

ANALYSIS OF THE ROLE OF ST. RAYMOND'S MARONITE CHURCH
AS AN AGENT IN THE ASSIMILATION OF LEBANESE FAMILIES IN
ST. LOUIS

THESIS

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CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORKMigration

In its most basic conceptualization, migration can be defined as "physical movement from one community to another."¹ This oversimplified notion can have many variations. Communities vary in size from a few persons to a great nation-state consisting of several billion people. Types of physical movement, accordingly, vary in relation to the size and differences of the communities from which one comes and to which one goes.

Internal migration means movement within the bounds of an arbitrarily defined locale. Internal migration can be placed in a context of areas ranging from a city to, more commonly, a nation. Thus migration from one neighborhood to another is internal to a city; and passage from one state to another is internal to a nation. Movement from one politico-geographic region constituting a nation to another nation, is generally not considered internal migration. Philosophically, of course, such migration could be construed as internal to the continent

¹Arnold M. Rose, Sociology: The Study of Human Relations [New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1967], p. 728.

or the hemisphere, but all national governing bodies consider movement out of their geographic domain as emigration and all entry into their jurisdiction as immigration.

Thus, for our purposes, migration can be divided broadly into internal migration [within a sphere]; emigration [out of a country]; immigration [into a country].

When a person emigrates from one country he generally has no adaptive task in relation to the culture he is leaving. Conversely, when one enters a country he is faced with the possible difficulty of a culture different from his own.

Events of differing cultures must be viewed from two perspectives: that of the "host society" and that of the immigrant group.

Host Society - Goals concerning prospective immigrants. Faced with a new arrival of a dissimilar background, the host society may elect not to accept the applicant, as is observed periodically when governments establish immigration laws prohibiting or limiting intake of peoples from other nations. On the other hand, if the host society decides to allow this phenomenon of immigration, it may seek to have the migrant become part of itself [i.e. - extend an invitation to assimilate] or exile them within its boundaries into a "minority enclave."

Immigrants - Goals concerning entry. On arriving in a new society, persons of a nationality different from that of the dominant group may move toward establishing.

any of a number of relationships with the host society. If immigrants view assimilation [a term to be defined later] as undesirable, an attempt to maintain a degree of separation will follow. This voluntary segregation may take the form of attempted conquest of the established society [invasion], or of voluntary suppression by the host society [hardly tenable!] or of establishment of an environment within which the minority group can buffer the culture of the host society. On the other hand, if the immigrant desires to become a part of the host society, he may seek assimilation [if indeed the invitation has been extended].

Assists + Impediments to Assimilation. Of the many agents which concern themselves with assimilation, we shall be concerned solely with institutions. Operationally defining an institution as "an organization of a public, or semi-public, character involving a directive body, and usually a building or physical establishment of some sort, designed to serve some socially recognized and authorized end",² we can posit that an institution established or sustained under the auspices of the host society may function to encourage or discourage full assimilation. Those institutions established by the immigrants themselves may seek to aid their fellow migrants in the process of assimilation, or to aid their fellows

²Henry Pratt Fairchild, Dictionary of Sociology [Totowa, New Jersey: Littlefield, Adams and Co., 1966], p. 157.

in neutralizing pressures to assimilate. Functions of the former would be to assist in passage by replacing the "old culture" with the "new culture", an example being a club with a primary purpose of teaching the new language to immigrants. The latter may function to provide a setting within which an immigrant can escape feelings of normlessness and yet maintain the ways of the homeland, an example being a club with a primary purpose of constructing a milieu within which one may speak his native language without feeling foreign.

It is within this broad context that this study has attempted to analyze the Lebanese people, in general, and a St. Louis Maronite Church, in particular. However, before proceeding, several concepts need further elaboration - a step without which any proposal would be lacking in direction within the sociological context.

DEFINITION OF TERMSCulture

Perhaps the classic definition of culture is that suggested by E. B. Tylor:

Culture . . . is that complex whole which includes knowledge, belief, art, morals, law, custom and any other capabilities and habits acquired by man as a member of society.³

Culture is germane to this study because migration often assumes that two cultures come in contact with each other. If the ethos of the immigrant group is at variance with that of the host society, a process to alleviate differences usually ensues. The process may be one of reciprocity, in which the cultures of the host society and the immigrant group exert an influence on each other. [If the influence is passive and does not result in the mutation of either culture, the process is referred to as accomodation or cultural pluralism]. On the other hand, if the differing cultures seek adaptation through modification of one culture in the direction of the predominant culture, the process is one-sided [assimilation

³E. B. Tylor, Primitive Culture [New York: Henry Holt and Co., 1889], p. 51.

or acculturation].

Assimilation

Assimilation has been approached from two somewhat different perspectives.

The more generic theory of assimilation postulates that two groups become one culturally, in a process which requires that each group contribute to a new, shared way of life in which differences are obliterated [George Lundberg]. This implies a modification of both cultures and connotes an equality of both in terms of superordination/subordination. A prime advocate of this scheme, Joseph Fichter, thus defines assimilation as

a social process through which two or more persons or groups accept and perform one another's patterns of behavior. We commonly talk about a person, or a minority category, being assimilated into a group or society, but here again this must not be interpreted as a 'one-sided' process. It is a relation of interaction in which both parties behave reciprocally even though one may be much more affected than the other.⁴

The second proposal is that assimilation is not a reciprocal process, but one in which a smaller group is absorbed into the total way of life of the larger group. Implicit in this assumption is a retention of the integrity of the more entrenched culture. A cultural attribute suggested by Arnold Rose directs that the concept

⁴Joseph H. Fichter, Sociology [Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1957], p. 229.

assimilation include

the adoption by a person or group of the culture of another social group to such a complete extent that the person or group no longer has any characteristics identifying him with his former culture and no longer has any particular loyalties to his former culture. Or, the process leading to this adoption.⁵

The second version of assimilation seems more consistent with the orientation of this study.

Assimilation, of course, is operative at different levels, two of the most important of which are cultural assimilation and social assimilation. John Lennon suggests that cultural assimilation [acculturation] assumes

the degree to which immigrants have moved toward learning and adopting the traits, manners, customs, artifacts, the total way of life of the host dominant society.⁶

In a more advanced stage, assimilation is termed social assimilation [or simply assimilation] and is understood to establish "the acceptance of the immigrants by the members of the host society."⁷

Bridging the gap between acculturation and full assimilation, Milton Gordon constructs seven steps. These variables, attained to a greater or lesser degree by the

⁵Rose, op. cit., pp. 721-722.

⁶John J. Lennon, "A Study of the Cultural and Social Adjustment of Cubans, Bolivians and Other Spanish Speaking Groups in St. Louis." [Study in progress].

⁷Ibid.

immigrant group, are:

1. Change of cultural patterns to those of host society [Acculturation].
2. Large-scale entrance into cliques, clubs and institutions of host society, on primary level [Structural Assimilation].
3. Large-scale intermarriage [Marital Assimilation or Amalgamation].
4. Development of sense of peoplehood based exclusively on host society [Identificational Assimilation].
5. Absence of prejudice [Attitude Receptional Assimilation].
6. Absence of discrimination [Behavior Receptional Assimilation].
7. Absence of value and power conflict [Civic Assimilation].⁸

Cultural Pluralism

Milton Gordon sets forth three theories of assimilation: Anglo - Conformity, the melting pot and cultural pluralism. Of these, cultural pluralism is that assumption which enables the immigrant group to retain its identificational independence. Remembering that both Anglo-Conformity and the melting pot direct an immersion of the newcomer into a different way of life, cultural pluralism infers the preservation of communal life and significant portions of the culture of the immigrant groups within the context of American citizenship and the political and economic order of American society. This type of ethnic communality is much akin to, and at times results from, the process known as accommodation. Accommodation

⁸ Milton M. Gordon, Assimilation in American Life [New York: Oxford University Press, 1964], p. 71.

can be defined as "mutual adjustment of groups to retain their identity and interest."⁹

Functions

Since this study proposes to examine the Maronite Church in its capacity as an agent of assimilation, an operational definition of function is needed. Thus an institution will be deemed functional for assimilation if and only if it is structured in such a way that, as an institution, it is to any extent operative in imparting to its constituents the patterns of behavior of the host society, whether this be its avowed purpose or not.

Although an institution which impedes its members in the adoption of the modes of behavior of the host society, will be considered dysfunctional, a middle ground will be left open, thus enabling us to label a pattern not dysfunctional without meaning functional, and not functional without meaning dysfunctional. In other words, if the institution has no assimilational effect upon its members, it may be said to be neither functional nor dysfunctional [i.e. - not dysfunctional or not functional].

⁹Leonard Broom and Philip Selznick, Sociology [New York: Harper & Row, Publishers, Inc., 1963], p. 34.

STATEMENT OF INTENTION

The proposal made for this study is an analysis of St. Raymond's Maronite Church as an agent of assimilation for Lebanese peoples. However, let it be understood at the outset that no attempt will be made to ascertain the degree of acceptance by the host society. Such a study could possibly be undertaken at a higher level.

The basic question asked is: For Lebanese, does the Maronite Church in St. Louis, as an institution, function to aid assimilation, or to act as a buffer for its members in their relations with the host society?

Assumed throughout will be the contention that the church association self-adapts to the desires of its members in their journey toward a specific level of assimilation. Such an assumption would facilitate a data-exchange between the institution and the individual, and allow a generalization that the institution is effective to the degree that its members are affected. For example, should the Lebanese-Maronite people be found to have attained a high level of assimilation, we could conclude that the institution has not been dysfunctional for them.

HISTORICAL BACKGROUND

Since this analysis is intended to be of a Maronite Church, a distinct rite of the Catholic Church which draws the majority of its membership from the Lebanese people, it would be of profit to come to a basic understanding of the Lebanese people and the Maronite Rite. And since the Lebanese and Maronites have their structural and cultural roots in the [Near] East, a brief commentary on the Arab world is in order.

"Stretching more than four thousand miles across North Africa and the Middle East, all the way from the Atlantic to the Indian Ocean, a conglomerate of more than a dozen independent nations, protectorates, sheikdoms and other political units is encompassed in a simple phrase: 'the Arab world'."¹⁰ This is not to say that the term connotes any semblance of political, economic or religious unity among the Arab states. Although the Arab League has been established [members: Tunisia, Libya, Egypt, the Sudan, Jordan, Lebanon, Syria, the Yemen, Iraq, Saudi Arabia and Kuwait] and could very well function as a theater for Arab unity, the League has yet to accomplish the alleviation of differences - in a manner somewhat analogous to the United Nations, wherein the member-nations enjoy a degree of inter-communication while retaining ultimate independence. Indeed the Arabs are governed by a miscellany of political systems, including one absolute monarch, three constitutional monarchies, and six republics, nor are the Arabic people united economically, for the mainstay of an Arab country may range from agriculture to industry or from oil mining to trading. But, as Bernard

¹⁰Desmond Stewart, The Arab World [New York: Time, Incorporated, 1962], p. 9.

Lewis points out, we can still speak of an Arab world in the sense that the term Arab refers to "the Arabic-speaking peoples as a nation or group of sister nations, in the European sense, united by a common territory, language and culture."¹¹

To some extent the Arab nations partake of a common heritage. Certain historical phenomena have to a greater or lesser degree accounted for a shared feeling of brotherhood. Thus "an Arab's king may be at radio war with the next country's president, but when he greets a stranger with 'Salaam Aleikum!' - 'peace be with you' - he does indeed know the peace which comes from shared assumptions."¹² The occurrence which has had perhaps the most cohesive effect upon the Arabic-speaking people is that of Moslemism. Although this religion can definitely not be accepted as a criterion for Arab membership, a goodly amount of Arab history is embodied in the annals of Moslemism.

Originally pagan people, the Arabs came to embrace a faith handed to them by Mohammed. Born in Mecca [570 A.D.] and married at the age of twenty-five to a rich forty-year-old widow named Khadija, Mohammed, while meditating in the desert hills near his birthplace, was commanded by a voice to "recite in the name of the Lord."

¹¹Morroe Berger, The Arab World Today [Garden City, New York: Doubleday & Co., 1962], p. 16-17.

¹²Stewart, op. cit., p. 14.

At first apprehensive, he was re-assured by Khadija, who had been told by a seer that Mohammed would be visited by the same angel who had appeared to Moses and other prophets of the past. For the next twenty years [until 630 A.D.], Mohammed continued to receive revelations which in their written form came to be known as the Noble Koran.

Mohammed's insistence on only one God [Allah] brought him into disfavor with the politico-economic leaders of Mecca, who depended on the trade of those tourists who came to view the rows of idols surrounding the ancient Kaaba. Exiled to Medina [Yathrib], Mohammed's ability to fill the religious void of the pagan Arabs¹³ as well as his ability to expound the total religion in Arabic [a language not alien to them], enabled him to become the political as well as the religious leader of Medina. At Medina, the Prophet added new chapters to the Koran; the additions comprising a body of civil law. Mohammed called his new religion "Islam", from an Arabic word [Aslama] meaning both "peace" and "submission", the implication being "the peace of God through submission to His will."¹⁴

Under the banner of religious diffusion, the followers of Mohammed [called Moslems or Muslims] con-

¹³The basic tenets and observations of Moslemism: that Allah is the sole author and ruler of the universe and that Mohammed is his prophet; prayer five times a day, fasting during the holy month of Ramadan, alms-giving, and a pilgrimage to Mecca if possible.

¹⁴Stewart, op. cit., p. 28.

quered Constantinople and Persia before returning to Mecca and seizing that city/ in 630 A.D. Less than a century after the Prophet's death in 632 A.D., the Moslems controlled Syria, Egypt, Persia, North Africa and Spain. Military conquest did not contradict religious beliefs, for Moslems were convinced that death fighting for Islam was adequate as a basis for entrance into Paradise.

Islamism was able to take hold in formerly Christianized areas [e.g. - Egypt] because it did not seek to destroy Christianity - rather only supplement it, claiming that Moses and Christ were prophets for a specific time and place, and that Mohammed was the next in a list to whom God reveals His word.

Thus Moslemism endowed the Arab world with an affinity for union. For nearly five centuries, the Arab Moslems experienced rapid ascendancy. As the common historic cycle indicates, all great civilizations experience a rise, a levelling off and a fall. So too, the Arab empire declined as rapidly as it rose, beginning with the 1258 A.D. mongol sacking of Baghdad. In 1259 "the Mongols swept . . . into Syria and captured Damascus, Aleppo and Sidon. Every Moslem captured in the fighting was put to death . . . and only the Christians were spared Islam was once again faced with the possibility of total destruction."¹⁵ With little hesitation the Turks brought

¹⁵Anthony Nutting, The Arabs [New York: Mentor Books, 1964], p. 197.

the Arab world into the Ottoman Empire. By the sixteenth century, the Mongols had a stranglehold on the majority of Arab countries.

As brutal as Ottoman domination was, the Turkish occupiers did allow the preservation of Arabic culture. Eventually the Turks themselves adopted Moslemism; they also took their writing and at least fifty percent of their vocabulary from the Arabs.¹⁶ This is not to imply, however, that it was a harmonious or voluntary submission by the Arabic people.

Toward the end of the eighteenth century, the Ottoman Empire exhibited signs of decay. In 1922, as a result of its role in World War I [alliance with Germany], the Turks, as other colonial empires, were divested of all imperial holdings. Mandates were given by the League of Nations to Italy, Great Britain and France, chiefly the latter two.

It is at this point that parallelism in the course of history in the Arab world ceases. Each country took a different route to its present form, depending largely on who held the mandate and which type of system the European power sought to instill. Each mandate stipulated that independence be granted as soon as possible. Needless to say, determination of the feasibility of local autonomy was granted to the Europeans. By the early

¹⁶ Stewart, op. cit., p. 43.

nineteen-sixties the Arab world was almost entirely decolonized - but not without scars from their European dominators. Tendencies toward Arab nationalism or pride were suppressed. "The Western Powers in act if not in word treated the Arab countries as if the desires and wishes of their inhabitants were matters of minor importance; individual Westerners showed only too often their contempt for a people who dressed, believed and thought so differently from them, and were so backward in the material arts."¹⁷

Throughout the era of occupation, ideological similarities endured: bitterness at being forced to live under European mandates, and the consequent attempts of the colonials to Westernize the Arabs; and a common contempt of Israel, who occupied Palestine under British protection, and hence came to be regarded as European. To this day "except on two issues - colonialism and Israel - the Arabs do not speak with one voice. They have a gift for disunion and a gift for uniting against any leader who tries to unite them."¹⁸ The Arab League and the United Arab Republic [an attempt at Arab nationalism spearheaded by Egypt's President Gamal Abdel Nasser] are but two examples.

Historically, all Arabs may be divided into two types: those whose lives are oriented to the desert and those oriented to the sea. The former are called Zealots,

¹⁷Albert Hourani, Syria and Lebanon [London: Oxford University Press, 1946], p. 100.

¹⁸Stewart, op. cit., p. 11.

the latter Levantines. Levantine usually refers to non-Moslem dwellers in the Arab world between Turkey and Egypt. Since they turn to the sea for their livelihood and come in contact with the Western world [and sometimes adopt Western traits], the Levantine are at times thought of in a non-complimentary manner by the rest of the Arab world. However, the unique status of the Levantine has enabled them to be the prime mediators between the East and the West; as well as the generally recognized synthesizers of the best from both worlds.

At the geographic, economic and spiritual center of the Levant stands Lebanon.

If humanity is to assess the relative merit of Lebanon, it must first acknowledge gratitude to the tiny country which alone can lay claim to the Phoenician heritage.

To an area of 4,015 square miles, only four-fifths the size of the state of Connecticut, we are indebted for the following contributions: development of the first alphabet [1,700 B.C.] from which all alphabets are derived, the first set of numerals, the first method of recording important events, the original system of navigation, discovery of the Atlantic Ocean and the North Star,¹⁹ the first method of shipbuilding, the Justinian Code of Law, the invention of glass, the first theory of medicine, the first medical building, the origin of the names Europe and Libya,²⁰ and a purple dye from the shellfish, murex, later used by the Romans in their garments.

To illustrate how early Lebanon attained primacy, Philip K. Hitti contends that "scholars may disagree on the cradle of the human race, but on the cradle of its

¹⁹Philip K. Hitti, Lebanon in History [New York: The Macmillan Company, 1962], p. 96-99.

²⁰Philip K. Hitti, The Near East in History [New York: D. Van Nostrand Company, Inc., 1961], p. 92. "Legend asserts that Europe received its name from Europa, daughter of a Phoenician king, and Libya, the Greek name for North Africa, is said to have the name of his mother."

civilization there is no disagreement. It is in the area which . . . is called the Near East and is comprised of the Fertile Crescent."²¹ Lebanon, on the western arc of the Fertile Crescent, provided the first civilization with lumber for building and an access to the sea. Gradually, rather than come to this land for wood and return to the eastern arc of the Fertile Crescent, a number of settlers established permanent residence in ancient Lebanon more than three thousand years before Christ.

The first known inhabitants of Lebanon were Canaanites. Partly of necessity [hemmed in by mountains] these people quickly turned to the sea for a livelihood. The first sea-faring merchants, those Cannanites who traded with the Greeks were named Phoenicians. Thus the Phoenicians were directly responsible for the initial dissemination of Semitic culture.

Tyre became the chief city of ancient Phoenicia and the center of the textile industry. Despite other accomplishments, Hitti asserts that "it was through textile, particularly those dyed purple, that the Phoenicians became known throughout the world."²²

Another Phoenician seaport, Byblos [present day Jbail] specialized in exporting papyrus for making books. The ancient Greeks gave the city its name, meaning "book", from which came "Bible."

²¹Ibid., p. 181.

²²Ibid., p. 90.

Because of the riches of the land and its location on a route of trade from the North to Egypt, Phoenicia fell prey to many conquerers. The ancient Lebanese city-states were hardly in a position to retaliate, for they were not basically a war-like people and the men spent much of their time away at sea. Thus the Phoenician cities were subjected to wave upon wave of conquest, beginning with Egyptian influence as early as 2,500 B.C., and witnessing Assyrian [842 B.C. under Shalmanesar III],²³ Persian [538 B.C. under Cyrus],²⁴ Babylonian [572 B.C. under Nebuchadnezzar]²⁵ and Macedonian [334 B.C. under Alexander the Great]²⁶ invasion before Roman domination.

The ancient Phoenicians were possessive of a unique characteristic which enabled them to maintain an air of indifference to suppression. Functioning normally under foreign dominance, Phoenician sailors circumnavigated Africa at the end of the seventh century before Christ, nearly two thousand years before the Portugese, who are generally credited with this achievement. So skilled were these men as navigators and so shrewd were they as merchants, that by the time of Rome's ascent, "the role of

²³John Bagot Glubb, Syria Lebanon Jordan [New York: Walker and Company, 1967], p. 26.

²⁴Philip K. Hitti, History of Syria [New York: The Macmillan Company, 1951], p. 217.

²⁵Philip K. Hitti, The Near East in History [New York: D. Van Nostrand Company, Inc., 1961], p. 101.

²⁶Philip K. Hitti, A Short History of Lebanon [New York: St. Martin's Press, 1965], p. 51.

the Phoenicians was that of commercial intermediaries between the East and the West, and the wealth of both passed through their hands."²⁷

Lest the picture of Phoenician perseverance be painted too rosy, it must be pointed out that the 64 B.C. conquest of Syria by Pompey²⁸ dealt a death-blow to the Lebanese forefathers. "Under the Romans the entire area from the Taurus to Sarai was incorporated into a single province, Syria. Officially Phoenicia ceased to exist."²⁹ Perhaps this is the first instance in which the Lebanese were frustrated in their eternal quest to retain a national identity. During Roman occupancy much of the grandeur and glory of the area passed into oblivion. By the time of Christ many cities had adopted and perfected Phoenician innovations, rendering ancient Lebanon less focal. Whether the relation be causal or not, it was during the Roman period that many great buildings were constructed [including the temple to Jupiter which still stands at Baalbeck] and the Christian faith was introduced to the Lebanese people. Shortly after the disciples spread Christianity to Syria, the Tanūkhīs came to South Lebanon [226 A.D.] and professed the secret Druze

²⁷Robin Fedder, The Phoenix Land [New York: George Braziller, Inc., 1965], p. 50.

²⁸Philip K. Hitti, History of Syria [New York: The Macmillan Company, 1951], p. 280.

²⁹Philip K. Hitti, A Short History of Lebanon [New York: St. Martin's Press, 1965], p. 59.

religion.

In 476 A.D. Rome fell to Germanic invaders.

This left Lebanon under the domain of the Byzantine Empire.³⁰ Byzantine, Lebanon and Syria became highly Christianized, the Maronite Church becoming the largest and most influential in Lebanon.

From the seventh to the eleventh century Byzantine influence diminished. The advent of Moslemism altered the course of much of the Arabic world, but not previously-Christianized Lebanon. "History knew little about Lebanon and the Lebanese in the first centuries of Islam. Not until the beginning of the Crusades, late eleventh century, did they begin to figure prominently. Sidon, Beirut, Jubayl, Tripoli and other coastal towns must have lost some of their Byzantine or pro-Byzantine inhabitants."³¹ It was probably during this period that Lebanon felt itself becoming an island of Christianity in an Islamic world.

In 1095 Pope Urban II inspired the Christians to reclaim the Holy Land from Moslem hands. Four years later Raymond of Toulouse and his horde of Crusaders, on their way from Antioch to Jerusalem, were given a timely assist when "the Maronite Christians of Lebanon provided

³⁰In 330 A.D. the Roman emperor, Constantine, transferred the capitol of the empire from Rome to Constantinople [on the side of ancient Byzantium]. This in effect became the Eastern Roman Empire and survived the fall of Rome in 476 A.D.

³¹Philip K. Hitti, A Short History of Lebanon [New York: St. Martin's Press, 1965], p. 89.

him with guides and a limited number of recruits."³² The Romans went on to conquer Jerusalem and set up a Latin provincial government. Shortly past the middle of the reign of Baldwin I [1100 - 1118], the Roman Crusaders added Beirut and Sidon to their fold.

This situation prevailed until the thirteenth-century Turkish invasion and their sixteenth-century [1517] supremacy. Lebanese experience under the Turks closely paralleled that of other Arabic countries [see IV-A above]. A notable series of circumstances transpired during Ottoman rule which would eventually determine much of the course of modern Lebanon. Under the prevailing system of feudalism, two families emerged as dominant: the Manis [1516-1697] who embraced Druzism, and the Shihabis [1697-1842] who embraced Maronite Catholicism. The Shihabis initiated relations with France; France being motivated by possibilities of opening trade with the Levant and by the need of the Lebanese Christians for protection.

From the dawn of the twentieth century to 1918 Lebanon witnessed its darkest hour. Crisis upon crisis took its toll during the decay of the Ottoman Empire. Tourists vanished, the silk industry dwindled, gold and silver currency was replaced by depreciated Turkish paper money, and in the winter of 1916 disease and starvation, brought on when locusts destroyed the crops and an Allied

³²Philip K. Hitti, History of The Arabs [London: Macmillan & Company, 1940], p. 639.

blockade prevented imports, claimed nearly one-fourth of the population. Emigration operated as a safety valve to an over-populated area. So widespread was this phenomenon that modern Lebanon speaks of its equal halves: the resident and the emigrant. Indeed "the bulk of Arabic-speaking emigrants to the four quarters of the world has come from Lebanon."³³

The brunt of Lebanon's misery was eased in 1917-1918 when the Turks were driven out of Syria and Lebanon by General Allenby's Egyptian Expeditionary Forces. Allenby's troops consisted mostly of British, with a number of French and a handful of Arabs. With the departure of the Ottomans, the Allied contingents [France, America and Britain] vied for control of Syria and Lebanon. On the basis of a newly-determined isolationist policy, the United States withdrew shortly. On September 15, 1919, the French and English signed an agreement by which Britain would retain possession of Occupied Enemy's Territory West, and France would gain control of Occupied Enemy's Territory East. Thus France came to control what was then known as Syria: Syria, Lebanon and Palestine. In March 1920, a Syrian conference proclaimed Faisal [a military leader] king of Syria. Promptly thereafter, a Lebanese conference repudiated the appointment, and declared itself independent. Realizing that passions were being stirred in the Near East, the

³³Philip K. Hitti, The Near East in History [New York: D. Van Nostrand Company, Inc., 1961], p. 492.

Allied powers, on September 23, 1923, gave France a definite mandate over Syria and Lebanon. This was the first time that Lebanon gained Allied recognition as a separate entity.

As a reward for Maronite loyalty to the French against the Ottomans, General Gourad^{ad}, who as High Commissioner was given French directorship of Syria and Lebanon, redefined Lebanon's borders. The added area included many Sunnite Moslems, enraging Syria's Sunnites. Such a geographic shift also served to make Lebanon less secure as a Christian refuge. General Maxime Weygand succeeded Gourad as High Commissioner in April 1923, and lessened the tension somewhat. However, anti-religious events in France led to the dismissal of Weygand, who was considered sympathetic to the religiously-oriented Syrians and Lebanese. General Maurice Surrail, Weygand's November 1923 replacement, antagonized the politically powerful Maronite Patriarch by attempting to weaken the power of the Maronite clergy. This lessened acceptance of the French by the Maronite Lebanese - the last stronghold of French support. Surrail's contemptuous treatment of the Druze precipitated a Druze uprising in July 1925, nearly destroying the French basis of power in Syria and Lebanon. Because of these and other antagonistic acts, Surrail was recalled to France and replaced by a civilian, Henri deJouvenal in October 1925. Unable to alleviate tensions deJouvenal was replaced by another civilian, Henri Ponsot, in August 1926. By 1927 the

French, realizing that pacification of Arab religious sentiments was futile, began laying the foundation for Syrian and Lebanese independence.

In 1926 Lebanon was declared a republic, [the first in the Arab world], but under a continuing mandate this was little more than a title. Later, "at the request of the High Commissioner, a representative council drew up a constitution providing for a parliament, chose a president of the republic, and a responsible cabinet."³⁴ A conventional requisite, initiated at the founding of the republic, dictates that the president be a Maronite Catholic, the prime minister a Sunnite Moslem, and the president of the Chamber of Deputies a Shiite Moslem. This method of religious determination is still in effect today.

But the French lingered on. During World War II, the Vichy government was driven out of Lebanon, and the country was again proclaimed a republic. This became a reality on January 1, 1944. "The last French troops were not finally withdrawn until 1946, after Lebanon had protested their presence to the new United Nations organization."³⁵

In 1943 the independent Republic of Lebanon [al-Jumhuriya al Lubnaniya] elected its first president, Bisharah al-Khuri. The three other presidents: Kamil Shamun [1952-1958] whose intention to seek an unconstitu-

³⁴Hitti, op. cit., p. 503.

³⁵G. Robina Quale, Eastern Civilizations [New York: Appleton-Century-Crofts, 1966], p. 112.

tional third term precipitated the Lebanese crisis of 1958; Faud Shihab [1958-1964]; and Charles Helou [1964-present].

Demographic data on contemporary Lebanon are rare, and for a reason. Membership in the sole legislative body, the Chamber of Deputies, is allotted on a religious basis according to what percentage of the population is of each religion. For example, if 40% of the population is Sunnite, that religion is granted 40% of the seats in the Chamber.

The actual distribution of the ninety-nine seats [1967] is as follows:³⁶

| <u>RELIGION</u> | <u>NUMBER OF SEATS</u> |
|---------------------------|------------------------|
| Maronite Christian | 30 |
| Sunni Moslem | 20 |
| Shiite Moslem | 19 |
| Greek Orthodox Christians | 11 |
| Greek Catholic Christians | 6 |
| Druzes | 6 |
| Armenian Orthodox | 4 |
| Armenian Catholics | 1 |
| Protestant | 1 |
| Other | 1 |
| TOTAL | <u>99</u> |

This provision in the constitution is reportedly intended to emphasize the fact that Lebanon [and its mountains] has provided religious minorities with refuge throughout history.

At present, Lebanon enjoys a situation in which religious rivalries are largely placated. Thus "Lebanon indeed resists taking a census because the people and the authorities prefer not to test or upset the complicated political balance which yields tolerable Moslem - Christian

³⁶Glubb, op. cit., pp. 217-218.

relations based on the assumption that the population is about evenly divided between the two religions."³⁷ No official census has been conducted since 1932.

However, estimates most approximate a 1969 population of 2,250,000 or 555 persons per square mile. The next most dense Arabic country is Egypt with approximately 80 persons per square mile.

With the highest per capita income of all Arab nations, Lebanon employs nearly half its population in agriculture [fruit & wheat]. However, "Lebanese welfare depends on its capacity to maintain confidence in its domestic stability and good relations with both the Arab countries and Europe."³⁸ Lebanon has recaptured a considerable amount of tourist trade and is known widely as a resort country ["The Playground of the East"]. National income is supplemented by light industry.

Topographically much of this country is mountainous. Even the name Lebanon is said to come from the Aramaic leben [whiteness] and has reference to the snow-capped mountains. From earliest times, the area was referred to by the name of its mountain, The Lebanon.

Educationally, modern Lebanon realizes perhaps its crowning achievement. With four universities [Lebanese, American, French and Egyptian] Lebanon is able to sustain a ninety percent+ literacy rate, as compared to ten percent

³⁷Berger, op. cit., p. 191.

³⁸Ibid., p. 212.

for the rest of the Arab world. Thus it is no surprise that twenty percent of its population is in primary and secondary schools. This figure is higher than any other country in the Middle East and only two percentage points behind the United States.

A matter of contemporary disagreement centers on the accuracy of the term "Arab" in reference to the Lebanese. Perhaps the controversy is a purely semantic misunderstanding and consensus can be reached if the intended meaning of "Arab" is made explicit.

Ecologically the label has often been employed as a method of categorizing inhabitants of the Middle East into nomadic Bedouins [desert dwellers] and settled folk. An Arab was a Bedouin, and in this sense Lebanese are not Arabs. Although the country does encompass a desert region east of the mountains, the largest percentage of Lebanon's population lives in cities or mountain villages. Today this use of "Arab" is seldom, if ever, employed.³⁹

Religious connotations have also been applied to the term, and in accord with this usage an Arab is a follower of Mohammed. "As Arab conquerors spread Islam, they absorbed other cultures, and Arab came to mean a certain kind of Moslem in a society that classified people chiefly by religion."⁴⁰ If this is accepted, the majority of Lebanese [Maronites] are not Arabs. However, the efficacy

³⁹Berger, op. cit., p. 20.

⁴⁰Ibid., p. 21.

of this criterion must be contested on the grounds that it fails to account for what is and always has been referred to as an "Arab Christian."

Thus the Arab world seems not to be united by religion or type of inhabitants. The only factor common across the Arabian Peninsula is language. According to Egypt's President Nasser an Arab is "anyone whose mother tongue is Arabic." In compliance with Nasser's definition, all peoples of Lebanon are Arabs.

This is not to imply that language is the only basis for Arabic socialization. Invoking Cooley's concept the "looking-glass self" with its principal accompanying elements: "the imagination of our appearance to the other person; the imagination of his judgement of that appearance; and some sort of feeling, such as pride or mortification,"⁴¹ we can assert that an Arab's self-identification, as he imagines others perceive him, is as an Arab. The self-idea is implemented by a common ethos and similar cultures. A feeling of immeasurable intensity, "Arabs share a belief that there is an Arab nation whose boundaries override the political frontiers of their states. This force, which is known as al guwmiyy'l' arabiyya, or Arab nationalism, is an assertion of dignity and power after the centuries in which Arabs were ruled by foreigners. A force for change, it constitutes the outstanding internal issue in the Arab

⁴¹ Charles Horton Cooley, Human Nature and the Social Order [New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1902], pp. 151-152.

world. On goals Arabs are largely united, but their individualistic, schismatic natures delight in arguing over the means by which their goals may be attained."

"But Lebanon," continues Stewart, "provides the best example of a religious minority apprehensive of Arab unity. . . In the exercise of power, they [the Maronite Christians] are, nevertheless, an effective majority. The Lebanese Christians are determined not to join an Arab union in which they would become a tiny faction."⁴²

However, apprehension of Arab unity does not preclude a lack of identification as Arabs. For this reason, and because they are Arabic-speaking inhabitants of the Arab world with membership in the Arab League, the Lebanese have been and will be referred to in this paper as Arabs.

One cannot approach an understanding of ancient or contemporary Lebanon without touching upon that religion which shares so much of the country's history: Maronite Catholicism.

⁴²Stewart, op. cit., p. 117.

Formation of the Eastern & Western Churches

"And Jesus drew near and spoke to them saying, 'All power in heaven and on earth has been given to me. Go, therefore, and make disciples of all nations, baptizing them in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Spirit teaching them to observe all that I have commanded you; and behold I am with you all days, even unto the consummation of the world.'"⁴³

Accordingly, by the middle of the first century, Christianity had spread itself into the Eastern and Western worlds. The earliest center of Christianity in the East was Antioch, where Peter established his first see upon leaving Jerusalem. Rome was later established by Peter as the head of the Church in the West, and by 350 A.D. had achieved its present position as ecclesiastical see of the entire Church.

During the fourth century, different cultic forms developed in the Church in order to serve people of different areas. In outline form, the Eastern and Western Churches unfolded in this fashion:⁴⁴

⁴³Matthew 28: 16-20.

⁴⁴Nikolaus Liesel, The Eucharistic Liturgies of the Eastern Churches [Collegeville, Minnesota: The Liturgical Press, 1960], p. 7.

CHURCH⁴⁵PATRIARCHATEritesWestern
Catholic

ROME

Latin Rite

Eastern
Catholic{ ALEXANDRIA
[Egyptian Rite]{ Coptic Rite
{ Ethiopic Rite{ ANTIOCH
[Jerusalem]

{ West Syrian

{ Syrian Rite
{ Malankarese Rite
{ Maronite Rite

{ East Syrian

{ Chaldean Rite
{ Malabarese Rite{ Greek Rite
{ Melkite Rite
{ Russian Rite
{ Ruthenian Rite
{ [Ukrainian]

{ ARMENIA

Armenian Rite

⁴⁵ All rites in this scheme, excluding their orthodox counterparts, are members of the Catholic Church and are in communion with the Holy See at Rome. Thus "the Eastern Catholic Church" and the "Western Catholic Church" are not to be considered two distinct religions for they are both Catholic.

Christianity first flourished in Jerusalem, the area in which Christ lived. All apostles remained in Jerusalem after the death of Christ, spreading His word and increasing the number of adherents to Christ's doctrine. It is reported that three thousand converts were added to the christian fold in a single day.

But Christ had instructed His followers to preach His new religion to all nations; and to Peter, He entrusted leadership of the new church. Peter, after overseeing the entrenchment and consequent persecution of Christianity in Jerusalem, founded the Church of Antioch before proceeding to Rome. Shortly thereafter, Barnabas and Paul [Saul] became the leaders of the Church at Antioch:

"Now those who had been dispersed by the persecution that had broken out over Stephen, went all the way to Phoenicia and Cyprus and Antioch, speaking the word to none except to Jews only. But some of them were Cyprians and Cyreneans, who on reaching Antioch began to speak to the Greeks also, preaching the Lord Jesus. And the hand of the Lord was with them, and a great number believed and turned to the Lord. And news concerning them came to the ears of the church in Jerusalem, and they sent Barnabas as far as Antioch. Now when he came and saw the grace of God, he rejoiced and exhorted them all to continue in the Lord with steadfast heart; for he was a good man and full of the Holy Spirit and of faith. And a great multitude was added to the Lord. And

he went forth to Tarsus to look for Saul, and on finding him he brought him to Antioch. And for a whole year they took part in the meetings of the church and taught a great multitude. And it was in Antioch that the disciples were first called 'Christians'."46

Perhaps it is fitting that the followers of Christ were given their name at Antioch, for at the time Antioch was the largest city in Syria [presently it is in Turkey] and an important radiating center of Hellenistic culture.

According to Algermissen, Christianity concurrently took root in Antioch and Phoenicia. "From Palestine, the land of its birth, where the church had taken root chiefly in the Hellenized cities, it spread to West Syria and Phoenicia. In Phoenicia, Tyre became the center of missionary activity and of scientific theological study; in West Syria, the ecclesiastical center was Antioch, which became the metropolis of Christianity for the entire Near East."47

Late in the fourth century, a monk by the name of Maron [350-433] and a group of followers lived in an area east of Antioch. To escape persecution by hostile neighbors, Maron and his small community fled to the Orontes, where they transformed an abandoned pagan temple into a place of Christian homage. Maron fashioned the community

⁴⁶Acts 11: 19-30.

⁴⁷Konrad Algermissen, Christian Denominations. [St. Louis: B. Herder Book Company, 1945], p. 509.

into a monastery [since known as the monastery of Beit Maron], and became the first abbot. Juridically under the Patriarch of Antioch [by this time Antioch had been established as a Patriarchate], the monastery grew and its abbot quickly gained recognition as defender of the faith against heretics.

Nearly one hundred years after the death of its founder, the monastery was called upon by Antioch to defend the church against the Monophysite heresy of the Jacobites. More than a hundred years of eloquent defense by the Maronites was unable to save the See of Antioch from internal decay. The faithful of Antioch turned to the monastery of Beit Maron for leadership in this crisis. In 685, the Patriarch of Antioch fled to Constantinople to rescue the vacated see from disintegration, the monks installed John Maron [627-707] as the first Maronite Patriarch of Antioch. Shortly thereafter, Pope Sergius I legitimated John Maron as successor of St. Peter in the See of Antioch.⁴⁸

Monotheletism ["the teaching that there are indeed two natures in Christ, but only one will."] ⁴⁹swept through the church in 680. The Sixth Ecumenical Council met at Constantinople in an attempt to clarify the matter. Thus the debate ended. But a century later "the issue was revised by a Byzantine Emperor . . . and a large group in

⁴⁸Louis J. Maloof, *Intact and Immaculate*, [text of address given at the Golden Jubilee Banquet in Atlanta, Georgia, undated], p. 9.

⁴⁹Algermissen, *op. cit.*, p. 301

the Lebanon, the Maronites, held to Monotheletism until the twelfth century when they made their peace with Rome."⁵⁰ Latourette does not refer to the official relationship between the Maronites and Rome. Hence it is not clear if he intended to imply schism or mere disagreement; nor is it certain that Monotheletism was the official stance of the Maronite Church.

Maloof would dissent on the grounds that the number who were influenced by this heresy was small: "the Emperor Heroclius and his successors, hitherto friendly to the abbey, embraced Monotheletism. Harassed by the imperial troops and threatened with extinction, a few Maronites, principally laymen, are believed to have succumbed to the heresy; but, indeed, the majority of the Maronites, including the Mardaite knights and soldiers, rallied to the defense of the abbey and their beloved monks.. Inspired by their saintly patriarch, the Mardaites fought heroically, winning many battles against the heretics; but finally, Justinian II, in 694, threw his full military might against the abbey, destroying it."⁵¹ The fact that this skirmish resulted in the flight of John Maron and his followers to Lebanon seems ample proof that the Maronites were not officially adherents of Monotheletism.

Thus in 694, in an attempt to escape persecution as a result of their unwillingness to bow to heresy, the

⁵⁰ Kenneth Scott Latourette, A History of Christianity [New York: Harper and Brothers, 1953], p. 285.

⁵¹ Maloof, op. cit., p. 9.

Maronites came to inhabit Lebanon. Seeking refuge in the mountains near the Cedars, the Maronites converted much of the population of Lebanon.

Remaining loyal to Catholicism, even with the onslaught of Islam, left the Maronite Lebanese an island of Christianity in a Moslem world, and won for them the praises of many Popes. So influential was the Maronite Rite in Lebanon that it wove its way into the official fabric of that country. As the lone Christian members of an Arab world which embraced Moslemism, Lebanon was uniquely susceptible to Western influence. As pointed out above, the Maronites initiated contact with the French as early as the seventeenth century. During the two centuries before the French mandate, French troops helped protect the Lebanese Christians from the Moslems. Thus, as bitter as the Arab world was at being placed under European domination, "the Christians in Lebanon who believed they would be better off under the rule of the Christian French, were less restive."⁵²

To this day, the Maronite Patriarch is a highly esteemed religio-political figure and is accorded full dignity and respect by any foreign political dignitary visiting the country. Four hundred and fifty thousand Maronites in Lebanon today dictate that the national religion remain Christian, even though it is generally conceded that the percentage of Lebanese citizens of the Maronite Rite has decreased. The Maronites are noted for their devotion

⁵² Stewart, op. cit., p. 61.

to Lebanon: "the largest Christian community in Lebanon, the Maronites, have a very strong sense of Lebanese nationality which they like to trace back to the pre-Arab Phoenician culture of that area."⁵³

Highly lauded for their uninterrupted loyalty to the Holy See, the descendants of St. Maron stand today as a distinct rite of the Catholic Church.

For a religious group to qualify as a rite, it must develop a code of canons, a liturgy and an episcopacy. The ancestors of the Maronites have been Christians and members of the West Syrian Rite from the time of Christ. In possession of the Syriac liturgy of St. James the Less by 62 A.D., the Maronites shared a nomocanon with other Synods. Thus when they elected St. John Maron as first Maronite Patriarch in 685 A.D., and thereby established an episcopacy, the Maronites commenced existence as a distinct Rite of the Church of Antioch in communion with Rome.

⁵³Berger, op. cit., p. 256.

Earlier it was noted that Lebanon speaks of two equal components: the resident and the emigrant. In the past century, more than five hundred thousand Lebanese have fled Turkish persecution, pestilence or starvation, the bulk leaving between the middle of the nineteenth century and the second decade of the twentieth century. Yet it can probably be assumed that most of these people would have liked to return eventually. "Pioneer emigrants considered their lands of adoption as of sojourn. They sent home money. . . even as late as 1952, twenty-two million dollars."⁵⁵ Such loyalty and devotion to one's homeland is indeed rare. Today more than a quarter of a million people of Lebanese origin reside in Brazil; and a little less in the United States. Intensely proud of their heritage "wherever Arabic-speaking immigrants went, there went with them their cuisine, their churches and their printing presses."⁵⁶

⁵⁴Due to the scarcity of permanent data on Lebanese Maronites in St. Louis and the United States, much of the information presented in this section is based on verbal accounts of first and second generation immigrants. In an attempt to increase accuracy, nothing is presented as factual unless it has been mentioned by at least a few people, or unless it has been cited in a published work. For these reasons, the history of Maronite Lebanese in St. Louis was not treated at length.

⁵⁵Philip K. Hitti, The Near East in History [New York: D. Van Nostrand Company, Inc., 1961], p. 434.

⁵⁶Ibid., p. 494.

In the late eighteen fifties the first large group of Maronites came to the United States, settling in Boston and New York. By June 1966, enough Maronite Catholics had come to this country [150,000], that His Beatitude Peter Paul Cardinal Meouchi, Patriarch of Antioch and the Entire East, saw fit to establish an exarchate to serve the American Maronites. His Excellency The Most Reverend Francis M. Zayek [then Bishop of Brazil] was appointed first Maronite Apostolic Exarch to the United States. A rapidly expanding diocese, forty-five parishes support Our Lady of Lebanon Maronite Seminary in Washington, D.C., and the National Shrine of Our Lady of Lebanon in North Jackson, Ohio, a little more than one hundred and fifty miles from the exarchial seat in Detroit.

Toward the end of the nineteenth century, the first large group of Maronites came to St. Louis. Since their religion was so central to their lives, these immigrants brought a Maronite priest [Fr. Joachim Stevens] with them, and established St. Anthony the Hermit Parish in October 1898. Established at 618 South Second Street, this parish consisted of approximately fifty families in an area which came to be known as Little Lebanon or Little Syria [bounded by the river and Fifth Street, and Plum and Chouteau Avenues.]⁵⁷

⁵⁷ Another Lebanese community settled in the area of Thirty-Ninth and Delor.

A people who have traditionally maintained cohesive ties with fellow villagers [usually from small, isolated mountain villages], the Lebanese in St. Louis founded a second parish when enough people arrived in the area. Thus St. Raymond's was established by Fr. Joseph Karam on July 15, 1913, at 931 LaSalle Street. In the beginning, the newer parish was comprised mostly of people from Hadchite [Hadsheet], a small mountain village near the Cedars. The parish was not formed specifically for those in Hadchite [although the founder was from Hadchite]; it merely happened that the people whose common origin was in the small mountain town all decided to join the newly formed parish. For awhile most parishioners from St. Anthony the Hermit [from Beirut, Batroun, etc.] felt unwelcome in St. Raymond's. This was definitely not the case, but as simple situations exaggerate themselves, feelings between the two groups became less than cordial. This situation prevailed even after St. Anthony's was acquired by the city and razed in 1946. Fr. Karam's death on May 8, 1944, left St. Raymond's without a Maronite priest; and Fr. Stevens was without a Maronite Church. Thus the Maronite parishioners dispersed to local Latin Rite churches and feelings of animosity subsided within a decade and a half. Today parishioners of St. Raymonds are from many towns in Lebanon, and no conflict manifests itself.

For the twenty-three years following Fr. Karam's death, St. Raymond's had no Maronite priest - the parish was administered by local Latin Rite clergy from St. Vincent's

Church. The Maronite Lebanese began moving out of the area in 1954, and by the time another Maronite pastor was assigned to St. Raymond's, active membership had dwindled to fifteen. In the absence of a Maronite priest, the women of the parish maintained the church. Without the blood, sweat and tears of these staunch ladies, St. Raymond's would have been absorbed by the Latin diocese and ceased to exist as a Maronite parish.

The January 1967 arrival of Fr. Robert Shaheen provided an occasion for celebration among St. Louis Maronites. Fr. Shaheen, born in Danbury, Connecticut, and baptized a Maronite Catholic, entered St. Thomas Minor Seminary [Latin rite] in 1955. Two years later, Fr. Shaheen became more familiar with the Maronite Rite and immediately decided that his vocation was to the Maronite priesthood. On May 2, 1964, Fr. Shaheen was ordained by Bishop Zayek [then of Brazil]; thus becoming the first Maronite priest educated in the United States, as well as the first man ordained from Our Lady of Lebanon Maronite Seminary.

In two years Fr. Shaheen re-activated the Maronites of St. Louis, parish membership now includes 255 active families. A number of parish sponsored organizations now flourish, including St. Raymond's Maronite Society [Mens Club], St. Raymond's Ladies Sodality; the Maronite Youth Organization and a choir.

Two masses are offered each Sunday, and one each day during the week. Liturgically, the Maronite Mass is

said half in English and half in Arabic. The Consecration is said in the language of Christ, Aramaic. After each mass on Sunday, the congregation proceeds to the parish hall for coffee and rolls. On the last Sunday of each month, a Lebanese dinner is served in the same manner as the Wednesday afternoon merchant lunches.

St. Raymonds still stands at 931 LaSalle Street in an area that is now blighted. The policy of the parish is that the church will remain in an effort to contribute to the redevelopment of the area. A program is now under way to build a new church facing Chouteau. Architecturally, the present church, a converted four family flat, has been renovated in a Middle Eastern decor.⁵⁸

⁵⁸ Presence of a domed roof, many arch forms, elaborate ornamentation, statues and pictures [particularly of the saints] mark a similarity to the architecture elaborated by Karl Grober in Palastina, Arabien und Syrien.

HYPOTHESES

Hypotheses will be stated in terms of Milton's seven variables of assimilation. [See Chapter II, page 9-10]

H_1 : The Maronite Church will be dysfunctional for the acculturation of its members to the dominant culture. Although this stage may be almost complete, the church may possibly serve to enable the Lebanese to attach themselves to Lebanese culture.

H_2 : The Maronite Church will display a slight dysfunction for the structural assimilation of its members to the host society. Again, this stage will be almost completed. However, the church may serve to attract members to its own "ethnic" clubs, hence limiting or eliminating time spent in clubs and cliques of the host society. One fact worth noting is that religious affiliation does not disqualify one from membership in other organizations.

H_3 : Affiliation with St. Raymond's Maronite Church is not dysfunctional regarding amalgamation. Equally important, it is not functional. This level will be realized to the greatest extent because the Lebanese people lack any readily identifiable or stigmatic physical traits, and the limitedness of the number of Lebanese in St. Louis prohibits total intra-marriage.

H₄: The Maronite Church will be dysfunctional for the identificational assimilation of its members. The Lebanese immigrants will probably reverse Milton's ordering of identity variables: Nationality [American]; Race [Caucasian]; Religion [Maronite Catholic]; National Origin [Lebanese].⁵⁹ The image which the Maronite Church extends to the people of themselves will enable this.

H₅: Although no intention is made of studying the attitudes of the host society, a slight variation of this level of assimilation may yield fruitful results: do the Lebanese people feel that there is a lack of prejudice against them on the part of the host society? This, of course, cannot be postulated in terms of the Maronite Church. Thus the hypothesis: A high degree of modified attitude receptional assimilation will be attained by the Lebanese people affiliated with St. Raymond's Church.

H₆: A modification of Milton's behavior receptional assimilation yields the question: Do the Lebanese people feel that there is a lack of discrimination against them on the part of the host society? Thus the sixth hypothesis: A high degree of modified behavior receptional assimilation will be attained by the Maronite-Lebanese of St. Raymond's.

H₇: St. Raymond's Church will enable its Lebanese congregation to achieve a high degree of civic assimilation in their relations with the host society. The Maronite Church

⁵⁹Gordon, op. cit., p. 27.

will be found to encourage both civic participation and acceptance of the democratic ideals of the host society.

In other words, the host society has passively extended [i.e. - not denied] an invitation to assimilate and the Lebanese people have passively declined the invitation, thus enabling the summary hypothesis: These particular Lebanese people [or their immigrant ancestors], on coming to St. Louis, simply did not intend to become fully assimilated and have found the Maronite Church, as an organization, amenable to this purpose. That is, they have found St. Raymond's effective as a buffer in their relations with the host society.

METHODOLOGY + COLLECTION OF DATA

The above hypotheses are of theoretic value and must be tested empirically. To this end a graded questionnaire, constructed by Lennon, was used. The questionnaire establishes a respondent profile plus an index of acculturation based on attitudes and values of immigrants, and can be adapted to determine the effectiveness of the Maronite Church in its capacity as agent. Following is an outline of the content.⁶⁰

Profile

1. Age
2. Birthplace
3. Address
4. Occupation
5. Income
6. Siblings
7. Children
8. Year of family's emigration from homeland
9. Time and place of first residence in United States
10. Education

⁶⁰ John J. Lennon, "A Comparative Study of the Patterns of Acculturation of Selected Puerto Rican Protestant and Roman Catholic Families in an Urban Metropolitan Area [Chicago]." [Unpublished Ph. D. dissertation, University of Notre Dame, 1963], pp. 59-61.

11. Leisure activities [clubs, etc.]

12. Type of residence

Attitudes

1. Intention to return to homeland permanently
2. Attitude toward living in St. Louis
3. Voting behavior
4. Preference for St. Louis to homeland for raising children
5. Membership in social [ethnic] clubs
6. Membership in social [non-ethnic] clubs
7. Knowledge of English
8. Preference for English over Arabic [in home and in church]
9. Attitude toward working wife
10. Actuality of working wife
11. Food preference
12. Friendship patterns
13. Church attendance
14. Newspapers and magazines [language of]

Listed below are some ideas which possible additions might seek to determine.

Profile

1. Birthplace of parents of respondent
2. Occupation of parents
3. Length of membership in Maronite Church

Attitudes

1. With which group does respondent most strongly identify: Lebanese, Maronite, American, White or Other

2. Knowledge of Arabic language
3. Feeling of being welcomed by host society
4. Intention to visit Lebanon
5. Attitudes concerning inter-marriage
6. Religious tolerance [toward minority sects]
7. Preference for St. Louis to homeland
for making a living.

A random sample consisting of fifty people was applied to this index⁶¹ by personal interview. Of the fifty people, forty were married [i.e. - twenty couples] and ten were either widowed or unmarried. Also participant observation analysis was undertaken at major church functions to attempt a better insight into the "Lebanese-Maronite way."

⁶¹Appendix B contains the questionnaire in the form in which it was used. The interviewer asked each question verbally and made the appropriate notation on the sheet. At no time did the interviewee see the format of the questionnaire. This method was employed in an effort to prevent leading the respondent to give a particular response.

REVIEW OF THE LITERATURE

Considerations from the existing literature which brought about the above outline are drawn from parallel studies of the effectiveness of immigrant assimilation, and readings which treat immigration and assimilation on the general level.

Parallel Studies

In 1963, John J. Lennon conducted a study of lower class Puerto Ricans in Chicago.⁶² This study revealed that Puerto Rican immigrants attained a relatively low level of assimilation. Church membership for these people was determined to have a dual effect - both aiding and impeding acculturation-assimilation.⁶³

Some time later, Lennon, as a part of this same study, endeavored to discover the "role of the Church as an agent of acculturation . . . in order to measure its function in assisting, impeding, or neutralizing acculturation of immigrants."⁶⁴ His major finding was that both Protestant and Catholic Churches did assist their practicing members in achieving a higher degree of assimilation than

⁶²Ibid.

⁶³Ibid., p. 141.

⁶⁴Lennon, "Spanish Speaking."

nominal members. It is also pointed out that, since the Puerto Rican base of acculturation was so low, a slight assist [as is found with the Churches] might have a buffer effect.

The present study is intended to be a limited-scope replication of these studies. Summaries of the findings of other studies which have been of value will be listed briefly.

Humbert S. Nelli⁶⁵ observes that Italian immigrants who had traditionally resided in ethnic communities in large urban areas are now moving to suburban areas. Their place is being taken by Negro and Puerto Rican transients who have not yet adjusted to urban life and are at a status level occupied sixty years ago by the Italians. A prime factor which confines a group to a ghetto neighborhood, Nelli proposes, is not ethnicity as such, but being a new-comer to urban life.

In 1966, Abdo A. Elkholy⁶⁶ made an exhaustive study of Arab Moslems in Toledo and Detroit. His major conclusion was that Moslems in Toledo were judged to be more assimilated than those in Detroit. Although Elkholy does not correlate this finding with religiosity, it is significant that the Toledo community was found to be more religious than the Detroit community.

Through studying immigrants and their communities,

⁶⁵Humbert S. Nelli, "Italians in Urban America: A Study in Ethnic Adjustment," International Migration Review, I [Summer 1967], pp. 38-56.

⁶⁶Abdo A. Elkholy, The Arab Moslems in the United States [New Haven, Conn.: College and University Press].

Joseph P. Fitzpatrick, S.J.⁶⁷ concludes that, since the immigrant community provides a setting for interaction with those of the same identity, it plays a decisive role in the process of cultural assimilation. Also the community provides security for the immigrant and allows a base from which its people may enter the host society.

In an analysis of the role of churches among minority groups, J. Oscar Lee⁶⁸ theorizes that ethnic churches have developed to serve the religious and social needs of their minority constituents, and are flexible enough to meet the changing demands of immigrant members.

Of Jewish migrants in Chicago, Erich Rosenthal⁶⁹ detects a drive toward voluntary segregation. Wishes of the Jews to be buffered from the rest of Chicagoans were implemented by establishment of closed residential areas and an ethnic church. On the continuum of acculturation-assimilation, Rosenthal views these people as in motion toward full assimilation, yet presently stifled by an intense fear of amalgamation. Amalgamation would lead to loss of Jewish identity, and it is for this very purpose [identity] that the Jews have placed themselves in an ethnic enclave.

⁶⁷ Joseph P. Fitzpatrick, "The Importance of 'Community' in the Process of Immigrant Assimilation," International Migration Review, I [Fall 1966], pp. 5-17.

⁶⁸ J. Oscar Lee, "Religion Among Ethnic and Racial Minorities," in The Sociology of Religion: An Anthology, ed. by Richard D. Knudten [New York: Appleton-Century-Crofts, 1967], pp. 357-368.

⁶⁹ Erich Rosenthal, "Acculturation Without Assimilation? The Jewish Community of Chicago, Illinois," in Life in Society, ed. by Thomas Lasswell, John Burma and Sidney Aronson [Chicago: Scott, Foresman and Company, 1965], pp. 266-273.

Commenting on the reality invoked by his own theory of assimilation, Milton Gordon⁷⁰ postulates that, while acculturation has taken place on an inclusive scale, structural assimilation has not been extensive. Since the dominant society in America has not earnestly extended the invitation to fully assimilate, the characteristic ethnic immigrant experience is described in the following manner:

within the ethnic group there develops a network of organizations and informal social relationships which permits and encourages the members of the ethnic group to remain within the confines of the group for all of their primary relationships and some of their secondary relationships throughout all the stages of the life cycle.⁷¹

Although of little use as a reference for assimilation, a St. Louis Commission⁷² presents some valuable ecological and demographic data for the City of St. Louis. Population shifts up to 1957 can be found in this report.

As a source of information on immigration into the United States, Gendell and Zetterberg's almanac⁷³ has been employed. Immigration statistics from 1860 to 1950 [by decades] are pertinent.

⁷⁰ Milton M. Gordon, "Assimilation in America: Theory and Reality," in The Study of Society: An Integrated Anthology, ed. by Peter I. Rose [New York: Random House, 1967], pp. 435-453.

⁷¹ Ibid., p. 449.

⁷² Metropolitan St. Louis Survey. Report of the Commission. Background for Action [University City, Missouri: Metropolitan St. Louis Survey, 1957].

⁷³ Murray Gendell and Hans Zetterberg, A Sociological Almanac for the United States [New York: Bedminster Press, 1961].

J. Milton Yinger's⁷⁴ analysis of minority groupings provides an insight into the types, bases, origins and functions of such groups. As such it exposed many characteristics and problems of minority groups in moving toward assimilation.

Nicholas J. Russo,⁷⁵ studying Italians in New York, found that the sense of community [within family, peer group and neighborhood] was strong, and more influential in aiding immigrant assimilation than institutions such as the church, the school or the place of employment. Russo mentions that the national parish enabled the immigrant to identify as an Italian while becoming assimilated to American life. Ronald Taft's From Stranger to Citizen⁷⁶ briefly surveys other studies relating to the assimilation of immigrants in Western Australia. He was chiefly concerned with problems encountered by immigrants and the attempted solution.

Oscar Handlin⁷⁷ traces the plight of immigrants [mostly Europe] in America. An historical analysis, Handlin treats the old world ethos as a factor in deterring full adjustment to American life, as well as the economic, political and organizational routes traditionally employed by immigrants in moving toward assimilation.

⁷⁴J. Milton Yinger, A Minority Group in American Society [New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company, 1965].

⁷⁵Nicholas J. Russo, "Three Generations of Italians in New York City: Their Religious Acculturation," International Migration Review, III [Spring 1969], pp. 3-18.

⁷⁶Ronald Taft, From Stranger to Citizen [Nedlands, Western Australia: University of Western Australia Press, 1966].

⁷⁷Oscar Handlin, Immigration as a Factor in American History [Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1959].

Immigrants on the Threshold⁷⁸ is a statistical account of problems faced by Jewish immigrants, with emphasis on ideological frustrations and types of responses to role-strain. The author, Judith Shuval, delves into initial attempts at assimilation and the impact of their success or failure on aspirations for the future.

⁷⁸ Judith T. Shuval, Immigrants on the Threshold
[New York: Atherton Press, 1963].

Description of Sample

The sample used in this study consisted of fifty persons, including twenty married couples [forty persons], three elderly unmarried males, two younger bachelors, three widows, one middle-aged unmarried woman, and one young unmarried woman.

Procedure for picking those to be interviewed was initiated in a random fashion. Every twenty-first card was pulled from the alphabetized church files. Each family was contacted, and in three cases, inability to arrange an appointment [there were no blatant refusals] necessitated pulling the card following the one discarded. This random sampling procedure yielded five persons who were either single or divorced. To compensate for this idiosyncrasy five more non-married persons were added to the sample. Of the total of ten non-married respondents five were male and five female.

Rather than discard all unmarried and widowed persons, the above method was utilized because a number of parishioners were elderly and had survived the death of their mate. Also the number of youth has been increasing. To exclude these two groups would seem to introduce a bias and inadequately reflect the population of the parish.

Nationality of Respondent

In a study of the assimilation of an immigrant group, perhaps the most important variable is nationality. In this study it can not be assumed that all are Lebanese, for the Maronite Rite is not restricted to people of Lebanese nationality.

TABLE I
Nationality of Respondents⁷⁹

| NATIONALITY | MALE | | FEMALE | | TOTAL | |
|--------------------------|------|----|--------|----|-------|----|
| | NO. | % | NO. | % | NO. | % |
| LEBANESE | 16 | 64 | 15 | 60 | 31 | 62 |
| SYRIAN | 0 | 0 | 2 | 8 | 2 | 4 |
| SYRIAN/ PART LEBANESE | 3 | 12 | 1 | 4 | 4 | 8 |
| OTHER | 6 | 24 | 7 | 28 | 13 | 26 |

As the table indicates, sixty-two percent of all respondents were of Lebanese descent. An additional four percent [two women] were Syrian in nationality and can be added to this figure. However, eight percent were at least half Lebanese or half Syrian. Of the total seventy-four percent who are considered Lebanese-Syrian can for analytic purposes, approximately half were women [19] and half were men [18].

⁷⁹In all succeeding tables, unless a total row is given at the bottom of the table, the totals will be assumed to be:

| MALE | | FEMALE | | TOTAL | |
|------|-----|--------|-----|-------|-----|
| NO. | % | NO. | % | NO. | % |
| 25 | 100 | 25 | 100 | 50 | 100 |

TABLE II
Age of Respondents

| AGE | MALE | | FEMALE | | TOTAL | |
|------------|-------|----|--------|----|-------|----|
| | NO. | % | NO. | % | NO. | % |
| 20-29 | 3 | 12 | 4 | 16 | 7 | 14 |
| 30-39 | 6 | 24 | 7 | 28 | 13 | 26 |
| 40-49 | 4 | 16 | 2 | 8 | 6 | 12 |
| 50-59 | 6 | 24 | 5 | 20 | 11 | 22 |
| 60-69 | 4 | 16 | 5 | 20 | 9 | 18 |
| OVER 70 | 2 | 8 | 2 | 8 | 4 | 8 |
| MEDIAN AGE | 47.36 | | 46.72 | | 47.04 | |

Age Composition of Sample by Category

Since the parish files are ordered in such a way that unmarried children living with their parents were included on the parents' file card, only heads of households were included in the sample. For analytic purposes this method was more workable because a few questions called for responses that could be given by an adult only.

Apparently evenly distributed by age, the sample yielded seven [women between the ages of thirty and thirty-nine] as the largest single grouping in any one category. Further analysis reveals that forty-eight percent [twelve male and female] were over the age of fifty, and forty percent [eleven wives and nine husbands] were under the age of forty. This seems to be another large grouping of post-middle-age respondents. The median age for the entire sample

was another high 47.04.

TABLE III
Birthplace of Respondents

| PLACE OF BIRTH | MALE | | FEMALE | | TOTAL | |
|-------------------|------|----|--------|----|-------|----|
| | NO. | % | NO. | % | NO. | % |
| LEBANON | 3 | 12 | 3 | 12 | 6 | 12 |
| ST. LOUIS | 17 | 68 | 17 | 68 | 34 | 68 |
| OTHER - U.S. | 5 | 20 | 5 | 20 | 10 | 20 |
| OUTSIDE - U.S. | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 |

Place of Birth

Of the fifty respondents, only six [three men + three women] were born in Lebanon. Of the eighty-eight percent born in the United States, seventeen males and seventeen females [a total of sixty-eight percent] were born in St. Louis. Of those born in Lebanon, two were born in large cities, and four in small mountain villages.

TABLE IV A
Birthplace of Parents of Male Respondent

| PLACE OF BIRTH | FATHER | | MOTHER | | TOTAL | |
|-------------------|--------|----|--------|----|-------|----|
| | NO. | % | NO. | % | NO. | % |
| LEBANON | 13 | 52 | 13 | 52 | 26 | 52 |
| ST. LOUIS | 7 | 28 | 6 | 24 | 13 | 26 |
| OTHER - U.S. | 4 | 16 | 5 | 20 | 9 | 18 |
| OUTSIDE U.S. | 1 | 4 | 1 | 4 | 2 | 4 |

Place of Parents' Birth [Male]

Over fifty percent [twenty-six] of the parents of the male respondents were born in Lebanon, while only one man's parents were born in another foreign country. Of the twenty-four parents born in the United States, thirteen were born in St. Louis.

TABLE IV B

Birthplace of Parents of Female Respondents

| PLACE OF BIRTH | FATHER | | MOTHER | | TOTAL | |
|-------------------|--------|----|--------|----|-------|----|
| | NO. | % | NO. | % | NO. | % |
| LEBANON | 13 | 52 | 12 | 48 | 25 | 50 |
| ST. LOUIS | 5 | 20 | 5 | 20 | 10 | 20 |
| OTHER - U.S. | 7 | 28 | 8 | 32 | 15 | 30 |
| OUTSIDE U.S. | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 |

Females' Parents Place of Birth

Exactly half of the parents of females in the sample had been born in Lebanon. St. Louis was the place of birth of two-fifths [ten] of the remaining parents. None of the women had parents born outside the United States [excluding Lebanon].

Totaling the parents of both female and male respondents shows that fifty-one percent [of one hundred parents] were born in Lebanon], and twenty-three percent in St. Louis. There was no marked discrepancy in the distribution among the fathers and mothers of respondents.

TABLE V

Respondent's Closest Relative Born in Lebanon

| RELATIVE | MALE | | FEMALE | | TOTAL | |
|----------------|------|----|--------|----|-------|----|
| | NO. | % | NO. | % | NO. | % |
| RESPONDENT | 3 | 12 | 3 | 12 | 6 | 12 |
| BRO./SR. | 0 | 0 | 1 | 4 | 1 | 2 |
| PARENT | 9 | 36 | 12 | 48 | 21 | 42 |
| UNCLE/AUNT | 3 | 12 | 0 | 0 | 3 | 6 |
| G. PARENTS | 4 | 16 | 3 | 12 | 7 | 14 |
| NOT APPLICABLE | 6 | 24 | 7 | 28 | 13 | 26 |

Nearest Relative Born in Lebanon

Of the fifty respondents, thirteen were not Lebanese and had no kinship ties in Lebanon. Excluding the six respondents who were themselves born in the old country, twenty-one [forty-two percent] had parents born in Lebanon. Everyone had at least one relative less distant than a grandparent born in Lebanon.

By assigning a numerical value to the distance separating those chosen for the sample from their nearest relative born in the old country we can arrive at a figure which would indicate the generations removed from Lebanon. Numbers will be assigned on the following order: zero, if the respondent himself was among the family's first generation born in the United States; one, if the respondent is second generation to a person who immigrated to this country; three, if a grandparent was the nearest person born in Lebanon. Of the nineteen males to whom this applies, the average closest

relative born in the old country was 1.05 generations away from the respondent. The same figure for women in the sample was 1.16. On the average, the total sample was 1.10 generations removed from a relative born in the old country, indicating that the sample was only slightly more than second generation immigrants.

Siblings

Male respondents had an average of 2.20 brothers and 2.20 sisters. Women of the sample averaged 1.64 brothers and 1.92 sisters. In accord with the data presented here, the men came from slightly more fecund families. The average number of brothers for the total population was 1.92; the average number of sisters was 2.06. Thus the average respondent came from a family of 4.98 children.

Number of Children of Respondent

The population of child bearers, twenty couples and three widows produced an average of 1.36 boys and 1.44 girls. With a family of 2.80 children, the sample generation was slightly less prolific than its parent generation [4.98 offspring]. However a number of the population [thirty-two percent] were not deemed past their childbearing age.

TABLE VI

Year of Respondent's Family Leaving Homeland

| YEAR | MALE | | FEMALE | | TOTAL | |
|----------------|------|----|--------|----|-------|----|
| | NO. | % | NO. | % | NO. | % |
| 1890-1899 | 7 | 28 | 3 | 12 | 10 | 20 |
| 1900-1909 | 9 | 36 | 9 | 36 | 18 | 36 |
| 1910-1919 | 3 | 12 | 4 | 16 | 7 | 14 |
| AFTER 1920 | 0 | 0 | 2 | 8 | 2 | 4 |
| NOT APPLICABLE | 6 | 24 | 7 | 28 | 13 | 26 |

Year of Family's Leaving Homeland

Of the total population, thirty-seven person's families hail from Lebanon. The greatest percentage [thirty-six] emigrated between the years 1900-1909, with twenty percent leaving Lebanon prior to that period and eighteen percent after 1909. Thus, excepting the families of two respondents who did not come directly to this country, the samples' families have been in the United States for an average of sixty-one and a half years [sixty-six years for the families of the men and fifty-seven years for those of the women].

One fact not reflected in this table is that for many the norm for emigration was that the husband would leave the country alone. He would seek employment in the land of adoption and, after earning enough money, would send for his wife and children. Thus, in many cases, a period of approximately two years lapsed between the time of

emigration of a husband and that of his wife.

In the majority of cases [sixty-six percent] the respondent's family left Lebanon to seek economic opportunity in the United States. Events in Lebanon between 1900 and 1919, the period during which almost half of the sample's families left the homeland, were characterized by disease, pestilence, depression and starvation [see pages 26 and 27 of this report]. This was a period during which Lebanese citizens were being drafted into the Turkish Army; and two respondents mentioned this as a motive for their fathers' emigration. One additional respondent mentioned that his family came to the United States to live with relatives.

Place of First Residence in United States and St. Louis.

Considerably fewer families of males in the sample moved directly to St. Louis. Twenty-eight percent [seven] moved to another section of the country; none of these lived in the same city. Only two women's families lived outside of St. Louis. Twenty-six percent of the sample [thirteen people] this question did not apply.

The majority [seventy percent] of arrivals to St. Louis initially established residence in an area known as Little Lebanon. This ethnic enclave was bounded by the river on the East, Fifth Street on the west, Plum Street on the north, and Chouteau on the south. The area expanded to the west, and the families of ten percent of the sample first lived west of Fifth Street.

TABLE VII
Religion of Respondent by Birth

| RELIGION | MALE | | FEMALE | | TOTAL | |
|----------------|------|----|--------|----|-------|----|
| | NO. | % | NO. | % | NO. | % |
| MARONITE CATH. | 18 | 72 | 16 | 64 | 34 | 68 |
| LATIN CATH. | 3 | 12 | 4 | 16 | 7 | 14 |
| PROTESTANT | 1 | 4 | 2 | 8 | 3 | 6 |
| OTHER | 3 | 12 | 3 | 12 | 6 | 12 |

Religious Affiliation at Birth

As portrayed in the table, sixty-eight percent of all respondents were baptized into the Maronite Rite at birth. Seven respondents were born Latin Rite Catholics and three were initially baptized into Protestant faiths. Of the twelve percent categorized "other", two women and one man were born Melchite, one man was originally a fundamentalist, and two people [one man and one woman] were of no religious affiliation at birth.

TABLE VIII
Occupation of Respondent and Respondent's Father

| TYPE | RESPONDENT | | FATHER | |
|----------------------------------|------------|----|--------|----|
| | NO. | % | NO. | % |
| PROFESSIONAL | 2 | 8 | 0 | 0 |
| SELF-EMPLOYED | 6 | 24 | 4 | 16 |
| CLERICAL | 6 | 24 | 3 | 12 |
| MERCHANT | 0 | 0 | 5 | 20 |
| SKILLED & SEMI- SKILLED LABOR | 7 | 28 | 6 | 16 |
| UNSKILLED LABOR | 4 | 16 | 7 | 28 |

Occupation

On first arriving in St. Louis, many Lebanese people contracted their services or property to the city. For example, a man with a few horses may have hired them out to the city to haul wagons. With the consequent civic influence many first generation immigrants were able to secure jobs with governmental agencies for newly-arrived Lebanese friends. Such city service jobs included employment with the street department, delivery service and maintenance type jobs.

Table VIII indicates a noticable degree of upward mobility. Fifty-six percent of the respondents were employed in professional, self-employed or clerical positions; whereas only twenty-eight percent of their fathers held similar positions. While only thirteen percent of the respondents were employed in skilled, semi-skilled or unskilled capacities, forty-four percent of their fathers were so employed. A number of the fathers [five] functioned as independent merchants and peddlers.

PRESENTATION AND ANALYSIS OF DATA - RELATION OF DATA TO
HYPOTHESES

Eighteen of the twenty-eight variables incorporated in the questionnaire are governed by weights assigned by Lennon in the index of acculturation which he applied to Puerto Ricans in Chicago.⁸⁰ This same method will be utilized wherever applicable, and is based on the following considerations: possible answers are divided into five exhaustive categories and numbered from zero to four, in such a way that the more assimilated person would give an answer yielding a higher number. Thus a person whose answer is numbered four on any one category is considered to have fully adopted that attitude commensurate with the American ethos. The number procured by categorizing the respondent's answer is multiplied by the weight assigned by Lennon; the new number being called the respondent's score. A comparison of the attained score of the sample to the highest possible score will render the relative degree to which the population is assimilated.

The twenty-eight variables of Lennon's index of acculturation will be taken as indicators of Gordon's

⁸⁰ John J. Lennon, "A Comparative Study of the Patterns of Acculturation of Selected Puerto Rican Protestant and Roman Catholic Families in an Urban Metropolitan Area [Chicago]." [Unpublished Ph. D. dissertation, University of Notre Dame, 1963], pp. 59-61.

levels of assimilation. The raw data on all twenty-eight variables is presented in Appendix A.

Test of the First Hypothesis

H_1 : The Maronite Church will be dysfunctional for the acculturation of its members to the dominant culture.

Ten weighted variables in the index of acculturation reflect the degree to which the Maronite Lebanese have moved toward acculturation.

TABLE IX

Respondents' Scores on Selected Variables of Acculturation

| VARIABLE* | HIGHEST POSSIBLE SCORE | SCORE ATTAINED BY: | | |
|--|------------------------------|--------------------|-------|-------|
| | | HUSBAND | WIFE | TOTAL |
| 1. Int to return to Leb to live | 4.00 | 3.88 | 3.92 | 3.90 |
| 2. Att toward living in St. Louis | 16.00 | 15.36 | 15.36 | 15.36 |
| 4. Prf St.L. to Leb for rais. chldrn | 16.00 | 15.68 | 15.84 | 15.76 |
| 7. Knowledge of English | 20.00 | 20.00 | 19.60 | 19.80 |
| 8A. Prf for Eng over Arabic in home | 16.00 | 15.04 | 14.72 | 14.88 |
| 8B. Prf for Eng over Arabic in church | 16.00 | 5.60 | 5.12 | 5.36 |
| 10. Att toward working wife | 10.00 | 4.60 | 5.40 | 5.00 |
| 11. Actuality of working wife | 10.00 | 4.50 | 4.50 | 4.50 |
| 13. Prf Amer over Leb food | 8.00 | 5.20 | 5.12 | 5.16 |
| 17. Newspapers and magazines | 6.00 | 6.00 | 6.00 | 6.00 |

*Variables & their numbers refer to the order of distributions in Appendix A.

Intention to Return to Lebanon to Live [weighted 1.0].

Of all respondents, ninety-four percent definitely did not intend to return to Lebanon to establish permanent residence. One couple was undecided, and one man answered "no" rather than "definitely no". Thus for the entire sample, a score of 3.90 [3.88 for male and 3.92 for female respondents] was attained. With a weight of 1.0 and a highest possible score of 4.0, the sample can be considered almost completely acculturated on the basis of this criterion.

Attitude Toward Living in St. Louis [weighted 4.0].

Eight respondents [four male and four female] merely accepted living in St. Louis. However, each of these respondents preferred living in another area of the United States. So, in terms of preference for living in this country, the sample was completely acculturated.

Preference for St. Louis to Homeland for Raising Children [weighted: 4.0].

Respondents with children favored St. Louis for raising their children, with the exception of one couple who merely accepted the city. Again, on this variable, the respondents exhibited a nearly perfect acculturation score [15.76 of a possible 16.00].

Knowledge of English [weighted: 5.0].

All male respondents spoke English flawlessly, and only two women had slight difficulties speaking the language. Of a possible 20.00 points, females scored 19.60 and all

respondents 19.80 - only slightly less than perfect acculturation in terms of language barriers.

Preference for English over Arabic in the Home [weighted: 4.0].

Twenty percent of the sample accepted the use of Arabic in the home, although only one elderly woman preferred to use her native tongue more often. Three people were ambivalent and seven other people would use Arabic in the home on occasion. A score of 14.88 of a possible 16.00 for the total sample would seem to indicate a relatively high degree of acculturation.

Preference for English over Arabic in Church [weighted: 4.0].

Only one man and one woman wanted church service [Mass] performed totally in English. The majority [forty-two percent] were opposed to the use of any English at Mass, but thirty-eight percent [ten men and nine women] were in favor of maintaining the status quo: half English and half Arabic. One fact which may have influenced this decision is that the Consecration of the Mass is said in Aramaic; and ninety-six percent of the sample would not change this. As a variable with a weight of 4.0, the highest possible score was 16.00. Achievement was astonishingly low: 5.60 for male respondents, 5.12 for female respondents. In their preference for English as a language to be used in church, the Maronite Lebanese are deemed poorly acculturated.

Attitude Toward and Actuality of Working Wife [both weighted: 2.5]

A concept generally considered acceptable in

America, a working wife is still not favored by the Maronites. In Lebanon, a certain amount of shame is shared by men whose wives work. The sample in this study seemed to be influenced more by their Lebanese ancestral ties than by a prevailing American value of acceptance of the working wife. The actuality of working wives reflected the respondents' attitudes. On the matter of working wives, the sample scored near the middle [5.00 and 4.50 out of a possible 10.00] and was evenly distributed among men and women. Thus the respondents cannot be said to be acculturated on this basis.

Food Preference [weighted: 2.0].

Women preferred Lebanese food slightly more than men [5.12 compared to 5.20 of a possible 8.0]. However, both lean more toward category two [prefer Lebanese food mostly - American sometimes] than category three [prefer both American and Lebanese food]. On this basis the Maronite Lebanese, as represented in the sample, move only slightly toward acculturation.

Newspapers and Magazines [weighted: 1.5]

All respondents subscribed to English newspapers and magazines exclusively. However, only twelve percent of the sample could read Arabic, and some of these could barely manage reading that language. It is in relation to this variable that the population moved as far as possible toward acculturation [6.0 out of a possible 6.0].

Knowledge of Arabic [Not weighted].

The women of the sample had a slightly better

knowledge of Arabic [twelve categorized as very good, good or fair as opposed to nine men]. Thus the men were slightly more acculturated.

Intention to Visit Lebanon [Not weighted].

Seventy-two percent of the sample wanted very much to visit Lebanon. Some mentioned that they would definitely like to if they could afford the trip. Five respondents have actually visited their homeland and two are planning a trip in the near future. If this variable were weighted, the sample would probably score very low - only two people definitely had no intentions of visiting the land of their ancestors.

Summary

By way of summary, a linear scale can be employed to plot the degree to which the sample has moved toward acculturation.

TABLE X

Scale for Index of Acculturation by Category of Variable on a Non-Weighted Basis.

| | CATEGORY OF ANSWER | | | | | | | | | |
|----------|--------------------|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|--|
| VARIABLE | 4.0 | 3.5 | 3.0 | 2.5 | 2.0 | 1.5 | 1.0 | 0.5 | 0.0 | |
| 1. | X | | | | | | | | | |
| 2. | X | | | | | | | | | |
| 4. | X | | | | | | | | | |
| 7. | X | | | | | | | | | |
| 8A. | | X | | | | | | | | |
| 8B. | | | | | | X | | | | |
| 10. | | | | | X | | | | | |
| 11. | | | X | | | | | | | |
| 13. | | | | X | | | | | | |
| 17. | X | | | | | | | | | |

Excluding preference for English over Arabic in

church and the concept of a working wife, hypothesis one is rejected on the grounds that the sample has moved significantly toward acculturation and St. Raymond's Church has therefore not impeded them in their quest for a level of acculturation.

Test of the Second Hypothesis

H₂: The Maronite Church will display a slight dysfunction for the structural assimilation of its members to the host society.

TABLE XI

Respondent's Scores on Selected Variables of Acculturation

| VARIABLE | HIGHEST POSSIBLE SCORE | SCORE ATTAINED BY: | | |
|-------------------------------------|------------------------------|--------------------|-------|-------|
| | | HUSBAND | WIFE | TOTAL |
| 5. Membership in ethnic clubs | 6.00 | 4.26 | 4.56 | 4.41 |
| 6. Membership in non-ethnic clubs | 14.00 | 6.72 | 4.06 | 5.39 |
| 9. Type of residence or dwelling | 8.00 | 5.44 | 5.44 | 5.44 |
| 12. Income of respondent | 14.00 | 7.77 | 7.77 | 7.77 |
| 15. Church attendance of respondent | 4.00 | 2.96 | 3.32 | 3.14 |
| 16. Respondent's level of education | 16.00 | 11.20 | 10.24 | 10.72 |

The same method of analysis employed in testing the first hypothesis will be used in testing all succeeding hypotheses. Hence each variable will not be treated at length.

Of the six variables employed to test the second hypotheses, two indicated a very low degree of structural assimilation. A mere twenty-two percent of the population had any association with non-ethnic clubs, and among these was only one woman. On the other hand, the sample showed a marked propensity for joining ethnic clubs affiliated with the church.

Variables reflecting structural acculturation as measured by income [7.77 of a possible 14.00] level of education [10.72 of a possible 16.00] and type of residence [5.44 of a possible 8.00] lead one to believe that, although not outstanding in moving toward this level of assimilation, the sample has fared well relative to the national average. Only on one variable [church attendance] has the sample exhibited a high degree of movement toward structural assimilation. The women of the parish were more consistent in their church attendance than the men [3.32 as opposed to 2.96].

Summary

TABLE XII

| VARIABLE | CATEGORY OF ANSWER | | | | | | | | |
|----------|--------------------|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|
| | 4.0 | 3.5 | 3.0 | 2.5 | 2.0 | 1.5 | 1.0 | 0.5 | 0.0 |
| 5. | | | X | | | | | | |
| 6. | | | | | | X | | | |
| 9. | | | | X | | | | | |
| 12. | | | X | | | | | | |
| 15. | | | X | | | | | | |
| 16. | | | | X | | | | | |

Table XII attests to the fact that the population has not made a large-scale movement toward structural assimilation. The Maronite Church can probably be held accountable for little entrance into non-ethnic clubs by attracting parishioners to its own clubs; thereby limiting time

available for activity in non-ethnic clubs. Thus the second hypothesis [that the Maronite Church will be slightly dysfunctional in aiding its members' movement toward structural assimilation] is confirmed.

Test of the Third Hypothesis

H₃: Affiliation with St. Raymond's Maronite Church is not dysfunctional regarding amalgamation. Equally important, it is not functional.

Fifty-five percent of the twenty married couples were found to be involved in an inter-marriage of Lebanese/Maronites and non-Lebanese/non-Marionites.

The twenty-first variable portrays that one hundred percent of the sample accepted such inter-marriage. However, St. Raymond's cannot be assumed to be responsible for such widespread acceptance of inter-marriage. But the church policy is not such that it would discourage such marriages.

Summary

Although the church members themselves have attained a high degree of amalgamation, the third hypothesis is accepted. Thus St. Raymond's has been found to be neither functional nor dysfunctional for its members.

Test of the Fourth Hypothesis

H₄: The Maronite Church will be dysfunctional for the identificational assimilation of its members.

According to Charles Horton Cooley, a person arrives at his self-identity through interaction with others.

In this way respondents' answers to question - variable fourteen can be considered indicative of identificational assimilation. If identity is extracted from associational patterns, a person is considered identificationally assimilated when the majority of his friends are members of the dominant host society.

Of the total sample, only fourteen percent associated mostly with non-Lebanese. No respondent's visiting and friendship habits revolved around Lebanese or non-Lebanese exclusively. The majority [sixty-six percent] indicated that their friends were equally divided among Lebanese and non-Lebanese. Male and female respondents respectively scored 4.00 and 3.76 of a possible 8.00 on this variable.

A more direct question was addressed to the sample; asking which of a list of four categories the respondent identified with most strongly. The categories were: American, Maronite, Lebanese, Caucasian and other.

Surprisingly, only sixteen percent [five men and three women] thought of themselves primarily as Lebanese. Another eight persons identified as Maronites first. In the test of the second hypothesis, it was found that frequent church attendance was more common among women. Accordingly, of the eight whose first choice of identity was as a religious person, five were women and three were men. The majority of the population considers itself American [sixty-six percent of all respondents chose this category first]. Caucasian was selected first by no one.

Summary

Relating this data to the hypotheses indicates that our expectations were unfounded in part.

EXPECTED AS PER HYPOTHESIS

ACTUAL

| | |
|--------------|----------------|
| 1. Lebanese | American - 66% |
| 2. Maronite | Lebanese - 16% |
| 3. Caucasian | Maronite - 16% |
| 4. American | Caucasian- 0% |

The sample was found to strongly identify as American. With the exception of the position of American, the fourth hypothesis was confirmed. However, the intensity of identification as Americans leads us to reject the fourth hypothesis.

Test of the Fifth Hypothesis

H₅: A high degree of modified attitude receptional assimilation will be attained by the Lebanese people affiliated with St. Raymond's Church.

Variables twenty-three and twenty-seven [Appendix A] were constructed in an attempt to determine attitude receptional assimilation.

It was hoped that through the psychological process of projection, answers to questions concerning expected acceptance of Maronites and Lebanese by various groups would reflect how the respondent felt he, as a Lebanese and a Maronite, would be accepted by the dominant group.

Excluding two persons who did not know how a Lebanese immigrant would be accepted by his neighbors, thirty

respondents [sixty percent of the total sample] felt that the immigrant would be readily accepted. An additional thirty-four percent felt that he would be accepted indifferently.

In response to a question seeking to determine acceptance of a Maronite Catholic by a socio-religious group, sixteen percent felt that he would be totally accepted, and sixty-four percent [eighteen men and fourteen women] felt that he would be accepted indifferently. Only one man felt that he would be rejected, but six women and three men said that they could not predict the groups behavior. Three insightful women indicated that the group would be dumbfounded - members of the group probably asking "A Maronite? What's that?"

Summary

On the whole we can not say that the Maronite Lebanese of St. Raymond's feel attitudes of the host society prejudicial against them. Thus the fifth hypothesis is confirmed

Test of the Sixth Hypothesis

H₆: A high degree of behavior receptional assimilation will be attained by the Maronite-Lebanese of St. Raymond's.

Summary

Since, for analytic purposes, discriminatory behavior is merely an acting out of prejudice, a lack of a feeling of prejudice must assume a lack of discriminatory behavior.

Thus, because hypothesis five was accepted, hypothesis six will be accepted.

Test of the Seventh Hypothesis

H₇: St. Raymond's Church will enable its Lebanese congregation to achieve a high degree of civic assimilation in their relation with the host society.

The Lebanese of St. Louis have always been active politically. Many of the early immigrants were employed by the city. To this day many Lebanese are elected to public office and a few hold appointed positions.

Variable three in Index A plots voting behavior. All twenty-five male respondents voted in every election, and of the twenty-four women who were eligible to vote, only one did not vote in every election [scoring 9.60 of a possible 10.00]. The score for all fifty persons was 9.80.

Summary

With a keen sense of duty and loyalty to their government, the Lebanese people of St. Raymond's Church were found to have moved completely toward civic assimilation. The church, as an institution, has functioned to maintain a feeling of patriotism, and to foster civic involvement.

SUMMARY OF FINDINGS AND COMMENT

The purpose of this study has been to apply data obtained from Maronite Lebanese members of St. Raymond's Church to Lennon's index of acculturation in an effort to determine the degree to which respondents have moved toward each of Milton's seven variables of assimilation.

Maronite Lebanese in St. Louis were found to move considerably toward acculturation, amalgamation, identificational assimilation, modified attitude receptional assimilation, modified behavior receptional assimilation and civic assimilation.

The population, as reflected in the sample, was found to have failed to move to the host society only with regard structural assimilation.

Thus all hypotheses were confirmed, except hypothesis one [that the Maronite Church will not aid its members in seeking acculturation] and hypothesis four [that the Maronite Church will not assist its members in moving toward identificational assimilation.

Ultimately the summary hypothesis must be rejected because it assumed that the St. Louis Maronites never intended to become fully assimilated; whereas, regardless of intention, the Lebanese of St. Raymond's Maronite Church have in fact been found to move significantly toward full assimilation.

EXPLANATORY NOTE FOR APPENDIX A

Appendix A is a presentation of raw data secured by personal interviews in the homes of the respondents. With the invaluable assistance of John F. McGuire, the interviews were conducted between April 18, 1969, and May 4, 1969.

The numbers on the left margin indicate individual interviewees. Answers of male respondents were placed in the left half of each column and those of female respondents in the right half.

DISTRIBUTION OF SAMPLE FOR INDEX OF ACCULTURATION

1. RESPONDENT'S INTENTION TO RETURN TO HOMELAND TO LIVE PERMANENTLY.

WEIGHTED: 1.0

| | 4. | 3. | 2. | 1. | 0. |
|----|----|----|----|----|----|
| 1 | X | X | | | |
| 2 | X | X | | | |
| 3 | X | X | | | |
| 4 | X | X | | | |
| 5 | X | X | | | |
| 6 | X | X | | | |
| 7 | X | X | | | |
| 8 | X | X | | | |
| 9 | | | X | X | |
| 10 | X | X | | | |
| 11 | X | X | | | |
| 12 | X | X | | | |
| 13 | X | X | | | |
| 14 | X | X | | | |
| 15 | X | X | | | |
| 16 | X | X | | | |
| 17 | X | X | | | |
| 18 | X | X | | | |
| 19 | X | X | | | |
| 20 | X | X | | | |
| 21 | X | X | | | |
| 22 | X | X | | | |
| 23 | X | X | | | |
| 24 | | X | X | | |
| 25 | X | X | | | |

CODE:

- 4. Definitely no
- 3. No
- 2. Undecided
- 1. Yes
- 0. Definitely yes

DISTRIBUTION OF SAMPLE FOR INDEX OF ACCULTURATION

2. RESPONDENT'S ATTITUDE TOWARD LIVING IN ST. LOUIS

WEIGHTED: 4.0

| | 4. | 3. | 2. | 1. | 0. |
|----|----|----|----|----|----|
| 1 | X | X | | | |
| 2 | X | X | | | |
| 3 | X | X | | | |
| 4 | X | X | | | |
| 5 | X | X | | | |
| 6 | | X | X | | |
| 7 | X | X | | | |
| 8 | | X | X | | |
| 9 | X | X | | | |
| 10 | X | X | | | |
| 11 | X | X | | | |
| 12 | X | X | | | |
| 13 | X | X | | | |
| 14 | X | X | | | |
| 15 | X | X | | | |
| 16 | X | X | | | |
| 17 | X | X | | | |
| 18 | | X | X | | |
| 19 | X | X | | | |
| 20 | X | X | | | |
| 21 | X | X | | | |
| 22 | X | X | | | |
| 23 | X | X | | | |
| 24 | | X | X | | |
| 25 | X | X | | | |

CODE:

4. Prefer St. Louis [or, have never lived in Lebanon]
3. Accept St. Louis [or, prefer some other area in the United States]
2. Undecided
1. Dislike St. Louis
0. Find St. Louis unbearable

DISTRIBUTION OF SAMPLE FOR INDEX OF ACCULTURATION

3. RESPONDENT'S VOTING BEHAVIOR.

WEIGHTED: 2.5

| | 4. | 3. | 2. | 1. | 0. |
|----|----|----|----|----|----|
| 1 | X | X | | | |
| 2 | X | X | | | |
| 3 | X | X | | | |
| 4 | X | X | | | |
| 5 | X | X | | | |
| 6 | X | X | | | |
| 7 | X | X | | | |
| 8 | X | X | | | |
| 9 | X | X | | | |
| 10 | X | X | | | |
| 11 | X | X | | | |
| 12 | X | X | | | |
| 13 | X | X | | | |
| 14 | X | X | | | |
| 15 | X | X | | | |
| 16 | X | X | | | |
| 17 | X | | X | | |
| 18 | X | X | | | |
| 19 | X | X | | | |
| 20 | X | X | | | |
| 21 | X | X | | | |
| 22 | X | X | | | |
| 23 | X | X | | | |
| 24 | X | X | | | |
| 25 | X | | | X | |

CODE:

- 4. Always vote
- 3. Sometimes vote
- 2. Never vote
- 1. Ineligible to vote
- 0. Do not want to vote

DISTRIBUTION OF SAMPLE FOR INDEX OF ACCULTURATION

4. RESPONDENT'S PREFERENCE FOR ST. LOUIS TO HOMELAND FOR RAISING CHILDREN.

WEIGHTED: 4.0

| | 4. | 3. | 2. | 1. | 0. |
|----|----|----|----|----|----|
| 1 | X | X | | | |
| 2 | X | X | | | |
| 3 | X | X | | | |
| 4 | X | X | | | |
| 5 | X | X | | | |
| 6 | X | X | | | |
| 7 | X | X | | | |
| 8 | X | X | | | |
| 9 | X | X | | | |
| 10 | | X | X | | |
| 11 | X | X | | | |
| 12 | X | X | | | |
| 13 | * | * | | | |
| 14 | X | X | | | |
| 15 | X | X | | | |
| 16 | X | X | | | |
| 17 | X | X | | | |
| 18 | X | X | | | |
| 19 | * | * | | | |
| 20 | X | X | | | |
| 21 | X | X | | | |
| 22 | X | X | | | |
| 23 | X | X | | | |
| 24 | | X | * | | |
| 25 | * | * | | | |

* NO CHILDRED

CODE:

- 4. Prefer St. Louis [or, have never lived in Lebanon]
- 3. Accept St. Louis [or, prefer some other area in the United States]
- 2. Indifferent to both
- 1. Prefer homeland
- 0. Planning to return to homeland

DISTRIBUTION OF SAMPLE FOR INDEX OF ACCULTURATION

5. RESPONDENT'S MEMBERSHIP IN SOCIAL CLUBS WITH NEAR-EXCLUSIVE LEBANESE AND/OR MARONITE MEMBERSHIP.

WEIGHTED: 1.5

| | 4. | 3. | 2. | 1. | 0. |
|----|----|----|----|----|----|
| 1 | X | | | X | |
| 2 | X | X | | | |
| 3 | | | X | X | |
| 4 | | X | X | | |
| 5 | X | X | | | |
| 6 | X | X | | | |
| 7 | X | X | | | |
| 8 | | X | | X | |
| 9 | | X | X | | |
| 10 | X | X | | | |
| 11 | | X | | X | |
| 12 | | X | X | | |
| 13 | | X | X | | |
| 14 | | | X | X | |
| 15 | X | X | | | |
| 16 | X | X | | | |
| 17 | | X | X | | |
| 18 | | | | X | X |
| 19 | | | | X | X |
| 20 | | X | | X | |
| 21 | X | | X | | |
| 22 | X | X | | | |
| 23 | | | | X | X |
| 24 | | X | X | | |
| 25 | X | X | | | |

CODE:

- 4. Active
- 3. Sporadic
- 2. Inactive
- 1. No affiliation
- 0. Reject clubs on principle

DISTRIBUTION OF SAMPLE FOR INDEX OF ACCULTURATION

6. RESPONDENT'S MEMBERSHIP IN OTHER SOCIAL CLUBS.

WEIGHTED: 3.5

| | 4. | 3. | 2. | 1. | 0. |
|----|-----|----|----|-----|----|
| 1 | X | | | X | |
| 2 | | | | X X | |
| 3 | | | | X X | |
| 4 | | | | X X | |
| 5 | | | | X X | |
| 6 | X | | | X | |
| 7 | | | | X X | |
| 8 | | | | X X | |
| 9 | | | | X X | |
| 10 | | | | X X | |
| 11 | | | | X X | |
| 12 | | X | | X | |
| 13 | | X | | X | |
| 14 | X | | X | | |
| 15 | X X | | | | |
| 16 | | | | X X | |
| 17 | | | | X X | |
| 18 | | | | X X | |
| 19 | | | | X X | |
| 20 | | | | X X | |
| 21 | X | | | X | |
| 22 | | | | X X | |
| 23 | | | | X X | |
| 24 | | X | | X | |
| 25 | | X | | X | |

CODE:

- 4. Active
- 3. Sporadic
- 2. Inactive
- 1. No affiliation
- 0. Reject club on principle

DISTRIBUTION OF SAMPLE FOR INDEX OF ACCULTURATION

7. RESPONDENT'S KNOWLEDGE OF ENGLISH.

WEIGHTED: 5.0

| | 4. | 3. | 2. | 1. | 0. |
|----|----|----|----|----|----|
| 1 | X | X | | | |
| 2 | X | X | | | |
| 3 | X | X | | | |
| 4 | X | X | | | |
| 5 | X | X | | | |
| 6 | X | X | | | |
| 7 | X | X | | | |
| 8 | X | X | | | |
| 9 | X | X | | | |
| 10 | X | X | | | |
| 11 | X | X | | | |
| 12 | X | X | | | |
| 13 | X | | X | | |
| 14 | X | X | | | |
| 15 | X | X | | | |
| 16 | X | X | | | |
| 17 | X | X | | | |
| 18 | X | X | | | |
| 19 | X | X | | | |
| 20 | X | X | | | |
| 21 | X | | X | | |
| 22 | X | X | | | |
| 23 | X | X | | | |
| 24 | X | X | | | |
| 25 | X | X | | | |

CODE:

- 4. Very good
- 3. Good
- 2. Fair
- 1. Very little
- 0. None

DISTRIBUTION OF SAMPLE FOR INDEX OF ACCULTURATION

8A RESPONDENT'S PREFERENCE FOR ENGLISH OVER ARABIC IN HOME.

WEIGHTED: 4.0

| | 4. | 3. | 2. | 1. | 0. |
|----|----|----|----|----|----|
| 1 | X | X | | | |
| 2 | X | X | | | |
| 3 | X | X | | | |
| 4 | X | X | | | |
| 5 | X | X | | | |
| 6 | X | X | | | |
| 7 | X | X | | | |
| 8 | X | X | | | |
| 9 | X | X | | | |
| 10 | X | X | | | |
| 11 | | X | X | | |
| 12 | X | X | | | |
| 13 | | | X | X | |
| 14 | | X | X | | |
| 15 | X | X | | | |
| 16 | X | X | | | |
| 17 | X | X | | | |
| 18 | X | X | | | |
| 19 | | X | X | | |
| 20 | X | X | | | |
| 21 | X | X | | | |
| 22 | | X | | | X |
| 23 | X | X | | | |
| 24 | X | X | | | |
| 25 | X | X | | | |

CODE:

- 4. English always
- 3. English mostly - Arabic sometimes
- 2. Both equally
- 1. Arabic mostly - English sometimes
- 0. Arabic always

DISTRIBUTION OF SAMPLE FOR INDEX OF ACCULTURATION

8B. RESPONDENT'S PREFERENCE FOR ENGLISH OVER ARABIC IN CHURCH.

WEIGHTED: 4.0

| | 4. | 3. | 2. | 1. | 0. |
|----|----|-----|-----|----|-----|
| 1 | | | X | | X |
| 2 | X | | | | X |
| 3 | | | X X | | |
| 4 | | | X X | | |
| 5 | | | | | X X |
| 6 | | | | | X X |
| 7 | | | X | | X |
| 8 | | X | X | | |
| 9 | | X | | | X |
| 10 | | X X | | | |
| 11 | | | X X | | |
| 12 | | X | X | | |
| 13 | | | | | X X |
| 14 | | X | X | | |
| 15 | | | X X | | |
| 16 | | | X | | X |
| 17 | | | | X | X |
| 18 | | | X X | | |
| 19 | | | | | X X |
| 20 | | | X X | | |
| 21 | X | | | | X |
| 22 | | | | | X X |
| 23 | | | | | X X |
| 24 | | | | X | X |
| 25 | | | X | | X |

CODE:

- 4. English always
- 3. English mostly - Arabic sometimes
- 2. Both equally
- 1. Arabic mostly - English sometimes
- 0. Arabic always

DISTRIBUTION OF SAMPLE FOR INDEX OF ACCULTURATION

9. RESPONDENT'S TYPE OF RESIDENCE OR DWELLING.

WEIGHTED: 2.0

| | 4. | 3. | 2. | 1. | 0. |
|----|----|----|----|----|----|
| 1 | X | | | | |
| 2 | X | | | | |
| 3 | | | X | | |
| 4 | | | X | | |
| 5 | | | X | | |
| 6 | | | X | | |
| 7 | | | X | | |
| 8 | | | X | | |
| 9 | | X | | | |
| 10 | | | X | | |
| 11 | | | X | | |
| 12 | X | | | | |
| 13 | | | X | | |
| 14 | | | X | | |
| 15 | | | X | | |
| 16 | X | | | | |
| 17 | | | X | | |
| 18 | X | | | | |
| 19 | X | | | | |
| 20 | | X | | | |
| 21 | | | | X | |
| 22 | X | | | | |
| 23 | | X | | | |
| 24 | | X | | | |
| 25 | | X | | | |

CODE:

- 4. Superior
- 3. Above average
- 2. Average - Greater St. Louis Metropolitan area
- 1. Below average
- 0. Minimal

DISTRIBUTION OF SAMPLE FOR INDEX OF ACCULTURATION

10. RESPONDENT'S ATTITUDE TOWARD WORKING WIFE.

WEIGHTED: 2.5

| | 4. | 3. | 2. | 1. | 0. |
|----|----|----|----|----|-----|
| 1 | | | | X | X |
| 2 | X | X | | | |
| 3 | X | X | | | |
| 4 | | | | | X X |
| 5 | | X | X | | |
| 6 | | | | | X X |
| 7 | | X | X | | |
| 8 | | | | X | X |
| 9 | | | | X | X |
| 10 | | | | | X X |
| 11 | X | X | | | |
| 12 | | | X | X | |
| 13 | | X | X | | |
| 14 | | X | X | | |
| 15 | | | X | | X |
| 16 | | | | X | X |
| 17 | | X | X | | |
| 18 | | | | X | X |
| 19 | | | X | X | |
| 20 | | | | X | X |
| 21 | | | | | X X |
| 22 | | X | X | | |
| 23 | X | X | | | |
| 24 | | | X | X | |
| 25 | | X | X | | |

CODE:

- 4. Definitely accept it
- 3. Accept it [or, "only if necessary"]
- 2. Undecided
- 1. Dislike it
- 0. Strongly dislike it

DISTRIBUTION OF SAMPLE FOR INDEX OF ACCULTURATION

11. ACTUALITY OF WORKING WIFE.

WEIGHTED: 2.5

| | 4. | 3. | 2. | 1. | 0. |
|----|----|----|----|----|----|
| 1 | | | | X | |
| 2 | | | | X | |
| 3 | | X | | | |
| 4 | | | X | | |
| 5 | X | | | | |
| 6 | | | | X | |
| 7 | | | X | | |
| 8 | | | X | | |
| 9 | | | X | | |
| 10 | | | | X | |
| 11 | | | | X | |
| 12 | | X | | | |
| 13 | | | X | | |
| 14 | | X | | | |
| 15 | | | | X | |
| 16 | | | | X | |
| 17 | | | | X | |
| 18 | | | | X | |
| 19 | | | X | | |
| 20 | | | | X | |
| 21 | | | | X | |
| 22 | | | | X | |
| 23 | X | | | | |
| 24 | | | | X | |
| 25 | | X | | | |

CODE:

- 4. Wife working - full-time
- 3. Wife working - part-time
- 2. Working wife - presently unemployed [or, retired]
- 1. Wife not working
- 0. Wife unemployable

DISTRIBUTION OF SAMPLE FOR INDEX OF ACCULTURATION

12. RESPONDENT'S INCOME (TOTAL IF HUSBAND AND WIFE ARE WORKING).

WEIGHTED: 3.5

| | 4.0 | 3.5 | 3.0 | 2.5 | 2.0 | 1.5 | 1.0 | 0.0 |
|----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|
| 1 | X | | | | | | | |
| 2 | X | | | | | | | |
| 3 | | | X | | | | | |
| 4 | | | | | | | | X |
| 5 | | | X | | | | | |
| 6 | | | | | X | | | |
| 7 | | | | | | | | X |
| 8 | | | | X | | | | |
| 9 | | | | X | | | | |
| 10 | | | | | X | | | |
| 11 | | | | | X | | | |
| 12 | X | | | | | | | |
| 13 | | | | | | | | X |
| 14 | | | | | | X | | |
| 15 | | | X | | | | | |
| 16 | | X | | | | | | |
| 17 | | | | X | | | | |
| 18 | X | | | | | | | |
| 19 | | | | | | | | X |
| 20 | | | | X | | | | |
| 21 | | | | X | | | | |
| 22 | | | | | | | | X |
| 23 | | | | | X | | | |
| 24 | | | | | X | | | |
| 25 | | | X | | | | | |

CODE:

4.0 Above \$20,000
 3.5 \$15,001 - \$20,000
 3.0 \$10,001 - \$15,000
 2.5 \$8,001 - \$10,000

2.0 \$6,001 - \$8,000
 1.5 \$4,001 - \$6,000
 1.0 \$2,001 - \$4,000
 0.0 Below \$2,000
 [or unemployed/retired]

DISTRIBUTION OF SAMPLE FOR INDEX OF ACCULTURATION

13. RESPONDENT'S FOOD PREFERENCE.

WEIGHTED: 2.0

| | 4. | 3. | 2. | 1. | 0. |
|----|-----|-----|-----|-----|----|
| 1. | | | | X X | |
| 2 | | | X X | | |
| 3 | | X X | | | |
| 4 | | | X X | | |
| 5 | | X X | | | |
| 6 | X X | | | | |
| 7 | | X | X | | |
| 8 | X | X | | | |
| 9 | | | X X | | |
| 10 | X | X | | | |
| 11 | | | X X | | |
| 12 | | | X X | | |
| 13 | | X X | | | |
| 14 | | X X | | | |
| 15 | | X X | | | |
| 16 | | | X X | | |
| 17 | | | X X | | |
| 18 | | X X | | | |
| 19 | | | X X | | |
| 20 | | X X | | | |
| 21 | | X X | | | |
| 22 | | | X X | | |
| 23 | | X X | | | |
| 24 | | X X | | | |
| 25 | | | X X | | |

CODE:

- 4. Prefer American food only - Lebanese only on occasion
- 3. Both American and Lebanese
- 2. Lebanese mostly - American sometimes
- 1. Lebanese only
- 0. Neither

DISTRIBUTION OF SAMPLE FOR INDEX OF ACCULTURATION

14. RESPONDENT'S FRIENDSHIP AND VISITING PATTERNS.

WEIGHTED: 2.0

| | 4. | 3. | 2. | 1. | 0. |
|----|----|-----|-----|-----|----|
| 1 | | | X X | | |
| 2 | | | X X | | |
| 3 | | X X | | | |
| 4 | | | X X | | |
| 5 | | | X X | | |
| 6 | | | X X | | |
| 7 | | | | X X | |
| 8 | | | X | | X |
| 9 | | | | X X | |
| 10 | | X X | | | |
| 11 | | | X X | | |
| 12 | | X X | | | |
| 13 | | | X X | | |
| 14 | | | X X | | |
| 15 | | | X X | | |
| 16 | | | | X X | |
| 17 | | | | X X | |
| 18 | | | X X | | |
| 19 | | | X X | | |
| 20 | | | X X | | |
| 21 | | | X X | | |
| 22 | | | X X | | |
| 23 | | | X X | | |
| 24 | | X | | X | |
| 25 | | | X X | | |

CODE:

- 4. Non-Lebanese [non-Maronites] only
- 3. Mostly non-Lebanese [non-Maronites]
- 2. Both equally
- 1. Mostly Lebanese [Maronite]
- 0. Lebanese [Maronite] only

DISTRIBUTION OF SAMPLE FOR INDEX OF ACCULTURATION

15. RESPONDENT'S CHURCH ATTENDANCE.

WEIGHTED: 1.0

| | 4. | 3. | 2. | 1. | 0. |
|----|-----|-----|----|----|----|
| 1 | | X X | | | |
| 2 | X X | | | | |
| 3 | | X | X | | |
| 4 | X X | | | | |
| 5 | | X | | | |
| 6 | | X X | | | |
| 7 | | X | | | |
| 8 | | X | X | | |
| 9 | | X X | | | |
| 10 | | X X | | | |
| 11 | | X X | | | |
| 12 | | X X | | | |
| 13 | X X | | | | |
| 14 | | X X | | | |
| 15 | | X X | | | |
| 16 | | X X | | | |
| 17 | | X X | | | |
| 18 | | X X | | | |
| 19 | | X | | | |
| 20 | | X X | | | |
| 21 | | X X | | | |
| 22 | | X | | | |
| 23 | | X X | | | |
| 24 | X X | | | | |
| 25 | X | X | | | |

CODE:

- 4. On Sunday and some week-days
- 3. On Sundays only
- 2. Sometimes
- 1. Rarely
- 0. Never

DISTRIBUTION OF SAMPLE FOR INDEX OF ACCULTURATION

16. RESPONDENT'S LEVEL OF EDUCATION.

WEIGHTED: 4.0

| | 4. | 3. | 2. | 1. | 0. |
|----|-----|-----|-----|-----|----|
| 1 | X | X | | | |
| 2 | | X | X | | |
| 3 | | X X | | | |
| 4 | | | | X X | |
| 5 | | X | X | | |
| 6 | | X X | | | |
| 7 | | | X | X | |
| 8 | | | X X | | |
| 9 | | X | X | | |
| 10 | | X X | | | |
| 11 | | X | X | | |
| 12 | X | X | | | |
| 13 | | | X X | | |
| 14 | | | X X | | |
| 15 | X | X | | | |
| 16 | | X X | | | |
| 17 | | X X | | | |
| 18 | X X | | | | |
| 19 | | X X | | | |
| 20 | | X X | | | |
| 21 | | X | | X | |
| 22 | | X | | | X |
| 23 | X | X | | | |
| 24 | | X | X | | |
| 25 | X | X | | | |

CODE:

- 4. College
- 3. High School
- 2. Upper grades [5th to 8th grades]
- 1. Lower grades [1st to 4th grades]
- 0. None

DISTRIBUTION OF SAMPLE FOR INDEX OF ACCULTURATION

17. NEWSPAPERS AND MAGAZINES RECEIVED BY RESPONDENT.

WEIGHTED: 1.5

| | 4. | 3. | 2. | 1. | 0. |
|----|----|----|----|----|----|
| 1 | X | | | | |
| 2 | X | | | | |
| 3 | X | | | | |
| 4 | X | | | | |
| 5 | X | | | | |
| 6 | X | | | | |
| 7 | X | | | | |
| 8 | X | | | | |
| 9 | X | | | | |
| 10 | X | | | | |
| 11 | X | | | | |
| 12 | X | | | | |
| 13 | X | | | | |
| 14 | X | | | | |
| 15 | X | | | | |
| 16 | X | | | | |
| 17 | X | | | | |
| 18 | X | | | | |
| 19 | X | | | | |
| 20 | X | | | | |
| 21 | X | | | | |
| 22 | X | | | | |
| 23 | X | | | | |
| 24 | X | | | | |
| 25 | X | | | | |

CODE:

- 4. English exclusively
- 3. Mostly English - some Arabic
- 2. Both English and Arabic equally
- 1. Arabic only
- 0. None

DISTRIBUTION OF SAMPLE FOR INDEX OF ACCULTURATION

18. RESPONDENT'S KNOWLEDGE OF ARABIC.

NOT WEIGHTED

| | 4. | 3. | 2. | 1. | 0. |
|----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|
| 1 | X | | X | | |
| 2 | | X | | | X |
| 3 | | X | X | | |
| 4 | | X | | X | |
| 5 | | X X | | | |
| 6 | X X | | | | |
| 7 | | | | | X X |
| 8 | X | X | | | |
| 9 | X | | | X | |
| 10 | X | X | | | |
| 11 | | | X X | | |
| 12 | | X X | | | |
| 13 | X X | | | | |
| 14 | | | | X X | |
| 15 | X | | X | | |
| 16 | | X X | | | |
| 17 | X X | | | | |
| 18 | | X | | X | |
| 19 | | | | X X | |
| 20 | X | X | | | |
| 21 | | X | | X | |
| 22 | | X | | X | |
| 23 | | | | | X X |
| 24 | | X | | | X |
| 25 | | X | X | | |

CODE:

- 4. None
- 3. Very little
- 2. Fair
- 1. Good [speak and understand]
- 0. Very good [speak and understand - read and write]

DISTRIBUTION OF SAMPLE FOR INDEX OF ACCULTURATION

19. RESPONDENT'S INTENTION TO VISIT LAND OF ANCESTORS
[LEBANON].

NOT WEIGHTED

| | 4. | 3. | 2. | 1. | 0. |
|----|-----|-----|----|-----|-----|
| 1 | | | | | X X |
| 2 | | | | | X X |
| 3 | | X X | | | |
| 4 | | X X | | | |
| 5 | | | | X X | |
| 6 | | X X | | | |
| 7 | | | | | X X |
| 8 | | X X | | | |
| 9 | | | | X | X |
| 10 | X X | | | | |
| 11 | | | | | X X |
| 12 | | | | | X X |
| 13 | | | | X | X |
| 14 | | | | X X | |
| 15 | | | | X X | |
| 16 | | | | | X X |
| 17 | | | | | X X |
| 18 | | | | | X X |
| 19 | | X | | X | |
| 20 | | | X | X | |
| 21 | | | | | X X |
| 22 | | X | | X | |
| 23 | | | | | X X |
| 24 | | | | X | X |
| 25 | X | | | X | |

CODE:

- 4. Definitely no
- 3. No
- 2. Undecided
- 1. Yes
- 0. Definitely yes

DISTRIBUTION OF SAMPLE FOR INDEX OF ACCULTURATION

20. RESPONDENT'S PREFERENCE FOR ST. LOUIS TO HOMELAND FOR MAKING A LIVING.

NOT WEIGHTED

| | 4. | 3. | 2. | 1. | 0. |
|----|----|----|----|----|----|
| 1 | X | X | | | |
| 2 | X | X | | | |
| 3 | X | X | | | |
| 4 | X | X | | | |
| 5 | X | X | | | |
| 6 | X | X | | | |
| 7 | X | X | | | |
| 8 | X | X | | | |
| 9 | X | X | | | |
| 10 | X | X | | | |
| 11 | X | X | | | |
| 12 | X | X | | | |
| 13 | | X | X | | |
| 14 | X | X | | | |
| 15 | X | X | | | |
| 16 | X | X | | | |
| 17 | X | X | | | |
| 18 | | X | X | | |
| 19 | X | X | | | |
| 20 | X | X | | | |
| 21 | X | X | | | |
| 22 | X | X | | | |
| 23 | X | X | | | |
| 24 | X | X | | | |
| 25 | X | | X | | |

CODE:

- 4. Prefer St. Louis
- 3. Accept St. Louis
- 2. Indifferent to both
- 1. Prefer homeland
- 0. Planning to return to homeland

DISTRIBUTION OF SAMPLE FOR INDEX OF ACCULTURATION

21. RESPONDENT'S ATTITUDE TOWARD INTER-MARRIAGE [NON-
LEBANESE AND/OR NON-MARONITE] FOR CHILDREN.

NOT WEIGHTED

| | 4. | 3. | 2. | 1. | 0. |
|----|----|----|----|----|----|
| 1 | X | X | | | |
| 2 | X | X | | | |
| 3 | X | X | | | |
| 4 | X | X | | | |
| 5 | X | X | | | |
| 6 | X | X | | | |
| 7 | X | X | | | |
| 8 | X | X | | | |
| 9 | X | X | | | |
| 10 | X | X | | | |
| 11 | X | X | | | |
| 12 | X | X | | | |
| 13 | X | X | | | |
| 14 | X | X | | | |
| 15 | X | X | | | |
| 16 | X | X | | | |
| 17 | X | X | | | |
| 18 | X | X | | | |
| 19 | X | X | | | |
| 20 | X | X | | | |
| 21 | X | X | | | |
| 22 | X | X | | | |
| 23 | X | X | | | |
| 24 | X | X | | | |
| 25 | X | X | | | |

CODE:

- 4. Accept it
- 3. Reluctantly accept it
- 2. Indifferent
- 1. Discourage it
- 0. Forbid it

DISTRIBUTION OF SAMPLE FOR INDEX OF ACCULTURATION

22. ORDER OF RESPONDENT'S IDENTIFICATION [BY CATEGORY]*

NOT WEIGHTED

| | AMERICAN | | CAUCASIAN | | MARONITE | | LEBANESE | | OTHER |
|----|----------|---|-----------|---|----------|---|----------|---|-----------|
| 1 | 1 | 1 | 4 | 4 | 3 | 3 | 2 | | IRISH 2 |
| 2 | 3 | 2 | 4 | 4 | 2 | 3 | 1 | 1 | |
| 3 | 2 | 2 | 3 | 3 | 1 | 1 | | 4 | 4 GERMAN |
| 4 | 1 | 1 | 4 | 3 | 2 | 2 | | 4 | 3 GERMAN |
| 5 | 3 | 2 | 4 | 3 | 1 | 1 | 2 | | FRENCH 4 |
| 6 | 1 | 1 | 3 | 4 | 2 | 2 | 4 | | GERMAN 3 |
| 7 | 1 | 3 | 4 | 4 | 2 | 1 | 3 | 2 | |
| 8 | 1 | 1 | 3 | 4 | 2 | 3 | | 2 | 4 ITALIAN |
| 9 | 3 | 3 | 4 | 4 | 2 | 2 | | 1 | 1 SERBIAN |
| 10 | 1 | 1 | 2 | 4 | 3 | 3 | | 2 | 4 IND[AM] |
| 11 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 4 | 3 | 1 | 1 | 2 | |
| 12 | 1 | 1 | 2 | 2 | 4 | 4 | 3 | 3 | |
| 13 | 2 | 2 | 4 | 4 | 1 | 1 | 3 | 3 | |
| 14 | 1 | 1 | 4 | 4 | 3 | 3 | 2 | 2 | |
| 15 | 1 | 1 | 4 | 4 | 3 | 3 | 2 | | IRISH 2 |
| 16 | 3 | 3 | 4 | 4 | 2 | 2 | 1 | 1 | |
| 17 | 1 | 1 | 2 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 4 | | GERMAN 3 |
| 18 | 1 | 1 | 4 | 4 | 3 | 2 | 2 | 3 | |
| 19 | 3 | 1 | 4 | 4 | 2 | 2 | 1 | 3 | |
| 20 | 1 | 1 | 4 | 4 | 3 | 2 | 2 | | IRISH 3 |
| 21 | 1 | 1 | 4 | 4 | 2 | 2 | 3 | 3 | |
| 22 | 1 | 1 | 4 | 4 | 3 | 3 | 2 | 2 | |
| 23 | 1 | 1 | 2 | 2 | 3 | 3 | 4 | 4 | |
| 24 | 1 | 1 | 2 | 4 | 3 | 2 | | 3 | 4 IRISH |
| 25 | 1 | 3 | 4 | 4 | 2 | 2 | 3 | | GERMAN 1 |

*The above table portrays responses to the question: "Of the following categories, in which do you feel you belong first, second, third, fourth?" The categories were those listed at the top of each column. Thus, male respondent #1 felt that he was first an American, second a Lebanese, third a Maronite and lastly a member of the Caucasian Race. As with all other charts in Appendix "A", the male response is presented on the left of each column and the female response is on the right.

23. RESPONDENT'S EXPECTATION OF ACCEPTANCE OF LEBANESE BY NEIGHBORS.*

NOT WEIGHTED

| | 4. | 3. | 2. | 1. | 0. |
|----|----|----|----|----|----|
| 1 | X | X | | | |
| 2 | | X | | | |
| 3 | X | X | | | |
| 4 | | X | X | | |
| 5 | X | X | | | |
| 6 | X | X | | | |
| 7 | | X | X | | |
| 8 | X | | | | X |
| 9 | X | X | | | |
| 10 | X | X | | | |
| 11 | | X | X | | |
| 12 | X | X | | | |
| 13 | X | | | | X |
| 14 | X | X | | | |
| 15 | X | X | | | |
| 16 | | X | X | | |
| 17 | | | X | X | |
| 18 | | X | X | | |
| 19 | X | X | | | |
| 20 | | X | X | | |
| 21 | X | X | | | |
| 22 | | X | X | | |
| 23 | | X | X | | |
| 24 | X | | X | | |
| 25 | X | X | | | |

CODE:

- 4. He would be accepted readily
- 3. He would be accepted indifferently
- 2. He would merely be tolerated
- 1. He would be rejected
- 0. Don't know

*Responses given in answer to question: "If a 25 year old, college educated Lebanese man were to come to the United States to live, what reception would you imagine he would be given by his neighbors [assuming that he speaks English]?"

DISTRIBUTION OF SAMPLE FOR INDEX OF ACCULTURATION

24. RESPONDENT'S EXPECTATION OF ACCEPTANCE OF JEWISH PERSON BY MEMBERS OF SOCIO-RELIGIOUS GROUP.*

NOT WEIGHTED

4. 3. 2. 1. 0.

| | | | | | |
|----|--------|--------|--------|---|--------|
| 1 | | X X | | | |
| 2 | | X | | | X |
| 3 | | | X | X | |
| 4 | | X X | | | |
| 5 | | X | | X | |
| 6 | X | | | | X |
| 7 | | | | | X X |
| 8 | | X | | | X |
| 9 | | X X | | | |
| 10 | | | | | X X |
| 11 | | X | | | X |
| 12 | X X | | | | |
| 13 | | | | | X X |
| 14 | | X X | | | |
| 15 | | X | | X | |
| 16 | | X X | | | |
| 17 | | | X X | | |
| 18 | | X X | | | |
| 19 | | X X | | | |
| 20 | | X X | | | |
| 21 | | | X X | | |
| 22 | | X X | | | |
| 23 | | X X | | | |
| 24 | | X X | | | |
| 25 | X | X | | | |

CODE:

- 4. Total acceptance
- 3. Indifferent acceptance
- 2. Tolerance
- 1. Rejection
- 0. I don't know how they would react

*Responses given in answer to question: "At a social meeting which lay persons of all religions attend, what would you imagine the group's over-all reaction would be toward a Jewish person?"

25. RESPONDENT'S EXPECTATION OF ACCEPTANCE OF A ROMAN CATHOLIC BY MEMBERS OF A SOCIO-RELIGIOUS GROUP.*

NOT WEIGHTED

| | 4. | 3. | 2. | 1. | 0. |
|----|-----|-----|-----|----|-----|
| 1 | | X X | | | |
| 2 | X | X | | | |
| 3 | | X X | | | |
| 4 | | X X | | | |
| 5 | | X X | | | |
| 6 | | | | X | X |
| 7 | X | | | | X |
| 8 | X | | | | X |
| 9 | X X | | | | |
| 10 | | X X | | | |
| 11 | X X | | | | |
| 12 | X X | | | | |
| 13 | | | | | X X |
| 14 | | X X | | | |
| 15 | | X X | | | |
| 16 | | X X | | | |
| 17 | | X X | | | |
| 18 | | X X | | | |
| 19 | | X X | | | |
| 20 | | X X | | | |
| 21 | | | X X | | |
| 22 | | X X | | | |
| 23 | | X X | | | |
| 24 | | X X | | | |
| 25 | X | X | | | |

CODE:

- 4. Total acceptance
- 3. Indifferent acceptance
- 2. Tolerance
- 1. Rejection
- 0. I don't know how they would react

*Responses given in answer to question: "At the same meeting, what would you imagine the group's over-all reaction would be toward a Roman Catholic?"

DISTRIBUTION OF SAMPLE FOR INDEX OF ACCULTURATION

26. RESPONDENT'S EXPECTATION OF ACCEPTANCE OF A LUTHERAN BY MEMBERS OF A SOCIO-RELIGIOUS GROUP.*

NOT WEIGHTED

| | 4. | 3. | 2. | 1. | 0. |
|----|-----|-----|-----|----|-----|
| 1 | | X X | | | |
| 2 | X | | | | X |
| 3 | | X X | | | |
| 4 | | X X | | | |
| 5 | X | X | | | |
| 6 | X | | | | X |
| 7 | | | | | X X |
| 8 | | | | X | X |
| 9 | X X | | | | |
| 10 | | X X | | | |
| 11 | X | X | | | |
| 12 | X X | | | | |
| 13 | | | | | X X |
| 14 | | X X | | | |
| 15 | | X X | | | |
| 16 | | X X | | | |
| 17 | | X X | | | |
| 18 | | X X | | | |
| 19 | | X X | | | |
| 20 | | X X | | | |
| 21 | | | X X | | |
| 22 | | X X | | | |
| 23 | | X X | | | |
| 24 | | X X | | | |
| 25 | X | X | | | |

CODE:

- 4. Total acceptance
- 3. Indifferent acceptance
- 2. Tolerance
- 1. Rejection
- 0. I don't know how they would react

*Responses given in answer to question: "At the same meeting, what would you imagine the group's over-all reaction would be toward a Lutheran?"

27. RESPONDENT'S EXPECTATION OF ACCEPTANCE OF A MARONITE CATHOLIC BY MEMBERS OF A SOCIO-RELIGION GROUP.*

NOT WEIGHTED

4. 3. 2. 1. 0.

| | | | | | |
|----|-----|-----|-----|---|-----|
| 1 | | X X | | | |
| 2 | | X | | | X |
| 3 | | | | | X X |
| 4 | | X X | | | |
| 5 | | X X | | | |
| 6 | | | | X | X |
| 7 | X | | | | X |
| 8 | X | | | | X |
| 9 | X X | | | | |
| 10 | | X | | | X |
| 11 | X | X | | | |
| 12 | X X | | | | |
| 13 | | | | | X X |
| 14 | | X X | | | |
| 15 | | X X | | | |
| 16 | | X X | | | |
| 17 | | X X | | | |
| 18 | | X X | | | |
| 19 | | X X | | | |
| 20 | | X X | | | |
| 21 | | | X X | | |
| 22 | | X X | | | |
| 23 | | X X | | | |
| 24 | | X X | | | |
| 25 | X | X | | | |

CODE:

- 4. Total acceptance
- 3. Indifferent acceptance
- 2. Tolerance
- 1. Rejection
- 0. I don't know how they would react

*Responses given in answer to question: "At the same meeting, what would you imagine the group's over-all reaction would be to a Maronite Catholic?"

INDEX OF ACCULTURATION

1. Intention to return to homeland to live permanently
 4. definitely no
 3. no
 2. undecided
 1. yes
 0. definitely yes
2. Attitude toward living in St. Louis
 4. prefer it
 3. accept it
 2. undecided
 1. dislike it
 0. find it unbearable
3. Voting behavior
 4. always
 3. sometimes
 2. never
 1. ineligible
 0. do not want to vote
4. Preference for St. Louis to homeland for raising children
 4. prefer St. Louis
 3. accept St. Louis
 2. indifferent to both
 1. prefer homeland
 0. planning to return to homeland
5. Membership in social clubs with near-exclusive Lebanese and/or Maronite membership
 4. active
 3. sporadic
 2. inactive
 1. no affiliation
 0. reject clubs on principle
6. Membership in other social clubs
 4. active
 3. sporadic
 2. inactive
 1. no affiliation
 0. reject clubs on principle

7. Knowledge of English
 4. very good
 3. good
 2. fair
 1. very little
 0. none
8. Knowledge of Arabic
 4. very good
 3. good
 2. fair
 1. very little
 0. none
9. Preference for English over Arabic in church and home
 4. always (prefer English)
 3. often
 2. both equally
 1. sometimes
 0. never
10. Type of residence or dwelling
 4. superior
 3. above average
 2. average
 1. below average
 0. minimal
11. Attitude toward working wife
 4. definitely accept it
 3. accept it
 2. undecided
 1. dislike it
 0. strongly dislike it
12. Actuality of working wife
 4. wife working full-time
 3. wife working part-time
 2. working wife presently unemployed
 1. wife not working
 0. wife unemployable
13. Food preference
 4. prefer American food only
 3. both American and Lebanese
 2. American sometimes - Lebanese mostly
 1. Lebanese only
 0. neither
14. Friendship and visiting patterns
 4. non-Lebanese (non-Marionites) only
 3. mostly non-Lebanese (non-Marionites)
 2. both Lebanese and non-Lebanese
 1. Lebanese (Marionites) only
 0. none

16. Church attendance
 4. on Sundays and some weekdays
 3. on Sundays only
 2. sometimes
 1. rarely
 0. never
17. Education
 4. college
 3. high school
 2. upper grades (5th to 8th grades)
 1. lower grades (1st to 4th grades)
 0. none
18. Newspapers and magazines
 4. English exclusively
 3. mostly English - some Arabic
 2. both English and Arabic equally
 1. Arabic only
 0. none
19. Intention to visit land of ancestors
 4. definitely no
 3. no
 2. undecided
 1. yes
 0. definitely yes
20. Preference for St. Louis to homeland for making a living
 4. prefer St. Louis
 3. accept St. Louis
 2. indifferent to both
 1. prefer homeland
 0. planning to return to homeland
21. Attitude toward inter-marriage (with non-Lebanese)
 4. accept it
 3. accept it reluctantly
 2. indifferent
 1. discourage it
 0. forbid it
22. Of the following categories, in which do you most feel you belong? second? third? fourth?
 4. American
 3. Caucasian
 2. Maronite
 1. Lebanese
 0. Other

23. If a 25 year-old, college educated Lebanese man were to come to the United States to live, what reception would you imagine he would be given by his neighbors (assuming that he speaks English)?
4. he would be readily accepted
 3. he would be accepted indifferently
 2. he would merely be tolerated
24. At a social meeting which lay persons of all religions attend, what would you imagine the group's over-all reaction would be toward a Jewish person?
4. total acceptance
 3. indifferent acceptance
 2. tolerance
 1. rejection
 0. I don't know how they would react
25. At the same meeting, what would you imagine the group's over-all reaction would be toward a Roman Catholic (Latin Rite)?
4. total acceptance
 3. indifferent acceptance
 2. tolerance
 1. rejection
 0. I don't know how they would react
26. At the same meeting, what would you imagine the group's over-all reaction would be toward a Lutheran?
4. total acceptance
 3. indifferent acceptance
 2. tolerance
 1. rejection
 0. I don't know how they would react.
27. At the same meeting, what would you imagine the group's over-all reaction would be toward a Maronite Catholic?
4. total acceptance
 3. indifferent acceptance
 2. tolerance
 1. rejection
 0. I don't know how they would react

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