

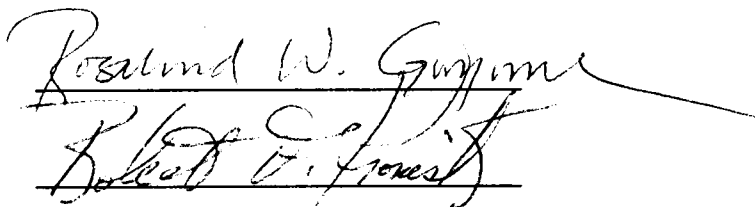
To the Graduate Council:

I am submitting herewith a thesis written by Azadeh Kheirkhah Barr entitled "An Intergenerational Study of the Iranian Immigrant." I have examined the final copy of this thesis for form and content and recommend that it be accepted in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Master of Science, with a major in Education



Mark A. Hector, Major Professor

We have read this thesis
and recommend its
acceptance:



Accepted for the Council:



Vice Provost and
Dean of the Graduate School

AN INTERGENERATIONAL STUDY OF THE
IRANIAN IMMIGRANT

A Thesis
Presented for the
Master of Science
Degree
The University of Tennessee, Knoxville

Azadeh Kheirkhah Barr

March 1988

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. . . All in all I have probably spent about three years outside of the country, but I don't consider those years as a part of my life. You know? The pain of nostalgia is too heavy for my soul. My every root is in this garden, and these roots are so deeply grounded in this soil that I can only cut them with an ax. Once the roots are cut what hope can there be for the fruit. Only in this garden is blooming possible; Ghoghnoos* lays eggs only in this stove. My homeland is here. I look at the world, but only from this bed. Others know better themselves why they have left their home. I am of this land. My candle burns in this house, my water feels the breeze in this pot, and my bread is on this napery. Here I am greeted in my own language . . .

Ahmad Shamloo
March 1987

* Ghoghnoos is a mystical bird who lays its eggs on the cleanest ashes. Its story is closest to Phoenix.

Ahmad Shamloo is a contemporary Persian poet. In the sky of Iranian literature, Shamloo is one of the brightest stars, ever.

. . . در مجموع شاید سه سال را در خارج گذر بوده ام اما آن سالها را نیز
 عمرم به حساب نمی آورم. می دانید؟ راستش با رزیت سنگین تر از توان و تحمل
 من است. همه ریشه های من در این باغچه است، و این ریشه ها آن قدر
 عمیق در خاک فرو رفته که جز به ضرب تبر نمی توانم از آن جدا شوم. و خود
 گفته پیدا است که پس از قطع ریشه به بار و بیج امید می بایستی ضايع ماند.
 شکستن در این باغچه مستعد است و مقنن سن تنها در این احاط صوبه می آورد،
 وطن من اینجا است. به جهان نگاه می کنم اما فقط از روی این تخت
 بید است. دیگران ضد بهتری داشته که چرا جلای وطن کرده اند. من اینجا
 هستم. چراغ من در این خانه می سوزد، آب من در این کوزه ایاز می خورد
 و نام من در این سزه است.
 اینجا به من بازبان خودم سلام می گویند.

احمد صالح

تهران، فروردین ۱۳۶۶

This is a detailed black and white map of Iran and its surrounding regions. The map includes the following features:

- Geographical Features:** The Caspian Sea to the north, the Persian Gulf to the south, and the Zagros Mountains running through the western part of Iran. The Aral Sea is visible in the northwest.
- Political Boundaries:** Neighboring countries shown include the Soviet Union (USSR) to the north and northeast, Turkey to the northwest, Iraq to the southwest, and Pakistan to the east. The Gulf of Oman is located to the southeast.
- Major Cities and Towns:** Labeled cities include Tehran (the capital), Isfahan, Shiraz, Mashhad, Herat, Kabul, Kandahar, and many others. Smaller towns like Baku, Yerevan, and Baghdad are also marked.
- Rivers and Waterways:** The Tigris and Euphrates rivers are shown flowing through Iraq. The Oxus (Amu Darya) and Jaxartes (Syr Darya) rivers are depicted in the northern regions. The Persian Gulf and the Strait of Hormuz are also labeled.
- Historical Regions:** Various historical regions are labeled, such as Farghana, Transoxania, Bactria, Sistan, Khorasan, and Baluchistan.
- Scale and Orientation:** A scale bar in the bottom right corner indicates distances in miles (0, 50, 100, 150) and kilometers (0, 100, 150). The map is oriented with North at the top.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

I came to this country as a high school student. I carried with me sixteen years of beautiful childhood. The revolution of 1978 was a part of my life at a time when I was growing most deeply. I suppose we can call my generation the adolescents of people's revolution, for that, a people's revolution, is what Iran's movement was. I came to this country with open eyes--I had seen inequality, pain, and history. I had known about love, friendship, and unity. I understood that it is possible to live with the latter qualities and to make history, perhaps painfully, but without inequality.

Well, what I saw here was not exactly encouraging to my dream of a "fair" world. However, I found people who were loving, or supportive, or challenging. Some were all of these things at once. For this project, too, I had a dream; parts of my dream have come true, since for many dreams realization of a part is a beginning. I thank the people whose help was essential to the realization of every part of this project; my committee members, Dr. Rosalind Gwynne and Dr. Robert Kronick, whose constructive comments were complemented with personal caring, affection, and support. I thank

Dr. Mark Hector, my major professor, who stayed with me and did not give up on me until we not only survived, but succeeded. Our emotional and intense discussions helped us understand each other more as we progressed in the project. I thank my friend Joan Deer for sharing her special self with me. I will always remember and appreciate the thoughtfulness and kindness Karen Doggette offered me personally and professionally.

With my family's love and strength I was able to take on this project with a meaning that goes far beyond meeting master's degree requirements. I hoped that with this project I could take away from them and on to myself the pains their beautiful hearts endured in their last four years in Iran. I wish that I could somehow give them the world, for that is what they gave me. My father taught me the value of the family. My mother taught me growth and the beauty of its continuation in history. My sister Shohreh showed me the strength to live for the world and to be an effective member of it. My sister Parastoo showed me all the ways one can explore in search of one's meaning in life. My family has been a constant part of me in my life and in this project. I don't know if I have reached my goal of

taking some of the pain from my family, but I have gained awareness. I have touched my home again.

Terry entered my life only four years ago and has become my partner in life, love, friendship, and growth as naturally as if we had always been together. I thank him for being understanding and interested in my continuous attempts to relive Iran. Without his support and encouragement my life, including this project, would not be nearly as joyful. He is one of the most beautiful people I have ever known; with him I look at the future and look for flower buds everywhere.

I dedicate the energy, the thoughts, the suffering, and the joys I have put into this thesis to my friends in Iran Shoaleh, Soheila, Elham, Kaveh, . . ., and all the other Iranians who have been pained so unjustly. This is my small offering for the hope that soon we may return to our "home" and live in peace and equality . . . until our world is our home.

ABSTRACT

Since the Iranian revolution of 1978 many Iranians have immigrated to other countries including the United States. The main purpose of this study was to identify possible differences between older Iranian immigrants (45 years and older) and younger Iranian immigrants' (20 years and younger) perceptions of how they have been affected by their immigration. Three main topics of study were: Family relationships, self-concept, and security. Seven older and six younger subjects were interviewed by the researcher-interviewer. The interview method was based on Colaizzi's (1978) approach. An Interview Question Outline was used to guide the interview process, while the interviewer-researcher asked probing and clarification questions as needed. Focus was on the subject's perception of his or her experiences. The major findings were that: (a) Older and younger subjects share a sense of closeness in their family relationships since their immigration; (b) Older subjects feel less secure about their future than they did in Iran, whereas the younger subjects feel more secure about the future than they did in Iran; (c) Older subjects perceive themselves more negatively than before, but the younger subjects perceive themselves

more positively since their immigration. Implications were discussed for the Iranian immigrant's life in the United States and some suggestions were made for future research and the cross cultural counselor.

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

The experience of immigration has a significant impact on one's life. Although some studies have been conducted in order to investigate this impact, a complete explanation of the experience is impossible. Immigration typically involves individuals moving from one country to another, and in most cases, this move also means going from one culture to another. Investigating the impact caused by cultural changes is an extremely complex problem because human beings share a common core of feeling and thought, but they also have differences beyond the basic core. These differences may include the ways they express their feelings and thoughts. In every country, in every culture, peoples share the basic culture of being human, yet there may be sub-cultural differences within the culture of human beings. They share common experiences but may be affected differently. One of these common experiences is immigration. The basic (or core) experience of moving from one's home to a new land is the same for Chinese, Japanese, South American, and Iranian immigrants. Their home cultures may be different from

the new culture in language, customs, life styles, and the basic way of life. This difference distinguishes each immigrant from the other. This study focuses on the common but complex experience of immigration.

Statement of Purpose

The primary purpose of this study is to identify the changes that Iranians have experienced as a result of their immigration to the United States. The secondary purpose is to provide information to cross-cultural counselors in the United States who have been or will be working with an increasing number of Iranian immigrants.

The study focuses on the perceptions of younger and older Iranians who are in the United States, specifically perceptions regarding changes in family relationships, self-concept, and level of control over the future. The study is descriptive, focusing on Iranian perceptions of these changes. The researcher is especially interested in studying the experience of relocation and immigration because of her personal experience of immigration from Iran and the changes it has produced in herself and her family. Therefore, the researcher will also be able to describe an insider's

view point. It is hoped that an objective balance between the insider and researcher's views can be maintained.

Goetz and LeCompte (1984) discussed the importance and the challenge of maintaining a clear perspective in data collection and analysis. Ethnographic research is one of the few methods of research that admits both objective and subjective views for the researcher and subjects (Goetz & LeCompte, 1984). This study's researcher has the advantage of fluent language skills and a common background with the cultural group being examined. The researcher's training in counseling will help create the balance between subjectivity and objectivity. Also the university faculty members who make up the thesis committee will help the researcher "withdraw" from the study in order to eliminate possible biases brought by the researcher (Goetz & LeCompte, 1984). In the interviews, the researcher plays the role of a friend, an objective interviewer, an Iranian immigrant, as well as of an empathic listener. This combination of roles will be used to maximize understanding of the subjects' experiences and perceptions (Goetz & LeCompte, 1984; Patton, 1982).

Theory

In this section, first, the terminology of the study is defined. Second, the interrelatedness of the concepts is demonstrated.

Immigration

Current political conditions in many countries are forcing individuals and families to immigrate from their "homes" to safer and more satisfying locations. Coelho & Ahmed (1980) report that about 20 million people within the Northern hemisphere have been "forcibly" moved from their home countries: millions of Africans; thousands of mainland Chinese; 100,000 Tibetans; and over 200,000 Vietnamese, Laotians, and Cambodians. Many of these people have gone to countries such as China, Nepal, India, and Canada. Others, however, have perceived the United States as a major political power and therefore, a "safer" place than their home of origin. Ernst (1965), in his book Immigrant's Life in New York, discusses the generations of Europeans who fled to the United States for economic, political, religious, and social "freedom." These families and individuals moved to the United States.

. . . voluntarily when they saw little hope of altering their depressed legal or political

status; others who tried to change their conditions found it necessary to flee as exiles. Some, like the Jews, left because of restrictions upon their religion . . . (Ernst, 1965, p.1)

In other words, immigrants may leave their homes either voluntarily or forcibly (Moos, 1986). Coelho explains that in the United States, forced relocation is mainly "impelled" by such factors as federal legislation, urban development, wars, earthquakes, hurricanes, and invasions. Voluntary relocation is "impelled" by the migrant who aims for post-migration opportunities. This study will describe Iranians who have immigrated under both voluntary and forced conditions.

Most Iranians choose to immigrate because of a forced situation. Their immigration is "voluntary" yet "forced." In any given situation, one has alternative ways of coping (Figley, 1983; Frankl, 1963). The person, then, chooses what to do--or not to do. Preparation, denial, and helplessness are among the extensive list of ways people cope. Therefore, the Iranian people who have chosen--and have been able--to migrate have done so because of a situation that seems out of their control. Iranian immigrants are similar to the people who choose to relocate at the warning of a hurricane in order to cope. These people are unable to manipulate the stressor (hurricane) just as the Iranians

are unable to manipulate the Islamic government. Thus, both groups have "little choice but to escape into new opportunities" (Coelho, 1980; Ernst, 1965; Moos, 1986).

One may conclude, then, that the Iranians who have moved to the United States since 1978 have made a decision to "escape" their homeland. Ortner (1983) interprets this decision as a "refusal to adapt to the conditions" (p. 548). The people refused to adapt. They chose to escape in order to protect their economic, social, physical, and emotional well being.

As indicated earlier, a combined definition of forced/voluntary relocation is used in this study: Iranians moved to the United States as a result of a situation which limited their options. They could have remained in Iran; however, the consequences might have been too harsh to endure. The possibilities ranged from simple dissatisfaction to imprisonment or even death. They chose to leave their home instead. The point is that these Iranians made a decision about the very essentials of life. They still had a choice even though that choice seemed very clear. Many others chose to remain in Iran because they had even more limited options. Perhaps age, financial resources, family bonds, or some other limitation kept immigration from

being one of their options. However, the discussion of how, and why people's options vary requires a more complete study than this thesis is able to undertake.

According to the United States State Department, a total of 391,845 non-immigrant visas and 22,554 immigrant visas were issued to Iranian citizens from 1978 to the end of fiscal year (June) 1986 (figure 1). A review of visas issued within this nine-year period indicates that the number of non-immigrant visas issued to Iranian citizens was at its highest in 1978 (116,740). This number decreased to 2,165 by the year 1981 and gradually rose to 52,696 in 1985 and then fell to 40,703 in 1986. The number of immigrant visas issued to Iranian citizens has remained steady throughout the nine years with the average being 2,506 per year. The lowest number of immigrant visas was 1046 in 1980, and the highest was 4128 in 1986. This large number of visas issued to Iranian citizens since 1978 obviously does not include the people who applied and were rejected. Also, the Department of Immigration and Naturalization (INS) reported that 103,712 immigrant Iranians entered the United States from the beginning of 1978 to the end of 1986, which is an increase of 79,130 over the prior 9 years (figure 2). Although many of

these people may have returned home at some point or else may have been recounted because of repeated visits, it is probable that the number of Iranians living in the United States is higher than that acknowledged by the INS because these statistics only account for the immigrants and do not include students, visitors, and illegal residents. These high numbers--a 421.9 percent increase over the 1967-77 period in the number of Iranian immigrants admitted to the United States, plus the unreported residents--is evidence of the pressure that is on Iranians to leave their homeland. Such massive immigration will have an impact on the American public, and therefore, the counseling profession.

Since research on cross cultural counseling is limited (Ivey, 1987; Pederson, 1981; Smith, 1985), further studies are needed to promote awareness about the Iranian immigrant. With such a large population of Iranians living in the United States, it seems inevitable that social workers, counselors, physicians, and other social service workers will be attempting to work with these families to meet their needs. These helpers will need an awareness of their clientele's culture and experience of relocation in order to be effective.

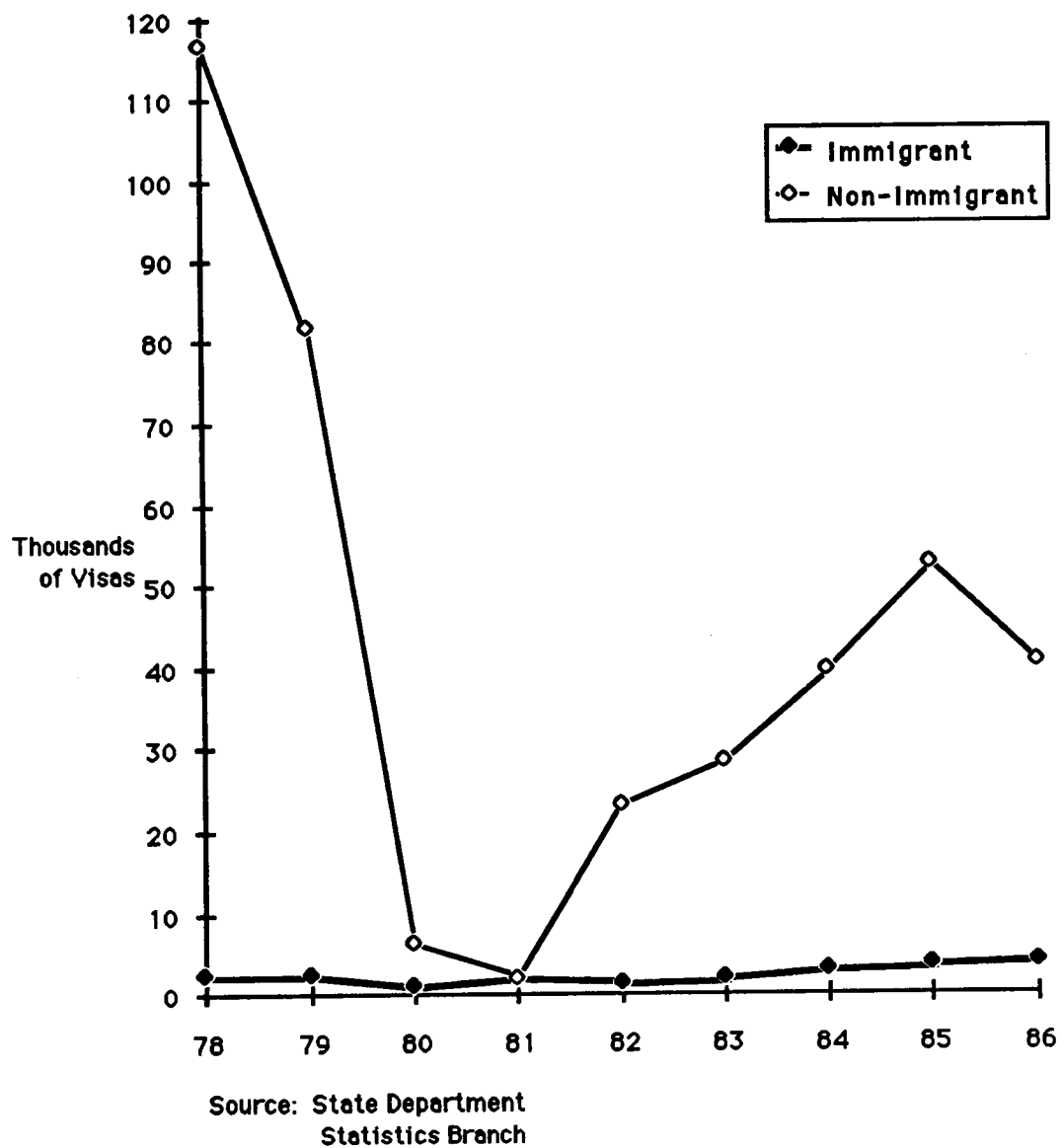
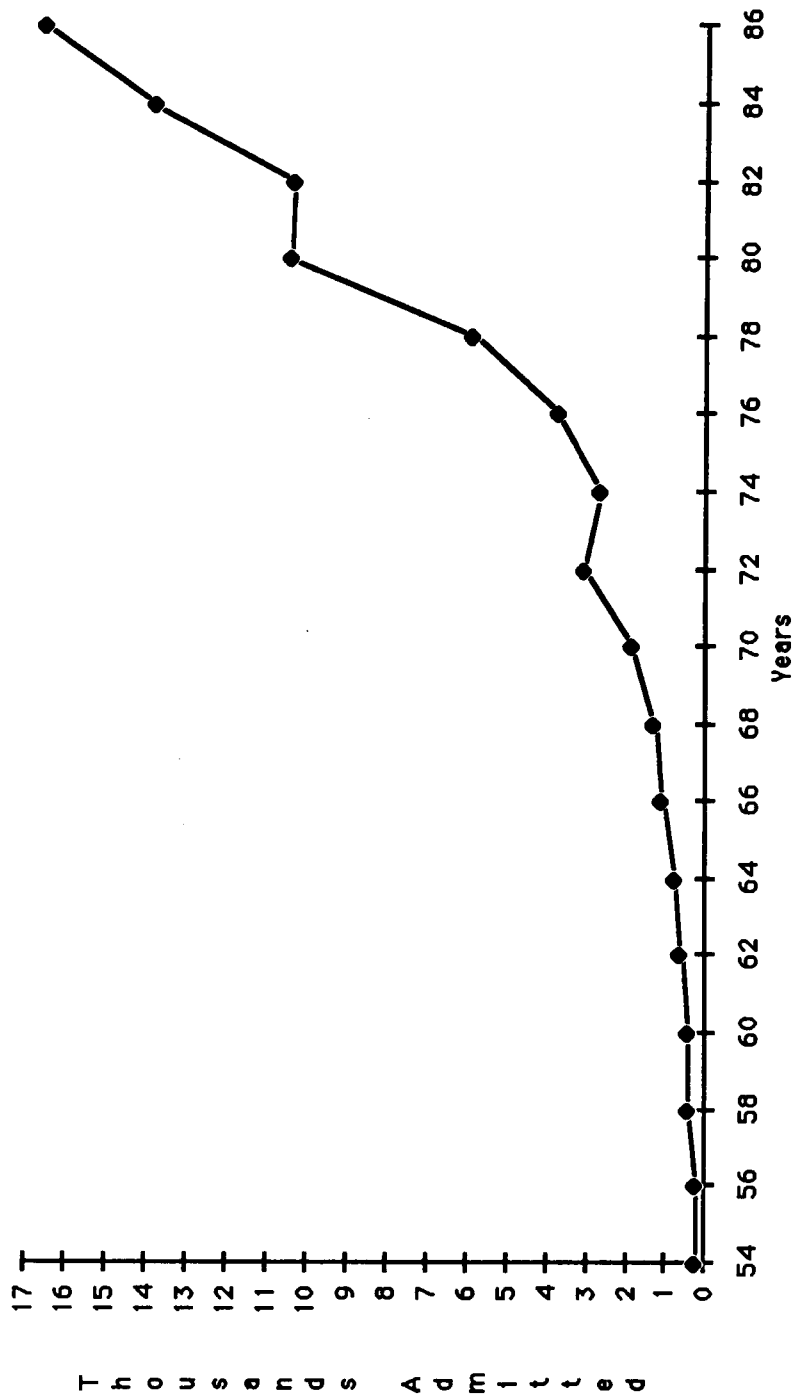


Figure 1

Immigrant and Non-Immigrant Visas received by Iranian Citizens



Source: Immigration and Naturalization Services (INS),
Statistics Branch

Figure 2
Iranian Immigrants Admitted to the United States

IRAN: A brief history of the revolution

Between the glorious dreams that give rise to a revolution and the wickedness of those who rule after the revolution, is a contradiction. The greater the distance between the dreams and the wickedness, the greater disillusion of the people will be.

(unknown)

Iran (also called Persia) is a country with over 5000 years of history. Since it is old, it has survived many glories as well as tragedies. It has experienced the glorious times of cultural wealth comparable to and in competition with the Greek and Roman Empires; as well as the devastation and destruction resulting from attack and occupation by Arab Muslims and the Mongols. Throughout its numerous political, social, religious, and economic changes, though, its people have maintained their strong faith in the pursuit of freedom and independence.

There is a dichotomy within the Persian soul. Deep down, he is a Persian, subconsciously aware of the glories of pre-Islamic Iran, and regarding the Arab conquest of his country in the seventh century A D as an unfortunate foreign invasion which wiped out the past glories of the Empire.
(Dehqani-Tafti, 1981,p. 3)

Iran's geographic composition has forced it to be "a land of linguistic minorities" (Abrahamian, 1982, p.14) as well as of varied ethnic, social, and religious communities. The mountains, rivers, desert lands, and

the shortage of roads have divided its people into many subcultures and small communities. Table 1, cited from Ervand Abrahamian's Iran Between Two Revolutions, provides estimates of the population sizes of the different ethnic, language, and religious groups in Iran.

The revolution of 1978 was not the first in Iran. Iranians have historically dealt with many revolutionaries, kings, and other types of leaders. The rise against the Shah in 1977-79 was a third attempt to overthrow a monarch in this century. The first was the 1905-09 revolution led by the intelligencia which aimed to recreate a society based on equality and freedom. This revolution resulted in the development of a constitution (Fundamental Laws) among other developments. The second in 1952-55, was led by Dr. Mohamad Mossadeq and aimed at nationalizing the country's oil. This movement forced the Shah to flee the country, but was finalized by CIA's coup d'etat in 1955 which exiled Dr. Mossadeq and brought the Shah back. The later revolution, 1977-79, however, was begun by the intellectuals and at the educational centers for political and social freedom. Workers and farmers who had been uprooted from their lands by the Shah's land

Table 1

Ethnic Structure of Iran

	1956		1850	
Total	18,945,000	%	10,000,000	%
IRANIANS	12,770,000	67	6,375,000	64
Persians	8,200,000		4,000,000	
Kurds	2,000,000		800,000	
Baluchis	500,000		264,000	
Mazandaranis	500,000		300,000	
Gilakis	500,000		300,000	
Bakhtiyaris	400,000		250,000	
Lurs	400,000		210,000	
Talleshis	75,000		50,000	
Hazars	10,000		5,000	
Afghans	10,000		5,000	
Others	175,000		126,000	
TURKISH SPEAKERS	5,130,000	27	2,900,000	29
Azeris	4,000,000		2,110,000	
Qashqayis	500,000		264,000	
Shahsavens	140,000		90,000	
Turkomans	200,000		100,000	
Timurs	30,000		20,000	
Afshars	200,000		150,000	
Jamshids	30,000		40,000	
Others-Qajars, Bayats, etc.	30,000		126,000	
ARABS	567,000	3	400,000	4
NON-MUSLIMS	478,000	3	300,000	3
Assyrians	20,000		138,000	
Armenians	190,000		110,000	
Jews	60,000		32,000	
Zoroastrians	16,000		20,000	
Baha'is	192,000		--	

Note. These figures are only vague estimates (see Abrahamian, 1982).

Note. From Iran between two revolutions (p. 12) by E. Abrahamian, 1982, New Jersey: Princeton University Press. Copyright 1982 by Princeton University Press. Reprinted by permission.

reform ("White Revolution" of 1963) also were a major part of this movement. Among the numerous causes for the 1977-79 revolution, perhaps, was people's feelings of suffocation with the government's control (including SAVAK) over their personal lives. Another essential cause of the revolution may have been people's frustration with the way Iran was directly controlled by other countries including (but not exclusively) the United States and Britain. Not only were there a number of causes for the revolution, but also there were reasons why the leadership of the revolution was taken on by the religious leaders. Because none of the available political parties were able to win the leadership of the movement, the religious sources took on the leading role and altered the path of the movement from secular democracy to the autocracy of the mosque. Although this leadership overthrew the Shah's monarchy, it replaced the monarchy with one of the darkest and most suffocating epochs in the country's life history. Political, social, personal, and economic freedom are non-existent under this new dictatorship as it attempts to return Iran to the "Golden Age" of Islam. The question is often asked why a people would follow the clergy when before they have followed the intelligencia.

This drastic change of leadership may be attributed to a complex multiplicity of factors among which would be the greater and more direct familiarity that Iranian people have traditionally had with the religious figures--through the mosques--as opposed to any other political form of power and organization. It may also be related to the humanistic and democratic nature of Ayatollah Khomeini promised for the future, calling for freedom and equality for all (December, 1979 speech). However, Khomeini's words were not translated into action when he returned to the country (Dehqani-Tafti, 1981). Iran's economic status decreased and inflation rose. Also, politically, the new Islamic regime began a nationwide "cleanup" or "purification" of the society from former Shah's leftover followers as well as the new and growing opposition. A number of people who had held positions in the government--in some cases justifiably and in some cases unjustifiably--were interrogated and imprisoned. Many were tortured and executed. Even those who had originally supported the revolution, but not necessarily the Islamic system, were soon to be executed for ideological reasons. Therefore, many who could afford to abandon their belongings--if they had not already been confiscated by the regime--and could

flee to other countries did so either legally or illegally. So among those who flee the country, obviously, is not included the people who, even today, support and follow the Islamic government's rulings. It should also be noted, however, that those who stay behind are not necessarily supporters of the government; for there are many other factors involved in that issue.

Another reason people fled was the Iran-Iraq war. People needed to save their ten and fifteen year old sons from mandatory drafting either as frontline soldiers or as back-up soldiers. Because there are no material rewards for these peoples' contribution to the war, the attraction is the emotional reward of "entering heaven" ("Violation of Human Rights in Iran," 1986). Though, the Islamic government influenced many religiously faithful people to die for Islam, once again, a number of middle class people were desperate to send their nine year old sons out of the country in order to save them from the war. For they would not be granted permission to leave the country at an age (10 and older) when they could qualify for service "to Islam."

Family Relationships

"Family relationship" in this study refers to the family structure, including authority, communication,

and perceived closeness. It focuses on how the family members relate to and affect one another. The relocated or displaced family is identified as having experienced a catastrophe. According to Figley & McCubbin (1983):

A catastrophe is a sudden and extreme threat to survival(of us or someone we care deeply about) which is associated with a sense of helplessness, disruption, destruction, and loss. (p.220)

Therefore, many Iranian families have experienced the crisis of a catastrophe, for many left their "homes" in order to survive--physically and/or psychologically.

Figley and McCubbin (1983) and Moos (1986) further explain that as families cope, they use resources within and outside the family. Above all, the family resources need to include support and flexibility in dealing with the crisis. As the family copes, it experiences role changes, task redistribution, financial restructure, establishment of new relationships (social support) as well as the redefinition of past relationships during the process of coping and adapting to the new conditions.

As the family's roles, rules, and goals change, so do its patterns of interaction and relationships (McCubbin & Figley, 1983). Klein and Erlich (1978) offer a partial list of the effects of immigration on the family:

The changing role of the parents, and especially the decline of authority; the rise of younger generation; the clashes around values and loyalties; and the final devaluation of the "old" culture and nuclear family by the suffusion of the family with new members, representative of the "new" culture, through friendship and marriage. (p.180)

Family relationships, then, change in many ways as a result of relocation (Fried, 1968). These changes may be positive and help the family members feel the continuity of the family system. The family members can be supported and supportive and yet have the freedom to be differentiated. The changes may also be negative and cause the family members to feel isolated, devastated, and diffused. Moreover, adaptation is directly related to the person or family's adaptive skills and resources before immigration. Klein and Erlich (1978) emphasize this relationship: "Immigration serves to intensify, catalyze, or revive latent conflicts in the family" (p.180).

The adult immigrant brings to the new environment his or her culture which consists of values and the way he or she perceives the world (Brown, 1963). That is, the adult immigrant carries beliefs and a "life organization of habits, interests, desires, and attitudes" (Brown, 1933; Moos, 1986). He or she enters the new environment with an already formed set of

rituals, morals, and way of life. The event of adult immigration, therefore, brings two cultures together. These two cultures consist of the one the adult grew up with (former) and the new one to which he or she is exposed upon immigration (latter).

It is entirely possible that these two cultures will "clash." For example, the adult immigrant's former culture may clash with the latter culture because the latter one is accepts open and free romantic relationships between the opposite sexes. His or her former culture accepted limited relationships, ones where members of the opposite sexe become friends as if they were of the same sex. This very basic difference may frustrate the adult Iranian immigrant because he or she observes younger peoples of both cultures who accept the latter system. This adult gets more frustrated because he or she cannot control this clash. However it is also possible that the former culture will help the adult cope with the latter culture. For example, the adult Iranian immigrant's former culture involves strong family ties which continue throughout the family's life. As the children grow to be adults, they remain strong members of the family and become even more responsible for the family's care. The latter culture may promote

independence and separation from such family ties. The former culture's emphasis on family ties and bonds may help the Iranian adult cope with the new culture. These adults may gain support from the whole family in the process of coping. Very little is known about predicting whether an immigration will result in a cultural clash, cultural coping, or some other end.

After adult immigrants have lived in a different culture for some period, it is possible they will adapt to the new culture, either totally or partially. The total adaptation may result in the loss of the former culture. For example, the immigrant may let go of the former culture's expectations that he or she be subtle and limited in relationships with the opposite sex; or the immigrant may reject the expectation that the whole family lives together until marriage. The immigrant may choose to live totally by the latter culture's beliefs and become independent and free of the social norms expected by the former culture. The partial adaptation may, however, result in the immigrant's ability to survive in the new culture. For example, the Iranian immigrant may accept the latter culture's emphasis on independence, but not accept the free relationship concept. He or she may also accept the new beliefs but

not agree with them. Thus the immigrant may acknowledge and accept the latter culture in order to adapt to it (most likely viewed as a temporary status).

Total adaptation is more characteristic of young immigrants (i.e., adolescent) who adapt more readily to the new culture, whereas partial adaptation is more characteristic of the older immigrant. The older immigrant, an adult, a "parent," is considered the first generation immigrant and most likely brings the second generation immigrant to the new country. The first generation immigrant has more difficulty accepting and adapting to the new culture. Brown (1933) explains that the newcomers start at the bottom in the work place without regard to their qualifications for better jobs. First generation immigrants (the parents) then pay the price of immigration through the difficulties of their cultural adaptation. The second and third generations (children and grandchildren), however, more easily overcome the language and cultural handicaps. They become "members" of the new culture and, therefore, live a culturally "fitting" life (Fried, 1968; McKain, 1973; Brown, 1933). Moos (1986) refers to these intergenerational differences as "clashes" and explains that they take place in almost every immigrant family

and that their intensity shows "the inverse correlation with its previous capacity to thoroughly work through the complex process of immigration" (p. 287). Clearly, the first generation, who made the decision to relocate and to bring with them their children and grandchildren, experience immigration as "a trauma that taxes deeply and heavily" (Klein & Erich, 1978).

Thus, the immigrant family system experiences a number of changes. These changes may be due to generational factors or language, or they may simply be a natural process which requires a rearrangement of the family structure, rules, roles, and patterns of interaction. This study investigates the ways in which immigrants perceive these inevitable changes and whether each generation feels differently toward these changes in their family relationships.

Self-Concept

"Self-concept" refers to the person's feelings toward him or herself. One's perception of self, whether it is positive or negative, affects his or her coping abilities. Fried (1968), McKain (1973), Brown (1963), and Selltiz (1963) have emphasized the significant effects that a person's self-concept has on his/her ability to cope and adapt to a new culture.

Though a number of instruments have been developed by Berger, Weiner, and Bloom to measure self-concept, because of language and cultural differences, these instruments are not used in this study. "Self-concept" is identified through each subject's perception about him or herself. Also the study gives special attention to a perceptual comparison of how each subject's self-concept may have changed since immigration.

Security

"Security" refers to the person's perceived level of control over the future. It is directly related to the locus of control. LefCourt (1976) says that

Whether people, or other species for that matter, believe that they are actors and can determine their own fates within limits is of critical importance to the way in which they cope with stress and engage in challenges. (p.2)

Studies done by Glass and Singer (1972) have supported LefCourt and have demonstrated that people act to cause certain effects when they are confronted by a situation. These studies also show that peoples' actions are possible because of access to opportunities. Thus, "perceived control is positively associated with access to opportunity" (LefCourt, 1976).

Many immigrants picture an ideal future. However, this picture often differs from reality, which may

consist of such aspects as the inability to return home "safely," low chances of regaining a societal position compatible with the past, difficulty in mastering the new language, limited family and social support from the shared ethnic group, and low economic status. Upon arrival in a new country, the immigrant initially is concerned with immediate reality in the form of survival--satisfaction of the basic needs (Moos, 1986).

Later in development and adaptation, immigrants aim to have an input on the future. They may hope to work toward an idealized future. But after the initial survival is accomplished, the reality of security often becomes the most important goal. The immigrant may or may not believe that life is subject to control through his or her own efforts. But in any case, securing the future (e.g., economic security) often takes precedence over pursuing the ideal future. For instance, many immigrant families who entered the United States through New York remained in New York City and learned to live with the difficult conditions even after they learned of other possibilities (Ernst, 1965). These immigrants made their lives secured in New York City and chose not to pursue what may have been a more ideal life for them elsewhere. It is at least partially true, however, that

life anywhere in the world is dependent on external factors such as political, social, and economic conditions. But these immigrants' strong need for security may be the factor that kept them from even attempting to influence the external sources of control such as social conditions.

Either extreme, a fatalistic external control or an extreme internal locus of control, can lead to maladaptation (Coelho, 1980). Kheirkhah (1987), in reviewing the family system in catastrophe, focuses on the locus of control as an essential factor in adaptation. She concludes that "'Good copers'. . . have both internal locus of control, as well as external. They assume an active role in relation to their struggle, while recognizing the boundaries of the event and the limitations of their own system." She refers to this combination of external-internal locus of control as "fluid" (Coelho, 1980; Kheirkhah, 1987).

Three factors in the immigration process mutually influence one another. These three factors are security, locus of control, and personal resources.

The concept of security refers to one's perceived level of control over the future. For example, a person may believe that he or she has very little control over

next year's events. This person may believe that his or her economic status controls much of what will happen next year. If his or her financial status is (perceivably) controlled by Iran's conditions, this person has very little control over next year. This person perceives, then, that next year's events are out of his or her control based on a personal view that economic status determines next year's events. Therefore, next year is actually out of his or her control. Another person may believe that the major source of control over next year is his or her health. This person, as opposed to the other, may perceive him or herself to have much more control over next year.

The concept of locus of control refers to one's perceived control and focuses on the source of control. Three possible sources of control are internal, external, and fluid locuses of control. The internal locus of control refers to a person's belief that he or she can affect his or her life. The external locus of control refers to a person's belief that sources outside of him or herself affect his or her life. The fluid external-internal locus of control refers to a person's belief that he or she has a relative amount of control and that the outside sources, such as world economics,

also have a relative amount of control. This fluid quality allows the person to find a balance of the internal and external locuses of control (LefCourt, 1976).

The concept of personal resources refers to a person's coping resources, such as health, education, and financial status. These personal resources are potentially available to the person and can be strengthened even further (Figley & McCubbin, 1983).

A few examples of how the three factors of security, locus of control, and personal resources mutually influence one another will be helpful. An older Iranian immigrant may believe that before immigration, he alone decided what his family would do for a vacation. After immigration, due to the children's grown age and other contributing factors, he cannot decide without consulting with the members of the family. This shift affects his locus of control: he used to be almost totally in control; now he is not. He no longer feels that he is the main decision maker in the family. His locus of control may shift from internal to fluid. Given this shift, he now believes that he can affect the future only in certain conditions and areas such as his own belief system. This person's

personal resources also influenced these changes. For example, his financial resources may be much more limited than before immigration. So not only his locus of control shifts to a fluid one because of the change in the family structure, but he also perceives that he is not capable of making a decision about the family's vacation because of his limited financial resources. Thus, the three factors mutually influence one another for the Iranian immigrant even on the trivial matters of life.

It is possible that there is a fourth factor which also mutually influences security, locus of control, and personal resources. This fourth factor is access to opportunity. LefCourt (1976) states that

A young person has more objective access [to opportunity] than an older one since he or she still has a chance to achieve presently unobtained goals in the future and since youth itself is responded to socially as an asset in socio-occupational life. (p.24)

In the previously used example, the older Iranian immigrant's access to opportunity is influenced by his personal resources. His age, difficulty with the new language, and training affect his access to opportunities which could possibly improve his financial status. These personal resources, and perhaps his health, may make him unable to work. In turn, his

financial resources would be limited, and thus give him less control over the family's vacation. In such a manner, the four factors of security, locus of control, personal resources, and access to opportunity mutually influence one another.

Under "normal" circumstances, older people would be expected to have "continuation in their chosen occupations," "production and care for future generations," and "satisfaction with their past life, wisdom" (Weiten, 1986). The older immigrant experiences a crisis different from the "normal" or expected developmental stages--socially and personally. The older group experiences changes that are disruptions to their natural development, whereas the younger group experiences changes that are part of natural development and growth. The older immigrant is faced with the trauma of sudden financial insecurity, loss of friends and family, and loss of social status and familiarity at a developmental stage when he or she expects to live a calm, secure, and predictable life. This change in development can be perceived in different ways. The person makes a decision whether this change is an opportunity to grow or to become inferior. This decision of the Iranian immigrant is a continuation of

his or her previous coping mechanisms. One's decision can be the determining factor in his or her adaptation to the new culture. The German concentration camp prisoners also made such decisions. The result of their decisions may have been survival or death (Frankl, 1963). The person's thoughts, beliefs, and strengths "raise him above his outward fate" (p. 107). "Above" refers to accepting the limitations and acting when at all possible. This concept is equivalent to Kheirkhah's (1987) and Coelho's (1980) conclusion that a healthy locus of control is fluid and balances the internal and external loci.

This study aims to identify whether the age of the immigrant has an effect on his or her security. Does the younger immigrant feel in control of his or her future because the decisions of life are yet to be determined? Do older immigrants feel out of control over their future because of the change in their natural development--from a decision-making adult to a vulnerable one--at an age when comfort, status, and predictability are expected?

Review of Literature

The literature available on the changes experienced by immigrants is limited. Unpredictable and unexpected immigration limits the possibility of longitudinal studies. Longitudinal studies require the collection of historical data to identify possible changes over time (Goldman, 1978; Goetz, 1984). It is unrealistic to sample population and collect data over time because rates of immigration change unexpectedly and suddenly.

Coelho (1980), Ernst (1965), Moos (1986), Brown (1963), and Brown (1933) have carried out studies on the process of immigration and have identified reasons as well as outcomes of immigration. Some of these reasons are a chance to improve one's economic and social status; freedom to worship in one's own way; relaxed taxation; and personal privacy. These studies agree that the outcome of immigration varies anywhere from total satisfaction to a complete sense of isolation and failure.

Figley and McCubbin (1983), Coelho (1980), Ortner (1983), and Frankl (1963) have also reviewed the adaptation process. They have focused on peoples' abilities to adapt to undesired, unplanned, and even deadly conditions and have concluded that human beings

are adaptive, but that this quality can be a "curse" as well as a survival technique. It can be a curse in that as one adapts to an undesired situation, he or she may lose the drive and hope to change a bad situation. However, adaptation can also be a "survival technique" in that one can live through experiences such as the holocaust. These researchers have also indicated that people's perceptions of their situation is a major factor in their adaptation or maladaptation. They agree that the meaning the person attaches to the experience is an essential determinant on his or her survival, growth, or failure.

Brown (1933), LefCourt (1976), Coelho (1980), Brown (1963), and Klein and Erlich (1978) have investigated the intergenerational factors in immigration. These researchers have studied groups of immigrants including the Vietnamese, Israelies, Indians, and Iraqies. They have compared how the various generations cope differently or similarly as they immigrate. For example, Brown (1933) discusses the first generations (parents) who live in slums and compares them with the children of these parents who leave the slums for higher standards of living. Coelho (1980) supports the contention that the immigrant may not reach higher

status until he or she "becomes an integral" member of the new culture (p. 491). Becoming an "integral" member is much more difficult for the parent than the child. Thus, they have concluded that younger generations assimilate into the new culture more readily than the older generations.

Figley and McCubbin (1983), Brown (1933), Moos (1986), Klein and Erlich (1978) and Fried (1968) have studied family relationships as the family system adapts. Although these researchers studied groups of people from various cultures, they all agreed that the family members relate to one another differently after immigration. Some families hold tightly on to each other and to the old culture from a fear of isolation. Others depart from each other and/or the old culture in order to adapt. As explained earlier, the changes in these relationships are intensified between generations. Fried (1968), McKain (1973), Brown (1963), and Selltiz (1963) have studied self-concept as it is affected by changes in one's life. They focus on groups of students as well as non-students and have found that one's self-concept is affected by factors such as social status, social relationships, personal achievements, and control over his or her future. Finally, Coelho

(1980), Kheirkhah (1987), LefCourt (1976), and Frankl (1963) have studied locus of control and have concluded that extreme external or internal locuses of control prove to be unhealthy and dysfunctional for one's emotional survival and well being.

Previous research dealing with immigration, adaptation, intergeneration, family relationships, self-concept, and locus of control has been used as support for this study. Although very few of the sources have directly focused on the Iranian immigrant, the researcher has applied the common situation of displacement and adaptation to the Iranian immigrant through data collection and personal experience.

Hypotheses

Based on the reviewed literature and personal experiences of the author, it is proposed that a younger group of Iranian immigrants (under 20 years of age) will adjust more easily to American culture than an older group of Iranian immigrants (45 years of age and over). Both groups experience a change in their family relationships, self-concept, and security. The older and younger groups' expected differences in each area of focus are described as follows.

Family relationships

The younger group is expected to demand personal freedom from family bonds. They may also resent the older group's desire to maintain a family unit. The older group, needing to maintain the family as a whole, may feel isolated and helpless when faced with the younger group's desire to be independent.

Self-concept

The younger group is expected to feel confident with a positive self-image. They may have the opportunities to discover their abilities and potentials. The older group is expected to experience a change in their normal development. It is probable that they have difficulties when faced with the new social norms, language, and social status. They may also feel dependent on their children (the younger group). Such dependency may lower their positive feelings about themselves.

Security

The younger immigrants experience changes that are a part of their natural development and as such are expected to feel more in control of their lives (future)

than before immigration. The older immigrants have experienced a sudden and uncontrollable change in life. They are expected to feel less in control of their future than before they immigrated. The younger group may report a balance of internal-external locus of control with a high emphasis on the internal factors. The older group may report a balance of internal-external locus of control with a high emphasis on the external factors. The older group's expected desire to encounter the future in Iran leads to an external locus of control for such a desire is not fully managed by personal efforts which promote the internal locus of control. The younger group, however, is expected to desire life in the United States, and therefore, is perceived to be in control of that aspect of the future.

Therefore, this study is based on the expectation that age is an important factor in the Iranian immigrant's cultural adaptation. The younger group (under 20 years of age), not fully attached to Iranian culture, is apt to have a positive self-concept, to make new (non-Iranian) friends, to desire detachment from the family system, and to have a high level of control(perceived) over their future. The older group

(over 45 years of age), fully attached to Iranian culture, is more likely to have a negative self-concept, to desire Iranian friends, to put effort into maintaining the family system intact, and to perceive a low level of control over the future. It is hypothesized that both groups have experienced a change in these areas, but that because of the age factor, there is expected to be a clear difference in the type of change each group has experienced. The younger group's changes are a result of natural development and growth, but the older group's changes are a result of disruption in development.

CHAPTER II

METHODS

We can, and I think must, look upon life as chiefly a vast interpretative process in which people, singly and collectively, guide themselves by defining the objects, events, and situations which they encounter. . . any scheme designed to analyze human group life in its general character has to fit this process of interpretation.

Herbert Blumer

Participants

Participants in this study were 13 Iranian citizens, all of whom entered the United States in 1978 or after. Subjects were selected based on their age at the time of immigration: under 20; 45 and over. They were all residents of Knoxville, Tennessee. Subjects' demographic data are listed and discussed in Chapter four. The methodology used in this study was based on the work of Goetz and LeCompte (1984), Colaizzi (1978), and Patton(1980). Subject selection was based on the concept that "experience with the investigated topic and articulateness suffice as criterion for selecting subjects"(Colaizzi, 1978, p.58).

Procedure

Potential participants were selected informally by gaining general information about their presence and availability. An identical procedure was used with both the older and younger groups in order to assure consistency and to promote a situation where detected differences in data are due to subjects' experience and not to the methodology and formulation of questions (Bradburn, 1979; Patton, 1982). Three types of contacts were made during the study: mail, phone, in person. Contacts were made using the following means:

- 1) Request letter. The Request letter was written in Persian and English (Appendix A). This letter explained the purpose of the study, and presented a brief description of the researcher, the time involved, the method to be used, and the topics of the study. Enclosed with the letter was a post card on which they were asked to respond with "yes" or "no" based on their decision to take part or not to take part in the study. This self-addressed post card also included the potential subjects' name and address.

- 2) Phone call. Each subject who responded with "yes" was contacted by phone. The phone

conversation involved thanking the subjects for their positive response and discussing the place and time of the interview which would be most convenient for the subject.

3) Interview visit. The interview was approximately one hour long. Oral consent to participate in the study was requested by the interviewer-researcher (Appendix B) and it was audio-taped. A basic interview question outline (Appendix C) was used to guide the informal and open-ended interview.

4) Subject response sheet. At the completion of the interview the subject response sheet (Appendix D) and a stamped self-addressed envelope were given to the subjects. They were asked to return the sheet to the interviewer with any additional comments they may have had. The subjects were asked to do so within one week of the interview.

5) Thank you letter (appendix E). The thank you letter was written in Persian. The researcher expressed appreciation for the subject's time and energy.

The Interview

Colaizzi (1978) suggests the interview as a source of descriptive data with the method of "imaginative listening." Table 4 is a breakdown of sources of descriptive data and descriptive methods suggested by Colaizzi (p.67).

Table 2

Sources of Descriptive Data and Descriptive Methods

Sources	Methods
Written descriptions	Protocol analysis
Dialogal interviews listening	Imaginative
Observation of lived-events description	Perceptual
Imaginative presence reflection	Phenomenological

Each subject participated in a one hour audio recorded interview following guidelines outlined by Dapkus(1985) and Colaizzi(1978). The interviews were conducted at times and places requested by the subjects. Goetz and LeCompte (1984) state that life-history interviews which deal with intimate and controversial issues are best held in settings that are familiar and comfortable to the interviewee. All seven of the older group and four of the younger group chose to meet at their homes. The remaining two younger subjects chose to meet on a university campus. English or Persian was used by the subjects in the interviews. Patton (1982) and Goetz and LeCompte (1984) explain that interviews conducted in the interviewees' native language promote rapport and understanding. Communication in the native language minimizes the biases and misinterpretations that may be caused by interpreters, hired translators and cultural differences. All subjects except two from the younger group chose the Persian language to be used in the interview.

Researchers have used the semi-structured interview method in various ways. Their names for the semi-structured interview method demonstrate that this method is adaptable and can be modified according to the

researcher's needs. Patton(1980) refers to this method as the "standardized open-ended interview." Denzin (1978) refers to it as the "scheduled standardized interview." Goetz and LeCompte(1984) used Patton's categories of interviews. Finally, Lofland(1971) refers to this method as the "unstructured interview" or the "intensive interview." Open-ended questions were used in the present study. The questions were written on an outline before the interviews began. Clarifications, probings, and summary statements were used during the interviews as appropriate.

Thus, the interview was semi-structured and contained open-ended questions. The subjects were asked to review life in Iran and to compare that life with their present life in the United States in terms of family relationships, self-concept, and security. They were allowed the freedom to expand upon any response. Clarification and summary statements were also used as necessary to maintain clear communication. Appendix C is the outline that was used as the basic guide through the interview. Goldman(1978), Goetz and LeCompte(1984), Colaizzi(1978), and Patton(1982) support this methodology because it is structured so that the basic information requested is identical in all interviews. The

interviewees, however, supply their own words, thoughts, and experiences. Goetz and LeCompte(1984) further explain that the conversational mode, here referred to as semi-structured, "communicates empathy, encouragement, and understanding" (p.131). Patton(1980) supports this view because it permits interviewers to remain neutral in response without risking the loss of rapport.

Patton's(1980) extensive writings on qualitative interviewing are used to discuss the strengths and weaknesses of this study's semi-structured open-ended interview. Patton(1980) divides qualitative interviews into three approaches. Each approach has specific goals, instrumentations, and preparations. They can be used singularly or in combination in order to fit the particular circumstances of the study. The three approaches are:

1. The informal conversational interview;
2. The general interview guide approach; and
3. The standardized open-ended interview.

Patton explains that many other approaches are combinations of these three options and employ the strengths of one to balance the weaknesses of the other. The method used in the present study is a combination of

the General Interview Guide Approach and the Standardized Open-ended Interview. This combination consists of an Interview Guide with specific questions to be asked in a specific order. Also the interviewer-researcher enters the interview sessions ready to probe, clarify, and restate as needed. Finally, the interviewer-researcher probes and explores the topics that the subjects may bring up which were not expected by the interviewer. The strengths of the General Interview Guide approach offset the weaknesses of the Standardized Open-ended Interview Method and vice-versa, as briefly described in the next paragraphs.

One of the strengths of this combination (General Interview Guide Approach and the Standardized Open-ended Interview Method) is the consistency of the questions. Each subject is asked the same basic questions which are written on the interview question outline. These questions are used as a guideline and can be slightly modified to meet each interview's needs. Second, because an outline is used the information that is received from the subjects is most likely consistent with the themes of the study. The interview question outline serves as a checklist of the themes that need to

be considered. Third, due to the consistency and order of the questions, interviewer-researcher effects are minimized. The interviewer-researcher follows the basic question outline and can omit questions only in the most clear cases. Fourth, the interview question outline minimizes the necessity for interviewer-researcher judgment during the interview. The interviewer-researcher continuously evaluates the interview process for clear responses to each theme, but does not make judgments on the responses. Fifth, data analysis is systematic in that each question can be paired with its response in order to organize the similarities and differences in responses. This is a lengthy and time consuming process of collecting meaning from anecdotes, life histories, and direct responses.

Among the weaknesses of the combination method (General Interview Guide Approach and Standard Open-ended Interview Method) is its strict focus on the interviewee. The interview questions are directed to the interviewee's view of his or her experiences only. Since methods such as direct observation are not used in this combination, responses that may otherwise have been different are difficult and nearly impossible to identify. It is partly because of this weakness that

this study emphasizes the subjects' (interviewee) "perception" rather than "objective" experiences. Another weakness of this combination method is that the probes and restatements which constitute the flexible part of the interview (as opposed to the basic part) create many different directions in which the interview can go. Although the basic interview question outline keeps the interview centered on the themes of the study, within each theme and beyond its basic questions, the interview can follow a direction which is unique relative to the other interviews. So the interviewer-researcher is required to remain focused on the interview themes and yet to allow "reasonable" room for the various directions the interview may take. The wide range of data that is collected through the use of this flexible part of the interview also makes the data analysis more demanding than if the interview method only consisted of the basic outline. The researcher-interviewer must remain focused on the themes of the study and keep from becoming distracted and overwhelmed by the range of possible themes to explore from each interview.

In summary the researcher-interviewer used the combination of the Standardized Open-ended Interview

Method with the General Interview Guide Approach in order to create a research method which seems to fit this study's objectives. The two methods which were combined seem to offset each other's weaknesses and to emphasize the strengths. For example a weakness of the Standardized Open-ended Interview Method is its rigidity in the questions. The General Interview Guide Approach balances this weakness by adding spontaneous probing, clarifying and paraphrasing. Another example is the General Interview Guide's weakness that the wording of the questions may vary from one interview to the next. This inconsistency can increase the interviewer effects on the subjects responses. The Standardized Open-ended Interview Method balances this weakness by adding structure to the interview. The flexibility of the interview promotes rapport, while the structured component of it promotes consistency in data.

Pilot Study

A pilot study was conducted with five subjects. The primary purpose of the pilot study was to reduce the number of topics investigated in the study. The secondary purpose was to provide practice in interviewing and data analysis for the

researcher-interviewer. The subjects consisted of one Iranian(over 45 years of age) and four Americans. Modifications were made based on the pilot study. The themes of the study were reduced from six to three. The themes of social distance, grief, and interpersonal distance were eliminated. The themes of family relationships, self-concept, and security were kept. Also, an audiotaped informed consent was added to the basic interview question outline.

Data Analysis

Goetz and LeCompte (1984) describe the process of data analysis in ethnography as art rather than science. They explain that the art of processing information must be creative yet systematic. People use the same creative/systematic process in their every day behavior: "Getting through the day requires that people process information: they notice the phenomena around them; they differentiate those phenomena by comparing and contrasting them with past experiences; ... ; they select those they wish to attend; and they plan their activities accordingly" (p. 167).

Colaizzi's(1978) suggested method of descriptive research was used as a guide in the present study:

- 1) Extracting significant statements
- 2) Formulating meanings
- 3) Organizing the aggregate formulated meanings into clusters of themes
- 4) Formulating an exhaustive description of the investigated phenomenon in as unequivocal a statement of its fundamental structure as possible.

These four steps come from the original seven steps that Colazzi(1978) developed. He explained that researchers should view the procedures flexibly and freely depending upon the approach and the phenomenon(p.61).

Step 1: Extracting significant statements.

Significant statements were identified as those which directly pertain to the question asked. The significant statements were extracted by listening to the tapes and writing the significant statements as close to the subject's exact words as possible. A typed verbatim transcript was, however, not possible to formulate due to the bilingual nature of the interviews. The statements were divided into the three main topics. "Imaginative listening" was used in identifying

significant statements, detecting non-verbal languages, and recognizing insignificant statements which supported the significant ones. Insignificant statements include the stories people tell as they clarify and make understood their point. This step of the data analysis was in the same language as the interview to avoid missing significance in translation (Goetz,1984).

Step 2: Formulating meaning. Each subjects' significant statements were paraphrased into a few meaningful paragraphs. These paragraphs were written in first person and referred to the subjects' experience of immigration regarding the three major themes of focus. The language of the interview was here changed to English in those cases where the interview had been in Persian. A simultaneous use of the extracted statements and a final use of the audio tapes validated the accuracy of the translations. Also a Persian person with background in English/Persian translations listened to a random selection of interview tapes and validated the translations and interpretations of the responses that were in Persian.

Step 3: Organizing the aggregate formulated meanings into clusters of themes. Keeping the older and younger groups separate, the formulated meanings were

categorized based on the themes of family relationships, self-concept, and security. The differences, similarities, and other shared or unshared patterns were studied through the use of thematic clustering. The older and younger group's experience of immigration was described. Thus, each theme had two sets (older and younger) of descriptions which were then compared and contrasted.

Step 4: Formulating an exhaustive description of the investigated phenomenon in as unequivocal a statement of its fundamental structure as possible.

Goetz and LeCompte's (1984) data analysis method was used to complete this step. The main purpose was to review the themes (family relationships, security, self-concept) and to identify the responses that were similar and the responses that were different. The analysis focused on answering the basic question of this study: What are the differences and similarities between the younger Iranian immigrants (less than 20 years of age) and older Iranian immigrants (over 45 years of age) regarding perceptions of the immigration experience.

CHAPTER III

RESULTS

This section reports results of the analysis of the collected data. It consists of first, description of the steps in Colaizzi's method of data analysis (A description of this method in greater depth can be found in Chapter Two.); second, a summary of each step's purpose; third, a brief description of the transition from one step to the next; and finally the subjects' responses. Samples of the data are reported for the first two steps (1. Extracting significant statements; 2. Formulating meanings). The activities regarding step three (3. Organizing the aggregate formulated meanings into clusters of themes) are reported completely. The results of step four (4. Formulating an exhaustive description of the investigated phenomenon in as unequivocal statements of its fundamental structure as possible) are presented in Chapter Four. The rationale of reporting sample or complete data is explained in each step.

Appendix F consists of two examples of the translated interviews one for an older subject and one for a younger subject. The older subjects used many

examples from their lives. The younger subjects, however, used fewer examples and were more direct in their responses. The following are the results of the interviews:

1) Extracted significant statements.

The purpose of this step was to identify the statements which directly relate to the question asked. The researcher listened to the interview tapes and wrote down statements that clearly responded to the given questions. A sample of the responses is reported in this section. Large amounts of data were gathered through the interviews. Appendix G is an extensive listing of the significant statements. The following statements were chosen for their representative quality. They were selected from older and younger subjects. Each statement is labeled as "older" or "younger" in order to identify the subject's age group. Also, the theme of each statement is identified. These themes came from the interview outline. It is important to note that this step of data analysis was done in the same language as the interview itself. This sample has been translated.

- (Older/ Family relationships) Our relationships haven't changed. In Iran we were working and had

more responsibilities. Our relationships were more formal. Now we are closer-- the kids have grown and we have more time to spend with them.

- (Older/ Self-concept) In Iran I wasn't very forgiving, now I am much more forgiving. And I like it better now.

- (Younger/ Family relationships) My mom has always had more control; she convinces my dad.

- (Younger/ Family relationships) I don't know how control was in Iran; I didn't think about it.

- (Younger/ Security) I don't see a very good next year. I will start school again and feel uncomfortable about it.

- (Older/ Security) I don't know if I am or am not living then. I don't see a future for myself --I have no hope.

- (Younger/ Security) My immediate goals are to be in Knoxville, be happy, and not to be married. I want to live with someone I care about, but I know that is hard for my parents to understand.

2) Formulating meanings.

The purpose of this step was to gain an understanding of each subject's feelings and experience on each given theme. Summary statements were written based on the responses gathered in step one. Each subject's significant statements on the three major themes (family relationships, security, and self-concept) were juxtaposed in order to gain an understanding of that person's experience. These anecdotal and indirect statements may be referred to as "insignificant" statements although they are not at all

insignificant. Insignificant statements were essential to a clear understanding of the subjects' responses. Wherever the meaning was not clear the examples helped clarify it. This understanding was compared to the tapes and verified. The following are examples of the formulated meanings for one older and one younger male subject. Both paragraphs are on the theme of Security:

- (older) The real future for me is in the United States. There is no future for us in Iran. We basically have to make it here; we can't start building again. My ideal future is in Iran, but it won't happen in our life time. I always wanted to live a comfortable life in a farm [in Iran] away from many people, working in the garden. Now we just want safety and comfort to live by. In Iran I used to control my life, now we just survive. I would like to die in Iran, but it is natural that our kids are happier here.

- (younger) The future is very dynamic for me. I try not to think very far, it is too dynamic. Since I was fourteen or fifteen the ground rules have continuously changed so I make four or five plans because rules will change again. So, I don't like to put all my eggs in one basket. I think, though, that I won't have any children [not next year], will pay more debts, Mom will be working, Dad will be back in the United States, and I will be working on projects at work. My ideal future is to have enough money to buy the happiness for my parents to live in the United States and be self-sufficient. I'll live in the United States and visit Iran. For my wife [American] to set up her practice. I want a better computer and to finish my M.S.. Ninety nine (99%) of all this(sic) is in the control of outside sources. There are too many variables involved: parents, wife, company, boss, me, etc.. I feel that this is fair. The source of control though has definitely changed since I lived in Iran. I had no responsibility; now I am a responsible adult.

3) Organizing the aggregate formulated meanings into clusters of themes.

The purpose of this step was to categorize the formulated meanings from step 2 into clusters of themes for older and younger groups. This categorization was used to help identify the differences and the similarities that exist between as well as within the two groups. The data is structured by the three major themes(family relationships, security, and self-concept) as the main titles. The older and younger groups are identified as sub-titles.

Family Relationships

The subjects were asked to talk about their family relationships and the changes in them since immigration. Five of the older subjects and four of the younger subjects reported that they have become "closer" to their families since their immigration. They explained their closeness and understanding as a result of the children becoming adults, the physical distance they used to have, the increase in family time for the parents, and the sharing of experiences.

However, two members of the younger group reported feeling distant from or not very close to their

families. One believes that this change is because the parents are "very Persian" and too strict with the house rules and limitations. The other believes that the change is basically because of the physical distance between them. Also two of the older subjects reported no change in their relationships. One who discussed the "battle of generations" seems concerned about this "battle" though he accepts the situation. The other explained that the family is as close as always.

The subjects were asked about the source of control in the family and possible changes in this source. Six members of the older group believe that in the United States the children have grown into adults and make decisions for themselves. However, they (the parents) would like to, and in some cases do, have some input in these decisions. To these six people immigration seemingly has not affected the relationship (or the control) between the parent couples but instead has made them closer and more involved with each other. The seventh older subject responded vaguely by saying that he isn't sure who has the control in the family and only knows that control is more difficult in the United States. This response perhaps is directly related to the younger group's desire and demand for independence.

Only one member of the younger group was satisfied that the source of control has remained with the parent(s). It is important to note that this subject is married and lives away from her family. Two subjects in this younger group said that the source of control has remained the same and that they don't "like" it. Their main demand was control over their personal lives. The other three subjects said that since immigration they make decisions independently of their parents. They have adult/adult relationships with their parents and such relationships affect many of their decisions.

Older: The following are the formulated meanings from each interview with the older group:

1. My family has become closer since we have immigrated for a number of reasons. First, our relationships are much less formal than they used to be; second, we (the parents) have much more time to spend with our children; third, the children have grown into responsible adults. I do like these changes in our relationships. I appreciate the fact that my children have grown and that we have strong adult/adult relationships. But I wished that they would consult with us more.

2. Since our immigration my husband [deceased] and I became closer. We only had each other and had to hold on to one another. So our relationship was much better than in Iran. With my children, though, in Iran they were younger and we were closer. Now I am only close to them through their wives. If I am close to the wife I am close to my son. This is ok with me. I don't expect much of them.

3. We haven't changed much. It is a matter of history and the battle of generations. We have tried

to keep the family relations the same as in Iran, to keep our roles as parents the same, but it is much more difficult here. The kids respect us, but don't value our thoughts and beliefs.

4. We used to be very close. Perhaps the death of my husband and daughter plus the physical distance that was between us Caused us to be as close now as before and close even more. I have always liked our closeness. I used to make all the decisions, and now it is not my responsibility and I like that.

5. We have always been very close and still are. Our relationships have not changed much at all. Except that it used to be that the father made all the decisions, but now it is a little less.

6. Our relationships haven't changed much. I am physically apart from some of my children and this distance has probably brought us closer. There are many more worries for all of us. The basic change, though, is that my wife used to be much more in control of our family (yet, we all talked and decided things) and since she has passed away I am alone. The children have grown independent and are living their own lives. I used to not think about my children as much as I do now.

7. My husband and I have become closer. We have lived through pain and sorrow together; and have held on to each other more strongly. With my children, when we first got here, we were like strangers. Now we are fine. In Iran I worked a lot and didn't have much time for them, but now I have a lot of time. I think that it is hard for the children to live with two cultures, but I don't believe that this has hurt us. If any thing it has made us hold on to our culture harder. We used to make decisions mostly according to my husband, but now that our children are adults we all decide.

Younger: The following are the formulated meanings from each interview with the younger group.

8. We are a lot closer. I was a kid in Iran and didn't believe in them [my parents], but now I see that they understand me. I talk with them about myself. I like our relationships and roles. My

mother has probably always had the most control (although, I didn't realize it in Iran) and I like this. I wouldn't want to be in control.

9. We have become closer because I used to be a kid then (12 years old) and didn't know anything. Now we are naturally closer since I am more grown. However, the structure of our family has changed some. In Iran my Dad had the primary control and Mom secondary. Since my Dad's death my brother has primary control and my Mom secondary. I am not fully satisfied with this change, because I am older than my brother and I think that there should be more of a balance. I really liked things in Iran better.

10. Our family relationships are very distant. It just doesn't stand anywhere(sic). They [my parents] are very Persian and I am not. They don't understand me. In Iran it didn't matter, I was a kid then. My mother has most control in the family and I don't like it. I'd like to have control. I don't mean over their lives just over my own life.

11. We have always been close, but we are physically far. So some things are hard for them[parents] to understand even if I do write to them about it. Our roles haven't changed. My parents are still in control of the family. Here, though, I live by myself and am responsible for my own decisions and actions. They trust my decisions, though.

12. In Iran I was a kid and I followed their [my parents] rules ("laws"). Here our relationship is with mutual respect. The distance that was between us for a number of years and my growing up have helped. I like this change in our relationship. They used to make decisions for us (Mom: long term decisions; Dad: short term decisions). Now they just make suggestions. They never order me anymore. If we were in Iran it would probably be the old way [parental control].

13. Our relationships have changed form. In Iran I was a child, here I am an adult and so our relationships are adult to adult. I like this very much, although sometimes I feel like I struggle to stay as an adult in my family. Yet sometimes I miss

being the child who was so well taken care of. All in all, I think we are very close [as always] and I appreciate our relationships.

Security

The subjects were asked about their plans for next year. Without exception, the older group had no plans for the next year and focused the future on the children's lives. This difference in view from the younger group's definite plans for next year is partially due to the subjects' age. Also important is the fact that the older subjects want to go home but are unable to do so. Though the older subjects seemed to accept the influence of immigration on their view of next year; they also said that they were troubled in that they have no choice but to accept these effects.

The younger subjects had specific ideas and plans about next year. They were able to set goals and have control in reaching their goals. Work, school, change of job and home, and economic stability were among the list of plans for next year.

The subjects were asked to describe the ideal future. The older group's ideal is in Iran. Much importance is given to the subjects' children's lives also. One subject said that he will live anywhere as

long as he is near his children. Another subject said that she prefers living in the United States. Others consistently described their ideal future in Iran. When members of this group talked about the ideal future, their tone of voice was low; the eyes generally moved downward. Their non-verbal expressions supported the sadness that they verbalized.

Except for one member, the younger group's ideal future is outside of Iran. One subject said that her ideal future is in Iran. Three others mentioned Iran in their ideal future and hoped to be able to "visit." However, the remaining two subjects did not mention Iran in their ideal future. Also, the younger group generally had many specific facets to their ideal future such as "a new job," or "living with a partner."

The subjects were asked to discuss the real future and to compare that with the ideal one. The older group's real future is in the United States. The subjects explained the difficulties and the emotional pain of this reality. Two of the subjects explained that the real future is very similar to their ideal one except that one is the United States(real) and the other in Iran(ideal). The main characteristics of their real

futures involved their children's lives and their own basic survival.

The younger group's real futures varied. One subject was unclear about the future and saw no definite real future. The five other subjects explained a real future that was either identical or very similar to the ideal one. They believed that they need to work on building the real into the ideal future.

The subjects were asked about the source of control over their future. The older subjects divided their responses to this question into two separate, but related parts. Each subject discussed his or her "personal" future which consisted of daily decision making, and "Iran's" future which covered sources of control over Iran's condition. The older subjects believe that their "personal" future is mostly in their own control and that Iran's future is in the hands of world economic and political conditions. Moreover, they explained that there is a direct relationship between the "personal" future and "Iran's" future. This direct relationship exists because the subjects believe that they can be more in control of their personal lives in Iran than they can anywhere else. In turn, their personal future is dependent partly on Iran's future.

The change in the source of control from before their immigration is relative in that they have always felt that Iran's condition is a result of world politics and economics. However, the extent of that control and its effect on the subjects' personal lives has increased greatly. The older subjects expressed a strong desire to be as in control as they were in Iran.

The younger group generally believed that they are in control of their future. Five subjects explained that they are basically in control of their futures, but that significant others, such as family, affect their decisions. Only one subject said that the source of control over his future is mostly (99%) outside of himself. All the subjects were satisfied with their level of control.

Older: The following are the formulated meanings from each interview with the older group:

1. I can't really say what next year or the years after that look like for me. Currently we are separated from our family and have to make a good life any way. The ideal future for me is to be with my children, wherever that may be. I think that I still control the personal part of my life. This is much more difficult than before. I also think that Iran is still controlled by the world political and economic situation. So these sources of control have not changed. Personally I don't need any control. I have my children and they ease the pain. My real future is basically the same as my ideal future: to be with my family. I wish, though, that Iran wasn't in pain.

2. I don't even know if I am living next year. I don't have any plans or hopes for my own future. Only I want my sons to live good lives. I want to visit Iran and see my grandchildren and my other son. I will then return to the United States. Control wise these are in my control, I just don't have any hope for my life.

3. The real future for me is in the United States. There is no future for us in Iran. We basically have to make it here, we can't start building again. My ideal future is in Iran, but it won't happen in our life time. I always wanted to live a comfortable life in a farm [in Iran] away from many people, working in the garden. Now we just want safety and comfort to live by. In Iran I used to control my life, now we just survive. I would like to die in Iran, but it is natural that our kids are happier here.

4. My ideal and real futures are very close except that one is in Iran and the other in the United States [respectively]. I wish for my children to marry and live for themselves, but close to me. I want us to remain close. I am not sure who has the control. I think me. If I insist they may do what I want them to do [to get married and live close by].

5. My ideal future is to pack up and go back to our home, family and friends. My real future is in the United States [temporarily]. It is hard to live here. I don't know the language, the life, the home. In Iran we used to decide what will happen. Now anymore we don't know. We just have to make while we can here since we can't control Iran.

6. I don't think about my future much because Iran is a mess. My age has gone up and so has my pain. I just can't be building and producing anymore. So I just make it. My hope is my family. The real future for me is in the United States, but the ideal one is in Iran. I hope to die in Iran. Iran is controlled by world's economics. My personal life is also controlled by world's economics because I want to go to Iran. Other aspects of my personal life are in my control though. I used to have control, but all

that I built was destroyed so I have lost hope; I won't rebuild again to have it destroyed.

7. The ideal future is a free Iran. I wish for us to live in Iran and to travel and visit our children a lot. The real future, though, is in the United States making the best life possible. In Iran I felt much more in control and involved. Now I am not that effective. The people who are fighting in Iran are the source of control for it. But while we are here, I am in control of how life is [personally].

Younger: The following are the formulated meanings from each interview with the younger group:

8. The real future is to work and to live in Florida. The ideal future is to be rich and for Iran to be back to normal so we can go and visit. I think that I control my own future. For example going to Dentistry school is my decision. I am much more in control of my life here than I was in Iran. I was just a kid following orders then. Although sometimes I miss that I ultimately like it better now.

9. My ideal future is to live in a large city [wherever], have my M.S., be independent, have a good job, live by myself, yet close to my mother or brother. I wish seventy or eighty percent that I could live in Iran. The real future is close to the ideal one, but difficult. I control my future as well as others. I didn't have any control in Iran because I was a kid. Here, now, I pretty much control my life, but I feel uncomfortable because I keep getting more lonely. Everyone keeps moving away. I wish we could all live in the same areas. This is the part of my future that others control.

10. My real future is being rich, powerful, live in the United States [Knoxville]. My ideal future is the same plus I want to be happy, and live with someone I care about [but not marry, which is the hard part for my parents]. I am definitely in control of my future. I just don't want to hurt them [my parents]. Compared to Iran, I am much more in control because I was a kid then. So the source of control has changed a lot. I like this.

11. The real future is the same as the ideal, but needs a lot of work. I want to graduate next year. My parents come to the United States from Swiss so we can decide where to live. I will live separate but close to my family. I have lived independently for a while and can't move back in. I will live in a large city, work, be independent. I don't think much about marriage. I would only visit Iran if it was ok. I am the source of control over my future. Well, it is all more in my control now than in Iran, specially since my experiences last year.

12. The future is very dynamic for me. I try not to think very far, it is too dynamic. Since I was fourteen or fifteen the ground rules have continuously changed so I make four or five plans because rules will change again. So, I don't like to put all my eggs in one basket. I think, though, that I won't have any children [not next year], will pay more debts, mom will be working, dad will be back in the United States, and I will be working on projects at work. My ideal future is to have enough money to buy the happiness for my parents to live in the United States and be self-sufficient. I'll live in the United States and visit Iran. For my wife [American] to set up her practice. I want a better computer and to finish my M.S.. Ninety nine (99%) of all this is in the control of outside sources. There are too many variables involved: parents, wife, company, boss, me, etc.. I feel that this is fair. The source of control though has definitely changed since I lived in Iran. I had no responsibility, now I am a responsible adult.

13. My ideal future is to live close to a large city (anywhere in the world) and to travel with my husband [American] to many countries, get my Ph.D, support my parents, have a safe and free Iran [and visit]. My real future is generally the same I just have to work hard at it. The Iran part I just don't know. I think that its source of control are the people as well as the politics of the world. In Iran I controlled what my parents let me control (basic learning of responsibility), other than that I was just a kid. Now, the personal future I am probably in control, but this is very relative.

Self-concept

Two basic questions are considered in this section. One question that was asked was whether the subjects perceive themselves now to be the same person they were in Iran. In response to this question five older subjects explained that they are basically the same person now as they were in Iran. These subjects further explained that they worry much more and are not nearly as active and productive now. The other two subjects explained that they are definitely not the same as they were in Iran. One believed that he has been affected by the pain, and has aged in the process. The other believed that she has become "self-actualized" and now feels much more like "herself." These two responses are the opposite of each other, whereas the other five responses follow basically the same pattern.

Four of the younger subjects explained that they are basically the same now as they were in Iran, but they recognize that they have grown and somewhat changed since Iran. Two other subjects explained that they have changed a lot and are not the same as they were in Iran. There are no clear patterns of response for this group except that they all felt they had grown.

Subjects were also asked to talk about their personalities and their feelings about themselves including changes in personality. Two of the older subjects did not respond to this question and explained that they have not thought much about it or "just don't know" whether they have changed or not. Two other subjects liked certain aspects of the change such as their strengths, but did not like other aspects such as the lack of activity and involvement in the society. The remaining three older subjects liked themselves the same as or better than they did before immigration. With such varied responses no pattern was apparent, except that the older group experienced more negative changes.

The younger group reported feeling very positive about the changes they have experienced in their personalities since immigration. Positive changes included the ability to live independently. However, there were certain qualities that they did not like or were working to change. For example, one person wanted to be less competitive than she has become since immigration; another person wanted to be able to control his temper more; and one person wanted to be more friendly than she has become since immigration. Still,

the younger group has perceived most personality changes taking place after immigration as positive.

Older: The following are the formulated meanings from each interview with the older group:

1. I am the same person [as I was in Iran] plus much more worries and pain. I used to be much more active and productive there than I am here. I am satisfied with my personality, it is just adapting to the pain of our family and friends that is hard.

2. I am basically the same [as I was in Iran]. I like myself better now, though, than ever before in my life. In Iran I was so highly respected. Now I live a simple life and I feel like I'm myself. I feel much better about me and my life here.

3. I am definitely not the same person [that I was in Iran]. My age has gone up and I have much more worries for my country. I believe that the revolution has affected my generation (even if not the younger generation). I can't tell you [about my personality and how I feel about it] because I haven't thought about it.

4. I haven't changed at all, just more pain. I don't know about my personality and how I feel about it, I just am. I want people to love me (don't know if they do).

5. I like myself. Well, in Iran my expectations were high and I wasn't very forgiving. Now, I have adjusted to the times and am much more forgiving and have lower expectations. I like myself better now than I did before [in Iran].

6. I am the same person as I was in Iran, but I have lost hope. I can't be as active and productive as I was so I have no hope. I am not satisfied, I am in a state of shock.

7. Generally I am the same person [as in Iran], I have held on to my strengths. I like that. I would like to go back to Iran and be the same active and productive person that my children knew then. I

want to add to their lives, but I don't know if I am doing that here; I could in Iran.

Younger: The following are the formulated meanings from interviews with the younger group:

8. I am basically the same person [as in Iran], and I like myself. I think that I have mixed the two cultures well. I am satisfied with the changes in my personality (i.g. not as shy and reserved as I was before).

9. I am not really satisfied with myself. I have changed a lot since Iran. Like competition. I am much more competitive than I was before and I don't like that.

10. I like myself. I'd like to be more friendly. I have always been this way and the changes [since Iran] I like. I've fit in [to the American culture] well.

11. I am satisfied [with myself], I just wished the outside sources would not effect me as much. Certain things about my personality have not changed (i.e. my attitude toward my studies). But, generally, I have become independent since I moved away from my family. And I like that change in me.

12. I like myself. There are no emotional qualities I'd change, except my anger [temper]. I am not the same person [as in Iran], I have grown and changed much. I like the changes.

13. I am basically the same person [as in Iran], but there is also a lot that has changed about me. Like I used to be extremely shy, dependent, and fragile, but now I have improved all of these. I have had to work hard to make the changes that I want in my personality. I liked myself in Iran, but I like myself even more now.

- 4) Formulating an exhaustive description of the investigated phenomenon in as unequivocal a statement of its fundamental structure as possible.

The purpose of this step is to formulate a description of the data's implications. The comparison of the older and younger groups' responses in each theme are used to conclude a general and wholistic conclusion. Chapter Four deals with the conclusions and implications of the data.

Demographic Data

Data was collected from seven older and six younger Iranians. Table 3 is a frequency summary of the subjects' demographic data. These data show differences in the two groups' sex, education level, marital status, number of children, and occupations while in Iran and in the United States. The subjects' characteristics which are summarized as demographic data may have influenced the results of the study. Possible influences of this data will be discussed in this section.

Table 3

Frequencies of Subjects' Demographic Data

	under 20	over 45
SEX		
Male	1	3
Female	5	4
HIGHEST EDUCATIONAL LEVEL		
Below High School		1
High school		1
Technical school		2
High school plus		1
College	4	2
Post college	2	
MARITAL STATUS		
Married	3	4
Single	3	
Cohabiting		0
Widowed		3
NUMBER OF CHILDREN		
1	1	
2		0
3		4
4		3
OCCUPATION (U.S.)		
Administrator		0
Educator		(part-time) 1
Business person		1
Student	5	
Engineer	1	
Housewife		3
Gardner		1
None		1
OCCUPATION (IRAN)		
Administrator		3
Educator		1
Business person		0
Student	6	
Housewife		3

The researcher was unable to find any studies indicating that the immigrant's sex affects his or her adaptation to the new culture. The older group's responses appeared common between the male and female subjects. The only difference in the younger group's responses was among the females and did not involve the male subject. It is assumed, then, that the difference in the sexes does not influence the results of the study.

There is a clear imbalance of the education levels in the two groups. This factor may affect the subjects' responses. Ortner(1983) believes that education is needed for adaptability. He describes adaptability as the ability to "flourish in changing circumstances by the use of information, acquired skills, imaginative enterprise." He adds that the adaptable person "causes to flourish" those activities in which he or she takes part (p.466). According to Ortner, then, it is not the formal education that affects the person's adaptability, but his or her acquired skills. It is also possible that through formal education people may learn thought processes that activate the mind and challenge its growth. One may conclude then, that the Iranian immigrant with formal education may have had more

chances of being exposed to those skills which Ornter refers to as "adaptive" and "flourishing" than the Iranian immigrant who has very little or no formal education. Every member of the younger group has college level education. The older group's education varies from no official schooling to graduating from college. The highest level(college grad.) for the older group is equivalent to the lowest level for the younger group. This difference is most likely because of a change in the standards of living and a rise in training expectations in societies. The Iranian immigrant's education affects his or her experiences in life, but this influence has existed throughout the person's life and was not initiated by his or her immigration. The older group's responses focused more on family and social concerns than on education.

Subjects' marital status may affect their responses because it represents a difference in the two groups' stages of development. Two of the younger and four of the older subjects are married. Four of the younger group are single and three of the older group are widowed. There was a difference in how the single subjects responded to questions about their future and how the widowed subjects responded. For example, the

widowed subjects' responses seemed more hopeless about the future than the married older subjects and the younger subjects. Widowhood is an expected part of married life and is a natural stage of development. The younger subjects are simply not at that stage of life yet and are much more hopeful about life. It is also important to mention that all three widowed subjects' widowhood was somehow related to changes in Iran and their immigration. This relationship was created either through personal traumatic experiences during the Islamic government or through the emotional limitations brought upon as a result of Iran's situation.

The number of children each group has is another demonstration of the fact that the younger group is at the beginning stages of development, and is likely to have positive thoughts about life in general. The older group's children are grown; some have even passed away. Again, age is a major factor that influences the older group's responses.

The changes in the two groups' occupation are likely to have significant effects on the subjects' responses. The younger group consists of students. They have advanced in their student status from high school to college and seem pleased with the change in

their educational level. The older group's changes in occupation, however, has been mostly from white collar to blue collar positions. The three housewives' occupation has not changed. Three administrators (in Iran) are now businessperson, part-time teacher, and unemployed. One educator is now working as a gardner. These changes had a negative influence on the older subjects. Changes in occupation are also related to the age factor because these changes are different from what the older population had expected and hoped for the future.

Subject Response Sheet

The subjects were asked to return the response sheet within a week of the interview regardless of whether they had any comments. At the time when the researcher presented the subjects with the response sheet they seemed surprised with it. All of the subjects made verbal and non-verbal comments indicating that they didn't really see a need for it. Moreover, the returned response sheets were blank. Thus, no additional information was gathered through its use.

It is assumed that the lack of written response may be the subjects' belief that they had shared all their

thoughts in the interview. All the subjects indicated this belief at the time that the interviewer-researcher gave them the response sheets. It is also possible that writing about themselves and their experiences was threatening to their privacy. The researcher had no way of determining what the reasons were for such a consistent response because asking the subjects seemed culturally inappropriate.

CHAPTER IV

DISCUSSION

"Is there anything more miraculous than the wonders of nature?" the monk asked. The Master answered: "yes! your awareness, your understanding of the wonders of nature."

Fredrick Franck

The implications of this study are discussed in this chapter. First the general limitations of the study are considered. Second, the results are discussed. Third, the implications of the study are presented. Finally, this chapter presents suggestions for future research and briefly discusses recommendations for the cross-cultural counselor.

General Limitations

This section deals with a few of the limitations of the study. One of the limitations is the small size of the population studied. The researcher's lack of access to large numbers of Iranian immigrants as well as the descriptive method of the study limits making generalizations from the results. The number of younger subjects was one short of the proposed number, because of the researcher's limited access to potential

subjects. The main reason for this limited access was because the interviews were conducted toward the end of the spring quarter and the beginning of summer.

Difficulties with the assessment of changes in subjects' self-concept were considered to be another limitation in the study. Previously developed instruments were not used because of the difference in language and culture. The investigation of the subjects' self-concept was limited to what they reported. Biases such as "social desirability" may have influenced the responses.

Also a number of issues which deserve investigation were dealt with briefly because of the need to focus and restrict the study. These issues included factors such as age, culture, and forced/voluntary decisions.

Another limitation was that verbatim transcripts of the interviews were not available because the languages varied from English to Persian. The researcher tried to give as faithful a translation as possible for those responses that were given in Persian. Also the translations of the responses were checked by a person with background in Persian/English translation and were verified. However, the verification was done on a few randomly selected interviews.

Discussion

This section is focused on a discussion of the data. The data are grouped under the headings: family relationships, control in the family, view of next year, ideal future, real future, source of control over the future, changes in the self, and feelings toward the changes in the self. These eight groups of data are divided among three main headings: Family relationships, security, and self-concept. Family relationships and control in the family were grouped under family relationships. View of next year, ideal future, real future, and source of control over the future were grouped under security. Changes in the self and feelings toward the changes in the self were grouped under self-concept. The discussion of the data is presented under the three main headings of Family Relationships, Security, and Self-concept:

Family Relationships

Generally, the older and younger subjects feel positively toward their family relationships. Members of both groups seem to feel "closer" to their families than they did before immigration. This positive change seems to be perceived as natural to the growth and

development of these families. The children have grown and are able to develop and maintain adult relationships with their parents. Also the parents are at the stage where they view their children as young adults and feel rewarded by these relationships.

It was hypothesized that the younger group would demand personal freedom from family bonds and resent the older family members' desire for a close family unit. The collected data did not support this hypothesis. The results of the study demonstrated that the younger group appreciate, value, and perhaps demand personal freedom, but that this demand is compatible with close family relationships. The younger group seem, generally, to appreciate and perhaps demand close family relationships as well as personal freedom.

It was also hypothesized that the older subjects would feel more isolated and helpless when they face the younger group's demand to separate. The younger group, then, directly affect this situation. Data collected regarding the younger group's family relationships and a search for a possible relation between demand for personal freedom and family closeness was not supported. The older subjects seem to "respect" the fact that their children have grown and are "independent." It does

seem, however, that the transition of seeing their children move from the child stage to the adult stage has been somewhat difficult for the parents. This difficulty may be partially because of a few years of physical separation that almost all of these families have experienced. Also since the children value both their freedom and their family relationships, the older subjects can feel supported and close to their families.

Security

The two groups view security very differently from each other. Members of the older group seem resigned not to control their future whereas members of the younger group seem to believe they can control their future. Also, members of the older group see their future as "survival." Members of the younger group see their future as "progress."

It was hypothesized that the younger group would feel increasingly more in control of its future after immigration as compared to before immigration. The data clearly supported this hypothesis. The younger group plans specifically not only for next year, but for life. Younger subjects feel positive about accomplishing their plans and believe themselves to be the main source of control over their lives.

It was also hypothesized that members of the older group would feel less in control of their future after immigration as compared to before immigration. The data also supported this hypothesis. The older subjects support the assumption that they have experienced a sudden change in their lives. This sudden change has disrupted their expected and "normal" flow of life. Their plans for the future have been destroyed and they don't have the energy to begin building new lives; except through their children's lives.

Self-concept

The nature of the changes in personality that the two groups have experienced are basically different. Members of the older group have experienced minimal changes in personality traits, but lots of changes in their lifestyles and consequently the level of pain they feel. Members of the younger group, on the other hand, emphasize their growth and development. Overall, the younger subjects like the changes in themselves, but the older subjects do not feel good about particular changes in themselves. The younger group's responses are more consistent than the older group's. While the younger subjects experience changes in their personality traits, the older subjects experience changes in their lives,

and not necessarily in their personalities. The older subjects' personalities were shaped before they immigrated and have not changed because of their immigration; however, their lives have changed after their immigration. Furthermore, the younger subjects perceive their changes in personality mostly as positive and the older subjects perceive their changes in life style as negative.

It was hypothesized that the younger group would feel confident with a positive self-image. The collected data supported this hypothesis. Even though there are issues that this group is working on, its members clearly feel "ok" about themselves. The younger subjects view themselves as growing individuals and generally appreciate their own personality traits. This may be partially because of their "successful" immigration.

It was also hypothesized that the older subjects would feel less positive toward themselves after as compared to before immigration. The collected data partially supported this hypothesis. The older subjects' personalities do not seem to have changed, but the context within which these personalities function has changed. They feel less positive toward themselves

than before immigration, but that is because of the changes in the context (culture, customs, language, etc.) rather than a negative change in personality. The older subjects' personalities have taken form in Iran and cannot quickly and easily change form in order to match the new context of the United States. A lack of involvement in the society is the most clear example of this change of context. Here the person changes status from an active administrator and community leader to the retired immigrant learning a new language in a strange neighborhood.

Implications

Members of the older group consistently mentioned the pain and sorrow they have experienced since their immigration. They have discussed the difficulties of living in the United States such as the language, change of life style, and distance from family and friends. Yet, they did not indicate that the sole cause of their pain stemmed from living in the United States, but rather that their pain was caused by being forced to start a new life --in the United States. The older subjects also brought up the point that Iran's situation has not affected the younger generations the same way

and that the younger generations may even prefer this life to the one in Iran. Unlike the supposition of the hypothesis that the older group would feel isolated from their families after immigration, the older subjects perceive their family relationships as being closer than before immigration. The older subjects' perception of their security was low because they feel they have little control over their desires for the future. They feel that since the ideal future, an active life in Iran, is out of their control, they can only influence a portion of their future. These perceptions have changed during the time period from before immigration to after immigration.

Perceptions of decreased security had an effect on self-concept. The effects of low security on self-concept were presented through responses such as "I just don't know," "I can't start building again," and "I have lost hope." Yet a few of the subjects felt that in addition to these negative effects they have kept their strengths (e.g. a positive attitude toward life, a sense of humor). These few subjects viewed such strengths positively. So, perhaps it is not so much that since their immigration the older subjects have totally negative self-concepts but rather that they perceive

more negative qualities(e.g. social isolation, financial insecurity) today than they did in Iran.

Therefore, the experience of immigration has been generally positive for the older subjects' family relationships. It has been negative, however, for their sense of security and self-concept.

The younger subjects consistently mentioned their chronological and emotional growth. They seemed to attribute many of their experiences and changes to this factor. They expressed a general sense of satisfaction and comfort in the Unites States and viewed themselves as independent. Except for one, they believed that they have become "closer" to their families and that their relationships have changed from parent/child to adult/adult. The younger group was satisfied with this change. Since there was only one subject whose response supported the hypothesis that the younger group feels more distant from their families after immigration, this hypothesis was rejected. This group's responses on security, however, supported the hypothesis that the younger subjects are more internally oriented. They feel that their ideal futures are not unrealistic and that they need to work on their goals in order to make them become the real future. This security also may

have contributed to their positive self-concept because they feel more in control than they were in Iran. The subjects generally reported liking themselves better since their immigration. They did, however, express the need for further growth.

Therefore, members of the younger group attribute many changes after their immigration to their natural growth. They evaluate this growth as positive on their family relationships, self-concept and security.

In conclusion, the older and younger subjects share a sense of closeness in their family relationships. They both believe that this positive change since immigration is mostly due to the younger group's growth. However, the older subjects feel less secure about the future than they did in Iran, whereas the younger subjects feel more secure about the future than they did in Iran. The older subjects perceive themselves more negatively than before, but the younger subjects perceive themselves more positively since their immigration. The younger subjects' changes that were a result of their immigration have been difficult to identify because the comparison is between the person as a child and the person as an adult. Age, then, has played a major role in the subjects' experience of

immigration as well as in the effects of immigration on their lives which include their family relationships, self-concept, and security.

Therefore, the changes in the older group's family relationships, self-concept, and security have clearly been affected by the crisis of immigration. However, the changes in the younger group's family relationships, self-concept, and security have been mostly perceived as related to growth processes rather than immigration.

Future Research

Some suggestions for future research with Iranian immigrants will be presented in this section. This study failed to compare Iranian immigrants living in the United States with Americans living in the United States. A comparison of the two groups may help identify the changes that have occurred in the immigrants' life as results of immigration. Older populations of both nationalities may share similar feelings, for example. It may be that the older immigrant's feelings and thoughts about his or her life are due to age and not nationality differences. Similar possibilities exist for the younger groups. It was concluded in this study that the changes in the younger

Iranian immigrant's life are related to his or her developmental growth rather than immigration. It is, however, very unlikely that the immigration process has not affected the young immigrant's growth. Comparing the younger Iranian immigrant with the same age group Iranians living in Iran may be one way of identifying how immigration has influenced their growth. These young people may be surprised given information on how their growth could have been different if they had not immigrated.

Future research is needed on the age group that was not included in this study. Iranian immigrants who entered the United States between the ages of 20 and 45 were not considered. Perhaps members of this group combine the two cultures of Persian and American and create "personal" cultures which are unique to each individual in regard to how "Persian" and how "American" they choose to be.

Also a wider range of topics such as grief and culture shock need to be studied. Instruments measuring culture shock or other methods of descriptive studies investigating grief for loss of "home" need to be used in data collection processes.

A secondary source of data collection should be used in future studies. The use of instruments such as culture shock inventories or the use of a second interview can promote reliability. Data that is influenced by special conditions and which lower reliability can be identified and perhaps eliminated. Information received on a day that the subject felt especially sad or homesick is an example of data received under special conditions. The study had no way of eliminating such data and since the focus was the subjects' perceptions, the conclusions of the study may be affected.

Finally, research is needed to study immigrants whose coping mechanisms have been healthy and functional in their new culture. Immigrants of all countries can benefit from data collected on the behaviors, thoughts, and decisions that have helped people cope with the stresses and difficulties of immigration. The researcher often felt the need to offer the subjects some sort of concrete help, but was unable to do so except for offering empathy and admiration. A longitudinal or cross-sectional study of immigrants' healthy coping mechanisms (for example, asking

immigrants "what helps you make it or 'cope'?") might be interesting.

Suggestions for the Cross Cultural Counselor

Recommendations for the cross cultural counselor are briefly described in this section. The cross cultural counselor who will be helping the Iranian immigrants in the United States needs to be open to the client's world view as well as his or her own (Ibrahim, 1985). An extensive review of the counselor's own philosophy, goals, and views (e.g. toward the political situation between Iran and United States) seems essential before beginning the counseling relationship. Smith (1985), Ibrahim (1985), and Katz (1985), as well as a number of other researchers, have made initial contributions to this review. The cross cultural counselor must be aware of the cultural biases that he or she brings to the counseling session. The focus of the sessions must be to help the client with unconditional positive regard, and to help the client reach goals that are set according to his or her world view. It is very important that the counselor highlight the client's positive and special qualities. Empathy needs to be distinguished from pity for the Iranian

immigrant. Pity would immediately destroy a potentially trusting relationship, particularly with the older population.

This brief overview basically encourages the counselor to understand the Iranian immigrant and to be supportive in his or her efforts to cope as successfully as possible. Also, the counselor may hear painful and even brutal stories of the immigrants experiences or observations to which he or she must respond to without becoming overwhelmed. The counselor must also be aware of movement in the counseling relationship. After the client's pain has been released he or she will want to move on in an attempt to resolve other problems.

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WORKS CONSULTED

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APPENDICES

APPENDIX A
LETTER OF PARTICIPATION REQUEST

LETTER OF PARTICIPATION REQUEST

Azadeh Kheirkhah-Barr
University Station
P.O. Box 16264
Knoxville, TN 37996
Date

Dear

I am currently conducting my Master's research in Educational Psychology. My special interest is in family and cultural relations. In pursuing this interest my research focuses on Iranian people who live in the United States. Through this project I hope to share a part of the Persian Culture including the peoples' experiences and feelings with other interested peoples.

The study consists of a one-hour interview at your place, language, and time of preference. Audiotape recorder is used to avoid note taking in the interview. Your full name will not be referred to while interviewing, for the information obtained will be kept in strictest confidence. The tapes will also be destroyed once the study is ended.

I hope that you will agree to participate in this study by returning the enclosed post card with the word "yes." However, if you choose otherwise please return the post card with the word "no." If you agree to participate please understand that you may withdraw your consent at any time in the study.

I thank you for taking the time to read this letter of request. I look forward to working with you. If you have agreed to participate in the study I will be calling you within the next two weeks.

If you have any questions please don't hesitate to contact me at 588-1673.

Sincerely,

Azadeh Kheirkhah-Barr

LETTER OF PARTICIPATION REQUEST IN PERSIAN

جناب الكرام

ما خواهم باطلاع شما برسانم که من در حال حاضر پژوهش فوق لیسانس خود را دربارهٔ موضوعی
آکنوسی انجام میدهم. دلچسپی و توجه خاص من مربوط به خانواده دروا بطرفی است. در تحقیق این
تمایل، تحقیق من متوجه ایرانیایی است که در ایالات متحده امریکا زندگی میکنند. در این پروژه آرزو
دارم که بتوانم درستی از فرهنگ ایرانی که شامل رسوم، تجربه ها، احساسات، مذهب و غیره
است، شریک شوم.

این مطالعه شامل یک ساعت مصاحبه است که در محل مورد نظر شما، در زبان و زمانی
که شما ترجیح می دهید انجام خواهد شد. از شما درخواست می کنم که در این مورد به شما
استفاده خواهد شد و در صورت مصاحبه از شما با اسم کامل نام برده نمی شود و هویت
شما کاملاً محفوظ خواهد ماند. همچنین نیاز پس از پایان پروژه پاک خواهد شد.
امیدوارم که شما با همکاری در این تحقیق موافقت نمائید و کمالات پستی
همین را با نوشتن کلمه "آری" منی بگردانید. در صورت عدم موافقت نیز کمالات
را با کلمه "نه" پس بفرستید. اگر موافقت کردید لطفاً آگاه باشید که هر زمانی
که بخواهید می توانید از ادامه همکاری خودداری کنید.

از وقتی که برای خواندن این نامه صرف کرده اید و از هدیه ای که خواهم
کند سپاسگزارم. در انتهای همکاری با شما هستم و اگر پاسخ شما مثبت بود لطفاً
دو هفته آینده تلفنی با شما تماس خواهم گرفت.

باتشکر بسیار

آزاد خجسته

APPENDIX B
ORAL CONSENT

ORAL CONSENT

Before we begin our interview there are a few things I need to explain:

1. The purpose of this study is to identify the effects of immigration in relation to family relationships, self-concept, and sense of control.
2. The interview is about one hour and is taking place at your place, time, and language of preference.
3. I will not use your full name on the tape so that your identity remains confidential.
4. You may withdraw from the study at any time without penalty.

APPENDIX C
INTERVIEW QUESTION OUTLINE

INTERVIEW QUESTION OUTLINE

Before we begin our interview there are a few things I need to explain:

1. The purpose of this study is to identify the effects of immigration in relation to family relationships, self-concept, and sense of control.
2. The interview is about one hour and is taking place at your place, time, and language of preference.
3. I will not use your full name on the tape so that your identity remains confidential.
4. You may withdraw from the study at any time during the study without penalty.

Do you have any questions or comments at this point?

Questions:

FAMILY RELATIONSHIPS

1. Tell me about your experience in your family.
2. Tell me about authority in your family.
3. Tell me about your relationship with your family.
How do you get along?
4. Has your relationship changed since you moved? How?
How do you feel about this change?

5. How dependent are you on your family? How do you feel about that? How does that affect your future?

FUTURE

1. Tell me about your plans for next year.
2. What does future look like for you? How would you like it to look like?
3. How confident are you about your predictions?
4. What do you see as the strongest controlling factor on your future? How do you feel about that?
5. Has this source of control changed since you moved?

SELF-CONCEPT

1. Describe yourself.
2. How do you feel about a person who is _____ (1)?
3. Would you say that you are the same person as you were in Iran? How have you changed? How do you feel about the changes? How have your feelings about yourself changed?

These are the questions I had, Is there anything you would like to add, ask, or say?

I will leave this form with you. The purpose is to offer you an opportunity to add, change, or comment on the interview if you choose to. Please return it in the attached envelope within a week whether you write on it or not..

I appreciate your time, sincerity, and willingness to share. Thank you.

INTERVIEW QUESTION OUTLINE IN PERSIAN

- قبل از آغاز مصاحبه مطالبی هست که باید توضیح دهیم:
۱. منظور از این تحقیق شناخت تأثیری است که مهاجرت در روابط خانوادگی، اعتماد بنفس، و احساس تسلط بر زندگی فرد گذاشته است.
 ۲. مصاحبه، گفتگویی است که حدود یک ساعت طول می‌کشد و در محل مورد نظر شما و برای آنی که ترجیح می‌دهید انجام می‌شود.
 ۳. از اسم کامل شما در مدار استناد نخواهد شد و باین ترتیب هویت شما محفوظ خواهد ماند.
 ۴. در طول تحقیق هرگاه که خواستید می‌توانید بدون هیچ زحمتی خارج شوید.

آیا سؤال یا نظری در این موارد دارید؟

روابط خانوادگی

۱. درباره تجربه خانوادگی خود صحبت کنید.
۲. درباره قدرت و اختیار در خانواده خود سنی بگویید.
۳. درباره روابط خود با افراد خانواده تان و اینکه چگونه می‌گذرانید صحبت کنید.
۴. آیا از زمانی که نقل مکان کرده‌اید روابط شما تغییر کرده است؟ چگونه؟ درباره این تحول چه می‌اندیشید؟

آئینه

۱. درباره طرح و نقشه خود برای سال آئینه بایم شرح دهید.
۲. آئینه نظر شما چگونه می‌آید؟

- دلتان می‌خواهد آینده چگونه باشد ؟
۳. تا چه حد درباره پیش بینی آینده خود مطمئن هستید ؟
۴. چه عاملی را به عنوان مهم‌ترین عامل کنترل کننده آینده خود می‌بینید ؟
- در باره آن چه احساسی دارید ؟
۵. آیا این عامل کنترل کننده در زمان مهاجرت تغییر کرده است ؟

اعتماد بنفس

۱. درباره خودتان صحبت کنید .
۲. درباره کسی با این مشخصات چه احساسی دارید ؟
۳. آیا می‌توانید بگویید که شما همان کسی هستید که در ایران بودید ؟
- چگونه مدّعی شده‌اید ؟
- درباره این تغییر چه احساسی دارید ؟
- درباره خودتان که تغییر کرده‌اید چه احساسی دارید ؟

اینها سئوالهای من بودند . آیا چیزی نظیر سئالی رسد که نخواهید اضافه کنید ؟

این فرم را نزد شما می‌گذارم . باین منظور که اگر لازم بدانید لطفاً اضافه کنید ، تغییر دهید ، درباره مصاحبه نظر بدهید . لطفاً ظرف یک هفته در صورت نوشتن یا ننوشتن با پاکت ضمیمه من بفرستید .

از رتبی که صرف کرده‌اید و از صمیمیت و همراهی شما سپاسگزارم .

APPENDIX D
SUBJECT RESPONSE SHEET

SUBJECT RESPONSE SHEET

Dear

Please use this sheet to write any additions, changes, or comments that you may have from our interview. Please return this sheet in the enclosed envelope within a week whether you write anything or not. Again I thank you for your time and concern.

This image shows a single sheet of white paper with horizontal blue or grey ruling lines. The lines are evenly spaced and run across the width of the page. There are no margins, text, or other markings on the paper.

SUBJECT RESPONSE SHEET IN PERSIAN

دوست عزیز ،

خواهش می‌کنم از این مأمور برای نوشتن اضمادات ، تغییرات
یا پیشنهاداتی که نسبت به مصاحبه ما دارید استفاده کنید . لطفاً این
ورقم را در پاکت ضمیمه به من پس بفرستید ، حتی اگر در آن چیزی
ننوشتید باشید . بار دیگر از وقت و توجه شما سپاسگزارم .

APPENDIX E
THANK YOU LETTER

THANK YOU LETTER

Azadeh Kheirkhah-Barr
U.T. Station
P.O. Box 16264
Knoxville, TN 37996
Date

Dear

I would like to extend my appreciation to you for participating in this study. I thank you for taking the time and energy to sincerely share your feelings and thoughts. With great hopes for an extension of awareness on Iranian people's experience of immigration, I thank you again for your generous offerings.

Sincerely,

Azadeh Kheirkhah-Barr

APPENDIX F
SAMPLE INTERVIEWS

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SAMPLE INTERVIEWS

The following is a section of a randomly selected interview with a member of the older group:

Int- I would like to ask you first about your family relationships. Tell me about your relationships.

Sub- I don't understand what you mean.

Int- How are your relationships?

Sub- Our relationships have always been very intimate. Just like we were in Iran. We haven't changed.

Int- Since the children, for example, have grown older and responsibilities have changed; what effect have these sorts of changes had on your relationships?

Sub- Of course, then the children were little and had a different kind of relationship with their parents and now that they have reached adulthood they are definitely going to have a different kind of relationship. And this is not a matter of yesterday and tomorrow. It is the case of history that there is always was between the old and the new. Children always(sic) don't count on their parents even though they respect them [parents], but they don't value their experiences much. This is issues are in our family too. We are not different.

Int- Do you think that these relationships have changed from Iran?

Sub- No, not for us. It is possible that there are some emotional problems because we are not near our brothers, sisters, family, friends, and our country. But I don't believe that these emotional problems have affected our relationship with our children. No.

Int- You were saying that there is a distance between the generations and that the children reach an age when they want to do everything themselves. Who has the most level on control in the family and has that source changed from Iran?

Sub- I don't know; judging about this matter. Of course in the past, in Iran other matters ruled. For example there the father was the "principal" of the family while he was alive. All of the financial income was his; the house, the land, and all. He was the "ruler." The children and everyone respected him. And anything he said was done. Of course those relationships have one hundred percent changed. But, I want to say that we still have kept those Persian thoughts and issues here; and have tried to keep them. We have approximately, not completely, kept those same issues here. You cannot see the "Gharb-zadegie" (west toxification) in our family as you can see in some others.

Int- So, generally your relationships are the same, with some differences which is the influence of the new culture (western).

Sub- Yes, yes.

Int- Are you satisfied with your current relationships?

Sub- With my children?

Int- Yes.

Sub- Of course I am satisfied. Yes, I am. I don't see any dissatisfaction. And most of it is because when children's personalities take form and shape, our children's formed in Iran and as a result this form will not change soon into a new one. . . .

The following is a section of a randomly selected interview with a member of the younger group:

Int- Tell me about your family and your relationships.

Sub- I don't understand which family.

Int- Your first family. For example when you came from Iran how was it and how is it now? how has it changed?

Sub- When I was in Iran because I was only fifteen (15) well, Dad and Mom could tell me to do this and to do that and anything they said was the "law." [the interview changed to English at this point] It was a totally different atmosphere. What money I saved they told me to spend on this or that. I was under full supervision. They told me for example so and so is ok to go out with and so and so is not. Specially after one year that I finished high school and went to UT and if I needed money I would just call and say I need so much money, put it in my account. It was totally "kosher." So far as who I hung around with or what I did with my time, it was all up to me. For example, one of the vivid things that comes to mind is toward the middle of fall quarter, football games were going on, Dad came here to my dorm room and my friend asked me if I could give him some whisky to take to the game . . . Dad didn't say anything. After that guy left he just said "as long as you keep up your grades and don't let it interfere with it, it is ok." So I got the feelings that anything and every thing was ok as long as my grades didn't suffer. So I did. When I went out with a girl for a long time I'd let them know about it and they'd be concerned. That has always been a concern for them. . . . So I kind of told them to get off my back and to leave me alone. And they did.

Int- So it was conflictual in that you were trying to be an adult and make your own decisions and they were still wanting to have an input.

Sub- Well, all parents are like that. That part of it was no different than what my wife's parents were doing to her. Her parents were telling her "no

don't go out with so and so" and you know she was going "I am in college, you can't tell me that." And so its all the same thing. That part of it I don't see a difference. Except that, there is a difference that, my Dad knowing that he was halfway cross the world never told me "not to" he would hint that "it would be more proper for this, proper for that."

. . . So I called up my Mom and Dad to get their permission to marry her. Dad said "look its all right with us so long as you wait fourty eight (48) hours and don't take any actions until then." I did-- that gave me enough time to think about it and to make a better decision. . . .

APPENDIX G
SIGNIFICANT STATEMENTS

SIGNIFICANT STATEMENTS

Significant statements were collected from older and younger subjects. Statements are listed under main themes of Family relationships, security, and self-concept. Each main theme is divided into a few sub-themes which refer to the questions in the Interview Question Outline. The sub-themes are presented in two groups of older and younger subjects.

FAMILY RELATIONSHIPS

Family Relationships

Older group

- We have become closer because of growth, time, and life styles.
- I have become closer with my husband because of our difficult experiences. With my children it has just changed form. Now I am close to them through my daughters-in-law.
- Our relationships haven't changed much. The change is "natural." It is the battle of the generations.
- We have always been close and our hardships have brought us closer.
- We have always been close and still are.
- Our relationships haven't changed much. We are physically apart so we may even be closer.
- With my husband we are much closer. With my children we are closer than before although it is hard for them to live between two cultures.

Younger group

- We are a lot closer. I have grown to believe in them.
- We are now closer since I have grown to an adult.
- We have become very distant. They don't understand me. It is "Persian vs. me."
- We have always been close. Since we are physically far it is hard to tell how we are now. I guess we are not all the way close either.
- We are closer. We have "mutual respect." I was a kid in Iran, but now we are all adults.

- We have a similar relationship to before. It is just different. It is adult to adult so in a way we are closer.

SECURITY

Next Year

Older group

- I have no plans for next year.
- I have no plans, even if I am living then.
- I have no plans.
- I have no plans.
- I have no plans.
- I don't think about it much.
- I have no definite plans.

Younger group

- I will be working and maybe school.
- I'll be back to school and I don't feel very good about it.
- I'll be in school.
- Next year I'll be graduating; I'll see my parents and decide where to live.
- I will have another job with another company; won't have a child or a home; will pay more debts; and hopefully find jobs for mom and dad.
- I will have a new home, a new job, and more time to read. Also I will be more financially stable and help my parents more.

Ideal Future

Older group

- To be with my children wherever.
- For my sons to live good lives.
- To live a comfortable and quiet life in a farm in Iran.
- For my children to marry and live close to me in Iran.
- To return to Iran.
- To live in Iran again. I'd like to die in Iran by my family.
- To have a free Iran so we can live there and travel to see our children a lot.

Younger group

- To be rich and to have Iran back to normal so we can visit.
- Wherever (70-80% in Iran), live in a large city, have my M.S., a good job, and live by my mother and brother.

- To be rich, famous, and powerful; live in Knoxville (U.S.); be happy; live with a person that I care about, but not be married.
- To live either in Switzerland or U.S., be independent, but close to my family, in a large city, work, and visit Iran.
- To have enough money to buy the happiness for my parents to live in the U.S. and be self-sufficient; help my wife set up her practice; have a better computer; and to finish my M.S..
- To live in a large city; travel to many countries; support my parents; and visit Iran.

Real Future

Older group

- Live in the U.S. with my children close by. Iran just won't be fixed in our life time.
- My kids are living good lives and for me I just don't know.
- Live in the U.S.. We have to make it here, there is no life for us in Iran.
- Same as the ideal future, but in the U.S..
- Temporarily life is in the U.S., it is hard here. Language, home, life, I can't start over.
- Temporarily in the U.S., I just have to make it, I can't start building again.
- In the U.S., making the best life possible.

Younger group

- Work, live in Florida.
- Real is close to the ideal just difficult and the Iran part I just don't know.
- Rich, powerful, in the U.S..
- Same as the ideal just needs work.
- I just can't count on any definite real future because things always change.
- I think I can reach my ideal I just have to really work on it.

Control Over the Future

Older group

- Personally I am still in control. Iran depends on the world's politics, as it has always.
- Personally I am in control. Iran is controlled by politicians. Both have stayed the same.

- In Iran I was in control. Now we just survive. I am not sure, probably I am still in control.
- We used to decide what happens, now we just have to make it.
- Iran is dependent on the world economics. Personally, since I want to go home, it is also dependent on the world economics. Other aspects are in my control.
- I used to feel much more involved and effective, now I don't. Iran is in the world's control. My life here though, is in my control.

Younger group

- I am in control. In Iran I was a child following rules. In some ways I liked it better before but truly I like it better now.
- I am in control as well as others. Iran, I was a kid and had no control. I like it better now.
- The control is definitely mine. In Iran I was a kid. I like this better now.
- Me in control now specially since last year's experience.
- 99% outside sources are in control. Too many variables: parents, wife, me, company, boss, the industry. I feel ok about it because it seems "fair."
- I am mostly in control, but also my husband and family.

SELF-CONCEPT

Personality in the United States compared to in Iran

Older group

- Yes, I am the same person plus much more worries and pain.
- I am more myself now than I was in Iran.
- I am definitely not the same, I worry much more, and I have aged. The move has affected my generation.
- I haven't changed at all, just more pain.
- I am more forgiving and have lower expectations.
- I am the same person, I have just lost hope. I can't be as active and productive as I was.
- I am the same person, I have held on to my strengths even though I am not as active as I was.

Younger group

- I am basically the same.
- I have changed a lot, much more competitive and I don't like this change.
- I have always been this way.
- I have become much more independent.
- No, I am not the same, I have grown and changed much.
- Basically yes, I am the same person. Yet I have worked and changed some things.

Feelings About the Changes in Personality

Older group

- I am satisfied with how I am, it is just hard adapting to the pain of our relatives and friends in Iran.
- I like myself better now than ever before.
- I cannot comment on it.
- I don't know, I just am, I want people to love me though.
- I like myself better now.
- I am not satisfied. I am in a state of shock.
- I like that I have kept my strengths, but I'd like to go back and be active and productive again.

Younger group

- I like myself. I think that I have mixed the two cultures.
- I am not fully satisfied with myself. I don't like the competition I have picked up here.
- I like me. I'd like to be more friendly. I like the changes. I have fit in really well.
- I like myself. There are no emotional qualities I would change except my temper. I like the changes.
- I feel very good about myself. I feel strong and able because of my growth.

VITA

Azadeh Kheirkhah Barr, "Nilly," was born in Tehran, Iran on February 26, 1963. Her parents, Reza Kheirkhah and Pari Moazed, her two sisters Parinaz and Parastoo and she lived in the suburbs of Tehran. Azadeh came to the United States in July 1979 at the age of sixteen. She finished her last year of high school at Harrison Chilhowee Baptist Academy, attended the English as a Second Language program at the University of Tennessee for three months and entered East Tennessee State University in Johnson City, Tennessee as a freshman in January 1981. In the Fall of 1982 Azadeh transferred back to the University of Tennessee where she received her Bachelor of Arts degree with a major in Human Services in June 1985. The Fall of 1984 was a significant time for Azadeh. Her parents and sister were finally able to join her sister and her in the United States after four years of fruitless efforts. Also at that time she met, became friends with and partners with Terry Barr, her husband. She began her graduate work at the University of Tennessee in the fall of 1985 in the Department of Educational and Counseling Psychology. Throughout graduate school Azadeh worked as a counselor for a federally funded program at the

University of Tennessee serving disadvantaged students. She did a total of one year internship at two community mental health centers. She is currently adjunct teaching at the Central Wesleyan College in South Carolina and is in the process of beginning work at a community mental health clinic in that area.