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HEBREW UNION COLLEGE - JEWISH INSTITUTE OF RELIGION
California School

UNIVERSITY OF SOUTHERN CALIFORNIA
(School of Public Administration)
(School of Social Work)

ACCULTURATION AND ASSIMILATION OF IRANIAN JEWS
IN LOS ANGELES: A QUANTITATIVE STUDY

A Thesis submitted in partial
fulfillment of the requirements
for the double degrees

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IN

JEWISH COMMUNAL SERVICE

and

MASTER OF PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION

MASTER OF SOCIAL WORK

by

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HEBREW UNION COLLEGE - JEWISH INSTITUTE OF RELIGION
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GLOSSARY

Baal Tshuvah. A "return" to traditional Jewish observance for those previously less observant.

Bar Mitzvah. Ceremony in which a 13 year old boy is called to read from the Torah (5 books of Moses) signifying the beginning of manhood.

Bat Mitzvah. Female equivalent of a Bar Mitzvah.

Hannukah. Holiday commemorating the rededication of the Temple by Judas Maccapaeus in 165 B.C.E.

Henna. A reddish-orange dye made from the leaves of a henna plant or tree, found in Asia and the Levant. The term is used here to refer to the Jewish ritual wedding engagement party which is held usually by families of Sephardic (North African or Spanish) and Persian origin.

Kashrut. Jewish dietary laws.

Kiddush. Prayer over the wine.

Matzoh. Traditional unleavened bread, mostly eaten on Passover.

Mezuzah. Small enclosure of a Jewish prayer (Shema) which is placed on the doorpost of a Jewish home.

Mikveh. Jewish ritual bath.

Passover. Celebration of the historic exodus of Jews from slavery in Egypt.

Purim. Celebration commemorating the deliverance of the Jews from a massacre in Ancient Persia.

Seder. Ceremonial feast of Passover.

Taanit Esther. Day of fasting prior to the Jewish holiday of Purim, especially in Iran.

Tisha B'Av. Solemn Jewish holiday commemorating the destruction of the Temple in Jerusalem.

Yom Kippur. Day of Atonement. The holiest day of the year for Jews.

ABSTRACT

Iranian Jews are a significant and growing group within the American Jewish community, particularly in Los Angeles. As a recent immigrant group, Iranian Jews are in the early stages of acculturation and assimilation into American life and Jewish life in America. This exploratory study is a quantitative investigation into these acculturation and assimilation patterns of Iranian Jews in Los Angeles.

A survey questionnaire in Farsi was sent to a random sampling of Iranian Jews on the Los Angeles Iranian Jewish Federation and Persian Hillel mailing lists. The results are summarized and analyzed vis a vis current theories on acculturation and assimilation and studies on Iranian Jews in America, particularly a recent Hebrew Union College qualitative thesis. The development and potential trends of the Iranian Jewish community in America as well as resulting implications for both the Iranian-American and American Jewish communities are discussed.

CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

The processes which occur as an immigrant group adjusts to its new environment are acculturation and assimilation. The term acculturation is used to describe a milder form of adjustment, while assimilation is reserved for more extreme adjustment.¹ An immigrant group, as all others have in the past, must to some extent transform and adapt its social and cultural practices and patterns to the new, larger society. Adjustments which enable a group to live as a distinct cultural/ethnic/religious group within the culture and context of the larger society can be minimal or extensive, intentional or unintentional. Whatever the nature and character of the process, acculturation is inevitable and unavoidable. The shedding of all group culture and identity, what would be labeled assimilation, would make the group and its individuals virtually indistinguishable from the society's majority group and culture. As the United States is a nation of immigrants, complete assimilation of a group is rare and difficult, especially for racially distinguishable immigrant and minority groups.

The authors' interest in the subject of Iranian Jewish acculturation and assimilation in the United States originated with one of the authors of this thesis. As an

Iranian Jewish immigrant herself, she was extremely interested in the experiences and process of adjustment and integration of Iranian Jews into American society, much of which she faced personally. Energized and spurred on by Ms. Balakhane's enthusiasm, awareness of the Iranian Jewish community as a substantial component within American Jewish life, and an interest in acculturation and sociological research, the authors formulated the subject of this study.

Iranian Jews are a vital and prominent group within the American Jewish community. This is especially evident in Los Angeles which is a major center for the Iranian Jewish population and culture in the United States. As a new immigrant group in the United States, Iranian Jews are faced with a new cultural, religious, and economic environment. This thesis is a quantitative investigation and evaluation of the acculturation and assimilation patterns of Iranian Jews in the United States, particularly Los Angeles. The data come from the results of a survey questionnaire which was developed and distributed to Iranian Jews in the Los Angeles area.

Academic interest in Iranian Jews and the Iranian Jewish community in the United States led to a thesis on the subject by Hebrew Union College students.² This thesis is intended to build and provide the quantitative detail on the observations and conclusions presented in the previous qualitative, ethnographic H.U.C. study.

Note: The terms "Iranian" and "Persian" are used virtually interchangeably. For example, Persian food and Iranian food have the same meaning. In some instances, using Persian instead of Iranian is intended to infer a historical context which includes more than just the 20th century. The language spoken in Iran is Farsi. All other foreign words in the text are underlined when they first appear and defined in the glossary.

NOTES

¹Nathan Rotenstreich, "Assimilation in the Contemporary Era," Forum 41, (Spring/Summer 1981): 1.

²Beth Collins, et al., "Family and Community Among Iranian Jews in Los Angeles" (Master's Thesis, Hebrew Union College - Jewish Institute of Religion and University of Southern California, 1986).

Chapter 2

RECENT THEORIES ON ACCULTURATION AND ASSIMILATION:

A BRIEF LITERATURE REVIEW

Extensive literature on the subjects of acculturation and assimilation has been produced in this century. This literature review will scan only the most recent theories of acculturation and assimilation which seem best to set the context within which to study the subject of this analysis, the acculturation and assimilation of Iranian Jews in the United States, particularly in Los Angeles. The examination of some of these theories enabled the authors to get a glimpse of and learn from the acculturation and assimilation processes experienced by other groups who have recently come to the U.S.

The Path to Current Theories

A survey of the literature indicates that sociologists in this field tend to agree that recent acculturation and assimilation theories have evolved from earlier theories whose authors got their impetus from the cultural awareness movement of the 1960s. Prior to the '60s the study of acculturation and assimilation fell largely into the traditional models of Anglo-Conformity, Melting Pot, and Cultural Pluralism.¹

These perspectives incorporated one major theme which attempted to answer the questions which were most often raised by the particular historical circumstances of the time. Current theories of acculturation and assimilation seem to have generally maintained this pattern of being situation specific and post-hoc explanations.

Other characteristics of the theories of the '60s include the relatively unstructured nature of these models which caused most of them to shade into one another. One school of thought argues that the scientific utility of these models was further diluted by the fact that the models' major themes were presented as equally applicable to all groups. Another criticism of these theories is that these models fail to view assimilation adequately as a process, rather than as an end result. Thus, the creators of these models were prevented from being able to specify how the key elements would operate in the assimilation process. This operational factor is currently considered to be a key indicator of a theory's level of utility.²

Later empirical models attempted to explain the cultural and behavioral patterns of later-generation ethnics. Three broad categories of such models have been classified as straight-line assimilation (assimilating, by some),³ the continued viability of ethnic groups as the bearers of cultural tradition,⁴ and resurgence in the third and later generations.⁵

The straight-line assimilation approach is premised on

the assumption that the first-generation immigrant adheres to the traditional value and behavioral patterns of the group, and is, thus, more ethnic than subsequent generations of the immigrant group. The approach states that ethnic solidarity will erode when there is movement into later generations, representing increasing distance from the most concentrated source of ethnic culture, identity, and social relationships.⁶

Straight-line assimilationists emphasize the importance of class, as opposed to ethnicity, as a determinant of values, interests, and group life. As immigrants have experienced upward social mobility in the second but mostly third generations, they have begun interacting with other Americans of diverse ethnic, class, and religious origins. The immigrants ability to relate to and share many of the same values and interests as these other Americans helped to make the immigrants more susceptible to acculturation and assimilation.⁷

The continued viability of ethnic groups approach differs most significantly from the straight-line assimilationist approach in the sense that it assigns a greater role to ethnicity and concludes that in private circles of primary group attachments immigrants prefer to associate with others like themselves. According to this approach those of like religion and ethnicity provide a group of people from which an individual may choose compatible others for intimate and trusting

relationships.⁸

Greeley concurred with Marcus Hansen's law regarding ethnic resurgence in the third and later generations. Hansen's law states:

...whenever any immigrant group reaches the third generation stage in its development, a spontaneous and almost irresistible impulse arises which forces the thought of many people of different professions, different points of view to interest themselves in that one factor which they have in common - the heritage of blood.⁹

Glazer and Daniel Patrick Moynihan elaborated on Glazer's hypothesis that Hansen's law was not based on a sense of nationhood, but rather on a combination of nostalgia and ideologies as the basis for asserting common interests. Their conclusions underscore the group identity and political role of ethnicity.¹⁰

The pre-'60s studies of acculturation and assimilation focused largely on the attitudes of the majority culture towards the minority. In contrast, the theorists of the '60s, as well many from the '70s, began to report that the minorities had to go through some changes and adjustments prior to acceptance by the majority. In addition, the post-'60s period was one in which the studies of acculturation and assimilation expanded from focusing primarily on Blacks and Jews to include Asians, Hispanics, American Indians, Cubans and Indochinese refugees. These groups became more prevalent topics of discussion on acculturation and assimilation, because they experienced

heightened cultural awareness.¹¹

Recent Theories

Some sociologists have concluded that the cumulative experiences of the Cubans and Indochinese refugees in the United States have served as the basis for most modern acculturation theories. These groups have not necessarily evolved ways to accommodate their old culture and their newly acquired culture and, thus, have had to learn quickly the ways of the new society.¹²

From these experiences have developed a series of approaches to studying acculturation and assimilation. Some of the more prominent ones include Goldlust and Richmond's multivariate model,¹³ Kim's communications model,¹⁴ Szapocznik, Scapetta, Kurtines, and Arnalde's behaviors/values model,¹⁵ Padilla's cultural awareness/ethnic loyalty model,¹⁶ and Smither's socioanalytic model.¹⁷

Goldlust and Richmond attempted to determine the factors which most often influenced the acculturation process. The authors measured over 2500 immigrants to Canada on various demographic variables such as level of income in Canada compared with level of income in their native country, parents' occupation, age, and loyalty to Canadian sports teams vs. native sports teams. Goldlust and Richmond concluded from their results that education

and length of residence in Canada were the most successful predictors of acculturation.¹⁸

Kim's communications model is a theory of acculturation which he developed based on four primary aspects of human communication: intrapersonal, interpersonal, mass media behavior, and communication environment. Kim takes a personological approach, rather than focusing on the society in which the person lives. Kim identifies and describes individual variables, such as cognitive structure, self-image, motivation, and choice of media, within the context of the aforementioned aspects of human communication. Kim concludes that acculturation will be influenced by the level at which these variables function.¹⁹

In the behaviors/values model of Szapocznik et al., an important distinction is made between the behaviors of the minority and their values. These authors found that while behavior of minorities will adjust rather quickly to meet survival needs, these same people's values tend to change much more slowly. In their model, acculturation is a function of the length of time a person is exposed to the host culture as well as the age and sex of the individual.²⁰

Padilla's culture awareness/ethnic loyalty model hones in on the preference of the person for the majority culture or minority culture as well as the effects of that preference on the acculturation process. Padilla concludes

that five dimensions which are important in determining acculturation include language familiarity, cultural heritage, ethnic pride and identity, interethnic interaction, and interethnic distance. The author's empirical studies indicate that cultural awareness is the more general component of acculturation while ethnic loyalty is more tenuous.²¹

Smither's socioanalytic model of acculturation is derived from the personality theories of Hogan²² and focuses on the role structure of the individual within the society. In the context of the socioanalytic model, acculturation is defined as the process by which minorities learn to perform those roles which are valued by the majority.

Specifically, socioanalytic theory concentrates on the specific qualities of "character structure" which relate to an individual's understanding of what is expected of him or her, as well as his or her ability to meet those expectations.²³ The seven skills necessary for successful role performance in American culture which will have a direct effect on the ability and the willingness of an individual to acculturate include; intellect, adjustment, prudence, assertiveness, likeability, sociability, and ego control.²⁴

Smither concludes that the closer the character and role structure of the minority to the majority, the easier the process of acculturation. The author underscores the

point that similarities in character structure will probably override demographic variables.²⁵

In another study by Smither in which he analyzed a sample of Vietnamese refugees, he and his co-author found personality factors to be better predictors of the willingness to acculturate than the demographic variables of age, level of education, and time spent in the country. A knowledge of the host language, for example, might help to facilitate the process of acculturation, but personality factors and their effect on role structure will be more important, according to their study, to the overall process.²⁶

There is a school of thought, however, which maintains that an essential part of the adaptation process (which is part of the larger processes of acculturation and assimilation) for many Vietnamese refugees is acquisition of the host language. At the same time, proponents of that school of thought also tend to concede that the most recent of these refugees are more and more familiar with American culture and language prior to their departure than were earlier waves of Vietnamese arrivals to the U.S.²⁷ The relative degree of importance in the acculturation and assimilation process of acquiring the host language appears to remain open for further research and discussion.

Examining other elements of the adaptation process of Vietnamese refugees might shed light on the experiences of other recent refugee and immigrant groups to America, such

as Soviet Jews. While recognizing that there are clear differences between the two groups, Steven Gold found that there are strong similarities between Vietnamese refugees and Soviet Jews in the San Francisco Bay Area.²⁸

Similarities between the two include the fact that both groups arrived in the Bay Area during the same historical period, from the mid-'70s to the present. It follows that both groups are currently in the early stages of adaptation and the processes of acculturation and assimilation. Both are recipients of the same government-sponsored refugee aid. Both have high proportions who are white-collar workers and educated. Both groups encountered political repression and corruption in their countries of origin and are interested in, yet unfamiliar with a democratic system of government.²⁹

All of these characteristics of Vietnamese refugees and Soviet Jews appear to be applicable to and descriptive of many Iranian Jews who have recently arrived in this country. The question of whether or not any of the same conclusions can be drawn for Iranian Jews as Gold does regarding Vietnamese refugees and Soviet Jews, such as his conclusion that there is a trend towards rapid assimilation among these two groups, will be discussed later in this study.³⁰

Although the authors have taken the liberty of discussing these three groups in a comparative mode, a panel of experts on Iran in Boston discerned that Iranian

Jews in that metropolitan community in Massachusetts "did not like to compare themselves with Soviet Jews, whom they considered beggars." However, when they did make the comparison, "they would always conclude that the Soviet Jews were afforded a better treatment."³¹

As part of the beginning of the acculturation and assimilation process, interactions with resettlement agencies appear to be a source of difficulties for all three groups, Vietnamese refugees, Soviet Jews, and Iranian Jews. Gold found that Vietnamese refugees and Soviet Jews are

confused in their interactions with resettlement staff and frequently find themselves subjected to unfamiliar demands, prying questions, inappropriate stereotypes, and negative replies to their most pressing requests.³²

Members of both groups tend to use coping mechanisms to deal with these difficulties, some of which are employed to help minimize what they perceive as denigrating advice given to them by various agencies.³³

Similarly, there appears to be a tendency among Iranian Jews in this country to feel that asking for help from agencies, even if they are Jewish agencies, is a blow to their egos and an affront to their sense of self. According to the same Iranian Jews, "Only the lowest levels of Iranian society would ever have to ask for help."³⁴

At the same time, however, Iranian Jews in Los Angeles now live as part of a larger Jewish community which is grounded in a communal orientation.³⁵ Many professionals

in the Jewish communal structure of Los Angeles, including Iranians, as well as other members of the local Iranian Jewish community, have identified several areas in which service delivery from various Jewish organizations would be beneficial to the Iranian Jewish community. Since communal life is, in the eyes of Iranian Jews, also viewed as a source of gaining respect and status in the community,³⁶ there appears to be potential for a greater willingness among Iranian Jews to accept assistance from the community as they struggle with the tensions of acculturation.

Finally, another area of interest briefly examined by this study's authors revolves around the rates of intermarriage and divorce among Iranian Jews in America. Although the data are currently scarce in this area, the suspicion among influential members of the Iranian Jewish community in Los Angeles is that a growing number of people in their community are, indeed, unfortunate victims of not only intermarriage and divorce, but also domestic violence and suicide.³⁷

These are areas which demand confrontation and, thus, extensive research in an attempt to better identify the nature and degree of these problems. The results of such studies might have sobering implications regarding some of the service delivery needs of Iranian Jews who are trying to cope with and adapt to their new life in America.

NOTES

¹Milton M. Gordon, Assimilation in American Life (New York: Oxford University Press, 1964), 88-159.

²James A. Crispino, The Assimilation of Ethnic Groups (Staten Island, NY: Center for Migration Studies, 1980), 7-9.

³Gordon, 60-68; Herbert Gans, The Urban Villagers (New York: The Free Press, 1962), 230-242; Neil Sandberg, Ethnic Identity and Assimilation: The Polish Community (New York: Praeger, 1973), 68.

⁴Andrew Greeley, Ethnicity in the United States (New York: John Wiley and Sons, 1974), 27.

⁵Eugene Bender and George Kagiwoda, "Hansen's Law of 'Third-Generation Return' and the Study of American Religio-Ethnic Groups," Phylon 29 (Winter 1968): 360-370.

⁶Gordon, 60-68; Gans, 230-242; and Sandberg, 68.

⁷Ibid.

⁸Greeley, 27.

⁹In Crispino, 13.

¹⁰Nathan Glazer and Daniel Patrick Moynihan, Beyond the Melting Pot (Cambridge, Mass.: The MIT Press, 1964), xxxiv-xxxvi.

¹¹Robert Smither, "Human Migration and the Acculturation of Minorities," Human Relations 35 (1982): 61.

¹²Ibid.

¹³J. Goldlust and A.H. Richmond, "A Multivariate Model of Immigrant Adaptation," International Migration Review 8 (1974): 193-216.

¹⁴Y.Y. Kim, "Toward an Interactive Theory of Communication-Acculturation," In Communication Yearbook 3 (New Brunswick, New Jersey: Transaction Books, 1979).

¹⁵J. Szapocznik, et al., "Theory and Measurement of Acculturation," Interamerican Journal of Psychology 12 (1978): 113-130.

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¹⁶A.M. Padilla, "The Role of Cultural Awareness and Ethnic Loyalty in Acculturation," In A.M. Padilla (Ed.), Acculturation: Theory, Models, and Some New Findings (Boulder, Colorado: Westview Press, 1980).

¹⁷Smither, 63-66.

¹⁸Goldlust and Richmond, 193-216.

¹⁹Kim.

²⁰Szapocznik, et al., 113-130.

²¹Padilla.

²²Smither, 63.

²³Ibid.

²⁴W.T. Norman, "Toward an Adequate Taxonomy of Personality Attributes." Journal of Abnormal and Social Psychology 66 (1965): 574-583.

²⁵Smither, 65.

²⁶Ibid.

²⁷Liem T. Nguyen and Alan Henkin, "Vietnamese Refugees in the United States: Transitional Adaptation and Status." The Journal of Ethnic Studies 9 (1984): 101-116.

²⁸Steven J. Gold, Refugee Communities: Soviet Jews and Vietnamese in the San Francisco Bay Area. Ph.D. Dissertation (University of California, Berkeley, 1985): 5.

²⁹Ibid.

³⁰Ibid., 303.

³¹David Mladinov, "Iranian Jewish Organization: The Integration of an Emigre Group into the American Jewish Community." Journal of Jewish Communal Service 58 (1981): 248.

³²Gold, 201.

³³Ibid., 201-202.

³⁴Mladinov, 247.

³⁵Neil M. Sandberg, Jewish Life in Los Angeles (Lanham, MD: University Press of America, 1986), 176.

NOTES (Continued)

³⁶Beth Collins, et al., Family and Community Among Iranian Jews in Los Angeles Master's Thesis (Hebrew Union College - Jewish Institute of Religion and University of Southern California, Los Angeles, 1986): 189.

³⁷Leo Noonan and Sharion Nazarian, "America Isn't the Answer for the Newest Iranians." The Jewish Journal of Greater Los Angeles 23 (August 21-27, 1987): 10.

CHAPTER 3

METHODOLOGY

The acculturation and assimilation patterns of Iranian Jews in the United States are complex. As strongly identifying Persian Jews, they bring both a distinctive national and religious tradition and identity to America. The authors' interest in the Jewish component led to an investigation into the acculturation and assimilation of Iranian Jews into Jewish life and American life, as well as the relationship between the two.

Some of the major questions that the authors asked were in what ways Iranian Jews are becoming Americanized, and how are they involving themselves in Jewish life? Would patterns be discovered which show that Iranian Jews are altering their Jewish practices and affiliations to more of an American Jewish model, or are they adhering to their Persian Jewish traditions? Does assimilation into American life necessarily lead to a decline in Jewish observance and participation?

The existence of a sizable and significant Iranian population in Los Angeles, both Jewish and non-Jewish, adds an important component to the acculturation and assimilation process of Iranian Jews. The numerous Persian restaurants, clubs, celebrations, television and radio programs, etc., are all indications of the existence of a strong Persian culture within Los Angeles. Thus, Iranian

Jews have readily available to them the opportunity to maintain their Persian culture much more so than if they lived in an area devoid of Iranians.

Along with investigating the situation and relationship among the dependent variables (acculturation and assimilation into American and Jewish life), certain independent variables and their effects will also be analyzed. Most of the independent variables are the demographic and background factors of Iranian Jews. Education, occupation, Jewishness within Iran, gender, age, year of immigration, etc., are examples of independent variables. The types of inquiries that can be made using the data on independent variables include what effects age and gender have on assimilation, and if Iranian Jews who immigrated at a younger age become acculturated more quickly in the United States.

The previous discussion highlighted the data that was to be gathered and analyzed -- the acculturation and assimilation patterns of Iranian Jews into American life and Jewish life, demographic and background factors, and the relationships among both dependent and independent variables. The instrument that was used to compile the survey research data was an original questionnaire.

Survey Questionnaire

The questionnaire was designed to gather data on the demography, background, Jewishness, and acculturation and assimilation of Iranian Jews in the United States.

Demography and Background

Demographic and background information is relatively straightforward to formulate for a questionnaire. Age, marital status, city of birth, city of longest residence, age when one immigrated, are examples of demographic facts that were asked (see Appendix; Pages 1-2 of the survey). Also, education and occupation in Iran, as well as proficiency at Farsi, English, and French were asked (Pages 3-5, 7).

The demographic and background data will serve as a major component in the creation of a picture of the respondents as individuals and in the aggregate. Some of these variables are strictly for informational purposes, however, others will be used as independent factors in the analysis on acculturation and assimilation in the United States. Age and gender are examples of variables which will be used for descriptive and analytic purposes.

Jewishness

The issue of measuring the variables of Jewishness, acculturation and assimilation, is an entirely different

matter from demographics and background. There are no simple or direct questions which can determine the Jewishness or acculturation of an individual. Instead, a series of questions must be framed which can lead to an informed estimation or evaluation of these variables.

The complex and pluralistic nature of Judaism makes the variable Jewishness difficult to measure. The approach chosen was to distinguish between the respondent's home observance and communal participation.

For the home, the respondents were asked to indicate whether they observed a list of fourteen Jewish rituals or customs in Iran. Most of the choices were household-type rituals, or more private, individualistic ones. The list was a hybrid of a few questionnaires on individual's Jewishness which were evaluated and formed into one list.

The list of Jewish observances was duplicated later in the questionnaire for the United States (there were some additions to the list which will be discussed later). With identical lists and responses for Jewish observance in Iran and the U.S., the authors hoped to not only learn the stated level and nature of observance in both Iran and the U.S., but to compare the two for any significant changes. It could be discovered if Jewish observance had decreased or increased between Iran and the U.S. overall, and for specific observances. The lists were also consciously separated in the questionnaire (pg. 6 and pg. 12) to minimize the effect that the respondents' answers to

observance in Iran had on their answers for the U.S.

To gather Jewish communal data, the respondents were asked to list up to ten Jewish organizations in which they (and their spouse if applicable) were active in Iran. The question was later duplicated for involvement in Jewish organizations in the U.S. The degree of involvement was tested by asking whether or not the respondents held office in any of the organizations they listed. The section for America also included a question as to which organizations the respondent had donated to over the past five years. Similar to Jewish observances, Jewish communal involvement in Iran and the U.S. could be determined and compared. The method utilized to analyze and compare these data is described in the upcoming section on coding.

A final area of inquiry into the Jewishness of the respondent was with education. The amount and type of Jewish education the respondent (and spouse) received in Iran was asked (pg. 3), and the opportunity to relay similar information about their children's Jewish education in the U.S. was also possible (pg. 15).

Acculturation and Assimilation

Measuring acculturation and assimilation is even more nebulous than measuring Jewishness. Observing a Jewish ritual is rather concrete when compared to observing the often intangible characteristics of acculturation. For the survey research, there was a three-pronged approach

designed to investigate and measure acculturation and assimilation of Iranian Jews in the United States. The three elements were lifestyle, "American" observances, and values questions.

The lifestyle section of the questionnaire deals with the primary personal associations and cultural milieu in which the respondent lives in America. As a new immigrant group, it is expected that Iranian Jews would remain strongly linked to their cultural traditions and in-group. However, the openness and often enticing nature of American society will lead to a disruption in the closed circle of even the tightest minority group.

The lifestyle questions involve the primary language used with parents, children, and friends, who most of the respondent's friends are, and who they usually date, if single. Other lifestyle questions investigate the food, entertainment, shopping, and use of service professionals of the respondent (pgs. 10-11).

The responses to this section can be used as a microcosm of the acculturation process of an individual respondent, a sub-group of Iranian Jews, or Iranian Jews as a whole. Is there widespread or minimal association of Iranian Jews outside of their in-group? Are Iranian Jews acculturating with American food and entertainment in their daily lives? Is this occurring more for younger Iranian Jews? Females? Longer U.S. residents?

The questions which fall into the category "American

observances" include inquiries into American customs and Iranian customs (pgs. 12-13). The goal was to determine the level and nature of Iranian Jewish participation in American customs and traditions, and adherence to Persian and Persian Jewish customs and traditions in America.

For Persian and Persian Jewish issues, some of the customs and traditions were listed which are not observed or practiced in American culture, i.e. Iranian New Year, eating rice and nuts during Passover, exchanging gold at a wedding engagement. Most of the Persian Jewish customs fall within a non-European Jewish tradition, the minority American Jewish tradition.

Conversely, the American customs asked about, some of which were American Jewish customs, were activities which were not observed or practiced in Iran, i.e. Thanksgiving Dinner, Bat Mitzvahs, having an American Rabbi lead a marriage ceremony.

Some Iranian Jews interviewed for the previous Hebrew Union College thesis on this subject, felt that Iranian Jews seemed to be celebrating and participating in American customs in addition to the retention of Iranian customs. This set of questions on American observances addressed this issue of acculturation and assimilation as it relates to Iranian and American customs, including Jewish.

The final element in the approach to investigating acculturation and assimilation patterns were values questions. The last section of the questionnaire, pages

16-17, is a list of twenty Likert item questions in which respondents were asked to indicate whether they strongly agree, agree, disagree, or strongly disagree (except for questions 57 and 58 where answers call for a numbered response).

A very significant indicator of an individual or group's acculturation is the type and extent to which they profess and adhere to the new society's values. The questions asked were phrased with a clear value-base. Being aware of the predominant values Iranian culture stressed, it would be possible to evaluate the nature of the respondents adherence to Iranian values in the U.S., and amount of shift away from Iranian values towards "American values".

Some traditional Iranian values which became formulated into questions involve the role and freedom of women, the marrying of a daughter, closeness of Iranian families, parental control over children, and the disgrace and rarity of divorce wherein women are usually blamed.

Included in the values section are questions relating to interdating and intermarriage. As a recent immigrant group, intergroup relationships are uncommon which is usual for a first generation. However, there is concern within the Iranian Jewish community as with other groups, that interdating and intermarriage is a threat to the structure and continuity of Iranian Jewish life, and the younger Iranian Jews are becoming open to intergroup relationships.

The values question on this issue provided the opportunity to investigate the attitudes Iranian Jews hold towards interdating and intermarriage. Because Iranian Jews are a distinct national and religious group, what are their attitudes towards dating or marrying American Jews?

Language of Survey Questionnaire/Translation

Some comments are necessary about the survey questionnaire being in Farsi, and the process of how it was translated. The questionnaire was first written in English, but was mailed to the sample population in Farsi. A Farsi survey was used for purposes of consistency and as only one form of our survey could be sent out, Farsi was the most commonly understood language of the sample population.

To assure that questions were translated into Farsi with the correct and full intent, one person translated the questionnaire from English to Farsi, and then a different person translated it from Farsi back to English. The original English version was compared with the English that was the result of the translation process. The differences were noted and then the Farsi version was adjusted to match original intent. For the purposes of objectivity, the two interpreters were unrelated to the study.

Sample Population

The survey questionnaire was sent to individuals whose names came from one of two mailing lists. The sample frame was thus the mailing lists of the Iranian Jewish Federation and Persian Hillel, both of Los Angeles. From each list a random sample of slightly over 200 individuals using random numbers was taken. The goal was to send surveys to 200 individuals from each list, once checked for duplicates and errors.

The use of these two lists was intended to provide as much of a representative sampling of Iranian Jews in Los Angeles as was available and possible. The combination of the student and young adult organization of Persian Hillel with the predominantly middle-age and older adult list of the Iranian Jewish Federation was used to provide a good cross-sampling of the Iranian Jewish community in L.A. Respondents would then be varied as to age, economic status, immigrant experience, background, etc., and valid data on the acculturation patterns of Iranian Jews would be received.

Even though a random sampling from the two mailing lists was used, there still existed some inherent limitations and biases in the sample. The fact that mailing lists from Iranian Jewish organizations were used automatically decreased the population universe from which the authors were sampling. In other words, all Iranian

Jews who lived in the Los Angeles area did not have an equal chance of being selected for the survey.

Furthermore, those most unlikely to be on the mailing lists were those who were more distanced from organized Iranian Jewish life. Having one's name on the Iranian Jewish Federation or Persian Hillel list indicates there is some connection to these organizations and to organized Jewish life. This would definitely be more true with individuals on the Iranian Jewish Federation list because they choose to receive an Iranian Jewish publication, and thus involve themselves at least minimally in Iranian Jewish life.

On the other hand, the Persian Hillel list is much more broad based and inclusive due to its purpose of engaging and involving as many Iranian Jews as possible. As opposed to the Iranian Jewish Federation list, an individual could have his/her name on the Persian Hillel list through unintentioned means and never participate in any Persian Hillel or other Jewish activities.

Some individuals on these lists are undoubtedly very active and involved in organizations and Jewish life (one of the authors of this study is on both of the lists), while others are only nominally affiliated. The presence of one's name on the mailing lists does not necessarily indicate a high level of involvement. The most that can be said about many of the individuals on the mailing lists is that they are not completely or technically unaffiliated.

Because the sample comes from Iranian Jewish organizations, will it mean that the results will be skewed, decreasing the study's external validity and generalizability? The answer in part is yes due to some of the reasons already discussed. The extent to which involvement in Iranian Jewish organizations and Jewish life is imbalanced in the sample cannot be precisely measured. However, the authors will be aware of its possibility in the analysis. Sample skewing seems minimized for a few reasons.

First, as a tightly knit recent immigrant group to the United States, the large Iranian Jewish Federation and Persian Hillel lists would tend to capture a large portion and fair representative sample of the community. Assimilation of Iranian Jews would not be at such an advanced state that many Iranian Jews would be outside the purview of organizations such as the Iranian Jewish Federation and Persian Hillel. Second, the inclusive and outreach nature of Persian Hillel and its mailing list would include more "unaffiliated" type individuals who would thus be part of our sample, balancing the Jewish involvement factor.

Coding the Responses

Coding returned surveys for statistical analysis was mostly an uncomplicated step. Since the majority of the

questions were close-ended (yes-no, choice of two or more answers given, etc.) the boxed or finite answers were translated to a number code. Here are two examples: Question number 4 reads; "In what year did you move to the U.S.?" Whatever year the respondent answered was used as the code number, ie. 1975, 75 was used. Question number 5 is:

What are your long range plans?

Stay in the U.S. permanently	[]
Go back to Iran soon	[]
Go back to Iran someday	[]
Move to another country	[]
Other	[]

The code was 1-Stay in the U.S. permanently, 2-Go back to Iran soon, 3-Go back to Iran someday, 4-Move to another country and 5-Other.

Most of the questions follow in the above patterns. However, there were questions in which special codes were devised. Some of these questions were more open-ended where the respondent's answer could vary significantly. Examples of these are for occupation and organizations.

For both of these issues, the responses were coded in a consistent, structured form. Occupations were coded under Owner/Manager, Professional, Clerical, Sales, and Other, with the specific occupations falling within the general categories.

Jewish organizational involvement was asked for both Iran and the United States, and a similar code was created to organize the responses and structure comparison. The categories of organizations were:

- 100 - Iranian-American Jewish*
- 200 - American-Jewish
- 300 - Student/Youth
- 400 - Charity
- 500 - Israel oriented
- 600 - Baal Tshuvah*
- 700 - Social
- 800 - Synagogue
- 900 - Non-Jewish

*Applicable in the United States only

Tabulating the responses into these categories will enable an overall picture of involvement in Jewish organizations in Iran and the U.S. to be viewed (some gave non-Jewish organizations). Comparisons as far as shifts in communal involvement for Iranian Jews in Iran and the U.S. could also be easily analyzed with this code.

The statistics package SYSTAT was used in the data entry, tabulations, and statistical analysis.

CHAPTER 4

RESULTS

Profile of Survey Respondents

Response Rate

22.9 percent, or 89 of the 389 survey recipients completed and returned the questionnaire. For this type of survey research, a response rate of 22.9 percent would be considered low.¹ The low response rate may be an indication 1) of the unfamiliarity of the recipients with surveys and Western social science and 2) that the survey's length discouraged its completion.

The authors anticipated and addressed the unfamiliarity factor by including two cover letters. One was in English from the authors, and the other was in Farsi from the Iranian Jewish Federation (IJF). The second letter expressed the importance of the study to the local Iranian Jewish community from the perspective of the organized Iranian Jewish community, and encouraged the survey recipients to complete the questionnaire. The IJF assisted the authors further by placing an ad in their publication urging those who received the survey to complete and return it. (Appendix)

There is a possibility that the positive, encouraging

effect that this letter and ad may have had on some recipients may have had a negative, discouraging effect on others. Those survey recipients who have a positive image or who have had positive experiences with the IJF might have tended to complete the survey more than those with a different, less positive view of the IJF. Those who read the IJF publication closely might have seen and been influenced by the ad. Also, a return envelope with postage stamps was provided to help influence the completion and return of the survey.

The low response rate raises the issue of whether the survey respondents are representative of first, the mailing lists of the IJF and Persian Hillel, and second, the overall Iranian Jewish population in Los Angeles. Due to the low response rate the issue of representativeness should be kept in mind when reviewing all of the survey results.

Representativeness

With respect to the respondents' representativeness of the two mailing lists, gender was the only information that could be known about the survey recipients, and the respondents seem to be representative of this ratio. The percentage of respondents who are male (and female) indicates that the respondents tend to be representative of the gender split which exists in these two organizations.

From a random sample of the two mailing lists approximately 65 percent of those who both received the survey and responded to the survey are male. These results are not precise because 3 percent of the recipients' mailing labels had both a male and a female addressee and, thus, the respondent's gender is not known in these instances. Also, there is no way to be certain that the addressee was the person who actually responded to the survey, although they were instructed to do so in the cover letter.

Of all of the female respondents, 74.2 percent were from the Persian Hillel list. Thus, a female survey recipient was much more likely to respond to the survey if she belonged to Persian Hillel, rather than the IJF. Of all of the males who responded to the survey the split between the two mailing lists was less dramatic.

Table 1

Respondents' Gender by Mailing List

	<u>Iranian Jewish Federation</u>	<u>Persian Hillel</u>	<u>Total</u>
Male	54.4% (31)	45.6% (26)	100% (57)
Female	25.8 (8)	74.2 (23)	100% (31)
(Missing)		(1)	(1)

($\chi^2 < .05$)

Table 1 illustrates the significant gender difference that exists in the return of the surveys from the two mailing lists. Caution should be taken, however, due to the low response rate and minimal numbers of respondents in

certain categories.

Other than gender, no characteristics of the people on the two mailings lists are immediately observable. Another potential source of comparison for measuring the representativeness of the survey respondents to the entire mailing lists is the general knowledge gained about these two organizations from the recent qualitative study done on the Iranian Jewish community in Los Angeles.² However, the descriptions in this study of the IJF and Persian Hillel focused more on the characteristics of the organizations' structure, activities, and role in the Iranian Jewish community, rather than on the characteristics of the people on the organizations' mailing lists. Thus, without a tool for comparison, the representativeness of the survey respondents to all of the people on the mailing lists is, at best, difficult to measure.

While reviewing more of the demographic and background characteristics of the survey respondents, the authors will explore the level of representativeness of this sample to the total Iranian Jewish population in Los Angeles.

Age

Most of the people in the sample are under 35 years old, and this is especially apparent and significant among

the female respondents. 62.5 percent, or 55 of the respondents are between 20 and 35 years old, while the remaining 37.5 percent, or 33 respondents range from 36 years old to 73 years old. (The authors divide the age of the respondents into these two cohorts to be used as independent variables against which to measure dependent variables later in the study.)

This result is probably reflective of the fact that 56.2 percent of the respondents are from the student/young adult Persian Hillel list and, thus, the respondents are more likely to be younger than those from the IJF list. The question arises and remains open for further research as to whether the percentage of this sample which is under 35 years of age is representative of the entire Iranian Jewish population in Los Angeles.

Among the spouses of the respondents 50 percent are between the ages of 19 and 36, and the remaining 50 percent are between the ages of 39 and 69.

Since more of the females who responded to the survey were from the Persian Hillel list, a very high percentage of the females who responded are 35 years old and under. Specifically, 80.65 percent of the females who responded are under the age of 35, while the remaining 19.35 percent are over 35 years old. The male respondents are very balanced between the two age groups. (see Table 2)

Table 2

Respondents' Age by Gender

	<u>35 Years Old and Under</u>	<u>Over 35 Years Old</u>	<u>Total</u>
Male	52.6% (30)	47.4% (27)	100% (57)
Female	80.65% (25)	19.35% (6)	100% (31)
(Missing)			(1)

($x^2 < .05$)

Examining the same data in a different way reveals that a very small percentage of those respondents over 35 years old are female.

Table 3

Respondents' Gender by Age

	<u>Male</u>	<u>Female</u>	<u>Total</u>
35 Years Old and Under	54.5% (30)	45.5% (25)	100% (55)
Over 35 Years Old	81.8% (27)	18.2% (6)	100% (33)
(Missing)			(1)

($x^2 < .05$)

These data are critical in relation to the survey's representativeness and generalizability. The number and percentage of women over 35 years of age is glaringly low. Women over 35 years of age are not as well represented in the mailing lists of the Iranian Jewish Federation and Persian Hillel as they would be in other organizations, like the Iranian Jewish Women's Organization. Most

crucial, however, is that women over 35 years old will be extremely under-represented when compared to the general Iranian Jewish population in Los Angeles.

Middle-aged and older Iranian Jewish women in the aggregate possess certain characteristics which will be missing from our sample and results. Iranian Jewish women over 35 tend generally to know less English, have received less education, and have a higher illiteracy rate than those Iranian Jewish women under 35 years old. This would probably make the older cohorts less assimilable. The females in this study, most of whom are under 35 years of age, are probably more susceptible and more open of their own free will to the influences of assimilation.

The results of the survey may, thus, be skewed further by the minimal representation of women over 35 years of age. This factor is important to remember, especially when the age and/or gender of the respondents is measured against other variables, both dependent and independent.

Immigration

More of the respondents came to the U.S. in 1978 and 1979 than at any other time, and those who came at that time represented a wide age range.

48.8 percent, or 43 of the respondents immigrated to the United States in 1978 and 1979, the period of the

revolution in Iran. Of the remaining respondents 28.4 percent or 25 came to America between 1980 and 1987, while 22.7 percent, or 21 arrived in the U.S. between 1958 and 1977.

Among the respondents who immigrated to the U.S. in 1978 and 1979, 52 percent, or 22 of them were 21 years of age or younger, and 48 percent, or 20 of the respondents were over 21 years old.

47.1 percent, or 41 of the respondents immigrated to the United States when they were 21 years of age and younger. 52.9 percent, or 46 of the respondents were over 21 years old when they came to America. Two respondents did not indicate their age.

Half of the respondents' spouses came to the U.S. when they were between 6 and 31 years of age. The remaining half were between 34 and 62 years of age. About 46 percent of the spouses came to the U.S. in 1978 and 1979.

Marital Status

46.6 percent, or 41 of the respondents are single, 52.3 percent, or 46 are married, and 1.1 percent, or 1 is divorced. Of those who are married, 31 percent were married in Iran, about 20 percent got married after they came to the U.S., and one respondent got married in Israel. 87 percent of those who are married said that this is their first marriage.

Amidst fears in the Iranian Jewish community in Los Angeles of increasing levels of intermarriage, 91 percent of the wedded respondents are married to Iranian Jews. Although the

remainder of the wedded respondents are also married to Jews, 9 percent are married to an American, an Israeli, or someone of another national origin. None of the respondents to the survey are married to non-Jews.

These results can neither support or allay fears of intermarriage because of the non-representative nature of the sample and the respondents. As mentioned in the literature review, the sense of some of the leaders in the Los Angeles Iranian Jewish community would be that the trends in their community would not be reflected accurately in the marital patterns of the respondents. Although no figures have been documented, some of these same leaders single out divorce and intermarriage as two of their biggest communal concerns. The fact remains that the limitations on the generalizability of this study are great.

Another possible reason that this study might have had an inaccurately low representation of divorced and intermarried respondents is that these individuals might be more unwilling to respond to the survey. The subjects of divorce and intermarriage are generally very sensitive issues. Many members of this community may not be prepared to answer questions on the subjects of acculturation and assimilation, especially since many in the Iranian Jewish community appear to place a high premium on in-group marriage.

Birthplace and Residence

The sample represents a group of Iranian Jews who, for the most part, left one big city, Tehran, and now live in another, Los Angeles. 77.9 percent, or 67 of the respondents were born in Tehran, and 85.9 percent, or 73 of the respondents lived in Tehran longer than in any other city while in Iran.

22 percent, or 19 respondents were born in Shiraz, Hamadan, Kermanshah, and other cities, and 14.1 percent of the respondents lived in these cities longer than in any other city while they lived in Iran. Three of the respondents did not answer the survey question regarding their birthplace, and four did not respond to the question regarding the city of longest residence in Iran.

Again, the low response rate and the nature of the mailing lists used for this study decrease the representativeness of the respondents to the larger Iranian Jewish community. Although the majority of Iranian Jewish immigrants come from Tehran, it is difficult to assess the representativeness of the respondents' birthplace and longest residence in Iran to the overall Iranian Jewish population in Los Angeles.

Education in Iran

34.1 percent, or 15 of the respondents who were over the age of 21 when they left Iran earned at least a college degree in Iran before coming to the U.S. (see Table 4) As one source of comparison, the sample has a relatively low level of education compared to U.S. Jews. In recent years over 65% of U.S. Jews between the ages of 18 and 24 have earned at least a college degree.³

However, great caution is recommended here since the sample's representativeness is limited. Only 52.9 percent of the respondents immigrated to the U.S. when they were over 21 years old. Thus, the total sample from which to measure the percentage of those who earned a college degree is especially small.

Although more of the male respondents tend to have had some level of post-high school education in Iran than did female respondents, there is no difference in the percentage of male and female respondents over 21 years of age who earned at least a high school diploma before leaving Iran. (Also, Table 4) 39.4 percent, or 13 of the male respondents over the age of 21 had post-high school education in Iran compared to only 18.2 percent, or 2 of the females who had the same. However, 54.5 percent of both male and female respondents over the age of 21 earned at least a high school diploma before leaving Iran. Since the total sample is limited to those respondents who were

over 21 years old when they left Iran, the representativeness and generalizability is once again especially limited.

Table 4
Education Level in Iran of
Respondents Who Were Over 21 Years Old
When They Left Iran

	<u>Male and Female</u>	<u>Male</u>	<u>Female</u>
<u>Grade Completed</u>			
6	2.3% (1)	3.0% (1)	0
7	2.3 (1)	3.0 (1)	0
8	4.5 (2)	3.0 (1)	9.1% (1)
9	4.5 (2)	6.1 (2)	0
10	2.3 (1)	3.0 (1)	0
11	2.3 (1)	3.0 (1)	0
12	27.3 (12)	24.2 (8)	36.4 (4)
<u>High School</u>			
Diploma	20.5 (9)	15.2 (5)	36.4 (4)
<u>College Degree</u>	25.0 (11)	27.3 (9)	18.2 (2)
<u>Advance College</u>			
Degree	9.1 (4)	12.1 (4)	0
<hr style="border-top: 1px dashed black;"/>			
TOTAL	100% (44)	100% (33)	100% (11)

The respondents tend to have had their total education in a Moslem (Iranian public) school. The margin between those respondents and the respondents who attended Moslem and Jewish school is slim. 40.5 percent, or 34 respondents had their total education in a Moslem school, while 34.5 percent, or 29 respondents attended both Moslem and Jewish schools.

Several of the respondents also received their total education only from Jewish schools. 25 percent, or 21 of the respondents received their total education only in Jewish schools.

The sample tended to receive supplemental Jewish education. 63.6 percent, or 46 of the respondents received supplemental Jewish education while 32 percent, or 22 of the respondents received no supplemental Jewish education at all. Extreme caution must be used here in generalizing about the general Iranian Jewish population in Los Angeles. The total sample from which to measure the percentage of those who received supplemental Jewish education is made smaller by the fact that ten of the respondents did not answer this question on the survey. That factor coupled with the general limitations on the representativeness of this study must be taken into account.

Synagogues were the most frequent setting for Jewish education outside of school. 40.8 percent, or 36 of the respondents received at least some of their supplemental

schools.

education in a synagogue. 19.3 percent, or 17 respondents received this part of their education only in a synagogue.

Table 5

Supplemental Jewish Education

	<u>Male and Female</u>	<u>Male</u>	<u>Female</u>
<u>Tutoring</u>	12.5% (11)	13.9% (8)	9.7% (3)
<u>Synagogue</u>	19.3 (17)	25.9 (15)	6.5 (2)
<u>Jewish Org.</u>	9.1 (8)	10.3 (6)	6.5 (2)
<u>Tutoring &</u>			
<u>Synagogue</u>	3.4 (3)	5.2 (3)	0
<u>Jewish Org.</u>			
<u>& Synagogue</u>	13.6 (12)	6.9 (4)	22.6 (7)
<u>Tutoring, Jewish</u>			
<u>Org. & Synagogue</u>	4.5 (4)	5.2 (3)	3.2 (1)
<u>Other</u>	1.1 (1)	1.7 (1)	0
<u>None</u>	25.0 (22)	19.0 (11)	35.5 (11)
<u>No Response</u>	11.4 (10)	10.3 (6)	12.9 (4)
<u>(Missing)</u>	(2)	(1)	(1)

<u>TOTAL</u>	100% (89)	100% (58)	100% (31)

These results are by no means intended to indicate the final level of formal education received by the sample. Respondents may have received or may be receiving

additional levels of education or additional supplemental Jewish education in the U.S. The authors did not solicit that information. The information regarding education which was solicited in the survey was intended to help identify the level of education of the respondents when they left Iran.

Occupation

Most of the respondents who were over 21 years old when they left Iran worked there. Although 52.8 percent, or 47 of all of the respondents did not work at all, 76.1 percent, or 35 of the respondents who were over 21 years old when they left Iran worked at least part-time. Most of these respondents who worked, both male and female, worked full-time as opposed to part-time.

Table 6

Employment by Gender/

Respondents Who Left Iran

When They Were Over 21 Years Old

	<u>Male and Female</u>	<u>Male</u>	<u>Female</u>
None	23.9% (11)	21.2% (7)	30.8% (4)
Full-Time	67.4 (31)	72.7 (24)	53.8 (7)
Part-Time	8.7 (4)	6.1 (2)	15.4 (2)

TOTAL	100% (46)	100% (33)	100% (13)

More respondents who worked and who were over 21 years old when they left Iran were owners of businesses, stores, factories, etc. and listed this as their last occupation before leaving Iran. 51 percent, or 18 of these respondents fit into this category. Of those respondents, 94 percent, or 17 are male and only one is female. Among the remainder of the respondents who left Iran when they were over 21 years old, 26 percent, or 9 were professionals, such as doctors, nurses, university teachers, and engineers. 14 percent, or 5 respondents were in clerical positions and 6 percent, or 2 respondents were in other occupations.

Summary

As mentioned in the beginning of this section, the low response rate and the limited nature of the mailing lists significantly detract from the representativeness of the respondents. Representativeness cannot be claimed for the two Iranian Jewish organizations (IJF and Persian Hillel), whose mailing lists were used for the sampling, or to the larger Iranian Jewish population in Los Angeles.

The authors expected that the recipients of the survey who would not have tended to return the survey would have been the less educated and/or illiterate members of the Iranian Jewish community as well as the older members of the community who might be less familiar with and more

suspicious of such a social science study. Measuring whether these expectations were met is hampered by the low response rate and, thus, the authors' limited knowledge regarding the background of the people on the two mailing lists.

For example, the survey results revealed that the respondents' education level was low relative to U.S. Jews. However, the low response rate meant the survey results were inherently unable to reveal much information regarding the education level of the people on the two mailing lists, let alone the people in the general Iranian Jewish community in Los Angeles. Thus, the authors do not know if those who returned the survey are more or less educated and literate than those who did not return the survey.

The respondents are mostly males of all ages, while the female respondents are primarily under 35 years of age. Thus, the over 35 female group is extremely under-represented in the sample, leaving a big gap in the survey results. Half of the respondents are single, and of those who are married most are married to Iranian Jews. There are no incidents of interfaith marriage and only one divorcee. However, lack of representativeness can not allay fears of divorce and intermarriage.

More respondents immigrated to the U.S. in 1978 and 1979 than during any other period and represented a wide span of age groups when they did so. Most of the

respondents were born in Tehran and lived there longer than in any other city before immigrating to the U.S.

Although the education of the respondents revealed very little, most of the respondents did receive some kind of Jewish education in Iran. A majority of the sample who were over 21 years old when they left Iran worked, and were owners of businesses, stores, and factories.

The authors are unable to declare that the profile of the survey respondents describes or can be generalized to the majority of Iranian Jews in Los Angeles, or even to the two mailing lists. The limitations to the representativeness and generalizability of the respondents have been discussed in this section. These limitations will inevitably weaken some of the results of this study, however, knowledge of the respondents and their background will assist in setting the parameters for discussion, conjecture, and conclusions.

Jewishness

The nature of the respondents' Jewish observance in Iran and the United States was determined by responses to two similar lists of Jewish rituals/customs. When these results are compared, only one ritual is found to be observed significantly more in the U.S. than in Iran, the lighting of Sabbath candles on Friday night. The responses to all other observances were virtually unchanged from Iran to the U.S. Conclusions drawn from these responses must be viewed with caution since the majority of Iranian Jews have only been in the U.S. for ten years or less. This is not long enough to measure permanent changes in Jewish observances, however, the lack of any decrease in observance even in this span of time is significant.

Overwhelmingly, those respondents who stated they observed a Jewish ritual/custom in Iran, continued to do so in the U.S. There was also a lack of significant difference in observance by variables such as age and gender. Most observances were followed by a cross-section of the sample. The deviations to this pattern will be discussed.

In Iran, Jews adhered to a more traditional religious lifestyle. Although there were no denominational distinctions of Reform, Conservative, or Orthodox, it could be said that Iranian Jews were most closely alligned to an orthodox practice of Judaism. Due to this, many Iranian

Jews in America identify with Orthodox Jews, although Sephardic (Middle Eastern/Mediterranean) and Ashkenazic (European) differences do exist between Iranian Jews and the majority of American Orthodox Jews.

Results from the Jewish observance questions are in Table 7 on the following page, and will be referred to throughout this section.

Table 7

Jewish Observances in Iran and in the United States

	<u>Iran</u>	<u>U.S.</u>	<u>Difference +/-</u>
<u>Fast on Yom Kippur</u>	100%	96.4%	- 3.6%
<u>Fast on Tisha B'Av</u>	30.7	29.2	- 1.5
<u>Fast on Taanit Esther</u>	51.1	51.7	+ .6
Have or attend a			
<u>Passover Seder</u>	89.8	93.3	+ 3.5
Eat Matzoh instead of			
<u>bread on Passover</u>	89.8	87.6	- 2.2
Recite the Kiddush on			
<u>Friday Night</u>	59.1	64	+ 4.9
Light Sabbath candles			
<u>on Friday night</u>	56.8	71.9	+ 15.1
Have a mezuzah on the			
<u>doors outside your home</u>	84.1	87.6	+ 3.5
Use separate dishes for			
<u>dairy and meat products</u>	6.8	5.7	- 1.1
<u>Light Hannukah candles</u>	79.5	84.3	+ 4.8
Refrain from handling			
<u>money on the Sabbath</u>	4.5	5.6	+ 1.1
<u>Use the Mikveh</u>	6.8	8	+ 1.2
Eat non-Kosher food outside			
<u>the home</u>	27.3	23.6	- 3.7
Eat only Kosher meat inside			
<u>the home</u>	76.1	70.8	- 5.3

The lighting of Sabbath candles on Friday night is the only observance which is followed by a significantly different number of respondents in the U.S. than it was in Iran. 57 percent of the respondents lit Sabbath candles in Iran; 72 percent now light Sabbath candles in America. Among all the other observances, no significant differences between observance in Iran and the U.S. exist.

One explanation for the significant increase in the lighting of Sabbath candles is the difference in calendars between Iran and the U.S. The Moslem "weekend" is Thursday and Friday, making the observance of the Jewish Sabbath (Friday evening and Saturday) difficult in Iran. The American weekend is Saturday and Sunday, making the observance of the Jewish Sabbath easier.

The conducive nature of the American calendar does not sufficiently explain the increase in the level of lighting Sabbath candles. Although Saturday was a working day in Iran, over half of the respondents still lit Sabbath candles on Friday night. The openness of American society is a possible explanation for the increase, and many Iranian Jews claim that they are able to be "more" Jewish in the U.S.⁴ However, no other observances increased significantly in the U.S., refuting American "openness" as an explanation. For example, the observance level of two other Sabbath observances remained fairly constant between Iran and the U.S. The recitation of the blessing over the wine, the Kiddush, was observed by 59 percent in Iran and

64 percent in the U.S. Refraining from handling money on the Sabbath was observed by 4.5 percent in Iran and 5.5 percent in the U.S. Both of these levels did increase slightly, however, neither was significant.

The data indicate that the significant increase in the lighting of Sabbath candles from Iran to the U.S. seems to be due to the dramatic increase in observance by women in the U.S. While male observance of lighting Sabbath candles did increase, the female increase was much greater and led to a statistically significant gender difference in lighting Sabbath candles in the U.S.

Table 8

Gender by Lighting Sabbath Candles

	<u>Iran</u>	<u>U.S.</u>
Male	53.6% (30)	63.2% (36)
Female	61.3 (19)	87.1 (27)
(Missing)	(1)	(1)

$$x^2 < .05$$

The influence of American Jewish Orthodoxy on Iranians seems to have played a major part in the increase in lighting Sabbath candles generally, and for females specifically. Many Iranians, particularly young women, were Jewishly "re-educated" by American Orthodox Jews upon their arrival in the U.S. One of the areas of Jewish observance stressed by the Orthodox was the lighting of Sabbath candles by the women. In Iran, women followed the

Jewish practice of husbands and men more than being proactive in their observance. Thus, the urging and modeling of lighting Sabbath candles by American rabbis, women, and others, led to an increase in this practice by Iranians, particularly Iranian women. The data from the survey seem to support this explanation. The skewing of the sample towards younger women is also a factor.

Three observances among the list related to fasting on Jewish holidays. As with all observances except the lighting of Sabbath candles, there were no significant differences between the level of observance in Iran and the U.S.

51 percent of the respondents fasted on Taanit Esther (the day before Purim) in Iran, and virtually the same percentage continue to fast for this holiday in the U.S. The high level of observance and the continuation of this level in the U.S. (especially when considering the majority of American Jews are non-Orthodox) could be attributed to Purim as a holiday with special meaning to Iranian Jews. Purim commemorates events which supposedly occurred in ancient Iran (Persia), and therefore Iranian Jews have a strong affinity to the holiday. As new Jewish immigrants in America, Iranian Jews might view Purim as a particularly prideful holiday with its observance serving to strengthen their identity.

Results which would seem to strengthen this explanation are the apparent correlation between being a

parent, the number of children one has, and the observance of the pre-Purim fast in the U.S. 35.6 percent of the respondents without children reported fasting for Taanit Esther, increasing to 42.9 percent for those with one child. The significant increase occurs for those respondents with two or more children. 73.0 percent of those with two children, 78.6 percent of those with three children, and 100 percent of those with four children indicate fasting for Taanit Esther. The differences are statistically significant, however, as previously noted, caution should be taken due to the low number of respondents in some of the categories. Table 9a shows the frequency of the number of children respondents have; Table 9b shows those who fast for Taanit Esther by the number of children they have.

Table 9a

Respondents' Number of Children

<u>0</u>	<u>1</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>4</u>	<u>Missing</u>	<u>Total</u>
46	8	11	15	5	4	89

Table 9b

Fasting on Taanit Esther in the U.S.

by Number of Children

Number of Children

	<u>0</u>	<u>1</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>4</u>	<u>Missing</u>
Fast on Taanit Esther	35.6%	42.9	73.0	78.6	100	
	(21)	(4)	(6)	(8)	(4)	(3)

$\chi^2 < .005$

The differences in the observance of the pre-Purim fast seem to suggest that respondents with children, especially two or more, view the pre-Purim fast as a significant observance to practice. The emphasizing and strengthening of their childrens' Iranian Jewish roots and traditions could be the critical factor for these results.

30.7 percent of the respondents fasted on the holiday of Tisha B'Av in Iran. This level of observance is an indication of the traditional and observant nature of Iranian Jews within the devout culture of Iranian society. Islam, the national religion of Iran, includes many ritual fasts. Thus, for Jews to fast on Tisha B'Av and other holidays would not be aberrant behavior from normative societal practice. The 30 percent fasting level for Tisha B'Av (high for non-Orthodox Jews) is a testament to the traditional aspects of both Iranian Jews and Iranian society. A further indication of this is the 100 percent observance of the fast on Yom Kippur in Iran.

Just about 30 percent of the respondents indicated they fast on Tisha B'Av in the U.S. A few factors might be the cause for continued level of fasting on Tisha B'Av in the U.S. First, the familiarity of this Jewish observance in Iran might have carried over to the U.S. Second, the influence of American Orthodox Jews, as discussed previously, might have played a part in the continued level of observance.

For the inquiries into the observance of two Passover

observances, no significant changes existed between Iran and the U.S. Both the having/attending a Passover Seder and eating Matzoh instead of bread were observed by about 90 percent of the respondents in Iran and the U.S. Since Passover, or at least the Seder, is highly observed by all denominations of Jews in America, the results do not necessarily reflect a possible Orthodox-influence as the lighting of Sabbath candles and other observances might.

Respondents without children are less likely to participate in a Passover Seder than those respondents who have at least one child. All parents indicated they attend a Seder, whereas, only 87 percent of the childless respondents have or attend a Seder.

Table 10

Having/Attending a Passover Seder in U.S.

by Having/Not Having Children

	Respondents <u>w/ Children</u>	Respondents <u>w/out Children</u>	
Having/Attending a Passover Seder	100% (39)	87% (40)	(4)

This pattern is probably true of American Jews in general, highlighting the relative importance parents seem to place on Seders as compared to those without children. Caution should be taken in this conjecture because of the low numbers of respondents and the relative weak statistical significance of these particular results.

Also, there is no way to compare these results to observance in Iran as many respondents were minors in Iran and became parents in the U.S.

The percentages observing Kashrut (the Jewish dietary laws) create an interesting pattern. For home observance of Kashrut, 6.8 percent of the respondents used separate dishes for dairy and meat products in Iran, while 5.7 percent do so in the U.S. 76.1 percent ate only kosher meat in the home in Iran, while 70.8 percent eat only kosher meat in the home in the U.S. These results seem to demonstrate inconsistency, however, the system of kashrut that Iranian Jews followed in Iran is being continued in the U.S., and is a consistent pattern. The 70 percent who eat only kosher meat in the home seem to be following kashrut, except without the provision for having separate dishes. Evidence of "strict" observance is the percentage who do not eat non-kosher food outside the home. 27.3 percent in Iran, and 23.6 percent in the U.S. indicated they do eat non-kosher food outside the home, meaning over 70 percent do. This is a comparable percentage to the 70 percent who eat only kosher meat in the home.

From knowledge about Iranian Jews, it is known that most Iranian Jews did not mix dairy and meat products, even though they did not have separate dishes. Possible explanations for this practice are; 1) keeping kosher did not include having separate dishes when Jews settled in Persia (Persian and Iranian Jews could be pre-Talmudic in

this observance since separate dishes is a Talmudic development), 2) Moslems have similar dietary laws for meat, but do not have similar laws for separate dishes, 3) Economic factors at one time might have led to the use of only one set of dishes.

American Orthodox influence does not seem to explain Iranian Jewish kosher observance in the U.S. The pattern of kosher observance in the U.S. follows the Iranian pattern. If the Orthodox were an influence in the kashrut of Iranian Jews in the U.S., the number of respondents who have separate dishes would increase. No increase, absolute or significant, exists, and thus, Orthodox influence on this observance seems to be absent.

Familiarity would seem to be the major contributing factor in the continuance of traditional Iranian Jewish kashrut observance in the U.S. So far, respondents choose to retain their kosher practices and are neither becoming "less" kosher or opting for the American pattern.

Summary

The results from the questions on Jewish observance in Iran and the U.S. are significant because of the overall lack of change. Outside of lighting Sabbath candles on Friday night, all other levels of observance remained fairly constant. Although there is a lack of statistical change in Jewish observance, these results illustrate a

strong trend to continue the observances followed in Iran. Even though the respondents in this study would tend to be more assimilative in certain ways than the overall Iranian Jewish community (discussed in the Profile section), the results seem to indicate that the respondents are not letting go of their Jewish observance. The minimal length of time most Iranian Jews have been in the U.S. should be noted.

Possible factors for the Jewish observance results were discussed for particular observances throughout this section. A few main factors seem to be:

1) American Orthodox influence, particularly with younger females and in the lighting of Sabbath candles.

2) Familiarity of Jewish practice from Iran -- ie. Iranian Jewish kosher observance.

3) Sense of Iranian Jewish identity; continuing to follow observances as a way of keeping Iranian Jewish identity in the U.S. -- ie. fasting on Taanit Esther (pre-Purim).

4) Family coherence; related to Iranian Jewish identity but more focused on children and family -- ie. parents' observance of Passover.

Jewish Communal Involvement

Most of the respondents were not members of Jewish organizations in Iran and are not now that they are in the United States. A substantial percentage, 67.4 percent, or 60 of the respondents, indicated that they were not members of, or did not belong to a Jewish organization when they lived in Iran. By comparison 64 percent, or 57 of the respondents said that they are not members of any Jewish organizations in the U.S. (see Table 11)

There was a slight shift upward in the percentage of respondents who belonged to one Jewish organization in Iran compared to those who belong to only one Jewish organization in America. However, the overall membership of the respondents showed very little change from Iran to the U.S.

Table 11

Membership in a Jewish Organization

<u># of Organizations Belonged To</u>	<u>Iran</u>	<u>United States</u>
0	67.4% (60)	64% (57)
1	14.6 (13)	23.6 (21)
2	9 (8)	3.4 (3)
3	3.4 (3)	1.1 (1)
4	2.2 (2)	3.4 (3)
5	2.2 (2)	2.2 (2)
6	0	1.1 (1)
8	1.1 (1)	1.1 (1)
(Missing)	(0)	(0)
TOTAL	100% (89)	100% (89)

In discussing and understanding Iranian Jewish communal "membership", especially in Iranian Jewish organizations, "membership" as it is known in America was absent in Iran. However, lack of "membership" did not exclude involvement. Due to tradition and culture, Iranian Jews were active and involved in organizations without formal affiliation. Even active synagogue involvement in Iran did not include membership, a particularly American practice. This pattern seems to have persisted for the respondents in America thus far. No significant increase in membership from Iran to the U.S. is observed (see Table 11).

Of those who belonged to an organization in Iran, most belonged to a student/youth organization.⁵ 28 percent, or 25 of the respondents belonged to a student/youth organization, such as Tehran University Jewish Organization. In the U.S. student/youth organizations continue to be the most frequent type to which the respondents belong; 26 percent, or 23 of the respondents so indicated.

These results might have been skewed by the fact that 56.2 percent of the respondents were from the Persian Hillel mailing list, a student/young adult organization. The remaining 43.8 percent of the respondents were from the Iranian Jewish Federation list, yet only 4 percent of the respondents said they belong to the Iranian Jewish Federation or any other Iranian American Jewish

organization. Most of the respondents from the IJF list did not indicate they were members, although the reasons are related to the fact that the IJF is not a membership-type organization and does not solicit for members.

Generalizing on the communal membership of the larger Iranian American Jewish population should be done with great caution based on the reasons previously discussed and the number of respondents.

A way of involving oneself and supporting organizations is to contribute money. The respondents were asked to list up to five organizations to which they contributed during the last five years. The question did not specify Jewish organizations, yet over half of the respondents indicated contributing to a synagogue. 53 percent, or 47 of the respondents contributed to synagogues in Los Angeles, 40 percent of which was to Nessach Israel, an Iranian synagogue in L.A. The synagogue was a focal point for Jewish communal activities in Iran, and the respondents remain connected to synagogues, as indicated by their contributions.

The second and third most frequent recipients of contributions are Iranian American Jewish organizations, i.e. the Iranian Jewish Federation and the Valley Iranian Jewish Center, followed by charitable organizations, to groups such as the City of Hope and the March of Dimes. 26 percent, or 23 respondents contributed money to Iranian

American Jewish organizations, and 21 percent, or 19 respondents contributed money to general charitable organizations.

Giving to Iranian Jewish communal organizations, such as Iranian synagogues and Iranian American Jewish organizations, was clearly the respondents' preference. Only 15 percent, or 13 respondents gave money to the Jewish Federation Council, ORT, Hadassah, or the like during the previous five years.

There were miscellaneous numbers who contributed to such groups as Keren Kayemet, AIPAC, Chabad, SYAMAC (Iranian Jewish Association of California), and the Iranian Jewish Women's Organization.

Summary

Most respondents support Jewish communal organizations and tend to do so financially. The most frequent beneficiaries of this support are Iranian synagogues and Iranian American Jewish organizations. Those who indicate membership in Jewish communal organizations tend to belong to Iranian Jewish student/youth organizations, like Persian Hillel.

Some respondents are involved and support non-Iranian Jewish organizations in America. Still, the overwhelming preference is to support Iranian Jewish organizations.

Frustrations have been voiced by some in the

organized American Jewish community regarding what they perceive as minimal contributions from Iranian Jews in proportion to their population and ability to give. The reason most of the respondents do not give money to American Jewish organizations, like the Jewish Federation Council, might be due to a positive response to Iranian Jewish communal needs, rather than an anti-American Jewish bias. The Iranian Jewish Federation does make an annual contribution to the L.A. Jewish Federation Council from its fundraising efforts.

The proliferation of, and involvement in Iranian Jewish student/youth organizations demonstrates the positive side of Iranian Jewish communal involvement. The numerous youth/young adult organizations represent attempts by the Iranian Jewish community in Los Angeles to 1) invest in the future of the Iranian Jewish community in America, and 2) balance their desire to retain their unique Iranian Jewish identity with their need to adapt to America and the American Jewish community.

Acculturation and Assimilation

As discussed in the methodology, Chapter 1, the investigation into acculturation and assimilation in the United States was broken into three areas: lifestyle, "American" observances, and values. The cautions due to the response rate and representativeness of the respondents should continue to be heeded in this section.

Lifestyle

The results from the lifestyle questions show a consistently high retention of Farsi, use of Iranian businesses, and association with Iranian Jews.

Language

For the language mostly used with one's closest Iranian relationships, Farsi was by far the most frequent. Virtually 100 percent of the respondents say they mostly use Farsi with their parents, 77.5 percent with their children, and 81.8 percent with their Iranian friends.

Table 12

Language Mostly Used With Primary Iranian Relationships

	<u>Farsi</u>	<u>English</u>	<u>Both</u>	<u>Mis.</u>	<u>Total</u>
w/ Parents	98.8%(82)	1.2 (1)	0	(6)	100%(89)
w/ Children	77.5%(31)	10.0 (4)	12.5 (5)	(49)	100%(89)
w/ Iran. Frnds	81.8%(72)	3.4 (3)	14.8(14)		100%(89)

English is used most with children. If the categories "English" and "Both" are added together, 22.5 percent of the respondents use English with their children as or more frequently than Farsi. The 49 missing respondents either do not have children or just did not answer the question.

When these variables are compared with various independent factors (age cohort, gender, year of immigration, and age of the immigrant), there are variations. However, only one proved to be statistically significant; age cohort by language used mostly with Iranian friends.

Table 13

Age Cohort by Language Used Mostly with Iranian Friends

	<u>Farsi</u>	<u>English</u>	<u>Both</u>	<u>Total</u>
age 35 and under	71.4% (40)	5.4 (3)	23.2 (13)	100%(56)
over age 35	97.0% (32)	0	3.0 (1)	100%(33)

($x^2 < .05$)

Even though Farsi is still the predominant language used with Iranian friends, those 35 and under use English much more than those over 35, where there is a virtual absence of English usage.

The younger group was educated in America and are socializing and working more with Americans. Thus, younger Iranian Jews would be more proficient, more comfortable, and more in need to use English in their daily lives, leading to more English speaking even among other Iranian Jews.

Friends and Dating

The question which asks about who most of the respondents' friends are illustrates a strong in-group association. 80 percent, or 69 (3 missing) of the respondents said most of their friends were Iranian Jews, with the remainder distributed equally among small percentages for Iranian non-Jews, American Jews, and American non-Jews.

The 80 percent rate is not surprising considering the new immigrant status of Iranian Jews. No other group emerged as a clear second to Iranian Jews. Iranian Jews, as both Iranians and Jews, share culture and kinship with Iranians in America and American Jews. Even with the substantial non-Jewish Iranian and Jewish community in Los Angeles, less than 6 percent of the respondents indicated they were mostly friends with non-Jewish Iranians or American Jews.

Another question dealing with association patterns of Iranian Jews was related to dating. Singles were asked who they usually date. While the majority indicated they usually date other Iranian Jews, nearly 25 percent replied that they usually date non-Jews. 20 percent of the respondents to this question said they usually date American non-Jews, 5.5 percent American Jews, and 3.6 percent Iranian non-Jews. Thus, nearly a quarter of the respondents indicated they mostly date non-Jews. (see Table 3)

Men are interdating at a much higher rate than women. No women indicated they usually date non-Jewish Iranians or American Jews, although the mixed category included responses with American Jews.

Table 14

Gender by Who Respondents Usually Date

	<u>Iranian Jews</u>	<u>Iranian Non-Jews</u>	<u>Amer. Jews</u>	<u>Amer. Non-Jews</u>	<u>Mixed*</u>	<u>Total</u>
M	51.6%(16)	6.5%(2)	9.7%(3)	25.8%(8)	6.5%(2)	100%(31)
F	75.0 (18)	0	0**	12.5 (3)	12.5 (3)	100%(24)
(Miss.)						(34)
All						
Res.	61.8(35)	3.6 (2)	5.5 (3)	20.0 (11)	9.1 (5)	100%(89)

* Some respondents checked more than one response.

** Does not include the % who were mixed.

($x^2 < .05$)

The significant gender differences in dating behavior may be due to the protection of young women relative to men. In Iran, single women lived with their parents until they were married and were very protected, especially in regard to dating. Protectiveness remains in America, although to a lesser extent. Young women may be less exposed to American culture and less able to explore it through socializing and dating. The lack of interdating, as indicated by the female respondents, is likely to be a result of this parental protection and its effects.

When an Iranian Jewish man dates an Iranian Jewish women, there are expectations from her family that the man

be highly educated and financially successful. Also, the tradition of minimal dating before marriage means that early in the relationship there is pressure to marry, and physical intimacy is guarded. Thus, Iranian men may be opting to date non-Iranians because there are 1) fewer expectations, 2) less pressure to marry, and 3) more opportunities for intimacy.

Iranian men may be waiting until they feel they are ready to marry before dating Iranian women. There will be more discussion on the dating results and their significance and implications in the VALUES section later this chapter.

Gender was the only variable that had a significant effect on dating behavior. There were no statistically significant differences by age, length of time in America, or English proficiency, all variables which might seem to cause effects in dating behavior.

Food, Entertainment, and Shopping

The lifestyle issues surrounding food, entertainment, and shopping continue to illustrate the predominance of Iranian/Iranian Jewish in-group association. However, American life is more prominent with certain activities and respondents. The results for the kind of entertainment the respondents attend most frequently was perhaps the most illustrative of the Iranian Jewish association.

Just under 75 percent of the respondents said they

mostly attended Iranian Jewish entertainment. This entertainment is mainly programs and events sponsored by Iranian Jewish organizations, much of which is designed for young adults and youth. Unlike the distribution for friends, there was a clear second with entertainment, American (13.8 percent). Considering the minimal amount of Iranian Jewish entertainment available in Los Angeles compared with American entertainment, the 75 percent who choose Iranian Jewish entertainment indicates an overwhelming preference.

Although there are variations by age and gender, there are no statistically significant differences. The largest differences were for those 35 years old and under (69.6 percent Iranian Jewish entertainment; 39 respondents, 2 missing) and over 35 (83.8 percent Iranian Jewish entertainment; 26 respondents, 2 missing). The entertainment difference by age group is statistically insignificant, yet the pattern of greater assimilation by the younger group exists and will prove significant for other variables. Programs and events for young adults and youth is an attempt to slow down assimilation.

Living in America becomes a significant factor affecting lifestyle questions outside the home. As with entertainment, the options for Iranian Jews outside the home are predominantly American. Results from the questions on restaurants, food shopping, and other shopping reveal that the majority of the respondents do most of

their business with Americans.

Table 15

Restaurants and Stores Mostly Patronized

	<u>Iranian</u>	<u>American*</u>	<u>Both</u>	<u>Miss.</u>	<u>Total</u>
Restaurants	16.9% (31)	51.2 (43)	11.9 (10)	(5)	100
Food Shopping	3.4% (3)	21.4 (19)	75.3 (67)		100
Other Shopping	2.3% (2)	54.0 (47)	43.7 (38)	(2)	100

*Includes all other restaurants

(# = 89)

The respondents are still going to Iranian and Iranian/American stores and restaurants in large numbers. However, shopping at American stores and eating in American restaurants surpasses the Iranian choices by a wide margin.

For these lifestyle questions, significant differences were found by age, gender, age of immigration, and how well the respondent spoke English in Iran.

When age and "kind of restaurant mostly patronized" are compared, the younger group is seen to be more assimilative than the older group.

Table 16

Age Cohort by Type of Restaurant Where Mostly Eaten

	<u>Persian/ Iranian</u>	<u>Non-Persian/ Iranian</u>	<u>Both</u>	<u>Miss.</u>	<u>Tot.</u>
Ages 35 and under	30.2% (16)	60.4 (32)	9.4 (5)	(3)	100
Over 35	48.4% (15)	35.5 (11)	16.1 (5)	(2)	100
All Respondents	36.9% (31)	51.2 (43)	11.9 (10)	(5)	100

($\chi^2 < .10$)

60 percent of those ages 35 and under eat mostly at non-Persian/ Iranian restaurants. (See Table 16) When restaurant patronage is viewed by age immigrated (those that immigrated to the U.S. at age 21 and under vs. over 21), more of the same results are found. Those immigrating at a younger age tended to eat at Persian/Iranian restaurants much less, and at American restaurants much more, than older immigrants.

Table 17

Age When Immigrated

by Type of Restaurant Where Mostly Eaten

	<u>Persian/</u> <u>Iranian</u>	<u>non-Persian/</u> <u>Iranian</u>	<u>Both</u>	<u>Missing</u>	<u>Total</u>
Immigrated at					
age 21 or under	19.5% (8)	65.9 (27)	14.6 (6)	(2)	100 (43)
over 21	53.5% (23)	37.2 (16)	9.3 (4)	(3)	100 (46)

($\chi^2=.005$)

When shopping for food, men were three times more likely to do most of their shopping at American stores. Women shopped more at both Persian/Iranian and American stores. (see Table 18)

Table 18

Gender by Type of Food Store Where Mostly Shopped

	<u>Persian/Iranian</u>	<u>American</u>	<u>Both</u>	<u>Total</u>
Male	5.2% (3)	28.1 (16)	66.7 (38)	100 (57)
Female	0	9.7 (3)	90.3 (28)	100 (31)
(Missing)				(1)

($\chi^2 < .05$)

Since Iranian women are likely to do most of the shopping, the need to use both Iranian and American stores would be greater for women. Men would tend to do more specialized shopping and probably go to either Iranian or American stores. No female respondent indicated shopping mostly at Iranian food stores, while some men did. This may be due to comprehensive vs. specialized gender shopping differences.

The same pattern appears for other shopping, although to a lesser extent. Men were more likely to shop at either Iranian stores or American stores, while women were more likely to mostly shop at both Iranian and American stores.

When gender differences, regarding such activities as where one shops, are discussed, the skewing of the female respondents by age must be highlighted. The virtual absence of female respondents over 35 means that conjecture about female respondents and gender difference is highly cautionary and is limited to younger females who are probably more acculturated than older females.

How well the respondent spoke English in Iran had a significant effect on shopping patterns. Every respondent who indicated they mostly shop at Iranian stores did not know how to speak English in Iran and would still be presumed not to know English as well as do other Iranian Jewish immigrants.

Table 19
English Speaking Level in Iran by Shopping at Iranian
Stores in U.S.

<u>"I Spoke English In Iran"</u>	<u>Mostly Shop At</u>	
	<u>Iranian Food Stores</u>	<u>Other Iranian Stores</u>
Very Well (15)	0%	0%
Well (21)	0	0
Not Well (38)	0	0
Not At All (13)	23.1 (3)	15.4 (2)
(Missing = 2)		
	($x^2 < .005$)	($x^2 < .05$)

This same group of respondents also shopped at American stores less than those who spoke at least some English in Iran.

As mentioned in the literature review, some of the recent acculturation theorists point to language as an essential factor in the acculturation process. The results from English proficiency and shopping confirm this pattern among the respondents. As might be expected, the respondents with a presumed lack of English language skills seem to be shopping mostly at Iranian stores.

The number of respondents who spoke English in

Iran (13) and who shop mostly at Iranian stores (23) is small. However, since none of the other respondents (74) indicated shopping mostly at Iranian stores, tentative conclusions seem likely from a logical point of view.

Older women are presumed to be less literate and proficient in English than younger women. Since the factor of English proficiency is found to be significant in shopping patterns, the lack of female respondents over 35 years old creates a vacuum and is noticeably absent from these results.

Professional Services

The final element of lifestyles examined the use of professional services. Respondents were asked to indicate whether they went to an Iranian, an American, or both for a doctor, dentist, hairstylist, attorney, accountant, and car mechanic.

The results seem to correspond, in part, to the availability of Iranians in the various professions. In the U.S., there are more Iranian doctors and dentists than there are lawyers, and the results reflect this. (see Table 20)

Table 20

Use of Professionals

	<u>Iranian</u>	<u>American</u>	<u>Both</u>	<u>Missing</u>	<u>Total</u>
Doctor	21.8%(19)	33.3%(29)	44.8%(39)	(2)	100%
Dentist	43.7 (38)	40.2 (35)	16.1 (14)	(2)	100
Hairstylist	45.2 (38)	36.9 (31)	17.9 (15)	(5)	100
Attorney	2.4 (2)	84.1 (69)	13.4 (11)	(7)	100
Accountant	30.9 (25)	58.0 (47)	11.1 (9)	(8)	100
Car Mechanic	15.7 (13)	36.6 (47)	27.7 (23)	(6)	100

(# = 89)

Outside of lawyers, at least 40 percent of the respondents use an Iranian either solely or in addition to an American for each of the other professional services.

The only significant differences by age, gender, or any other variable, related to the hairstylist category. More women than men, and more of those over 35 than 35 and under went to Iranian hairstylists.

Table 21

Significant Differences in Use of Iranian Hairstylists

Use of Iranian Hairstylist

Women	58.7% (18)
Men	35.9 (19)
(Missing)	(6)
	($x^2 < .05$)
Over 35	59.4 (19)
35 and Under	35.9 (19)
(Missing)	(4)
	($x^2 < .10$)
(# = 89)	

The gender difference may be due to a few factors. First, more Iranian women than men have learned to be hairstylists and beauticians. Second, Iranian women may tend to use Iranian hairstylists because they are more comfortable with other Iranians and because it is an opportunity for social interaction. These results are interesting given the strong possibility that the women respondents tend to be more assimilative than Iranian Jewish women generally.

Possible explanations regarding the age difference include 1) the stronger desire younger Iranian Jews seem to have to adjust to American culture; 2) the availability and opportunity to do things in America, like getting certain hairstyles, that the younger generation were unable to do in Iran; 3) older Iranian Jews going to Iranian hairstylists for comfort and socializing, as discussed above, and 4) the fact that the older generation might go to Iranian hairstylists for lower cost.

When looking at age differences, most women respondents were 35 and under. Yet, this did not override the fact that the younger respondents went to Iranian hairstylists significantly less frequently than the older respondents.

"American" Observances

As previously discussed, the questions in the category American observances included American and Persian holidays and customs. American Jewish and Persian Jewish customs were also part of the respective categories.

Of the six holidays given as choices, the one most observed was the Iranian New Year (70.6 percent). Exchanging presents with family on Hannukah was second (54.1 percent), and the most observed American holiday, Thanksgiving, was third (44.7 percent).

Table 22

Observance of Holidays in the U.S.

	<u>% Respondents</u>
Iranian New Year	70.6% (60)
Exchange Hannukah Presents	54.7 (46)
Thanksgiving	44.7 (38)
American New Year	42.4 (36)
Celebrate Birthday More	34.7 (29)
Valentines Day	29.4 (25)
(Missing)	(4)
(# = 89)	

Over two-thirds of the respondents continue to celebrate the Iranian New Year in the U.S., indicating a desire to perpetuate their Persian custom and tradition. At the same time, fewer than half of the respondents observe/celebrate the American holidays that were given as

choices.

There are significant fluctuations, however, when viewing these results by age, gender, and other variables.

Nearly 81 percent of the over 35 group celebrates the Iranian New Year in the U.S. as compared to 65 percent of those 35 and under. Although not statistically significant ($\chi^2 > .10$), it is still an indication that the Persian custom might be on the decline in the U.S. If the younger group is celebrating Iranian New Year less after being in the U.S. a short time, one could predict the holiday will be celebrated less and less as they become more Americanized.

Men were found to observe/celebrate Thanksgiving, American New Year, and Valentine's Day more frequently than women.

Table 23

Gender by Observance/Celebration of American Holidays			
	<u>Thanksgiving</u>	<u>Amer. New Year</u>	<u>Valentine's</u>
Male	52.8% (28)	56.6 (30)	35.9 (19)
Female	32.3% (10)	19.4 (6)	16.1 (5)
(Missing)	(5)	(5)	(5)
$\chi^2 <$.10	.005	.10

These findings reconfirm, as the dating data did, the gender difference as Iranian Jewish men are more likely to mix in American society than the women.

Time of immigration was significant when comparing

the frequency of observances of Thanksgiving, a traditional American holiday, and the Iranian New Year, a traditional Persian holiday. Irrespective of age, those who immigrated after 1979 were far less likely to observe Thanksgiving, an American holiday. Those who immigrated before 1978 were least likely to celebrate the Iranian New Year, an Iranian Holiday.

Table 24

Year Immigrated

by Observance of Thanksgiving and Iran New Year

<u>Immigrated:</u>	<u>Thanksgiving</u>	<u>Iran New Year</u>
Before 1978	60.0% (12)	50.0% (10)
During 1978-79	52.4 (22)	76.2 (32)
After 1979	17.4 (4)	78.3 (18)
All Respondents	44.7 (38)	70.6 (60)
(Missing)	(4)	(4)
	($x^2 < .01$)	($x^2 < .10$)

The longer the respondent has been in the United States, the more likely he/she will observe the traditional American holiday, Thanksgiving, and will not observe the traditional Persian holiday, Iranian New Year.

Sending a card and/or flowers on Valentine's Day not only depends upon gender, but also age, age at time of immigration, and by English speaking level in Iran. For this American custom, something new for Iranian Jews, the respondents who were ages 35 and under were over twice as

likely to celebrate as those over 35. (See Table 25) Similarly, those who were 21 years or younger when they immigrated to the United States celebrated significantly more than the over 21 emigre group.

Table 25

Sending a Card and/or Flowers on Valentine's Day

Celebrate Valentine's Day

Age 35 and Under	37.0% (20)
Over 35	16.7 (5)
(Missing)	(4)

Immigrated at Age 21 and Younger	39.5% (17)
Immigrated Over Age 21	19.1 (8)
(Missing)	(4)
(# = 89)	

For those who did not know English in Iran, only 1 out of 13 celebrated Valentine's Day in this way. The next lowest group were those who did not speak English well in Iran at 30.6 percent (11 out of 38). This illustrates the correlation between prior use of English and practicing American customs.

Observing Valentine's Day indicates that younger male Iranian Jews who came to the U.S. at a young age, and who knew how to speak English better, are more likely to pick up this American custom. The Valentine's results are very useful as a symbol of assimilating into American life.

"Jewish" Acculturation

The results for exchanging Hannukah presents with family relates to the remaining questions on American observances. These questions deal with how Iranian Jews are reconciling and adjusting their Persian Jewish customs in America, and to what extent they accept the more American Jewish customs.

Exchanging Hannukah presents with the family is much more an American Jewish custom than a Persian Jewish custom. As was mentioned previously, 54.1 percent of the respondents indicated that they did exchange presents, illustrating a trend towards the American Jewish custom. Furthermore, being married and having children made a significant difference in the exchanging of Hannukah presents with family. The wording of the question and the family nature of the holiday make these results fairly predictable.

Marrieds were much more likely to exchange presents than those who were single, and an even more significant difference was between those with and without children. (See Table 26)

Table 26

Exchanging Presents With Family on Hannukah

Exchanging Presents

Married	65.1%	(28)
---------	-------	------

Single	42.5	(17)
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(Missing)		(5)
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($\chi^2 < .10$)

All Respondents	54.0	(46)
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Respondents With No Children	35.6	(16)
------------------------------	------	------

(Missing)		(4)
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($\chi^2 < .005$)

Respondents with no children, including married and single respondents, indicated they exchanged Hannukah presents well below the percentage for all respondents. The American Jewish pattern of exchanging presents with family on Hannukah is seen to be fairly common with Iranian Jews, especially for marrieds with children.

Three other questions on "Jewish" acculturation were added to the U.S. list of Jewish observances. These questions investigated the incorporation of an American Jewish practice, celebrating a Bat Mitzvah, and the adherence to two Persian Jewish customs, eating rice and/or nuts on Passover.

Table 27

Percentage of Respondents Who Observe American and Persian
Jewish Customs in the U.S.

	<u>Celebrate Bat Mitzvah</u>	<u>Eat Rice On Passover</u>	<u>Eat Nuts On Passover</u>
% Who Observe	44.2% (38)	76.1 (67)	59.1 (52)
(Missing)	(3)	(1)	(1)

The results show that almost half of the respondents observe an American Jewish practice, celebrating Bat Mitzvahs. This indicates the acculturation to American Judaism among Iranian Jews. The extent can only be noted here vis a vis Bat Mitzvah, however, the percentage suggests the probability of more American Jewish practices being absorbed.

At the same time, over 20 and 40 percent of the respondents no longer adhere to Persian Jewish customs, eating rice and nuts on Passover respectively, which in Iran would have been followed universally.

The one variable which creates significant differences in all of these results is the age when the respondent immigrated to the U.S. Those who emigrated while young were significantly less likely to observe all three observances. (see Table 28) No significant differences were noted between the 35 and under and over 35 age groups.

Table 28

Age When Immigrated
by American and Persian Jewish Observances

<u>Age When Immigrated</u>	<u>Celebrate Bat Mitzvah</u>	<u>Eat Rice On Passover</u>	<u>Eat Nuts On Passover</u>
21 and under	33.3% (14)	66.7 (28)	47.6 (20)
over 21	54.6% (24)	84.8 (39)	69.6 (32)
(Missing)	(3)	(1)	(1)
(x ² <.05)			

Clearly, those that came to the U.S. at a younger age are less likely to observe these Jewish customs. For those formally educated in the U.S., the younger immigrants, both the retention of these Persian Jewish customs and the observance of this additional American Jewish custom are less than the older immigrant group. Thus, the younger group is not only "dropping" the Persian Jewish customs more than the older group, but they are not "picking up" the American Jewish custom to the same extent.

Older emigres accommodate their Judaism to include American Jewish customs, while at the same time adhering to Persian Jewish customs. Still, the less than universal retention of the Persian Jewish customs indicates the adherence level is declining, at least for the commonly observed customs.

A list of six customs and/or activities related to

weddings were posed to those respondents who were married in the U.S. or single to ascertain the degree of observance among them. Four were Iranian Jewish customs (having a Henna-ritual engagement party, having an Iranian rabbi, exchanging gold at the engagement, and having a dowry), and two were American/American Jewish customs (including English in the ceremony, having an American rabbi).

Table 29

Observance of Wedding Customs in the U.S.

(Married in the U.S. and Single Respondents Only)

	<u>% Respondents</u>
Exchange Gold at Engagement	78.3% (48)
Have an Iranian Rabbi	71.7 (44)
Have a Dowry	41.7 (26)
Have a Henna	26.7 (16)
Include English in the Ceremony	23.3 (14)
Have an American Rabbi	21.7 (13)
(Missing)	(28)

Note: Each ritual was a separate question. Thus, the percentages do not add up to 100 percent.

All of the Iranian Jewish wedding customs were more favored than the American customs. Having an Iranian rabbi was chosen by more than three times the number of respondents who chose an American rabbi, while fewer than a quarter of the respondents did or would include English in

the ceremony.

There are a couple of possible reasons for this; 1) Deference to parents and older guests who might be less proficient and comfortable with English, and 2) Iranian Rabbis are well respected by the Iranian Jewish community and particularly the older generation.

As a corrolary to the English proficiency of the guests, the proficiency of the respondents themselves was a predictable factor in including English in a wedding ceremony. The poor or non-English speakers in Iran were significantly less likely to indicate they did or would include English. The difference is most striking when comparing those who spoke English very well and not at all in Iran.

Table 30

English Speaking in Iran by Including English
in a Wedding Ceremony in the U.S.

	<u>Including English</u>
"In Iran, I Spoke English..."	
Very Well	62.5% (5)
Not At All	0 (out of 7)

($\chi^2 < .01$)

The percentage responding positively to the custom of a dowry indicates its importance to Iranians, considering the relative absence of such a practice in America. As might be expected, there was a correlation between the length of time in America and the degree of practice. Those who have been in the U.S. the least amount of time

were significantly more likely to indicate they had or would have a dowry.

Table 31

Year Immigrated by Use of Dowry

<u>Immigrated to U.S.</u>	<u>Use of Dowry</u>
After 1979	75% (9)
Before 1979	35% (7)

($\chi^2 < .05$)

The factors of age, gender, and age when immigrated did not show significant differences vis a vis the practice of Persian Jewish wedding customs.

Values

The final element to the acculturation and assimilation of Iranian Jews in the United States is values. The questionnaire included a list of value statements. Respondents were asked to indicate their degree of agreement or disagreement.

The questions were separated into three main categories: women, family relations, intergroup activity. The authors hoped the results would shed insight to the respondents' attitudes.

Women

The attitudes in Iran regarding women were very strong and universally accepted. There were questions

related to women vis a vis work, education, divorce, and for younger women - dating, and living at home. The results are as follows:

Table 32
Results of Value Questions on Women

	<u>SA</u>	<u>A</u>	<u>D</u>	<u>SD*</u>	<u>Miss</u>
1. A Married woman should be able to work if she wants	20.7%(18)	43.7%(38)	29.9(26)	5.8(5)	(2)
2. It is not as important for a woman to have a college ed. than a man	10.6(9)	36.5(31)	36.5(31)	16.5(14)	(4)
3. If a couple gets divorced, it is usually the fault of the woman	0	3.5(3)	48.3(42)	48.3(42)	(2)
4. It is better for a mother to be at home than to work	7.1(6)	43.5(37)	42.4(36)	7.1(6)	(4)
5. Young women should be able to date different men before marriage	15.1(13)	59.3(51)	20.9(18)	4.7(4)	(3)
6. A young woman should live with her parents until she is married	32.2(28)	55.2(48)	10.3(9)	2.3(2)	(2)

(# = 89)

*SA - Strongly Agree, A - Agree, D - Disagree,
SD - Strongly Disagree

The results indicate changes in values as compared to the predominant beliefs held in Iran. All questions, except number 6, reflect a majority of the respondents (adding together the strongly agree and agree responses) indicating their values to be different than the predominant Iranian values. A majority of respondents

indicated married women should work if they want, and young women should be able to date different men. Roughly half said they disagree with the necessity of a mother to be at home. These reflect a departure from Iranian values. Even divorce, which is almost always blamed on women in Iran, was no longer seen as primarily the woman's fault.

The only value showing little change has to do with a young woman living at home until she is married. This continues to be a strongly held value for Iranian Jews in America, as reflected in question 6, Table 32.

For the question on the importance of a college education for women as compared to men, there were significant differences by both age and gender.

Table 33

Age and Gender by Opinion Regarding Importance
of a College Education For
Women Compared to Men

<u>Think College is Not as Important For Women as it is for Men</u>			
Over 35	58.1% (22)	Women	60.0% (18)
35 and Under	40.7 (18)	Men	40.7 (22)
(Missing)	(4)		(5)
$\chi^2 <$.05		.06

The over 35 age group felt it was not as important for a woman to have a college education as it is for a man. As members of a society which placed great emphasis on the education and economic advancement of men, Iranians

put much greater value on the education of men. Women were protected by the family and groomed to marry and raise a family. Thus, the importance of a college education for women was not valued in Iran. In their response, the over 35 age group more represent these Iranian values.

The 35 and under group were more frequently educated in America and have interacted with college educated women. Overall, the value placed on a college education for women is very strong in the U.S., dramatically so when compared to attitudes in Iran. The results demonstrate the younger group have adjusted to and accepted the American value to a much greater extent than the older group.

In their response to the question on college education, as well as other value question, women represented a much more traditional Iranian value than did men. This was true even for issues relating to women. Iranian men are exposed to American life to a much greater degree than Iranian women. Men attend college more frequently, and have opportunities to interact with Americans in college and other environments (work, social, etc.). Young Iranian women are very protected, and for this reason and those discussed above, may be less likely to pick up prevalent American values as quickly as men.

Younger female respondents are more likely to be susceptible to assimilation than would older females. The large majority of female respondents were from the 35 and under age group. However, the results from the value

questions about women seem to show that the factor and repercussions of being protected is still strong enough to outweigh, or at least slow down, the process of assimilation. Even with this finding, many more women disagreed with the statement about the worth of a college education for women than they would have in Iran.

Even though there were differences by age or gender, the overall values of the respondents were significantly different from traditional Iranian values, and more in line with American/Western values. An example of this was the degree of disagreement that divorce was the woman's fault. Virtually 100 percent of the respondents disagreed with this statement (about 50 percent strongly), which would be in almost total reversal of the conventional value in Iran. Women were even more strongly opposed to this statement than men.

Family Relations

The results from the value statements related to family relations, demonstrated an uneasiness with American society. The respondents agreed that family life is more strained and problematic in America than it was in Iran, in general and for themselves. The lack of parental control and threat of divorce are also seen as great in the U.S. (see Table 34)

Table 34

Results of Value Questions on Family Relations

	<u>SA</u>	<u>A</u>	<u>Miss.</u>
Iranian family members have closer ties than american...	52.3%(46)	39.8%(36)	
Americans are more likely to get a divorce than Iranians	39.1%(34)	48.3%(42)	(1)
Jewish family members had stronger ties in Iran	29.6%(26)	54.6%(49)	
Iranian parents in America have less authority than they should	15.1%(13)	59.3%(52)	(2)

The cohesion and closeness of families, and the authority of parents, are seen as threatened by the relatively new, open and enticing American society. There are very few differences by age, gender, year of immigration, age when immigrated, and all the other independent variables, indicating that this cross-section of Iranian Jews feel similarly about these issues.

Interdating and Inter marriage

The final category of value statements was related to interdating and inter marriage. Regarding marriage, the respondents were asked if it is acceptable for Iranian Jews to marry non-Iranians and non-Jews. The questions on dating were an attempt to ascertain the respondents' attitudes on interdating for Iranian Jews as a group. These questions differed from those on dating in the

lifestyle section which asked about the actual dating behavior of the single respondents.

Table 35

Attitudes About Intergroup Dating and Marriage

	<u>SA</u>	<u>A</u>	<u>D</u>	<u>SD</u>	<u>Mis.</u>
It is acceptable for Iranian Jews to marry					
<u>non-Iranians</u>	3.5%(3)	37.9(33)	39.1(35)	19.5(17)	(1)
<u>non-Jews</u>	1.2 (1)	8.2(7)	37.7(33)	52.9(45)	(3)
How do you feel about young Iranian Jews dating other					
<u>Iranian Jews</u>	44.7(38)	55.3(48)	0	0	(3)
<u>non-Iranian Jews</u>	10.6(9)	57.7(50)	25.9(22)	5.9(5)	(3)
<u>non-Jewish Iranians</u>	2.3(2)	19.8(18)	45.4(39)	32.6(28)	(2)
<u>non-Jewish Americans</u>	3.5(3)	27.9(25)	30.2(26)	38.4(33)	(2)

The results from the questions on intermarriage show a much higher acceptance of crossing Iranian (cultural) lines than Jewish (religious) lines. Over 40 percent feel it is acceptable for Iranian Jews to marry non-Iranians, whether or not they are Jews, while fewer than 10 percent feel similarly about marrying non-Jews (see Table 35).

The intermarriage between Iranian Jews and non-Iranians is accepted significantly more than intermarriage between Iranian Jews and non-Jews. Jews would prefer the ingroup marriage between Iranian Jews. However, without an ingroup choice, the respondents indicated that the bonds of Jews, even non-Iranian Jews,

are preferred over the bonds of Iranians of a different religion.

As would be expected, attitudes towards interdating are much more open than those towards intermarriage. However, the extent to which interdating is accepted is significant. Fewer than 10 percent of the respondents feel it is acceptable for Iranian Jews to marry non-Jews, yet over 20 percent find it agreeable for Iranian Jews to date non-Jews (both Iranian and non-Iranian).

A possible explanation for these results may stem from the Iranian tradition of minimal dating before marriage. As discussed in the lifestyle section, there is great pressure to marry when Iranian Jews date, even in America. Iranian Jews might be opting to date non-Iranians in order to reduce or eliminate the pressure. Both the results from the dating behavior of single respondents, especially men, and the attitudes of all respondents supported this explanation. This may be even more true of younger Iranian Jews. Although there were no significant differences found between the older and younger groups, the overall sample is skewed toward the younger group as over sixty percent of the respondents were age 35 and under. Still, the attitudes of the respondents over age 35 did not differ significantly from the respondents under age 35.

Other patterns emerge when the respondents' attitudes about dating are compared to the actual dating behavior of the single respondents. Over two-thirds of the respondents

are agreeable to Iranian Jews dating American Jews, but only five percent of the single respondents usually date American Jews. The practice of dating non-Jewish Iranians was similarly low compared to the attitudes about dating non-Jewish Iranians. It is clear from these results that the dating behavior of those who are single contrasts dramatically with their attitudes.

What can be discerned about intermarriage from these results? None of the respondents is married to non-Jews and they do feel strongly against intermarriage for Iranian Jews. Although the respondents do not accept intermarriage, the dating attitudes and behavior of many indicate the acceptance of intergroup relationships. As has happened with other Jewish immigrants to America, and all immigrant groups, the openness of the society inevitably leads to some intermarriage. The issue is the extent to which intermarriage will occur for the group.

Iranian Jews seem to distinguish strongly between dating non-Jews and marrying non-Jews. However, the acceptance of interdating in attitude or behavior now means that intermarriage will probably proliferate at a faster rate later. The same holds for intermarriage between Iranian Jews and non-Iranians. A significant percentage of respondents accept dating between Iranian Jews and non-Iranians, Jewish and non-Jewish. One-fifth of all single respondents, and one-quarter of single male respondents, usually date non-Jewish Americans.

Summary

The results from acculturation and assimilation are vast and varied. As noted, acculturation and assimilation are inevitable for an immigrant group in America. Even with their relative newness to America, Iranian Jews are beginning to show signs of acculturation and assimilation. Noting the study's limitations due to response rate and representativeness, the results show interesting acculturation and assimilation patterns.

Increased English usage, joining in American holiday celebrations, and adhering to "American" values are examples of natural and inevitable acculturation and assimilation.

Factors such as age, gender, length of time in the U.S., and English proficiency would be expected to be significant in the acculturation and assimilation process.

Older Iranian Jews are less assimilated in language usage, patronage of restaurants and entertainment, observance of American holidays, and with certain attitudes and values. Male respondents appear more assimilated in dating and the majority of American holiday observances. Those with children were more likely to observe family-oriented Jewish holidays.

Similarly, as would be expected, a less amount of time in the U.S. and lower English proficiency tended to retard the assimilation process with regard to various

activities.

When the results validate intuition and expectations, they are significant in lending credence to unscientific observations and estimations on Iranian Jewish acculturation and assimilation. Conversely, when results seem to contradict or make one question observations, a great deal can also be learned and gained.

A rather unexpected result was the male-female discrepancy. As mentioned previously, males would have been expected to assimilate more quickly than females, due to advanced education, more interaction with Americans, etc. The majority of female respondents were under 36. The authors expected them to be more "assimilable" than Iranian females in general, and thus diminish the male-female discrepancy.

Since a gender discrepancy was significant in numerous results, either the younger female respondents are not more "assimilable" and assimilated than older females, or the male-female differences in the general Iranian Jewish community are even more polarized than observed.

Since gender differences did not exist in all areas, it may be that only with regard to certain aspects are younger females less "assimilable" than older females. Parental protection has already been pointed out as having a particularly strong effect on Iranian young women.

Although the extent of the differences between male and female respondents was greater than expected, the

overall acculturation and assimilation results follow expected patterns.

NOTES

¹Earl R. Babbie, Social Research for Consumers (Belmont, CA: Wadsworth Publishing Co., 1982).

²Collins, et al., 178-183 and 201-204.

³Steven M. Cohen, American Modernity and Jewish Identity (New York, NY: Tavistock Publications, 1983), 81.

⁴Collins, et al., 159-160.

⁵Organizations were categorized as Iranian-American Jewish, American Jewish, Student/Youth, Charity, Israel-Related, Baal Tshuvah, Social, Synagogue, or Non-Jewish.

CHAPTER 5

CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS

The acculturation and assimilation of immigrant Jews in America is a recurring phenomenon. At numerous times throughout U.S. history, a significant influx of Jews from a given country or region has dramatically altered the population and make-up of Jews in America. The immigration of significant numbers of Iranian Jews to the U.S. beginning mainly in the mid and late 1970's continues in the Jewish immigrant tradition.

The process and patterns of Iranian Jewish acculturation and assimilation is in its early stages. So too are the responses to Iranian Jews from American Jews and their institutions. What characteristics of Iranian Jewish acculturation and assimilation follow in the tradition of past immigrations and settlements in America -- what seems to be unique?

The results from this exploratory study of Iranian Jewish acculturation and assimilation into American life will be compared to immigration theories. Scenarios for Iranian Jews and the American Jewish community will also be developed and discussed.

The legitimacy and applicability of many models and theories of acculturation and assimilation rely, at least partially, on the test of time. Since most of the

respondents have only been in the U.S. for about ten years, the authors' assessment of the respondents in relation to these theories and models may be a bit premature. Nonetheless, such models and theories provide a useful frame within which to evaluate the results.

The cultural and behavioral patterns of later-generation ethnics in the Iranian Jewish population in Los Angeles do not appear to be explained best by the model of straight-line assimilation.¹ There is more assimilation by the younger group on many levels, but not on others. Some younger people maintain the observant traditions of Persian Jewry. Although disappearance of religious observance tends to be one of the first signs of assimilation among immigrant groups, Jewish observance has not decreased for the respondents overall or for the younger members of the community. Thus, the practices of the respondents, especially the younger group, does not give the appearance that its members will assimilate in a straight line.

Goldlust and Richmond's conclusion regarding length of residence as one of the most successful predictors of acculturation appears to be reinforced by this study's results.² As mentioned earlier, less time in the U.S. usually minimizes the effects of acculturation. Indeed, the respondents who have been in the U.S. longer than others have acculturated more to the extent that they are more likely to observe the American holiday of

Thanksgiving, less likely to observe the Iranian New Year, and less likely to have a dowry.

The results do not seem to confirm the finding of Szapocznik et al.³ that peoples' behavior adjusts much more quickly than their values. The respondents have adjusted their values fairly quickly, particularly in relation to women's roles. Yet it cannot be concluded that behavior had adjusted to coincide with these professed attitudes. Interdating is an activity in which both the behavior and values of the single respondents were investigated. The results run counter to Szapocznik et al. As an example, most of the single respondents are amenable to Iranian Jews dating American Jews, yet most of them do not date American Jews. Thus, these respondents' values regarding dating appear to have adjusted or acculturated more quickly than has their behavior.

Shopping patterns and wedding ceremony patterns tend to confirm Padilla's conclusion that one of the five dimensions important in determining acculturation is language familiarity.⁴ The respondents with minimal English skills are more likely to shop at Iranian stores and less likely to include English in a wedding ceremony than those who are more proficient in English.

The trend towards rapid assimilation of Soviet Jews as cited by Gold⁵ does not appear to be mirrored in the experiences of Iranian Jews in this study. The contrasts in assimilation experiences may be explained by the

groups' contrasting cultures and traditions.

Iranian Jews were able to develop a much more grounded Jewish culture and tradition in their native country than the Soviet Jews were able to even imagine developing under their oppressed conditions in the Soviet Union. Iranian Jews then brought with them to the U.S. a more stable, observant Jewish life than did the Soviet Jews.

Additionally, the dense population of an estimated 10,000 to 40,000 Iranian Jews in Los Angeles⁶ tends to create a larger number of possibilities for intragroup activity, including dating and culture retention, than might be available to Soviet Jews in a less dense Soviet Jewish population. Therefore, Iranian Jews appear to be better equipped overall to resist the enticements of assimilation than are Soviet Jews. Thus, the results tend to confirm aspects of some of the models and theories, while suggesting some doubt about others.

As many of this study's results illustrate, Iranian Jews are distinct as Jews and as a group. Coming from a Persian Jewish tradition, there are contrasts in observance, practice, and communal structure from the predominant Ashkenazic tradition of American Jewry. Another important factor is the context within which Iranian Jews seem to be acculturating in the U.S.

The uniqueness of Iranian Jews, and the period in which they immigrated are crucial factors in understanding

differences in their acculturation and the responses from the American Jewish community.

The beliefs of the 1970's and 1980's were and are very different from those of the early 1900's, a period of large Jewish immigration to America. The melting pot theory, prevalent in the early 1900's, is outdated and mostly irrelevant, while the notion of cultural pluralism is currently the prominent ideology. Americans, Jews included, have come to believe that groups within society can and should retain their culture and heritage while becoming and being Americans. This has framed the acculturation of Iranian Jews and the response from the American Jewish community.

The organized American Jewish community has established mechanisms for the immigration and resettlement of Iranian Jews. The Los Angeles Jewish community supports an immigration and resettlement office as part of its Jewish Family Service. This office provides direct immigration and resettlement assistance and services without the goal of assimilation and Americanization. Although not established solely for Iranian Jews, the immigration and resettlement office serves many immigrants and has recently expanded to serve the wave of recent immigrants from Iran and the Soviet Union.

In addition to immigration and resettlement, the American Jewish community has facilitated and advanced the establishment of Iranian Jewish organizations as related

but autonomous institutions within the American Jewish community. Within the tradition of cultural pluralism, Iranian Jews are not being prodded towards assimilation into American life or American Jewish life. Members of the American Jewish community have an admiration of and respect for many of the qualities brought to America by the Iranian Jewish community, including the closeness of families and an observant and rich tradition. The respect is exemplified by the relationships that have developed between Iranian and American Jewish organizations. For instance, the Iranian Jewish Federation is housed in the Los Angeles Jewish Federation Council building. The two organizations interact with each other regularly, and the Jewish Federation Council receives funds annually from the Iranian Jewish Federation.

What can be surmised from the Iranian Jewish communal response to their own resettlement, acculturation and assimilation? As discussed in Chapter 4, Iranian Jews have established numerous organizations aimed at promoting Iranian Jewish culture and preventing undue assimilation. Even involvement in American Jewish organizations is often viewed as leading to assimilation.

The trends in the Iranian Jewish community, much of which were observed from the results of this study, are to continue to create and support Iranian Jewish organizations as the threat of assimilation increases. Included in these organizations will be more Iranian synagogues, a clear

focal point for Iranian Jews, and Iranian Jewish schools. Will this lead to animosity and schisms between the Iranian and American Jewish communities? Will Iranian Jewry become more involved with the American Jewish community, or will they become a distinct and enclosed subgroup within American Jewish life?

As a certain amount of acculturation and assimilation is inevitable for individuals, the same holds true for a group. There probably will be elements of the Iranian Jewish community which will welcome and foster involvement with the American Jewish community. Some are already in existence. Other elements are and will continue to protect Iranian Jews by attempting to shut themselves off from the American Jewish community. The continued immigration of Iranian Jews could strengthen the latter elements considering the fear of assimilation recent immigrants seem to possess.

As historical reference, the German-American Jews and the Eastern European-American Jews developed segregated institutions, yet virtually all of these distinctions have disappeared. The amount of time it took for these barriers to dissolve was significant, and there are groups who still isolate themselves from the American Jewish community. While many of the factors are different when compared to the Iranian Jewish situation, interesting analogies can be drawn. From prior example and conjecture, even if the bulk of the Iranian Jewish community becomes indistinguishably

incorporated within the American Jewish community, it will not occur for a long period of time, and there will be elements which will choose to be outside of the American Jewish penumbra.

As goals of the Iranian and American Jewish communities converge, more concerted responses should result. Recommendations which may assist the adaptation process of Iranian Jews will have to draw specifically on their communal needs as a developing immigrant group. Presently, these needs may be reflected largely in areas of immigration and resettlement. In the future, outreach, volunteerism, and fundraising will probably surface and become more prominent.

Recommendations which stem from trends observed in this study for the Iranian Jewish community, particularly in Los Angeles, are centered on a few major sub-groups of Iranian Jews and communal approaches to education, volunteerism, and fundraising.

Providing services for elderly Iranian Jews is and will continue to be a major area of need for the community. As the American Jewish community faces a similar situation, developing and establishing ways and structures to serve the elderly population can be both an area of cooperation between the Iranian and American Jewish communities and fiscally prudent. The funding issue is a particularly cogent issue for the future.

The same issues are raised for the communal response

to unaffiliated Jews. This subgroup of Jews is significant in the general Jewish population and will undoubtedly increase among Iranian Jews as they remain in America. The Iranian Jewish community will most likely be in growing need for outreach, including education regarding what the community offers. Outreach programs are often costly and will place a financial burden on those Iranian Jewish organizations who plan and execute such programs.

Unaffiliated and elderly Iranian Jews (particularly women) were underrepresented in the sample of this study. Therefore, further investigation into these populations will be crucial as the Iranian Jewish community reaches out and services them.

Iranian Jewish women, particularly those over 35 who were absent from this study, are a group which can become a valuable asset in the community. Due to contrasting cultural and communal traditions, volunteerism as it is practiced in America is lacking for Iranian Jews and adult women. The American Jewish model of volunteerism, especially the active and invaluable involvement of Jewish women, if developed in the Iranian Jewish community, would be of great advantage.

Along with volunteerism, education from the American Jewish community regarding fundraising in America would be of great benefit to the Iranian Jewish community. Adjustments and progress toward fundraising in America by the Iranian Jewish community has already occurred. Further

progress including greater fiscal accountability and leadership development are areas which can be encouraged.

As will occur naturally, and has been seen in the results of this study, adjustment to America will bring varied lifestyles to Iranian Jews. Although uniquely Persian, the religious tradition of Iranian Jews has been most closely alligned with Orthodoxy. The educational programs and experiences in America established by Iranian Jews continue in this tradition. However, Jewish pluralism among Iranian Jews is developing as is illustrated by involvement with Reform, Conservative, and other denominations and expressions of Judaism. A response to this trend, particularly regarding education, will be of import to the Iranian Jewish community if it is to reach a growing portion of its community and meet their needs.

Further and diverse studies are needed to better understand the acculturation and assimilation of Iranian Jews in America. The limitations of this study, the dynamic nature of adjustment to America, and the continued infusion of Jewish immigrants from Iran, are all factors which necessitate further research.

Iranian Jews in the U.S. have begun to find ways to help themselves through the adjustment process, and to receive help from some communal organizations in the American Jewish community. There appears to be room, however, for American Jews and Iranian Jews to continue working together to seek additional ways to help make

Iranian Jews less stigmatized as a new immigrant community and more accepted as an integral component of the American Jewish community. The indications are that the addition of Iranian Jews will be as enriching to the American Jewish community as past Jewish immigrations to America.

NOTES

¹See Literature Review, 6-7.

²Goldlust and Richmond, 193-216.

³Szapocznik, et al., 113-130.

⁴Padilla.

⁵Gold, 303.

⁶Noonan and Nazarian, 10.

Appendix

FIRST, WE'D LIKE TO ASK SOME PERSONAL AND FAMILY QUESTIONS.

What is your age? _____ What is your sex?
Male ☐ Female ☐

What is your marital status:
Single ☐ Widowed ☐ Married ☐ Divorced ☐

If you are **married** or **widowed**
Were you married in....
U.S. ☐ IRAN ☐ ISRAEL ☐ EUROPE ☐
OTHER _____

Is/was your spouse...
IRANIAN ☐ AMERICAN ☐
ISRAELI ☐ OTHER _____

Is/was your spouse Jewish?
Yes ☐ No ☐

Is/was this your first marriage?
Yes ☐ No ☐

Was your first marriage in....
U.S. ☐ IRAN ☐ ISRAEL ☐ EUROPE ☐
OTHER _____

Was your first spouse
IRANIAN ☐ AMERICAN ☐ ISRAELI ☐
OTHER _____

Was your first spouse Jewish?
Yes ☐ No ☐

If **divorced**, did the divorce take place in:
IRAN ☐ U.S. ☐ OTHER _____

NEXT, WE'D LIKE TO ASK YOU ABOUT YOUR LIFE IN IRAN.

(If you are married, answer for you and your spouse where indicated)

1. In what city were you (and your spouse) born?

You _____

Your Spouse _____

2. In what city did you (and your spouse) live the longest in Iran?

You _____

Your Spouse _____

3. How old were you (and your spouse) when you moved to the U.S.?

You _____ Your Spouse _____

4. In what year did you move to the U.S.?

You 19____ Your Spouse 19____

5. What are your long range plans?

- Stay in the U.S. permanently.....☐
- Go back to Iran soon.....☐
- Go back to Iran someday.....☐
- Move to another country.....☐
- Other.....☐

6. What was the last grade of school you completed in Iran?

You _____ Your Spouse _____

7. List the grades during which you attended Jewish and/or Moslem school.

Example: If you attended a Jewish School from 1st through 8th grade, and a Moslem School from 9th through 12th grade, you would fill in as follows:

	<u>Jewish School</u>	<u>Moslem School</u>
<u>Example</u>	<u>1st - 8th</u>	<u>9th - 12th</u>
	<u>Jewish School</u>	<u>Moslem School</u>
You	_____	_____
Your Spouse	_____	_____

8. If you or your spouse attended a Moslem School at any time, did you receive any Jewish education outside of your daily school?

YOU

Yes.....☐

No.....☐

YOUR SPOUSE

Yes.....☐

No.....☐



Check all that apply

	You	Your Spouse
Tutoring.....	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Synagogue.....	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Through a Jewish Organization.....	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

NEXT, WE WOULD LIKE TO ASK YOU ABOUT YOUR OCCUPATION IN IRAN. FIRST FILL IT OUT FOR YOURSELF.

9. Did you work at any time while you lived in Iran?

Yes ☐ No..... ☐ ----> GO TO #14



Full-Time..... ☐

Part-Time..... ☐

10. What was your last occupation in Iran?

11. What kind of business or industry was this? (For example; a store, a government agency, a factory, etc.)

12. What kind of work did you do? (For example; teacher, clerk, salesman, store owner, etc.)

13. Did you work for yourself or somebody else?

self..... ☐

somebody else..... ☐

partnership..... ☐

worked for family..... ☐

14. NEXT WE WOULD LIKE TO ASK YOU ABOUT YOUR SPOUSE'S OCCUPATION. IF YOU ARE NOT MARRIED, GO TO QUESTION #20

15. Did your spouse work at any time while in Iran?

Yes☐ No.....☐ ----> GO TO QUESTION #20



Full-Time.....☐

Part-Time.....☐

16. What was your spouse's last occupation in Iran?

17. What kind of business or industry was this? (For example; a store, a government agency, a factory, etc.)

18. What kind of work did your spouse do? (For example; teacher, clerk, salesman, store owner, etc.)

19. Did your spouse work for him/herself or somebody else?

self.....☐

somebody else.....☐

partnership.....☐

worked for family.....☐

NEXT WE WOULD LIKE TO ASK YOU ABOUT JEWISH OBSERVANCES AT HOME.

20. For each of the following, please indicate whether you usually did this in your household in Iran: (Check all that apply)

- Fast on Yom Kippur.....☐
- Fast on Tisha B'Av.....☐
- Fast on Tanait Esther (Purim).....☐
- Have or attend a Passover Seder.....☐
- Eat Matzoh instead of bread on Passover.....☐
- Recite the Kiddush on Friday night.....☐
- Light Sabbath candles on Friday night.....☐
- Have a Mezzuzah on the doors outside your home.....☐
- Use separate dishes for dairy and meat products.....☐
- Light Chanukah candles.....☐
- Refrain from handling money on the Sabbath.....☐
- Use the Mikveh (you, your wife, or your mother).....☐
- Eat non-Kosher food outside the home.....☐
- Eat only Kosher meat inside the home.....☐

NEXT, WE WOULD LIKE TO ASK YOU ABOUT JEWISH ORGANIZATIONS TO WHICH YOU (AND YOUR SPOUSE) BELONGED WHILE IN IRAN.

21. Were you active in any Jewish organizations in Iran?

Yes.....☐

No.....☐ -----> GO TO QUESTION #22



21a. Please list up to ten Jewish organizations in which you were the most active.

Name of organization

Did you hold office?
(Circle One)

You

a. _____	Yes	No
b. _____	Yes	No
c. _____	Yes	No
d. _____	Yes	No
e. _____	Yes	No
f. _____	Yes	No
g. _____	Yes	No
h. _____	Yes	No
i. _____	Yes	No
j. _____	Yes	No

IF YOU ARE NOT MARRIED, GO TO QUESTION #23.

22. Was your spouse active in any Jewish organizations in Iran?

Yes.....☐

No.....☐ ----> GO TO QUESTION #23



22a. Please list up to ten Jewish organizations in which your spouse was the most active in Iran.

office?	Name of organization	Did he/she hold
		(Circle One)

Your Spouse

a.	_____	Yes	No
b.	_____	Yes	No
c.	_____	Yes	No
d.	_____	Yes	No
e.	_____	Yes	No
f.	_____	Yes	No
g.	_____	Yes	No
h.	_____	Yes	No
i.	_____	Yes	No
j.	_____	Yes	No

23a. Indicate the language(s) you knew in Iran, and your level of competency
YOU.....

(Circle one for each)

<u>Farsi</u> _____	Very Well_____	Well_____	Not Well_____	Not At All
read	1	2	3	4
write	1	2	3	4
speak	1	2	3	4
understand	1	2	3	4

<u>English</u> _____	Very Well_____	Well_____	Not Well_____	Not At All
read	1	2	3	4
write	1	2	3	4
speak	1	2	3	4
understand	1	2	3	4

<u>French</u> _____	Very Well_____	Well_____	Not Well_____	Not At All
read	1	2	3	4
write	1	2	3	4
speak	1	2	3	4
understand	1	2	3	4

b. YOUR SPOUSE.....

(Circle one for each)

<u>Farsi</u> _____	Very Well_____	Well_____	Not Well_____	Not At All
read	1	2	3	4
write	1	2	3	4
speak	1	2	3	4
understand	1	2	3	4

<u>English</u> _____	Very Well_____	Well_____	Not Well_____	Not At All
read	1	2	3	4
write	1	2	3	4
speak	1	2	3	4
understand	1	2	3	4

<u>French</u> _____	Very Well_____	Well_____	Not Well_____	Not At All
read	1	2	3	4
write	1	2	3	4
speak	1	2	3	4
understand	1	2	3	4

NEXT WE WOULD LIKE TO ASK YOU ABOUT YOUR LIFE IN THE U.S.

LIFESTYLE

24. When you speak with your parents, what language do you use mostly?

25. When you speak with your children, what language do you use mostly?

26. With my Iranian friends, I mostly speak:

- (Check One) ☐ Farsi
☐ English
☐ Both equally

27. Most of my friends are:

- (Check One) ☐ Iranian Jews
☐ Iranian Non-Jews
☐ American Jews
☐ American Non-Jews

IF YOU ARE SINGLE, PLEASE ANSWER #28.

28. When I go out on a date, it is usually with:

- (Check One) ☐ An Iranian Jew
☐ An Iranian Non-Jew
☐ An American Jew
☐ An American Non-Jew

29. Most of the meals at my home consist of:

- ☐ All Persian Food
☐ Persian and Non-Persian (American) Food
☐ Non-Persian (American) Food

30. When I eat in a restaurant, I mostly go to:

- ☐ Persian restaurants
☐ Non-Persian restaurants

31. What kind of entertainment do you mostly attend?

- ☐ Jewish-Iranian
☐ Persian
☐ Non-Persian/American

32. Where do you mostly shop for food?

- ☐ Persian/Iranian stores
☐ American stores
☐ Both Persian/Iranian and American stores

33. Where do you mostly do your other shopping (eg. clothes, household items, etc.)?

- ☐ Persian/Iranian stores
☐ American stores
☐ Both Persian/Iranian and American stores

34. Where do you go for:

(Check where appropriate)

	<u>Iranian</u>	<u>American</u>	<u>Both</u>
Doctor	_____	_____	_____
Dentist	_____	_____	_____
Beauty Salon	_____	_____	_____
Attorney	_____	_____	_____
Accountant	_____	_____	_____
Car Repair	_____	_____	_____

OBSERVANCES

35. Do you usually observe/celebrate any of the following holidays?

- Have or attend a Thanksgiving Dinner.....☐
- Have or attend an American New Years Party.....☐
- Exchange presents on Hanukah with your family.....☐
- Have or attend a party for the Iranian New Year☐
- Celebrate your Birthday more in the U.S.....☐
- Send a card and/or flowers on Valentines Day.....☐

NEXT WE WOULD LIKE TO ASK YOU ABOUT JEWISH OBSERVANCES AT HOME.

36. For each of the following, please indicate whether you usually do this in your household in the U.S: (Check all that apply)

- Fast on Yom Kippur.....☐
- Fast on Tisha B'Av.....☐
- Fast on Tanait Esther (Purim).....☐
- Have or attend a Passover Seder.....☐
- Eat Matzoh instead of bread on Passover.....☐
- Recite the Kiddush on Friday night.....☐
- Light Sabbath candles on Friday night.....☐
- Have a Mezzuzah on the doors outside your home.....☐
- Use separate dishes for dairy and meat products.....☐
- Light Chanukah candles.....☐
- Refrain from handling money on the Sabbath.....☐
- Use the Mikveh (you, your wife, or your mother).....☐
- Celebrate Bar Mitzvah☐
- Celebrate Bat Mitzvah for a girl.....☐
- Eat rice on Passover.....☐
- Eat nuts on Passover.....☐
- Eat non-Kosher food outside the home.....☐
- Eat only Kosher meat inside the home.....☐

37. IF YOU WERE MARRIED IN THE U.S., OR IF YOU ARE SINGLE:
DID YOU/ WOULD YOU? (check all that apply)

- Have a Henna.....☐
 Have an American Rabbi.....☐
 Have an Iranian Rabbi.....☐
 Exchange gold at the engagement.....☐
 Include English in the ceremony.....☐
 Have a dowry.....☐

38. Do you currently belong to any Jewish organizations?

Yes.....☐ No.....☐ ---> GO TO QUESTION #39



38a. Please list up to ten Jewish organizations in which you are currently most active.

	Name of organization	Do you hold office? (Circle One)
You		
a.	_____	Yes No
b.	_____	Yes No
c.	_____	Yes No
d.	_____	Yes No
e.	_____	Yes No
f.	_____	Yes No
g.	_____	Yes No
h.	_____	Yes No
i.	_____	Yes No
j.	_____	Yes No

39. If married, does your spouse currently belong to any Jewish organizations? (IF NOT MARRIED, GO TO QUESTION #40)

Yes.....☐

No.....☐ ---> GO TO QUESTION #40



39a. Please list up to ten Jewish organizations in which your spouse is currently most active.

Name of organization

Does he/she hold office?
(Circle One)

- | | |
|----------|----------|
| a. _____ | Yes No |
| b. _____ | Yes No |
| c. _____ | Yes No |
| d. _____ | Yes No |
| e. _____ | Yes No |
| f. _____ | Yes No |
| g. _____ | Yes No |
| h. _____ | Yes No |
| i. _____ | Yes No |
| j. _____ | Yes No |

40. Please list up to five organizations you gave money to during the last five years. Start with the organization in which you gave the most. If you have not given to any, please circle **none** and go to the next question.

none

- a. _____
- b. _____
- c. _____
- d. _____
- e. _____

NEXT WE WOULD LIKE TO ASK YOU QUESTIONS ABOUT YOUR FAMILY IN THE U.S.

41. Do you have any children

Yes.....☐

No.....☐----> GO TO #43



How many? _____

42. Fill out the following for each child in the household, starting with the oldest.

Child #1

Child #2

Child #3

Child #4

a. Age

b. Sex

M F

M F

M F

M F

c. Name of School Attending (or most recent school attended).

Child #1 _____

Child #2 _____

Child #3 _____

Child #4 _____

d. Is this child receiving a Jewish education of any kind?

Child #1 No ☐

Child #2 No ☐

Child #3 No ☐

Child #4 No ☐

Yes ☐

Yes ☐

Yes ☐

Yes ☐

|

|

|

|

✓

✓

✓

✓

e. Name of School:

Child #1 _____

Child #2 _____

Child #3 _____

Child #4 _____

43. NEXT, WE WOULD LIKE TO ASK YOU ABOUT IRANIAN AND AMERICAN FAMILIES. INDICATE WHETHER YOU AGREE OR DISAGREE WITH THE FOLLOWING STATEMENTS.

44. A married woman should be able to work if she wants.

(circle one) Strongly Agree Agree Disagree Strongly Disagree

45. It is not as important for a woman to have a college education as it is for a man.

Strongly Agree Agree Disagree Strongly Disagree

46. If a couple gets divorced, it is usually the fault of the woman.

SA A D SD

46b. If a couple gets divorced, it is usually the fault of the man.

SA A D SD

47. It is better for a mother to be at home than to work.

SA A D SD

48. Iranian family members have closer ties than American family members.

SA A D SD

49. American couples are more likely to get a divorce than Iranian couples.

SA A D SD

50. Jewish family members had stronger ties in Iran than they do in America.

SA A D SD

51. In America, Iranian parents do not have as much authority as they should.

SA A D SD

52. Young women should be able to date different men before marriage.

SA A D SD

53. A young woman should live with her parents until she gets married.

SA A D SD

54. A young man should live with his parents until he gets married.

SA A D SD

55. In my opinion, it is acceptable for Iranian Jews to marry non-Iranians?
Strongly Agree Agree Disagree Strongly Disagree

56. In my opinion, it is acceptable for Iranian Jews to marry non-Jews?
Strongly Agree Agree Disagree Strongly Disagree

57. A woman should be married by age _____. (Fill in)

58. A man should be married by age _____.

59. How do you feel about young Iranian Jews dating other Iranian Jews?
(circle one) Strongly Oppose Oppose In Favor Strongly In Favor

60. How do you feel about young Iranian Jews dating Jews who are not Iranian?
Strongly Oppose Oppose In Favor Strongly In Favor

61. How do you feel about young Iranian Jews dating Iranians who are not Jewish?
Strongly Oppose Oppose In Favor Strongly In Favor

62. How do you feel about young Iranian Jews dating non-Jews who are not Iranian?
Strongly Oppose Oppose In Favor Strongly In Favor

Los Angeles Iranian Jewish SURVEY

پرسشنامه

یهودیان ایرانی

مقیم لوس آنجلس

HEBREW UNION COLLEGE
IRANIAN JEWISH FEDERATION
PERSIAN HILLEL

این پرسشنامه سوابقاتی است مربوط به مشخصات خصوصی و خانوادگی شما :

سن _____ جنسیت : ☐ مرد ☐ زن

☐ مجرد هستید ☐ همسرتان فوت کرده ☐ ازدواج کرده اید ☐ زن ☐ مرد

اگر ازدواج کرده اید دوباره همسرتان فوت کرده

به سوالات زیر جواب دهید :

محل ازدواج :

☐ آمریکا ☐ ایران ☐ اسرائیل ☐ اروپا

محل دیگر : _____

ملیت همسر شما :

☐ آمریکایی ☐ ایرانی ☐ اسرائیلی ☐ ملیت دیگر : _____

مذهب همسر شما :

☐ یهودی ☐ غیریهودی ☐ بله ☐ خیر

اولین ازدواج

محل ازدواج اول :

☐ آمریکا ☐ ایران ☐ اسرائیل ☐ اروپا

محل دیگر : _____

ملیت همسر اول شما :

☐ آمریکایی ☐ ایرانی ☐ اسرائیلی ☐ ملیت دیگر : _____

مذهب همسر اول شما :

☐ یهودی ☐ غیریهودی ☐ محل طلاق : ☐ آمریکا ☐ ایران ☐ محل دیگر : _____

طلاق گرفته اید ☐

این پرسشنامه سؤالاتی است در مورد زندگی شما در ایران
(اگر ازدواج کرده‌اید. در محل مخصوص جداگانه جواب دهید)

۱- متولد چه شهری هستید؟

شما : _____

همسر : _____

۲- طولانی‌ترین محل اقامت در ایران

شما : _____

همسر : _____

۳- سن شما و همسرتان در موقع ورود به آمریکا :

شما : _____

همسر : _____

۴- در چه سالی به آمریکا مهاجرت کردید؟

شما : ۱۹ _____

همسر : ۱۹ _____

۵- برنامه‌های درازمدت :

- ☐ مقیم دائمی شدن در آمریکا
- ☐ بازگشت به ایران در اولین فرصت
- ☐ بازگشت به ایران یک زمان نامعلوم
- ☐ مهاجرت به یک کشور دیگر
- ☐ غیره

۶- آخرین کلاس مدرسه که در ایران تمام کرده‌اید

شما : _____

همسر : _____

۷- کلاسهای که در مدارس یهودی و غیریهودی بوده اید ذکر کنید.

مثال: اگر از کلاس اول تا هشتم در مدرسه یهودی و از نهم تا دوازده در مدرسه غیریهودی بوده اید شبیه زیر پر کنید

<u>غیریهودی</u>	<u>مدرسه یهودی</u>	
۹ - ۱۲	۱ - ۸	
<u>مدرسه غیریهودی</u>	<u>مدرسه یهودی</u>	
_____	_____	شما :
_____	_____	همسر :

۸- آیا طی تحصیل در مدرسه غیریهودی معلومات یهودی را از خارج از مدرسه دریافت کرده اید؟

شما ☐ بله ☐ خیر
همسر ☐ بله ☐ خیر

اگر جواب مثبت است به چه طریق:

شما	همسر
<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

از طریق: معلم خصوصی کنیا سازمان یهودی

این پرسشنامه سؤالاتی است در مورد شغل شما در ایران
(فقط مربوط به خود شما است)

۹- آیا هرگز در ایران شغلی داشته اید

بله ☐ خیر ☐ (اگر جواب منفی است لطفا به شماره ۱۴ رجوع کنید)
اگر جواب مثبت است : تمام وقت ☐ نیمه وقت ☐

۱۰- آخرین شغل شما در ایران

۱۱- نوع شغل شما (مثال: مفازه، سازمان دولتی، کارخانه، شغل آزاد و غیره)

۱۲- سمت شما در این شغل (مثال: معلم، منشی، فروشنده، صاحب مفازه و غیره)

۱۳- آیا برای خود کاری کردید یا غیره

- ☐ برای خودم
- ☐ کارمند
- ☐ شریک
- ☐ با خانواده

۱۴- (این قسمت سوالاتی است مربوط به شغل همسران)

اگر ازدواج نکرده اید لطفا رجوع کنید به سوال ۲۰

۱۵- آیا همسران هرگز در ایران شغلی داشته است ؟

بله ☐ خیر ☐ (اگر جواب منفی است رجوع کنید به سوال ۲۰)
اگر جواب مثبت است :

تمام وقت ☐ نیمه وقت ☐

۱۶- آخرین شغل همسر شما در ایران

۱۷- نوع شغل همسر شما در ایران (مثال: مفازه، سازمان دولتی، کارخانه، و غیره)

۱۸- سمت همسر شما در این شغل (معلم، منشی، فروشنده، صاحب مفازه و غیره)

۱۹- آیا همسر شما برای خودشان کاری کردند یا غیره

- ☐ برای خودشان
- ☐ کارمند
- ☐ شریک
- ☐ خانواده

این پرسشنامه سؤالاتی است مربوط به رعایت مراسم یهودی در منزل

۲۰- هر کدام از مراسم مذهبی زیر را که در ایران معمولاً رعایت می کردید با علامت (x) مشخص کنید .

- ☐ روزه کیپور
- ☐ روزه "تیشعابه" و "نهی"
- ☐ روزه "پوریم"
- ☐ شرکت در مراسم عید فطیر
- ☐ خوردن فقط مصادرایام عید فطیر
- ☐ گفتن براخای شراب در شب شبات
- ☐ روشن کردن شمع در شب شبات
- ☐ نصب مزوزا در روی چهار چوب در ورودی منزل
- ☐ جدا کردن ظروف شیری و گوشتی
- ☐ روشن کردن شمعهای خنوکا
- ☐ عدم حمل پول در شب شبات
- ☐ استفاده از میکوه (برای شما ، مادر و یا همسر)
- ☐ مصرف غذای غیر کاسه در خارج از منزل
- ☐ خوردن فقط گوشت کاسه در منزل

این پرسشنامه سوالاتی است مربوط به شرکت شما در سازمان های مختلف یهودی

در مدتی که ایران بودید

۲۱- آیا شما در سازمانهای یهودی در ایران فعالیت کرده اید.

بله ☐ خیر ☐ اگر منفی لطفا به سوال ۲۲ رجوع کنید

۲۱ الف. لطفا اسم (تا ۱۰ تا) سازمان (های) یهودی را که شما در آن بیشترین

فعالیت را کرده اید نام ببرید

اسم سازمان (های) که شما فعالیت کرده اید	آیا ستمی هم داشتید
_____	بله <input type="checkbox"/> خیر <input type="checkbox"/>
_____	بله <input type="checkbox"/> خیر <input type="checkbox"/>
_____	بله <input type="checkbox"/> خیر <input type="checkbox"/>
_____	بله <input type="checkbox"/> خیر <input type="checkbox"/>
_____	بله <input type="checkbox"/> خیر <input type="checkbox"/>
_____	بله <input type="checkbox"/> خیر <input type="checkbox"/>
_____	بله <input type="checkbox"/> خیر <input type="checkbox"/>
_____	بله <input type="checkbox"/> خیر <input type="checkbox"/>
_____	بله <input type="checkbox"/> خیر <input type="checkbox"/>
_____	بله <input type="checkbox"/> خیر <input type="checkbox"/>

اگر ازدواج نکرده اید، لطفا به سوال ۲۲ رجوع کنید

۲۲- آیا همسر شما هرگز عضو سازمان (های) یهودی در ایران بوده اند؟ بله ☐ خیر ☐

۲۲ الف. لطفا اسم (تا ۱۰ تا) سازمان (های) یهودی را که همسران در آن بیشترین

فعالیت را کرده اند نام ببرید

اسم سازمانهای را که همسران فعالیت کرده اند	آیا ستمی هم داشتید
_____	بله <input type="checkbox"/> خیر <input type="checkbox"/>
_____	بله <input type="checkbox"/> خیر <input type="checkbox"/>
_____	بله <input type="checkbox"/> خیر <input type="checkbox"/>
_____	بله <input type="checkbox"/> خیر <input type="checkbox"/>
_____	بله <input type="checkbox"/> خیر <input type="checkbox"/>
_____	بله <input type="checkbox"/> خیر <input type="checkbox"/>
_____	بله <input type="checkbox"/> خیر <input type="checkbox"/>
_____	بله <input type="checkbox"/> خیر <input type="checkbox"/>
_____	بله <input type="checkbox"/> خیر <input type="checkbox"/>
_____	بله <input type="checkbox"/> خیر <input type="checkbox"/>

۲۲- تست‌زبانهای را که در ایران آشناسودید و میزان آشنائیتان را بنویسید

الف - زبانهای که شما در ایران می دانستید

(دورکی را دایره بکشید)

فارسی	خیلی خوب	خوب	متوسط	آشنائی ندارم
خواندن	۱	۲	۳	۴
نوشتن	۱	۲	۳	۴
مکالمه	۱	۲	۳	۴
آشنائی کم	۱	۲	۳	۴
<u>انگلیسی</u>				
خواندن	۱	۲	۳	۴
نوشتن	۱	۲	۳	۴
مکالمه	۱	۲	۳	۴
آشنائی کم	۱	۲	۳	۴
<u>فرانس</u>				
خواندن	۱	۲	۳	۴
نوشتن	۱	۲	۳	۴
مکالمه	۱	۲	۳	۴
آشنائی کم	۱	۲	۳	۴

ب . زبانهای که همسر تان در ایران می دانستند

فارسی	خیلی خوب	خوب	متوسط	آشنائی ندارم
خواندن	۱	۲	۳	۴
نوشتن	۱	۲	۳	۴
مکالمه	۱	۲	۳	۴
آشنائی کم	۱	۲	۳	۴
<u>انگلیسی</u>				
خواندن	۱	۲	۳	۴
نوشتن	۱	۲	۳	۴
مکالمه	۱	۲	۳	۴
آشنائی کم	۱	۲	۳	۴
<u>فرانس</u>				
خواندن	۱	۲	۳	۴
نوشتن	۱	۲	۳	۴
مکالمه	۱	۲	۳	۴
آشنائی کم	۱	۲	۳	۴

قسمت بعدی این پرسشنامه سؤالاتی است مربوط به زندگی شما در آمریکا
طرز زندگی

۲۴- هنگام مکالمه با والدین چه زبانی را بیشتر استفاده می کنید

۲۵- هنگام مکالمه با فرزندان شما چه زبانی را بیشتر استفاده می کنید

۲۶- با دوستان ایرانیان با چه زبانی بیشتر صحبت می کنید (فقط یکی را علامت x بزنید)

- ☐ فارسی
- ☐ انگلیسی
- ☐ هردو مساوی

۲۷- بیشتر دوستانم (یکی را علامت x بزنید)

- ☐ یهودی ایرانی هستند
- ☐ غیر یهودی ایرانی هستند
- ☐ یهودی آمریکائی هستند
- ☐ غیر یهودی آمریکائی هستند

این سوال را اگر مجرد هستید جواب دهید

۲۸- معمولاً با کدام یک از اشخاص زیر وعده ملاقات دارید؟ لطفاً یکی را علامت بزنید

- ☐ یهودی ایرانی
- ☐ یهودی غیر ایرانی
- ☐ یهودی آمریکائی
- ☐ غیر یهودی آمریکائی

۲۹- بیشتر غذاها را که در منزل می خوریم

- ☐ ایرانی
- ☐ ایرانی و غیر ایرانی
- ☐ غیر ایرانی

۳۰- به کدامیک از رستورانهای زیر بیشتر می روید :

- ☐ رستورانهای ایرانی
- ☐ رستورانهای غیرایرانی

۳۱- با کدامیک از گروه های زیر بیشتر وقت سرگرم خود را در خارج از منزل میگذرانید.

- ☐ یهودی ایرانی
- ☐ غیریهودی ایرانی
- ☐ آمریکائی

۳۲- به کدامیک از فروشگاههای مواد غذایی بیشتر مراجعه می کنید

- ☐ فروشگاههای مواد غذایی ایرانی
- ☐ فروشگاههای مواد غذایی آمریکائی
- ☐ همفروشگاههای ایرانی وهم غیرایرانی

۳۳- به کدامیک از فروشگاههای زیر برای خرید های غیر از غذا مراجعه میکنید
(لباس و اسل منزل و غیره ۰۰۰۰) با مدیریت یا صاحب

- ☐ ایرانی
- ☐ آمریکائی
- ☐ ایرانی وهم غیرایرانی

۳۴- احتیاجات پزشکی و غیره خود را توسط کدامیک از منابع زیر برطرف می کنید

ایرانی	آمریکائی	هر دو
-	-	-
-	-	-
-	-	-
-	-	-
-	-	-
-	-	-
-	-	-

۳۵- درجه مراسم‌هایی معمولاً شرکت می‌کنید، آنرا با می‌آورید و یا جشن می‌گیرید

- ☐ شام عید شکرگزاری
- ☐ پارتی شب زانویه
- ☐ هدیه دادن درחנוکا
- ☐ مراسم شب عید نوروز
- ☐ جشن تولد خودتان را بیشتر در آمریکا تا در ایران
- ☐ کارت یا هدیه فرستادن در روز ولنتاین

قسمت بعدی مربوط به رعایت و انجام مراسم مذهبی است در منزل فعلی شما در آمریکا

۳۶- برای هر کدام از مراسم زیر لطفاً با علامت زدن (x) مشخص کنید که آیا معمولاً آنرا رعایت میکنید و یا انجام می‌دهید

- ☐ روزه گیبور
- ☐ روزه تیشعابه آ و (نهی)
- ☐ روزه پوریم
- ☐ شرکت در مراسم عید فطیر (پسح)
- ☐ خوردن فقط مواد را با م پسح
- ☐ گفتن براخای شراب در شب شبات
- ☐ روشن کردن شمعهای شب شبات
- ☐ نصب بزوزا روی چهار رجوب درهای ورودی
- ☐ جدا کردن ظروف گوشتی از شیری
- ☐ روشن کردن شمعهای حنوکا
- ☐ عدم حمل پول در شب شبات
- ☐ استفاده از میکوه (برای شما، همسر و یا مادر)
- ☐ بجا آوردن مراسم "بر میتصوا"
- ☐ بجا آوردن مراسم "بت میتصوا"
- ☐ خوردن برنج در شب پسح
- ☐ خوردن آجیل در شب پسح
- ☐ مصرف غذای غیرکاشرد در خارج از منزل
- ☐ خوردن فقط گوشت کاشرد در منزل

۳۷- اگر در آمریکا ازدواج کرده اید و یا در آمریکا قصد ازدواج دارید، اگر مراسم زیر را بجا آورده و یا به آنها عقیده دارید با علامت (x) مشخص کنید.

- ☐ مراسم حنا بندان
- ☐ انجام مراسم عقد توسط ربای آمریکائی
- ☐ انجام مراسم عقد توسط ربای ایرانی
- ☐ رد و بدل کردن طلا در نامزدی
- ☐ استفاده از زبان انگلیسی در مراسم
- ☐ دادن جهیزیه

۳۸- آیا عضو سازمانهای یهودی در آمریکا بوده اید یا هستید

بله ☐ خیر ☐ به سوال ۳۹ رجوع کنید

۳۸ الف. لطفاً اسم (تا ۱۰ تا) سازمان (های) یهودی را که در آن بیشتر فعالیت را دارید نام ببرید

اسم سازمانهای را که خود شما در آن فعالیت دارید آیا سمتی هم دارید

(دوریکتی دایره بکشید)

- | | | |
|-----|-----|-----------|
| بله | خیر | _____ ۱- |
| بله | خیر | _____ ۲- |
| بله | خیر | _____ ۳- |
| بله | خیر | _____ ۴- |
| بله | خیر | _____ ۵- |
| بله | خیر | _____ ۶- |
| بله | خیر | _____ ۷- |
| بله | خیر | _____ ۸- |
| بله | خیر | _____ ۹- |
| بله | خیر | _____ ۱۰- |

۳۹- اگر ازدواج کرده‌اید، آیا همسر شما عضو سازمان (های) یهودی هستند

بله ☐ خیر ☐ اگر جواب منفی است به سوال ۴۰ رجوع کنید

۳۹ الف. لطفاً اسم (تا ۱۰ تا) سازمان (های) یهودی را که همسر شما در آن فعالیت دارند نام ببرید

اسم سازمان‌هایی را که همسر شما در آن فعالیت دارند
آیا سستی هم دارند
(دور یکی دایره بکشید)

- | | | | | |
|-------|-----|-------|-----|-----|
| _____ | ۱- | _____ | بله | خیر |
| _____ | ۲- | _____ | بله | خیر |
| _____ | ۳- | _____ | بله | خیر |
| _____ | ۴- | _____ | بله | خیر |
| _____ | ۵- | _____ | بله | خیر |
| _____ | ۶- | _____ | بله | خیر |
| _____ | ۷- | _____ | بله | خیر |
| _____ | ۸- | _____ | بله | خیر |
| _____ | ۹- | _____ | بله | خیر |
| _____ | ۱۰- | _____ | بله | خیر |

۴۰- اسم ۵ تا (و یا کمتر) از سازمان‌هایی که در عرض پنج سال گذشته به آن کمک مادی بیشتری

کرده‌اید به ترتیب ذکر نمایید. اگر کمکی نکرده‌اید دور "هیچکدام" را دایره بکشید

لطفاً کنیساها را نیز ذکر کنید

هیچکدام

- | | |
|-------|----|
| _____ | ۱- |
| _____ | ۲- |
| _____ | ۳- |
| _____ | ۴- |
| _____ | ۵- |

قسمت بعدی این پرسشنامه سوابقی است مربوط به موقعیت خانوادگی شما در آمریکا

۴۱- آیا فرزند دارید

بله ☐ خیر ☐ اگر جواب منفی است لطفاً به شماره ۴۲

رجوع کنید

تعداد فرزندان _____

۴۲- مشخصات فرزندان در منزل بترتیب سن بزرگ به کوچک

فرزند اول	فرزند دوم	فرزند سوم	فرزند چهارم
_____	_____	_____	_____
سن	سن	سن	سن
جنسیت	جنسیت	جنسیت	جنسیت
مرد زن	مرد زن	مرد زن	مرد زن

اسم مدرسه (مدرسه کنونی و یا آخرین اول ذکر شود)

فرزند اول _____
 فرزند دوم _____
 فرزند سوم _____
 فرزند چهارم _____

آیا به فرزندتان تعلیمات یهودی داده می شود

فرزند اول ☐ خیر ☐ فرزند دوم ☐ خیر ☐ فرزند سوم ☐ خیر ☐ فرزند چهارم ☐ خیر ☐
 بله ☐ بله ☐ بله ☐ بله ☐

اگر جواب مثبت است اسم مدرسه و یا مدارسی را که به او تعلیمات یهودی داده می شود

فرزند اول _____
 فرزند دوم _____
 فرزند سوم _____
 فرزند چهارم _____

۴۳- قسمت بعدی این پرسشنامه سوالاتی است مربوط به عقاید شما درباره خانواده‌های ایرانی و آمریکائی، لطفاً در جواب خود را دایره بکشید.

۴۴- یک زن متاهل در گرفتن کار باید خود مختار باشد

بسیار موافقم	موافقم	مخالفم	بسیار مخالفم
--------------	--------	--------	--------------

۴۵- برای یک مرد بیشتر اهمیت دارد که تحصیلات دانشگاهی داشته باشد تا یک زن

بسیار موافقم	موافقم	مخالفم	بسیار مخالفم
--------------	--------	--------	--------------

۴۶- الف - در طلاق يك زوج عموماً زن مقصر است .

بسیار موافقم	موافقم	مخالفم	بسیار مخالفم
--------------	--------	--------	--------------

ب - در طلاق يك زوج عموماً مرد مقصر است.

بسیار موافقم	موافقم	مخالفم	بسیار مخالفم
--------------	--------	--------	--------------

۴۷- یک مادر بهتر است که خانه داری کند تا کار خارج از منزل

بسیار موافقم	موافقم	مخالفم	بسیار مخالفم
--------------	--------	--------	--------------

۴۸- اعضای خانواده ایرانی بیشتر از یک خانواده آمریکائی بهم نزدیک هستند .

بسیار موافقم	موافقم	مخالفم	بسیار مخالفم
--------------	--------	--------	--------------

۴۹- در زوجهای آمریکائی احتمال طلاق بیشتر از زوجهای ایرانی است

بسیار موافقم	موافقم	مخالفم	بسیار مخالفم
--------------	--------	--------	--------------

۵۰- اعضای خانواده‌های یهودی در ایران بیشتر بهم نزدیک بودند تا در آمریکا

بسیار موافقم	موافقم	مخالفم	بسیار مخالفم
--------------	--------	--------	--------------

۵۱- در آمریکا والدین ایرانی به اندازه‌ای که لازم است روی فرزندانشان نفوذ دارند

بسیار موافقم	موافقم	مخالفم	بسیار مخالفم
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۵۲- یک دختر جوان باید بتواند قبل از ازدواج با پسرهای مختلف معاشرت کند .

بسیار موافقم	موافقم	مخالفم	بسیار موافقم
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۵۳- یک دختر جوان باید تا قبل از ازدواج با والدین خود زندگی کند .

بسیار موافقم	موافقم	مخالفم	بسیار مخالفم
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۵۴- یک پسر جوان باید تا قبل از ازدواج با والدین خود زندگی کند

بسیار موافقم	موافقم	مخالفم	بسیار مخالفم
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۵۵- ازدواج با غیر ایرانی برای یهودیان ایرانی قابل قبول است

بسیار موافقم	موافقم	مخالفم	بسیار مخالفم
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۵۶- به عقیده من ازدواج با غیر یهودی برای یهودیان ایرانی قابل قبول است

بسیار موافقم	موافقم	مخالفم	بسیار مخالفم
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۵۷- یک زن تا سن ————— سالگی باید ازدواج کرده باشد

۵۸- یک مرد تا سن ————— سالگی باید ازدواج کرده باشد

۵۹- نظر شما راجع به وعده معاشرت بین دویهودی ایرانی چیست

بسیار موافقم	موافقم	مخالفم	بسیار مخالفم
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۶۰- نظر شما راجع به وعده معاشرت یک یهودی ایرانی و یهودی غیر ایرانی چیست

بسیار موافقم	موافقم	مخالفم	بسیار مخالفم
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۶۱- نظر شما راجع به وعده معاشرت یک یهودی ایرانی و ایرانی غیر یهودی چیست

بسیار موافقم	موافقم	مخالفم	بسیار مخالفم
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۶۲- نظر شما راجع به وعده معاشرت یک یهودی ایرانی و یک غیر یهودی غیر ایرانی چیست

بسیار موافقم	موافقم	مخالفم	بسیار مخالفم
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To Survey Participants:

We are students in the Masters program in Jewish Communal Service from Hebrew Union College in Los Angeles. Enclosed you will find a survey that we developed which will gather information about the Iranian Jewish community and its experience in Los Angeles and the U.S..

This survey is completely anonymous. Your name which was chosen randomly will not appear anywhere on the survey, nor do we have any way of establishing who completed the survey.

We have undertaken this Masters thesis due to a great interest in the Iranian Jewish community as a thriving and important element of the Los Angeles Jewish community. We have consulted with individual Iranian Jews and the organized Iranian Jewish community who have aided us tremendously with our survey. Many individuals and organizations such as the Iranian Jewish Federation and U.C.L.A. Persian Hillel have given of their time and resources on behalf of our study. Like us, they realize the crucial role that learning about the community can have in gaining a better understanding of the complexion and needs of Iranian Jews.

No matter your attitudes, experience, involvement, etc., **your** completion of this survey is of immense importance to us, and to the viability of the study. While it is acceptable to consult with other family members for specific information, we request that the person to whom the survey was addressed fill it out. If you encounter any difficulties in completing particular questions in this survey, please do the best you can and continue!

Although we will never be able to personally thank you (since your identity will be unknown), we would like to sincerely thank you now in advance for your cooperation and participation in something which we hope will have important effects for you, Iranian Jews, and all Jews.

Sincerely,

Hilda Balakhane

David S. Cohen

David Pine

Iranian Jewish Federation

6505 WILSHIRE BOULEVARD, SUITE 1101
LOS ANGELES, CALIFORNIA 90048

Tel: (213) 655-7730

(213) 655-7731

دوست عزیز

با توجه به مشکلات بزرگی که جامعه ایرانی مقیم لوس آنجلس چه از لحاظ فردی و چه به صورت اجتماعی در مقابل دارد و دشواریهایی که در اثر نقل مکانمان گریبانگیر هم وطنان ما به طور کل و همکیشانمان به الاخص گردیده، فدراسیون یهودیان ایرانی بعنوان دستگاهی که خود را مسئول رفاه جامعه میداند توافق نموده است که حد اکثر همکاری را با دانشگاه:

(H.U.C.) HEBREW UNION COLLEGE

که مشغول تحقیق در مورد علل و عواض این جابجائی و مشکلات فردی و اجتماعی مربوط به آن میباشد به عمل آورد.

بدین منظور، به ضمیمه پرسشنامه اشیکه از طرف H.U.C. تهیه گردیده و به تمویب نمایندگان شما در فدراسیون نیز رسیده خدمتتان ارسال میگردد، لازم به تذکر است که پرسشنامه های مذکور حاوی نام افراد نخواهد بود و نتایج این بررسی فقط به صورت جمعی گزارش خواهد شد و شك شك پرسشنامه ها كاملا مخفی خواهند بود.

محترما تقاضا داریم کمال توجه را برای تکمیل و ارسال هر چه سریعتر این پرسشنامه ها به عمل آورید. امید است که نتایج این گونه مطالعات تحقیقی وسیله ای برای بهبود خدمات اجتماعی و رسیدگی به مسائل جامعه باشند.

با عرض کمال تشکر و احترام

سام کرمانیان

چگونگی وضع مدارس الیانس در ایران

نفر دانش آموزان سال ششم تعداد ۵۲ نفر آنها امتحانات نهائی را با موفقیت گذرانده اند. پس از خاتمه تحصیلات ابتدائی دانشجویان یهودی تحصیل خود را باید فقط در مدرسه یهودی ابن میمون در دمشق ادامه دهند. در این نشریه وضع جامعه یهودی سوریه بسیار مشکل توصیف شده است.

جدول زیر وضع مدارس اتحاد را در ایران در سال تحصیلی ۱۹۸۵-۱۹۸۴ نشان می دهد:

نام مدارس	کل دانش آموزان	تعداد دانش آموزان یهودی
مدرسه اتحاد ژاله	۶۲۱	۲۹۳
مدرسه زرگریان	۲۷۳	۶۱
دبستان پیرانه کرمانشاه	۱۷۶	۷۴
دبستان دخترانه کرمانشاه	۱۸۴	۷۵
دبستان پیرانه اصفهان	۵۶۹	۶۷
دبستان پیرانه یزد	۲۴۹	۳۷

به موجب اطلاعیه نشریه الیانس در شرایط سخت کنونی ایران مدارس اتحاد در این کشور همچنان به فعالیت خود ادامه می دهند. تعداد کل دانش آموزان این مدارس در سال تحصیلی ۱۹۸۵-۱۹۸۴، ۲۰۷۲ نفر بوده است که از این عده ۸۹۴ در تهران و ۱۱۷۸ نفر در سایر شهرستانها به تحصیل اشتغال داشته اند. از این تعداد ۶۰۷ نفر دانش آموز یهودی و بقیه غیر یهودی بوده اند.

اگرچه اکثریت دانشجویان مدارس اتحاد را محصلین غیر یهودی تشکیل می دهند ولی مدرسه برنامه تعلیم زبان عبری و شرعیات یهود را طبق معمول ادامه داده و کلیه مدارس اتحاد در ایران - در ایجاد مذهبی یهود تعطیل بوده و دستوران کثرت در این مدارس کاملاً رعایت شده است.

همچنین به موجب این آمار در مدرسه الیانس در پاریس ۲۳۸ دانشجویه تحصیل اشتغال دارند که تعدادی از آنها را دانشجویان ایرانی و لبنانی تشکیل می داده اند.

ضمناً در این نشریه گفته شده است مدرسه الاتحاد والا هلیه واقع در دمشق همچنان در خدمت جامعه یهودی سوریه بوده و در این مدرسه ۱۵ کلاس از کودکان تا کلاس ۶ ابتدائی دائر است و از ۵۴

اطلاعیه فدراسیون یهودیان ایرانی

طی چند ماه اخیر دانشگاههای یو.سی.ال.ای و هیبرو یونیون کالج دو پروژه پژوهش علمی را بطور جداگانه در مورد جامعه ایرانی مقیم لوس آنجلس آغاز نموده اند.

برای انجام این منظور، دانشگاههای فوق بزودی به نشانی ایرانیان مقیم لوس آنجلس تعدادی پرسشنامه خواهند فرستاد. فدراسیون یهودیان ایرانی از هم کیشان عزیز تقاضا و انتظار دارد پرسشنامه های مزبور را با دقت تکمیل نموده به مؤسسات مزبور مرجوع دارند، چون نتیجه کار گروههای پژوهشی فوق می تواند در فائق آمدن بر بسیاری از مسائل خود در متن جامعه ما کمک فراوان بنماید.

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