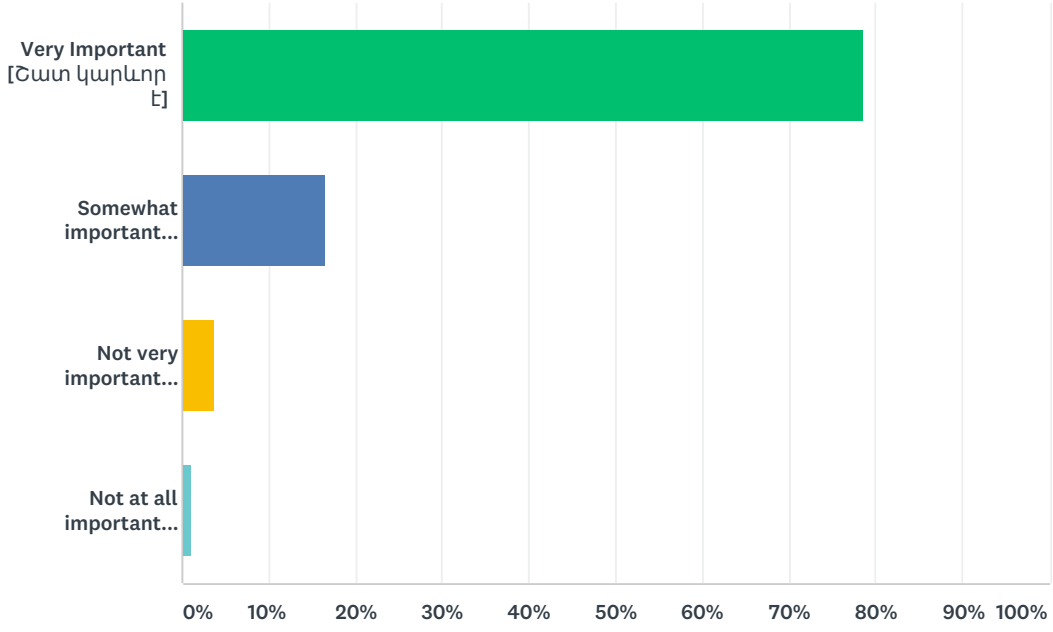
Answered: 1,047 Skipped: 7



ANSWER CHOICES	RESPONSES	
Very interested [Շատ եմ հետաքրքրվում]	52.24%	547
Somewhat interested [Որոշակի չափով եմ հետաքրքրվում]	36.87%	386
Not interested [Չեմ հետաքրքրվում]	9.07%	95
Not sure/don't know [Դժվարանում եմ ասել]	1.81%	19
TOTAL		1,047

Q22 How important is it for you or your family to maintain the ability to speak Armenian? [Որքա՞ն կարևոր է Ձեզ և Ձեր ընտանիքի համար հայախոսության պահպանումը:]

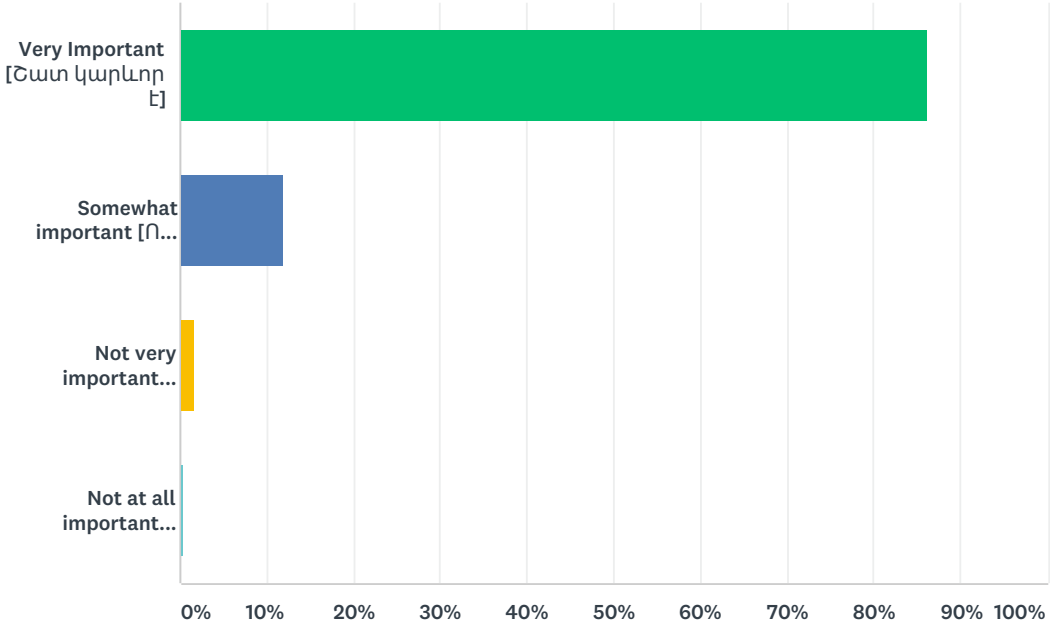
Answered: 1,044 Skipped: 10



ANSWER CHOICES	RESPONSES	
Very Important [Շատ կարևոր է]	78.64%	821
Somewhat important [Որոշակի չափով կարևոր է]	16.48%	172
Not very important [Այնքան էլ կարևոր չէ]	3.83%	40
Not at all important [Բոլորովին կարևոր չէ]	1.05%	11
TOTAL		1,044

Q23 How important is the preservation of your Armenian identity to you? [Որքա՞ն կարևոր է հայ ինքնության պահպանումը Ձեզ համար։]

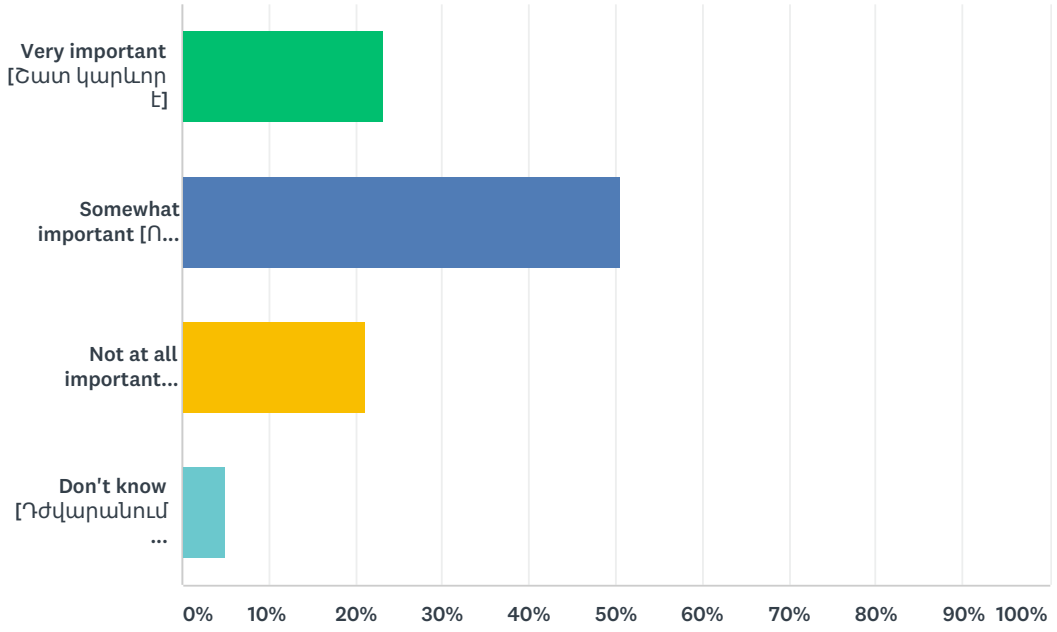
Answered: 1,046 Skipped: 8



ANSWER CHOICES	RESPONSES	
Very Important [Շատ կարևոր է]	86.14%	901
Somewhat important [Որոշ չափով կարևոր է]	11.85%	124
Not very important [Այնքան էլ կարևոր չէ]	1.63%	17
Not at all important [Բոլորովին կարևոր չէ]	0.38%	4
TOTAL		1,046

Q24 How important is it for Armenians to change so that they blend into the larger American society? [Ձեր կարծիքով, որքա՞ն կարևոր է հայերի համար փոփոխություն կրել՝ ամերիկյան հասարակության հետ ավելի խառնվելու համար:]

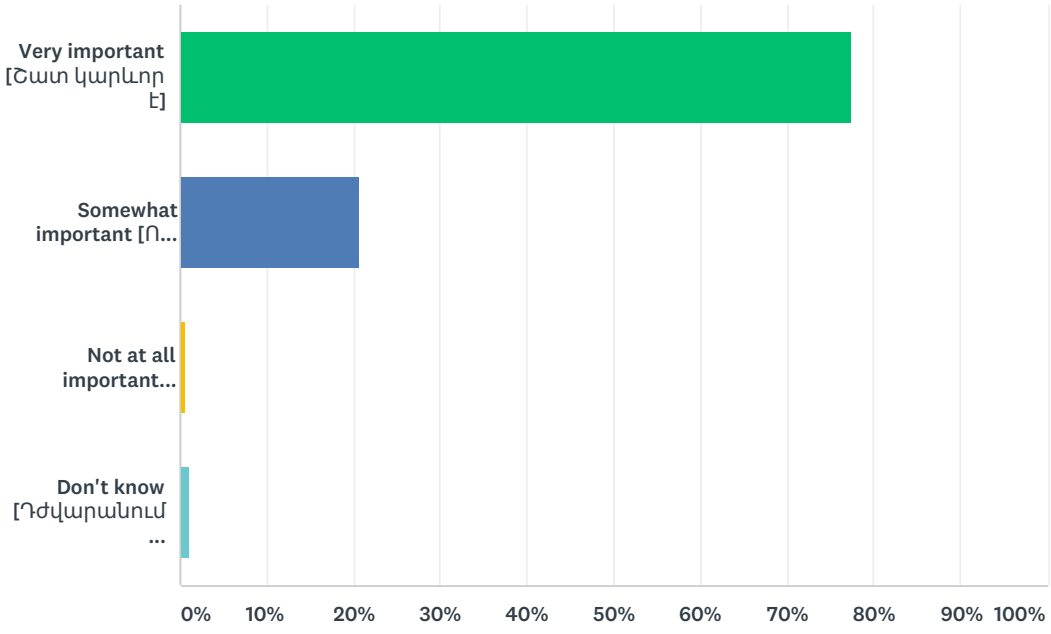
Answered: 1,045 Skipped: 9



ANSWER CHOICES	RESPONSES	
Very important [Շատ կարևոր է]	23.25%	243
Somewhat important [Որոշ չափով կարևոր է:]	50.72%	530
Not at all important [Բոլորովին կարևոր չէ:]	21.05%	220
Don't know [Դժվարանում եմ ասել:]	4.98%	52
TOTAL		1,045

Q25 How important is it for Armenians to maintain their distinct cultures? [Որքա՞ն կարևոր է իրենց ուրույն մշակույթի պահպանումը հայերի համար:]

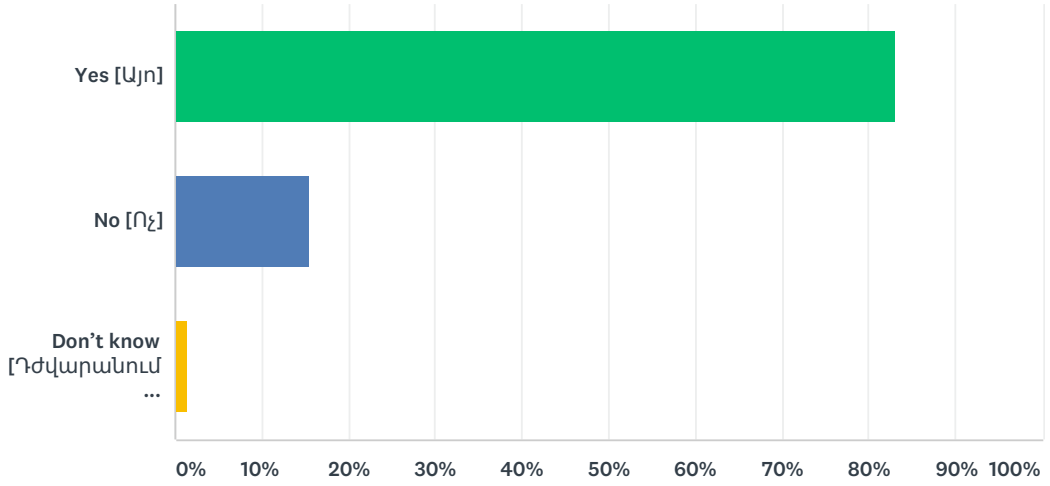
Answered: 1,047 Skipped: 7



ANSWER CHOICES	RESPONSES	
Very important [Շատ կարևոր է]	77.46%	811
Somewhat important [Որոշ չափով կարևոր է]	20.73%	217
Not at all important [Բոլորովին կարևոր չէ]	0.67%	7
Don't know [Դժվարանում եմ ասել]	1.15%	12
TOTAL		1,047

Q26 Are you currently registered to vote in the US? [Ներկայումս գրանցվա՞ծ եք ԱՄՆ-ում քվեարկելու համար:]

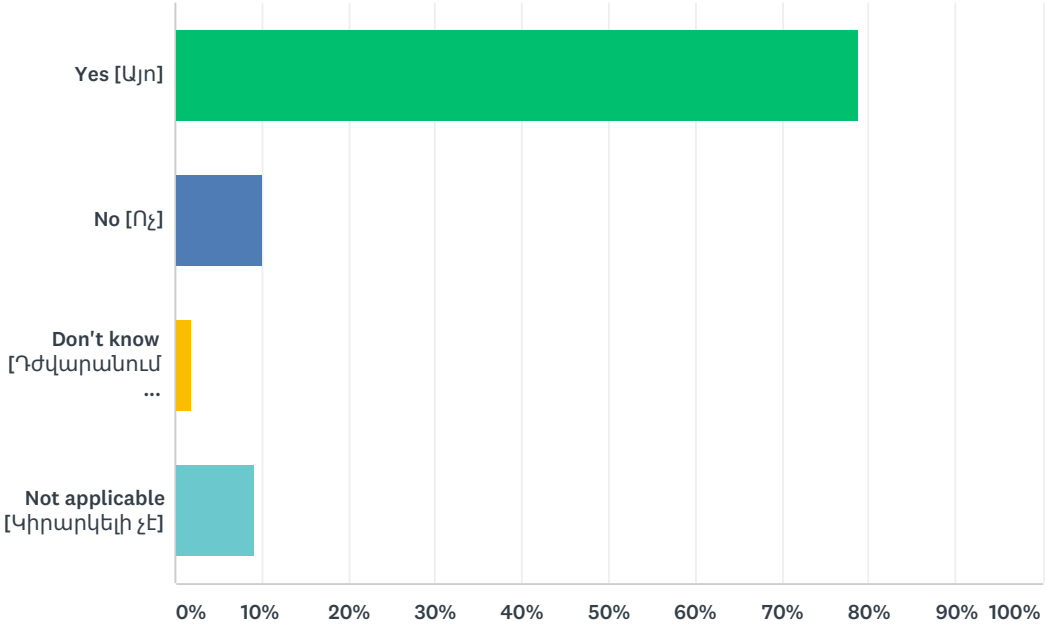
Answered: 1,045 Skipped: 9



ANSWER CHOICES	RESPONSES	
Yes [Այո]	83.06%	868
No [Ոչ]	15.50%	162
Don't know [Դժվարանում եմ ասել]	1.44%	15
TOTAL		1,045

Q27 If you are registered to vote, do you typically vote in US elections? [Եթե գրանցված եք քվեարկելու, ընդհանրապես մասնակցու՞մ եք ԱՄՆի ընտրությունների քվեարկությանը:]

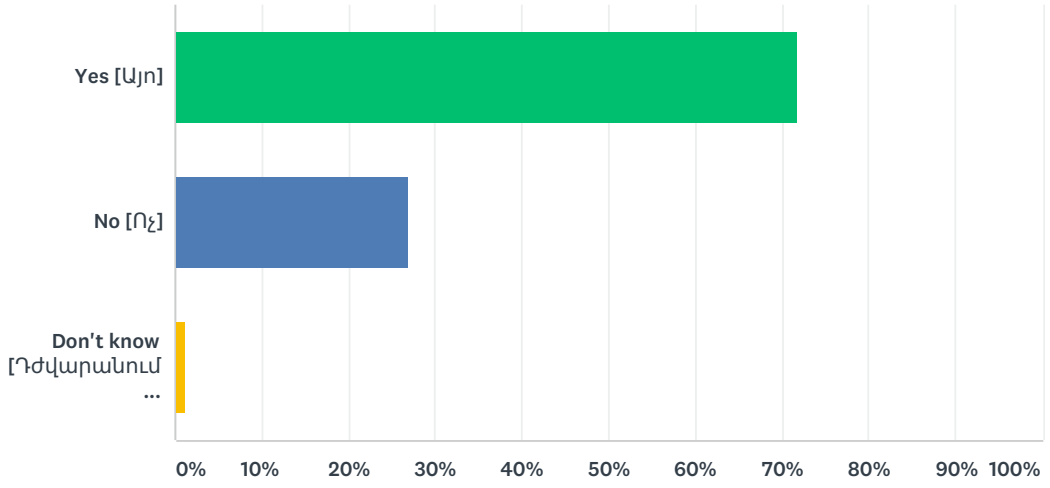
Answered: 1,029 Skipped: 25



ANSWER CHOICES	RESPONSES	
Yes [Այո]	78.81%	811
No [Ոչ]	10.11%	104
Don't know [Դժվարանում եմ ասել]	1.94%	20
Not applicable [Կիրարկելի չէ]	9.14%	94
TOTAL		1,029

Q28 Did you vote in the presidential election last November? [Մասնակցե՞լ եք անցյալ նոյեմբերի նախագահական ընտրության քվեարկությանը:]

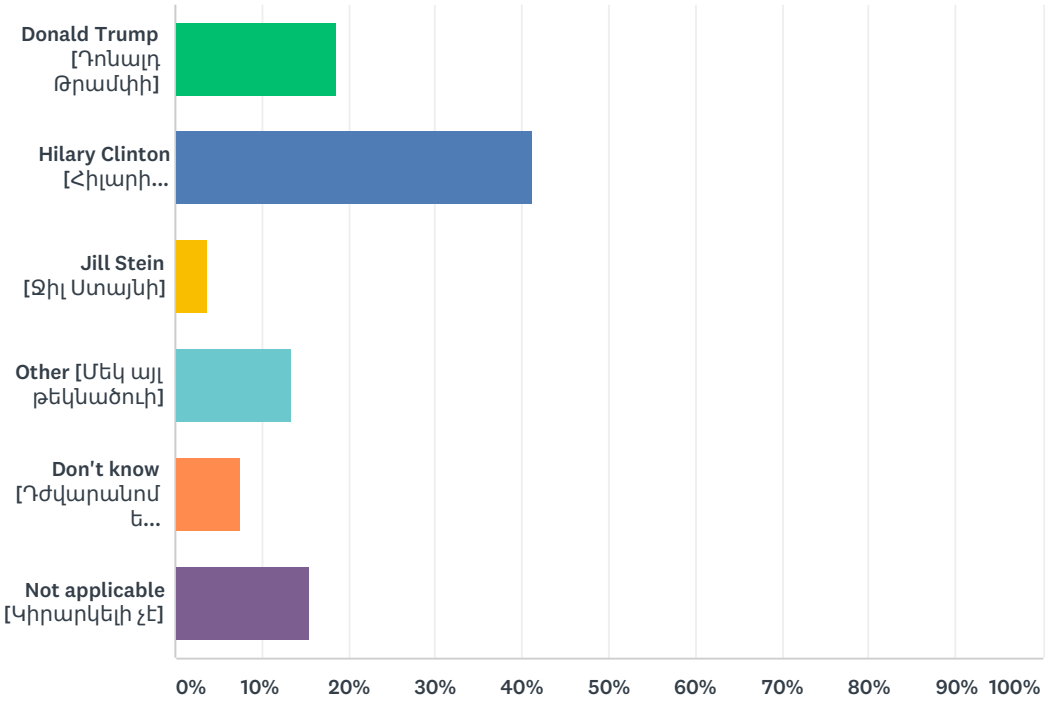
Answered: 1,042 Skipped: 12



ANSWER CHOICES	RESPONSES	
Yes [Այո]	71.79%	748
No [Ոչ]	27.06%	282
Don't know [Դժվարանում եմ ասել]	1.15%	12
TOTAL		1,042

Q29 If applicable, who did you vote for in the presidential election of 2016? [Ո՞ւմ օգտին եք քվեարկել 2016-ի նախագահական ընտրությանը:]

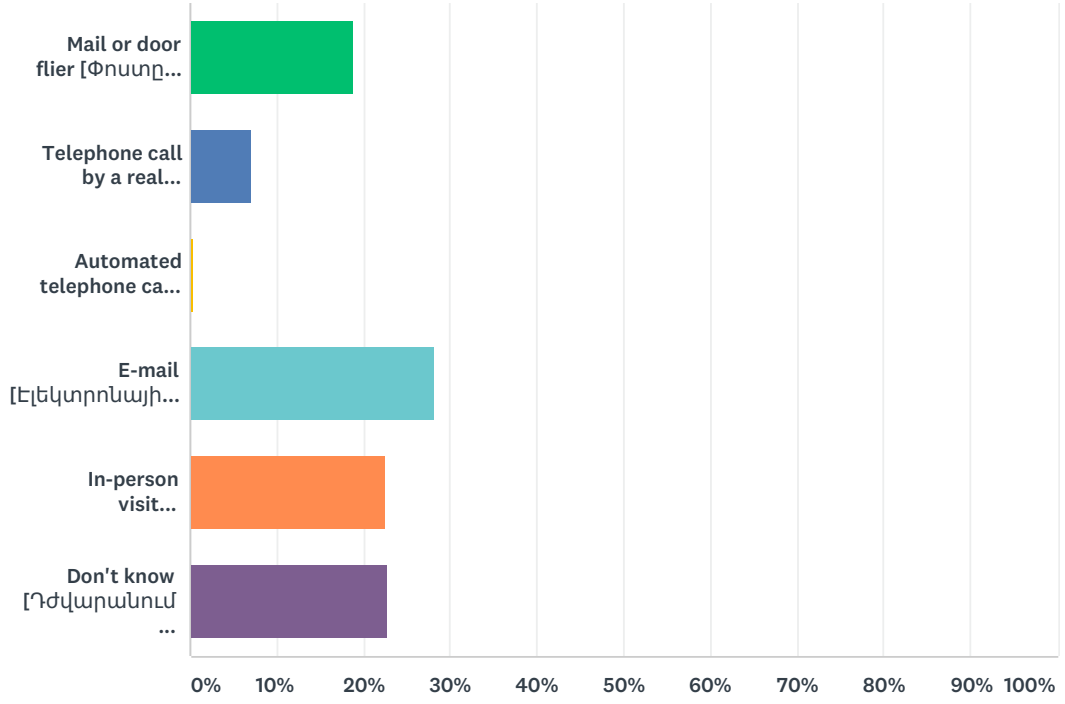
Answered: 960 Skipped: 94



ANSWER CHOICES	RESPONSES	
Donald Trump [Դոնալդ Թրամփի]	18.54%	178
Hilary Clinton [Հիլարի Քլինթոնի]	41.25%	396
Jill Stein [Ջիլ Ստայնի]	3.75%	36
Other [Մեկ այլ թեկնածուի]	13.44%	129
Don't know [Դժվարանում եմ ասել:]	7.50%	72
Not applicable [Կիրարկելի չէ]	15.52%	149
TOTAL		960

Q30 If a party or candidate was trying to contact you about an election, which of the following would you pay the most attention to? [Եթե որևէ կուսակցություն կամ թեկնածու փորձեր կապ հաստատել Ձեզ հետ ընտրությունների հարցով, ո՞ր կապի միջոցը ավելի լուրջ կգրավեր Ձեր ուշադրությունը:]

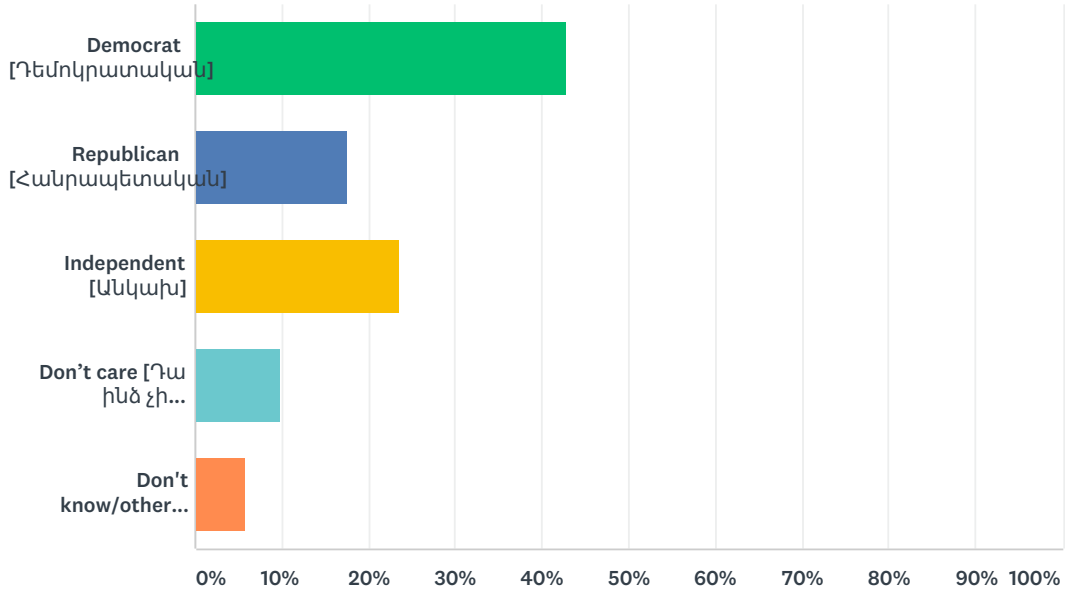
Answered: 1,029 Skipped: 25



ANSWER CHOICES	RESPONSES	
Mail or door flier [Փոստը կամ թռուցիկները]	18.85%	194
Telephone call by a real person [Նախապես ձայնագրված հեռախոսազանգը]	7.19%	74
Automated telephone call [Ավտոմացված հեռախոսակապը]	0.39%	4
E-mail [Էլեկտրոնային նամակը]	28.18%	290
In-person visit [Թեկնածուի անձնական այցը]	22.64%	233
Don't know [Դժվարանում եմ ասել]	22.74%	234
TOTAL		1,029

Q31 Generally speaking, do you usually consider yourself a Democrat, a Republican, an Independent, some other party, or what? [Ո՞ր կուսակցությունն եք, առհասարակ, նախընտրում: / Ո՞ր կուսակցությանն եք հարում:]

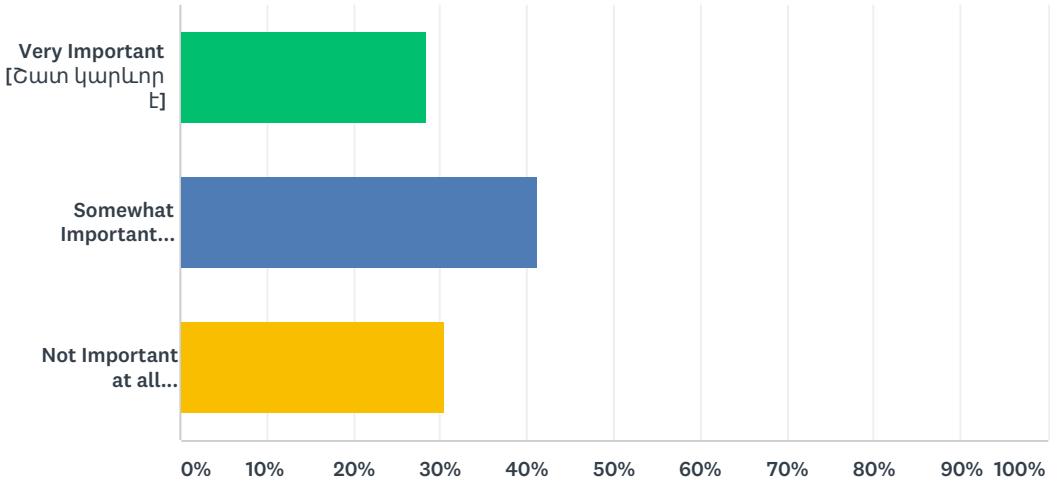
Answered: 1,028 Skipped: 26



ANSWER CHOICES	RESPONSES	
Democrat [Դեմոկրատական]	42.80%	440
Republican [Հանրապետական]	17.61%	181
Independent [Անկախ]	23.74%	244
Don’t care [Դա ինձ չի հետաքրքրում]	9.92%	102
Don't know/other party [Դժվարանում եմ ասել: / Հարում եմ (նախընտրում եմ) մեկ այլ կուսակցության (կուսակցություն)]	5.93%	61
TOTAL		1,028

Q32 How important is it for you that a candidate is Armenian? [Որքա՞ն կարևոր Ձեզ համար քաղաքական ընտրության թեկնածուի հայ լինելը։]

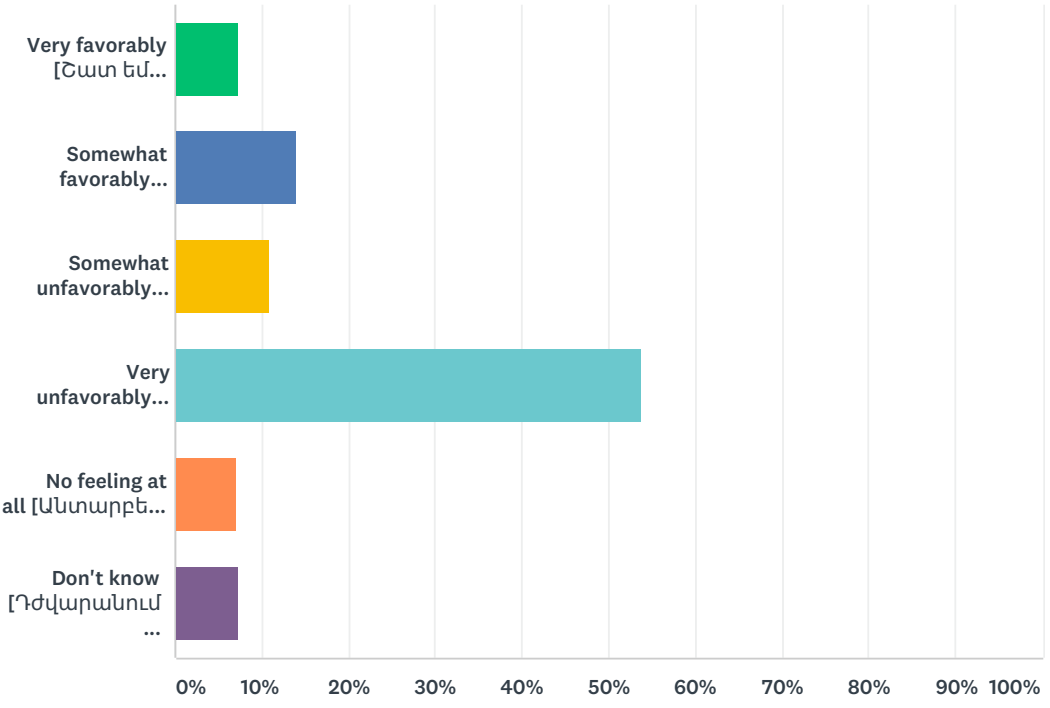
Answered: 1,033 Skipped: 21



ANSWER CHOICES	RESPONSES	
Very Important [Շատ կարևոր է]	28.36%	293
Somewhat Important [Որոշակի չափով է կարևոր]	41.14%	425
Not Important at all [Բոլորովին կարևոր չէ]	30.49%	315
TOTAL		1,033

Q33 Thinking about the kind of person President Trump is, would you say you view him [Ի՞նչ կարծիքի եք նախագահ Թրամփ անձի մասին: Ի՞նչպես եք վերաբերվում նրան:]

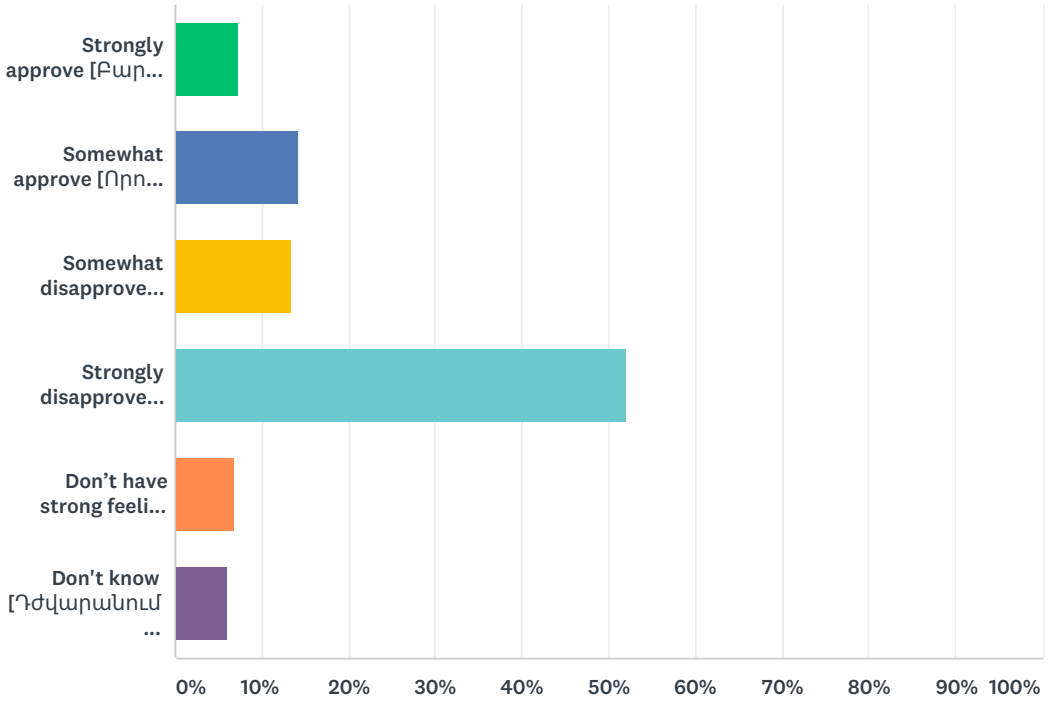
Answered: 1,023 Skipped: 31



ANSWER CHOICES	RESPONSES	
Very favorably [Շատ եմ համակրում]	7.23%	74
Somewhat favorably [Միջին համակրանք ունեմ]	13.98%	143
Somewhat unfavorably [Քիչ եմ համակրում]	10.85%	111
Very unfavorably [Բոլորովին չեմ համակրում]	53.67%	549
No feeling at all [Անտարբեր եմ]	7.04%	72
Don't know [Դժվարանում եմ ասել]	7.23%	74
TOTAL		1,023

Q34 How strongly do you approve or disapprove of how President Trump is doing as president? [Նախագահ Թրամփի կառավարումը ինչպե՞ս կորակեք/կգնահատեք:]

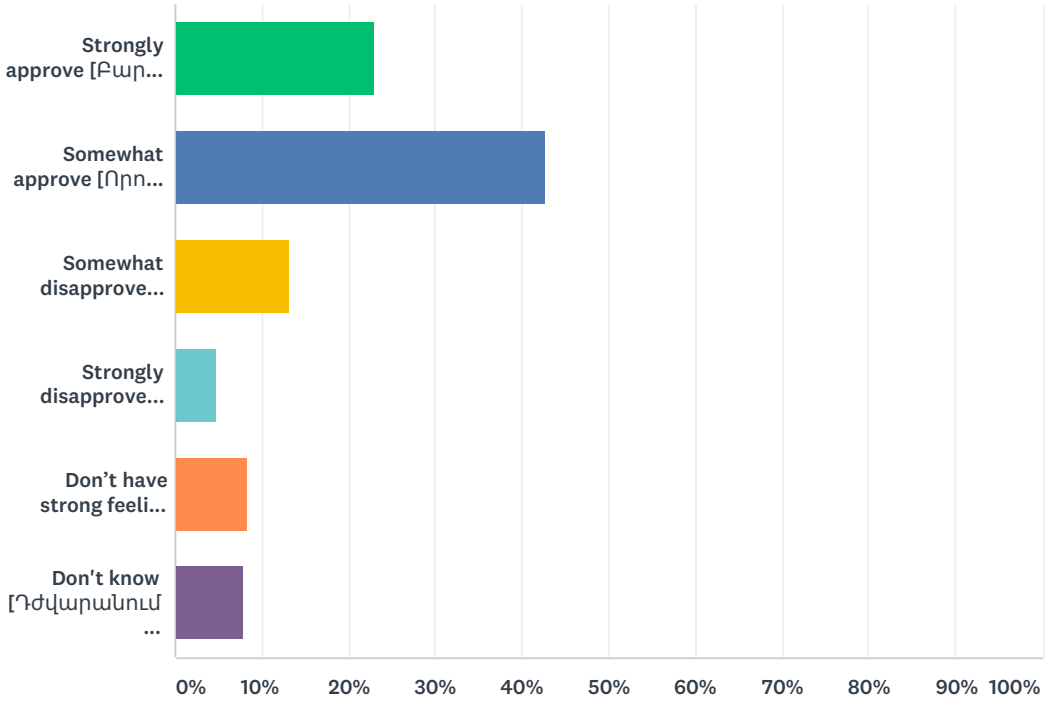
Answered: 1,025 Skipped: 29



ANSWER CHOICES	RESPONSES	
Strongly approve [Բարձր եմ գնահատում]	7.41%	76
Somewhat approve [Որոշ հավանություն եմ տալիս]	14.24%	146
Somewhat disapprove [Այնքան էլ հավանություն չեմ տալիս]	13.37%	137
Strongly disapprove [Բոլորովին չեմ գնահատում]	52.10%	534
Don't have strong feelings [Անտարբեր եմ]	6.83%	70
Don't know [Դժվարանում եմ ասել]	6.05%	62
TOTAL		1,025

Q35 How strongly do you approve or disapprove of how Armenian organizations are doing to represent Armenians in Los Angeles? [Ինչպե՞ս եք գնահատում հայկական կազմակերպությունների՝ Լոս-Անջելեսի հայերին ներկայացնելու ջանքերը։]

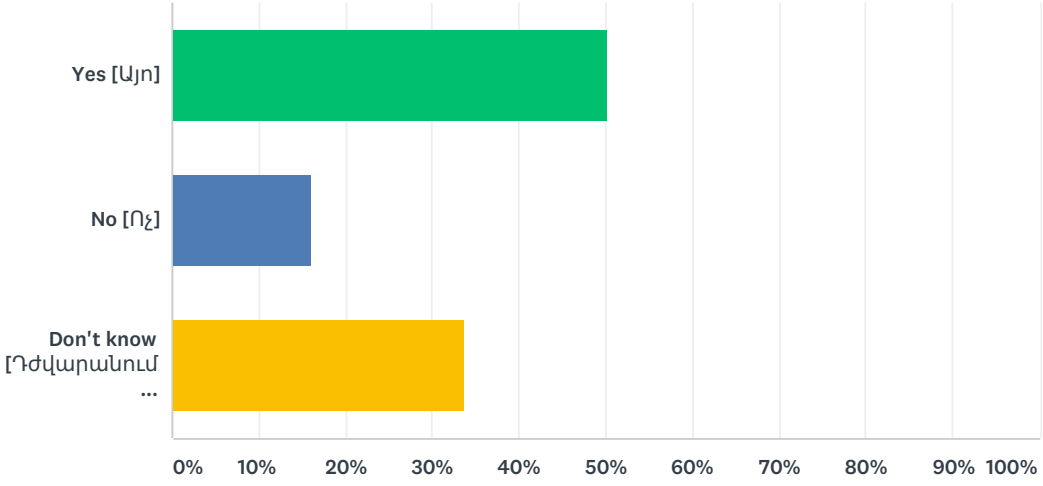
Answered: 1,039 Skipped: 15



ANSWER CHOICES	RESPONSES	
Strongly approve [Բարձր եմ գնահատում]	23.00%	239
Somewhat approve [Որոշ հավանություն եմ տալիս]	42.73%	444
Somewhat disapprove [Այնքան էլ հավանություն չեմ տալիս]	13.09%	136
Strongly disapprove [Բոլորովին չեմ գնահատում]	4.91%	51
Don't have strong feelings [Անտարբեր եմ]	8.28%	86
Don't know [Դժվարանում եմ ասել]	7.99%	83
TOTAL		1,039

Q36 Do you think the police in your community treat Armenians fairly? [Ձեր կարծիքով ոստիկանությունը Ձեր համայնքիում հայերի հետ արդա՞ր կերպով է վերաբերվում։]

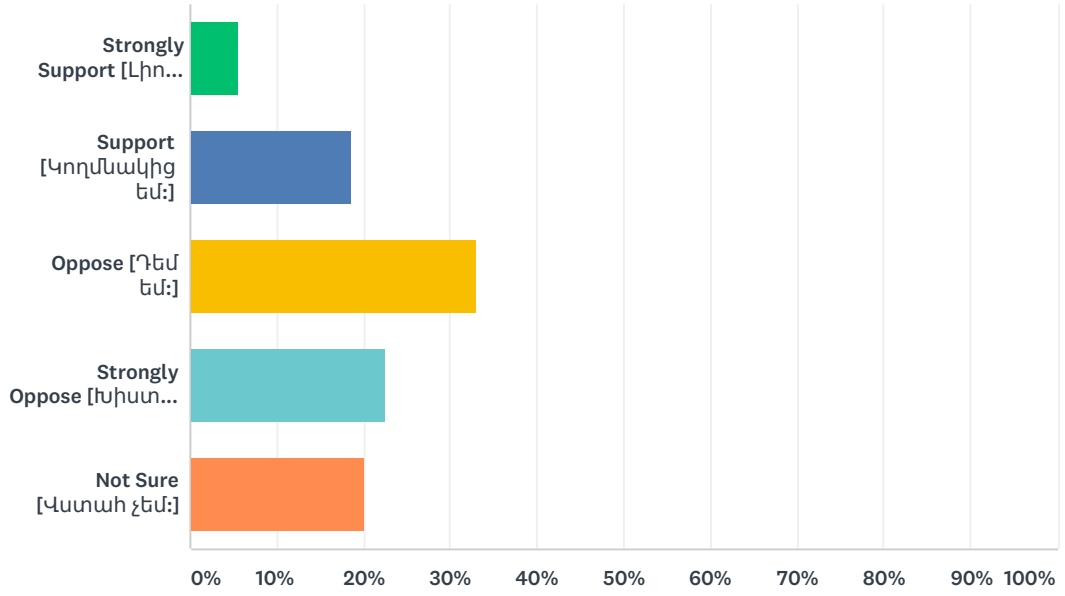
Answered: 1,038 Skipped: 16



ANSWER CHOICES	RESPONSES	
Yes [Այո]	50.19%	521
No [Ոչ]	16.18%	168
Don't know [Դժվարանում եմ ասել]	33.62%	349
TOTAL		1,038

Q37 “Keep US military troops in the Middle East as long as it takes to stabilize their government.” [«ԱՄՆ ռազմական ուժերը պիտի մնան Միջին Արևելքում մինչև տեղական իշխանությունների քաղաքականության վերջնական կայունացում»:]

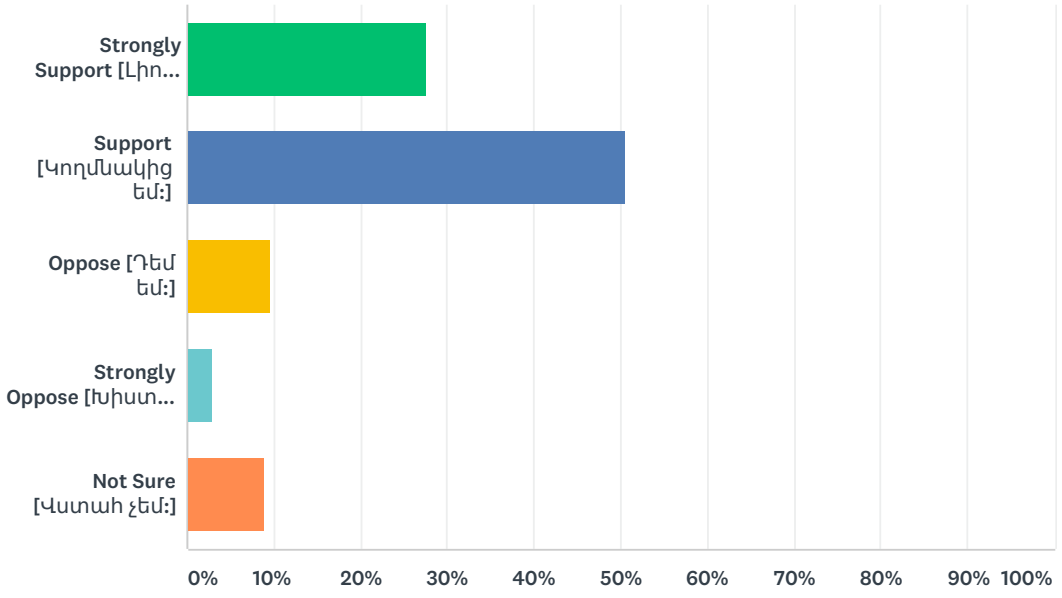
Answered: 1,024 Skipped: 30



ANSWER CHOICES	RESPONSES	
Strongly Support [Լիովին համամիտ եմ:]	5.66%	58
Support [Կողմնակից եմ:]	18.65%	191
Oppose [Դեմ եմ:]	33.01%	338
Strongly Oppose [Խիստ դեմ եմ:]	22.56%	231
Not Sure [Վստահ չեմ:]	20.12%	206
TOTAL		1,024

Q38 "Government should provide income support to those who need it." [«Կառավարությունը պարտավոր է եկամտային նպաստ տրամադրել կարիքն ունեցողներին»:]

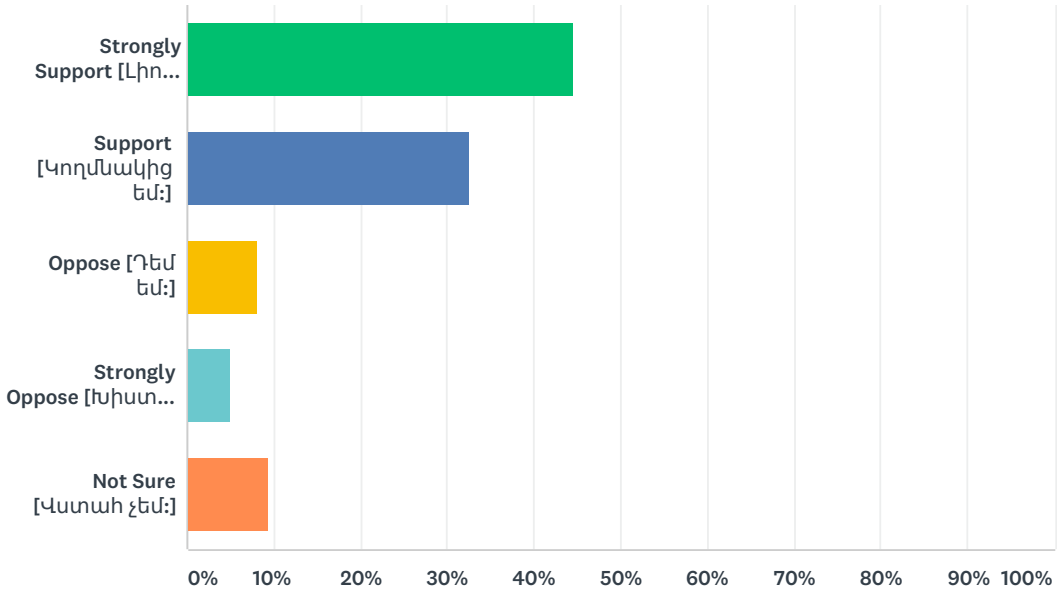
Answered: 1,027 Skipped: 27



ANSWER CHOICES	RESPONSES	
Strongly Support [Լիովին համամիտ եմ:]	27.65%	284
Support [Կողմնակից եմ:]	50.73%	521
Oppose [Դեմ եմ:]	9.64%	99
Strongly Oppose [Խիստ դեմ եմ:]	2.92%	30
Not Sure [Վստահ չեմ:]	9.06%	93
TOTAL		1,027

Q39 “The current health-care system needs government intervention to improve access and reduce costs.” [«Ներկայիս առողջապահական համակարգն ունի իշխանությունների միջամտության կարիքը՝ հասանելիությունը բարելավելու և ծախսերը նվազեցնելու նպատակով»։]

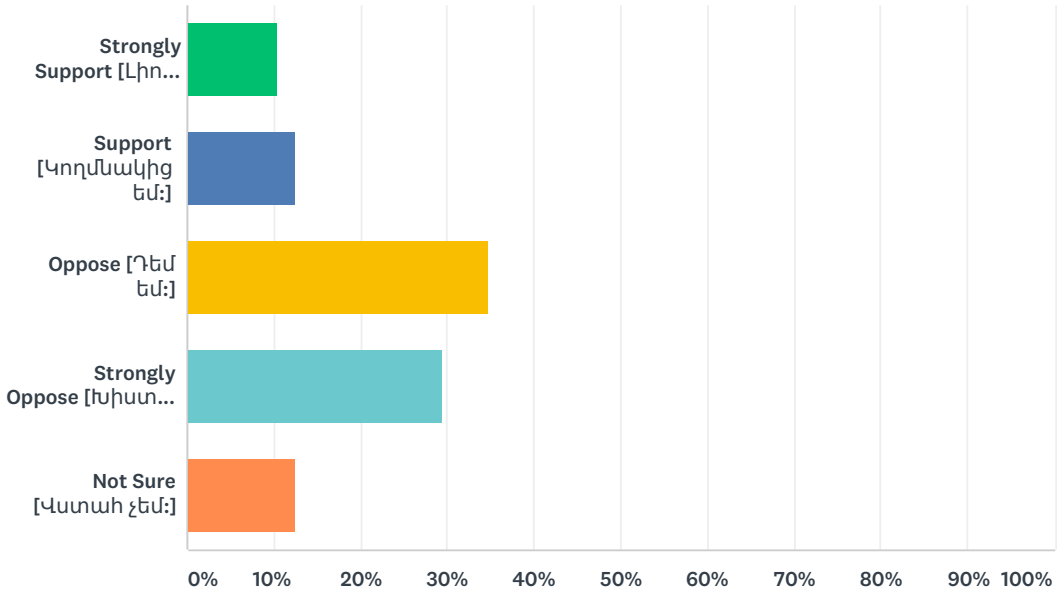
Answered: 1,031 Skipped: 23



ANSWER CHOICES	RESPONSES	
Strongly Support [Լիովին համամիտ եմ։]	44.62%	460
Support [Կողմնակից եմ։]	32.69%	337
Oppose [Դեմ եմ։]	8.15%	84
Strongly Oppose [Խիստ դեմ եմ։]	5.04%	52
Not Sure [Վստահ չեմ։]	9.51%	98
TOTAL		1,031

Q40 “Undocumented immigrants attending college should be charged a higher tuition rate at state colleges and universities, even if they grew up and graduated high-school in the state.” [«անօրինական ներգաղթողներից պետք է գանձել ավելի բարձր ուսման վարձ նահանգային քոլեջներում և համալսարաններում, անգամ եթե նրանք մեծացել են և միջնակարգ դպրոց են ավարտել ԱՄՆ-ում»:]

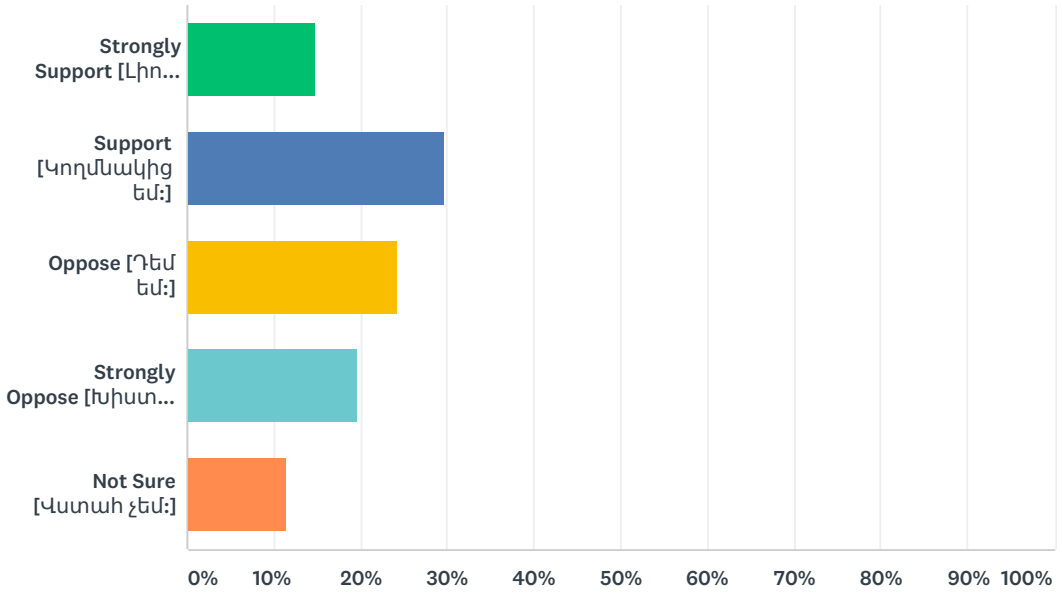
Answered: 1,028 Skipped: 26



ANSWER CHOICES	RESPONSES	
Strongly Support [Լիովին համամիտ եմ:]	10.51%	108
Support [Կողմնակից եմ:]	12.55%	129
Oppose [Դեմ եմ:]	34.73%	357
Strongly Oppose [Խիստ դեմ եմ:]	29.57%	304
Not Sure [Վստահ չեմ:]	12.65%	130
TOTAL		1,028

Q41 "Standardized tests should determine whether a child is promoted to the next grade or graduates from high school." [«Դպրոցականների՝ հաջորդ դասարան տեղափոխվելու կամ դպրոցն ավարտելու համար անհրաժեշտ գիտելիքները նպատակահարմար է ստուգել ստանդարտացված քննությունների միջոցով»:]

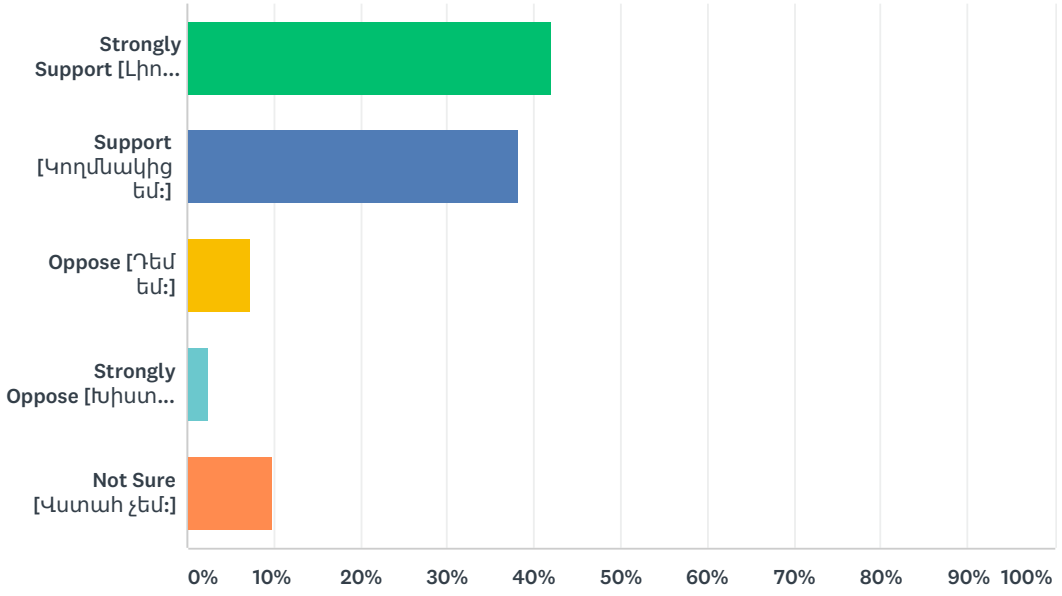
Answered: 1,031 Skipped: 23



ANSWER CHOICES	RESPONSES	
Strongly Support [Լիովին համամիտ եմ:]	14.84%	153
Support [Կողմնակից եմ:]	29.68%	306
Oppose [Դեմ եմ:]	24.35%	251
Strongly Oppose [Խիստ դեմ եմ:]	19.59%	202
Not Sure [Վստահ չեմ:]	11.54%	119
TOTAL		1,031

Q42 "Fund public education so that all school districts have about the same amount of money to spend per student." [«Կրթական համակարգի ֆինանսավորման այնպիսի ձև ընդունել, որ բոլոր դպրոցական շրջաններում յուրաքանչյուր դպրոցականին հատկացվող գումարի չափաբաժինը (մոտավորապես) նույնը լինի»:]

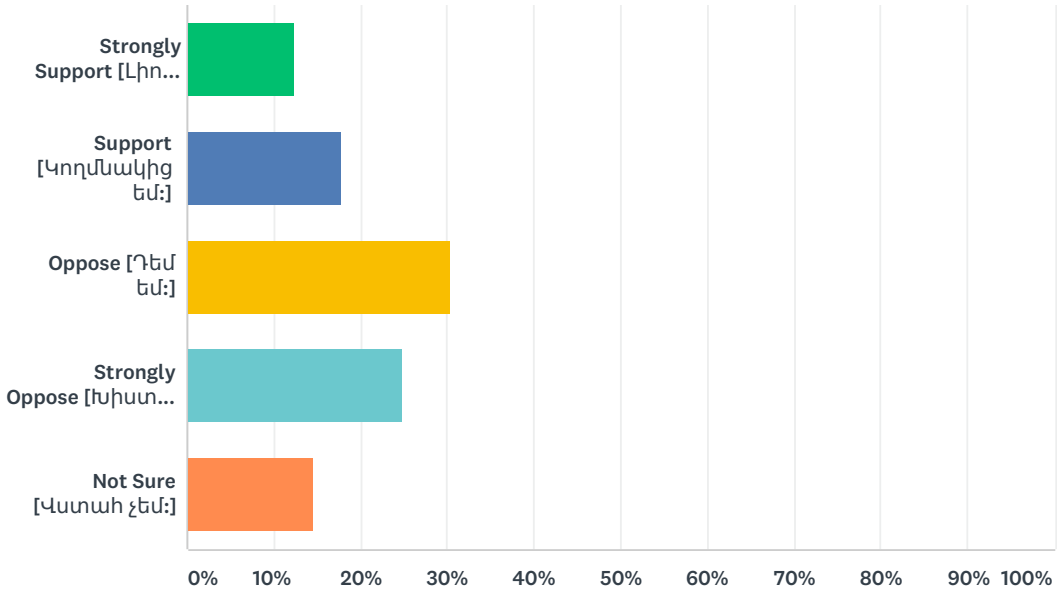
Answered: 1,025 Skipped: 29



ANSWER CHOICES	RESPONSES	
Strongly Support [Լիովին համամիտ եմ:]	42.05%	431
Support [Կողմնակից եմ:]	38.24%	392
Oppose [Դեմ եմ:]	7.41%	76
Strongly Oppose [Խիստ դեմ եմ:]	2.54%	26
Not Sure [Վստահ չեմ:]	9.76%	100
TOTAL		1,025

Q43 "Provide school vouchers to pay for a portion of the cost to send children to private schools, even if that would take some money away from public schools." [«Մասնավոր դպրոց հաճախող դպրոցականներին տրամադրել գումարային նպաստ, անգամ եթե դրա հաշվին հանրային դպրոցների բյուջեն կնվազի»:]

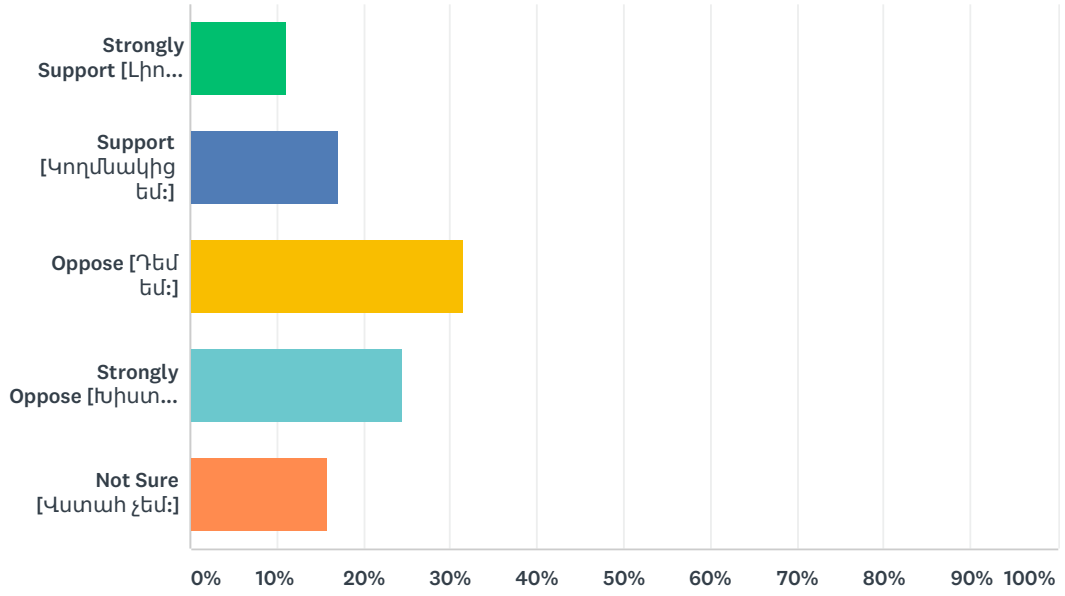
Answered: 1,024 Skipped: 30



ANSWER CHOICES	RESPONSES	
Strongly Support [Լիովին համամիտ եմ:]	12.30%	126
Support [Կողմնակից եմ:]	17.77%	182
Oppose [Դեմ եմ:]	30.37%	311
Strongly Oppose [Խիստ դեմ եմ:]	24.80%	254
Not Sure [Վստահ չեմ:]	14.75%	151
TOTAL		1,024

Q44 "Replace multi-year bilingual instruction in schools with instruction only in English after one year." [«Դպրոցներում երկլեզու ուսուցումը փոխարինել միայն անգլերեն ուսուցումով առաջին տարվանից հետո»:]

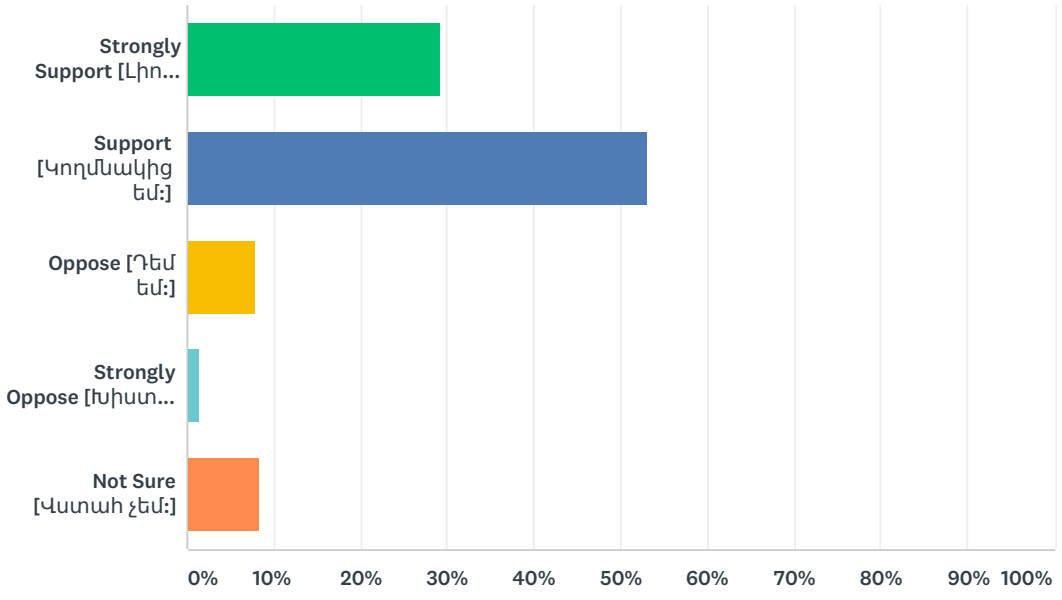
Answered: 1,028 Skipped: 26



ANSWER CHOICES	RESPONSES	
Strongly Support [Լիովին համամիտ եմ:]	11.09%	114
Support [Կողմնակից եմ:]	17.12%	176
Oppose [Դեմ եմ:]	31.52%	324
Strongly Oppose [Խիստ դեմ եմ:]	24.42%	251
Not Sure [Վստահ չեմ:]	15.86%	163
TOTAL		1,028

Q45 "Government should provide income support to those who try to provide for themselves, but who can not adequately do so." [«Կառավարությունը պարտավոր է եկամտային նպաստ տրամադրել նրանց, ովքեր փորձում են իրենց ապրուստը հոգալ բայց բաւարար չափով չեն կարողանում»։]

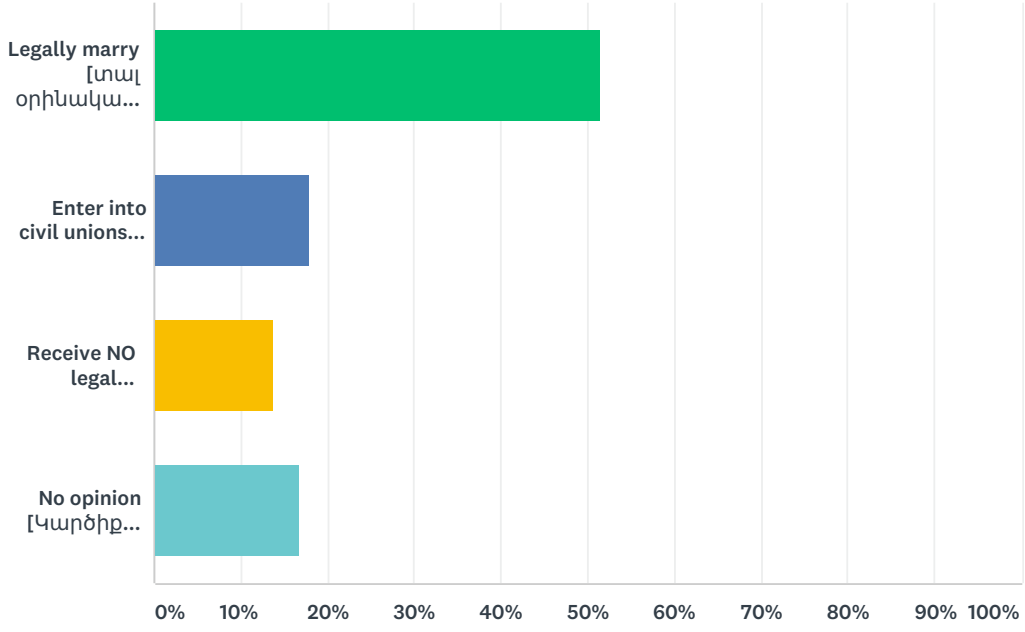
Answered: 1,028 Skipped: 26



ANSWER CHOICES	RESPONSES	
Strongly Support [Լիովին համամիտ եմ։]	29.28%	301
Support [Կողմնակից եմ։]	53.11%	546
Oppose [Դեմ եմ։]	7.98%	82
Strongly Oppose [Խիստ դեմ եմ։]	1.36%	14
Not Sure [Վստահ չեմ։]	8.27%	85
TOTAL		1,028

Q46 What is your view about same-sex couples? Should they be permitted to: [Ի՞նչ կարծիք ունեք միասեռական զույգերի մասին: Կարելի՞ է նրանց.]

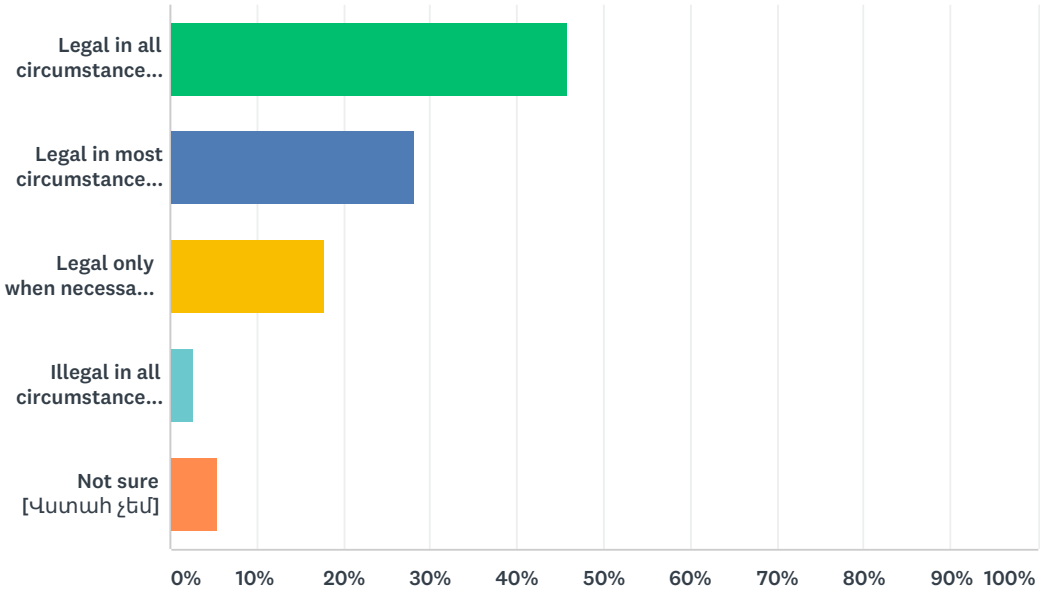
Answered: 1,031 Skipped: 23



ANSWER CHOICES	RESPONSES	
Legally marry [տալ օրինական ամուսնության իրավունք]	51.50%	531
Enter into civil unions [տալ քաղաքացիական կարգավիճակի իրավունք]	18.04%	186
Receive NO legal recognition [զրկել օրինական կարգավիճակից]	13.77%	142
No opinion [Կարծիք չունեմ:]	16.68%	172
TOTAL		1,031

Q47 Generally speaking, do you think abortion should be: [Ձեր կարծիքով հղիության արհեստական ընդհատումը պիտի լինի.]

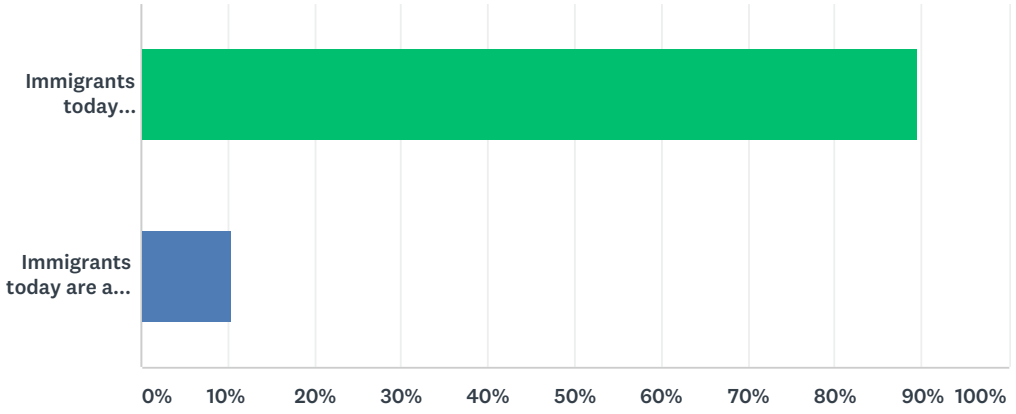
Answered: 1,026 Skipped: 28



ANSWER CHOICES	RESPONSES	
Legal in all circumstances [օրինական բոլոր դեպքերում]	45.81%	470
Legal in most circumstances [օրինական դեպքերի մեծ մասում]	28.17%	289
Legal only when necessary to save the life of the woman or in cases of rape or incest [օրինական միայն կնոջ կյանքը փրկելու կամ բռնաբարության/արյունապղծության դեպքում]	17.84%	183
Illegal in all circumstances [անօրինական բոլոր դեպքերում]	2.73%	28
Not sure [Վստահ չեմ]	5.46%	56
TOTAL		1,026

Q48 Which comes closer to your own views? [Հետևյալներից հաստատումներից որի՞ն եք ավելի շատ համամիտ:]

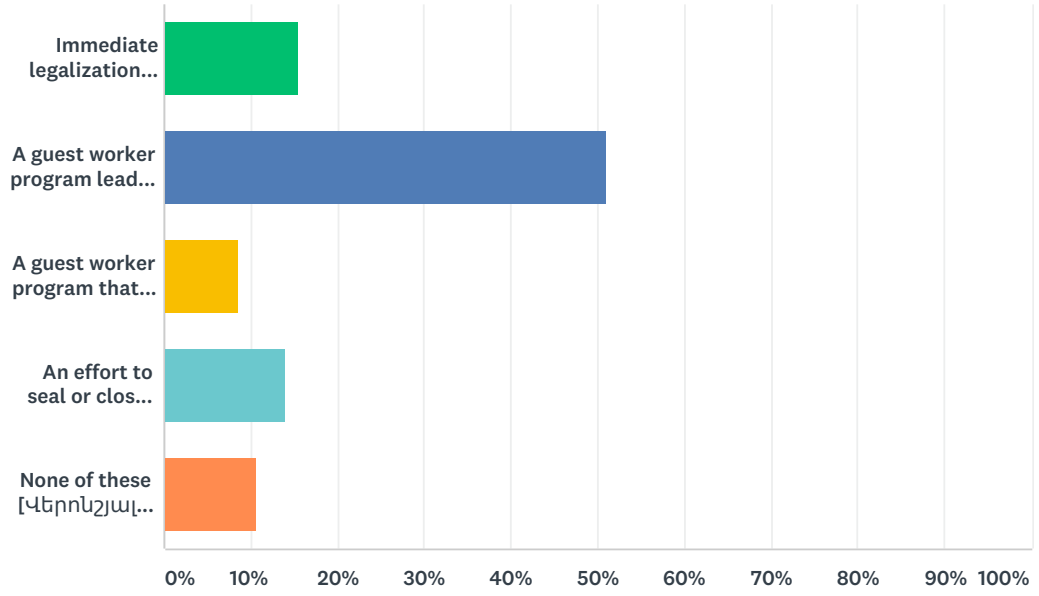
Answered: 1,003 Skipped: 51



ANSWER CHOICES	RESPONSES	
Immigrants today strengthen our country because of their hard work and talents. [Ներգաղթողները ուժեղացնում են մեր երկիրը՝ իրենց աշխատասիրության և ընդունակությունների շնորհիվ:]	89.53%	898
Immigrants today are a burden on our country because they take our jobs, housing, and health care. [Ներգաղթողները ծանր բեռ են մեր երկրի համար, քանի որ խլում են մեր աշխատատեղերը, մեզ տրամադրվելիք տները և առողջապահությունը:]	10.47%	105
TOTAL		1,003

Q49 What is your preferred policy on undocumented or illegal immigration? Should there be: [Ո՞րն է Ձեզ համար նախընտրելի քաղաքականությունը անօրինական կամ առանց փաստաթղթերի ներգաղթողների նկատմամբ:]

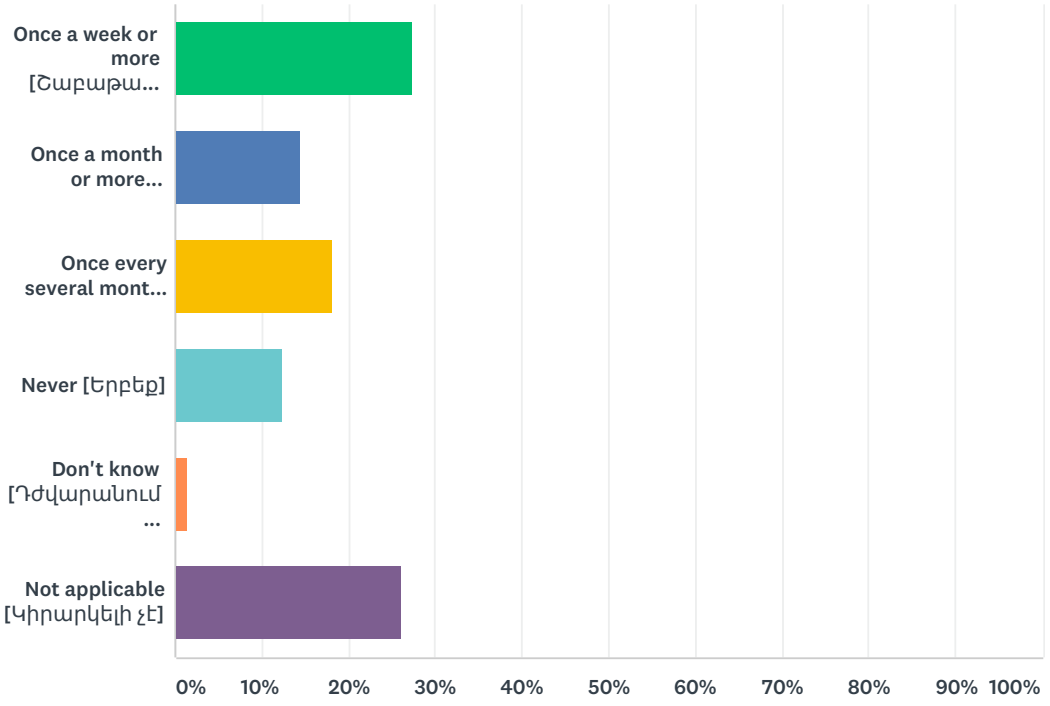
Answered: 1,013 Skipped: 41



ANSWER CHOICES	RESPONSES	
Immediate legalization of current undocumented immigrants [Առանց փաստաթղթերի ներգաղթողներին անհրաժեշտ է անհապաղ օրինականացնել:]	15.50%	157
A guest worker program leading to legalization eventually [Անհրաժեշտ է զարգացնել օտարերկրյա աշխատողների կարգավիճակի օրինականացմանը տանող ծրագիր:]	51.14%	518
A guest worker program that permits immigrants to be in the country, but only temporarily [Անհրաժեշտ է զարգացնել օտարերկրյա աշխատողներին ժամանակավորապես երկրում գտնվելու իրավունք տրամադրող ծրագիր]	8.59%	87
An effort to seal or close off the border to stop illegal immigration [Անհրաժեշտ է ներգաղթողների հոսքը կանխող կամ արգելափակող միջոցներ ձեռնարկել:]	14.12%	143
None of these [Վերոնշյալ միջոցներից ոչ մեկը չեմ ընդունում:]	10.66%	108
TOTAL		1,013

Q50 How often do you have contact with friends and family in your country of origin (if you were not born in the US)? [Ի՞նչ հաճախականությամբ եք կապ հաստատում Ձեր ծննդավայրի ընկերների ու ընտանիքի հետ (եթե ԱՄՆ-ում չեք ծնվել)։]

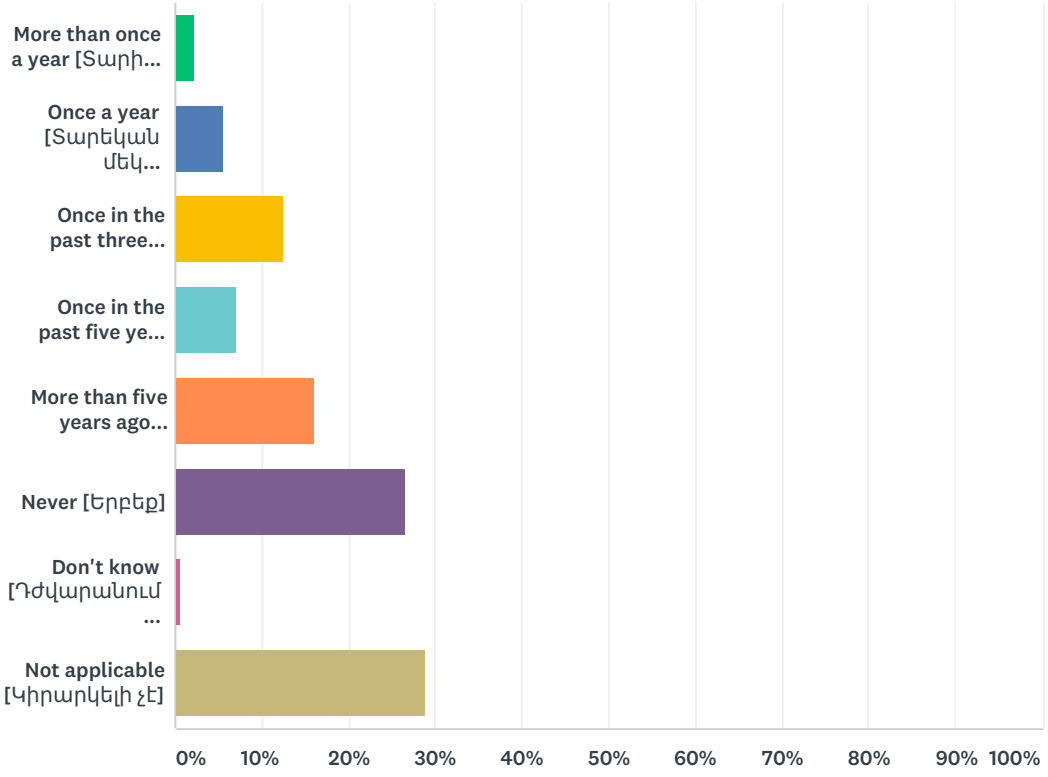
Answered: 1,016 Skipped: 38



ANSWER CHOICES	RESPONSES	
Once a week or more [Շաբաթական մեկ անգամ]	27.36%	278
Once a month or more [Ամսական մեկ անգամ]	14.47%	147
Once every several months [Մի քանի ամիսը մեկ]	18.11%	184
Never [Երբեք]	12.40%	126
Don't know [Դժվարանում եմ ասել։]	1.48%	15
Not applicable [Կիրարկելի չէ]	26.18%	266
TOTAL		1,016

Q51 Since coming to the US, how often have you returned to your country of origin? [ԱՄՆ տեղափոխվելուց հետո ի՞նչ հաճախականությամբ եք այցելել Ձեր ծննդավայրը:]

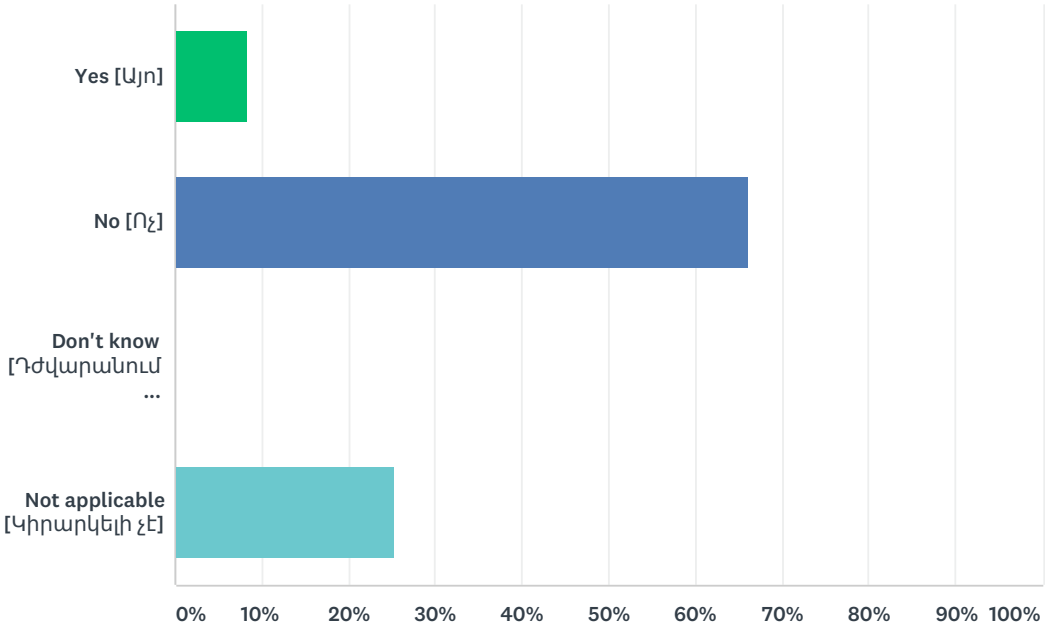
Answered: 1,017 Skipped: 37



ANSWER CHOICES	RESPONSES	
More than once a year [Տարին մեկից ավելի անգամներ]	2.26%	23
Once a year [Տարեկան մեկ անգամ]	5.70%	58
Once in the past three years [Անցյալ երեք տարիների ընթացքում մեկ անգամ]	12.49%	127
Once in the past five years [Անցյալ հինգ տարիների ընթացքում մեկ անգամ]	7.18%	73
More than five years ago [Ավելի քան հինգ տարի առաջ]	16.13%	164
Never [Երբեք]	26.65%	271
Don't know [Դժվարանում եմ ասել]	0.69%	7
Not applicable [Կիրարկելի չէ]	28.91%	294
TOTAL		1,017

Q52 Since coming to the US, have you contributed money to a candidate or party in your country of origin? [ԱՄՆ տեղափոխվելուց հետո ձեր ծննդավայրի որևէ թեկնածուի կամ կուսակցության գումար տրամադրե՞լ եք։]

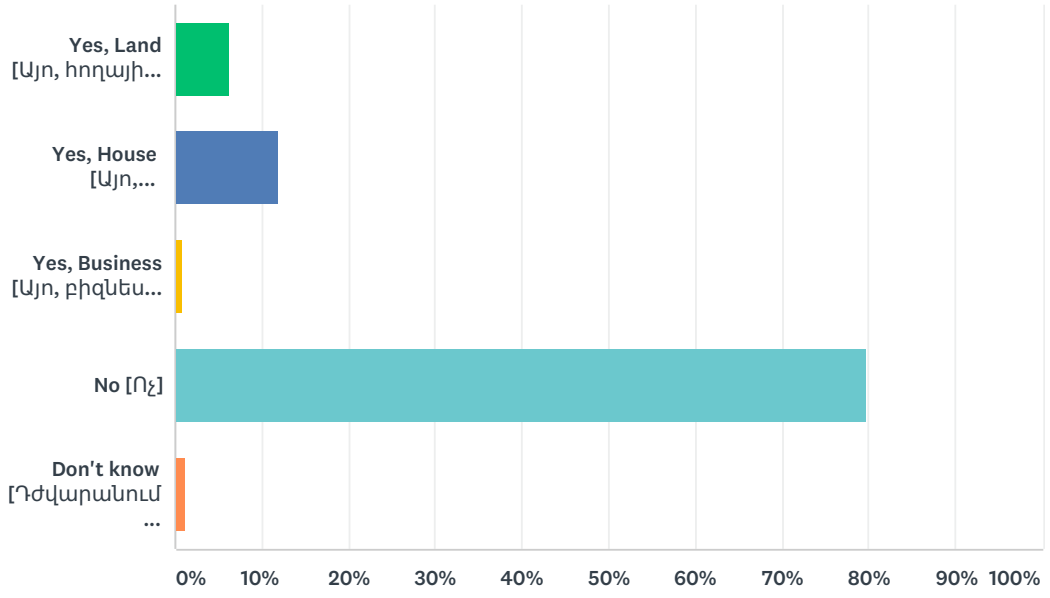
Answered: 1,023 Skipped: 31



ANSWER CHOICES	RESPONSES	
Yes [Այո]	8.31%	85
No [Ոչ]	66.08%	676
Don't know [Դժվարանում եմ ասել]	0.29%	3
Not applicable [Կիրարկելի չէ]	25.32%	259
TOTAL		1,023

Q53 Are you the owner of land, a house or a business in Armenia? [Հայաստանում հողային տարածք, տուն/բնակարան կամ գործ ունե՞ք:]

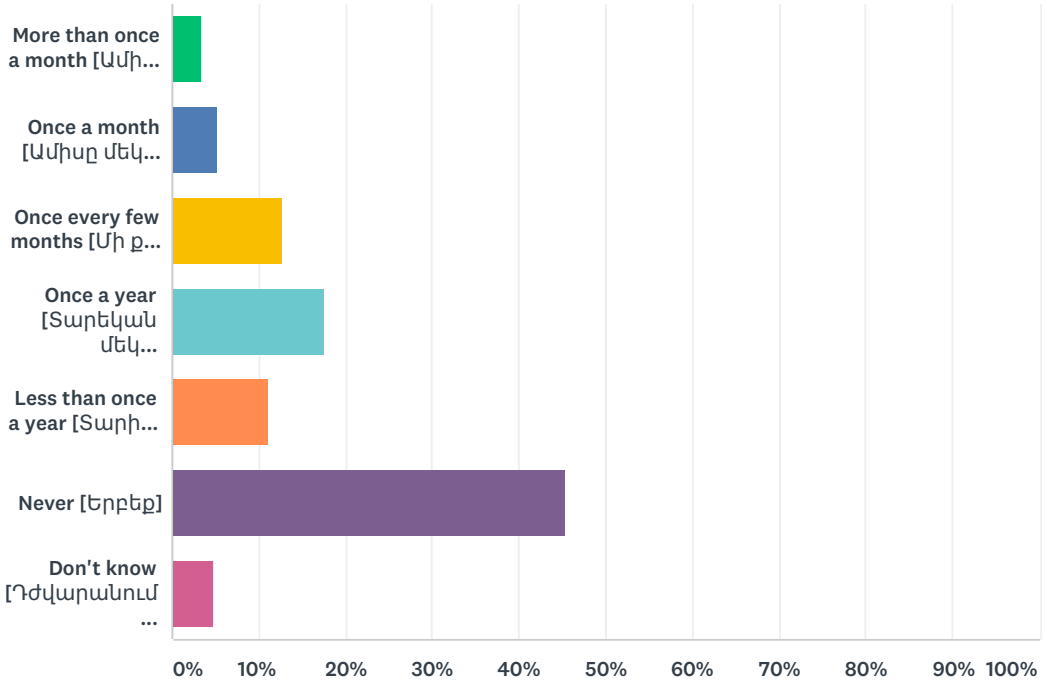
Answered: 1,030 Skipped: 24



ANSWER CHOICES	RESPONSES	
Yes, Land [Այո, հողային տարածք ունեմ]	6.31%	65
Yes, House [Այո, տուն/բնակարան ունեմ]	11.94%	123
Yes, Business [Այո, բիզնես ունեմ]	0.78%	8
No [Ոչ]	79.71%	821
Don't know [Դժվարանում եմ ասել]	1.26%	13
TOTAL		1,030

Q54 How often do you send money to Armenia? [Ի՞նչ հաճախականությամբ եք գումար ուղարկում:]

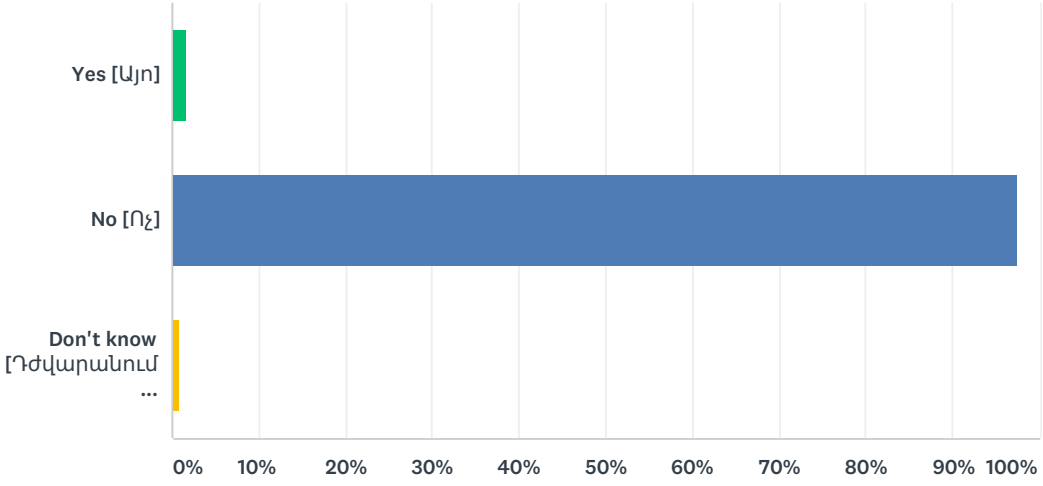
Answered: 1,025 Skipped: 29



ANSWER CHOICES	RESPONSES	
More than once a month [Ամիսը մեկ անգամից ավելի]	3.32%	34
Once a month [Ամիսը մեկ անգամ]	5.17%	53
Once every few months [Մի քանի ամիսը մեկ]	12.68%	130
Once a year [Տարեկան մեկ անգամ]	17.56%	180
Less than once a year [Տարին մեկ անգամից քիչ]	11.02%	113
Never [Երբեք]	45.37%	465
Don't know [Դժվարանում եմ ասել]	4.88%	50
TOTAL		1,025

Q55 Have you ever voted in Armenian elections since you've been in the US? [Երբևէ մասնակցե՞լ եք Հայաստանի ընտրություններին ԱՄՆ տեղափոխվելուց հետո:]

Answered: 1,023 Skipped: 31



ANSWER CHOICES	RESPONSES	
Yes [Այո]	1.66%	17
No [Ոչ]	97.56%	998
Don't know [Դժվարանում եմ ասել]	0.78%	8
TOTAL		1,023

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