ZOROASTRIANS IN EUROPE 1976-1989:

Symbolic Boundaries of a Religious Group

CONTENTS

ABSTRACT

The main aim of this piece of work is to advance the sociological understanding of a religious minority group in Britain. A variety of methodological approaches are used to achieve this end, including theory, qualitative analyses, experiential evidence and quantitative analyses. Essentially the work is analytical and experiential. The problems and interesting anomalies that the author encountered during research work which looked at the British Zoroastrian community from different theoretical perspectives are analyzed.

The concept of symbolic boundaries is introduced and illustrated by experiential evidence from Japanese and other societies. Descriptions of Zoroastrian symbolic boundaries are stated. Symbolic Boundary theories are presented and discussed in detail as is the close connection between symbolic boundaries and ethnic identity.

Two detailed, statistical analyses are presented which address the measurement of the symbolic boundaries of the UK Zoroastrian community and Zoroastrian communities of the Diaspora. The symbolic boundaries of all the Zoroastrian communities were measured in exactly the same way, through attitudes to specific criteria which decree eligibility for initiation into Zoroastrianism and access for outsiders to Zoroastrianism. The scale measuring Zoroastrian attitudes to their symbolic boundaries ranges from strong support for maintaining the status quo to strong support for changing the boundaries.

The results of the statistical analyses of these measured symbolic boundaries suggest that there are certain universal characteristics that all the Zoroastrian communities of the Diaspora exhibit, which explain and predict Zoroastrian attitudes to their symbolic boundaries at consistent, statistically significant levels. These relate to particular religious practices, of which the most important is Zoroastrian attitudes to preferred funeral practices. Also, there are community specific characteristics, which differ from community to community, which explain and predict attitudes to the Zoroastrian symbolic boundaries at statistically significant levels.

From a theoretical point of view these results are very exciting because they demonstrate that symbolic boundaries can cross the most salient boundaries of modern times, at the macro as well as at the micro level. Also, interesting new avenues for research have been opened up, both within the Zoroastrian Diaspora and within other communities in the world.

ABBREVIATIONS

AJS   American Journal of Sociology
ASR   American Sociological Review
BBC   British Broadcasting Corporation
BJS   British Journal of Sociology
CE   Christian Era
CRE   Council for Racial Equality
CWAJ   College Women's Association of Japan
Ed/s   Editor/ Editors
ERS   Journal of Ethnic and Racial Studies
HMSO   Her Majesty's Stationary Office
IRR   Institute of Race Relations
JAAR   Journal of American Academic Review
JASO   Journal of the Anthropological Society of Oxford
JASP   Journal of Abnormal and Social Psychology
JPSP   Journal of Personality and Social Psychology

JSI   Journal of Social Issues
JSSR   Journal of Scientific Study of Religion
LRB   London Review of Books
MA   Master of Arts
OREP   Oxford Religious Education Press
Ph.D   Doctor of Philosophy
RC   Race and Class
RRS   Review of Religious Studies
SA   Scientific American
SOAS   School of Oriental and African Studies
SR   Sociology Review
SSRC   Social Science Research Council
vol   Volume
WW11   World War Two
Number

ZOROASTRIANS IN BRITAIN:
Symbolic Boundaries of a Religious Group

1. INTRODUCTION.

Why Study Zoroastrians in Britain

When I wrote my MA Thesis, **Parsees in Britain: An Analysis of the Survival of a Racial/ Religious Minority**, I found an interesting anomaly which could not be explained within the theoretical parameters, of Inter-Group Relations, that I was using at the time, (1981) (1). Out-group marriage was a powerful predictor of "liberal" attitudes to all aspects of Zoroastrianism except certain proposals to open the religion up to people with no biological connection to Zoroastrianism. In this one respect out-group marriage did not predicted a "liberal" attitude to a facet of Zoroastrianism and, in fact, it appeared to be neutral in this one regard. Could this anomaly be concerned with the symbolic boundaries of Zoroastrians as a religious group? The perpetual arguments and discussions within the Zoroastrian community suggested that a sociological analysis of the Zoroastrian community in Britain could be conducted within the theoretical parameters of symbolic boundary theory.

There are special features of Zoroastrians in Britain that are relevant to an analysis using Symbolic Boundary Theory: a non-Christian religion; a non-white group; a considerable number are first generation immigrants; a highly educated group; occupational status is mainly white collar or professional; a tiny community, who wish to distance themselves from Hinduism and Islam; and they are geographically dispersed within the UK. The organization of the religion is not rigid and there is little hierarchy within the priesthood. Although the Bombay community thinks that it speaks for the world community, the various groups of the Diaspora do not accept their authority. The response to the question, in **The World Zoroastrian Survey 1986**, regarding the place of religious authority with the Priests or the individual's own conscience, brought a consistent response from the communities of the Diaspora with two thirds supporting the Priests authority and one third supporting the individual's own conscience. It was this latter group who supported changing the symbolic boundaries. At a meeting that I attended in New Jersey, a religious figurehead from Bombay tried to tell American Zoroastrians how to live their lives in the USA. There ensued the fiercest verbal battle that I have ever seen in my life. This is a religion that depends upon the individual's dedication for its life and continuation. It is a religion that encourages individualism and individual responsibility with the consequence that the members have individual interpretations of the "meaning" of Zoroastrianism and who is eligible to be a member of the community. There are continuous arguments about the symbolic

boundaries and who is eligible to be a member and who is not eligible to be a member, of the Zoroastrian Community. The interpretation is different from community to community but the practice tends to be the same: Even where the interpretation differs from the Bombay there is great reluctance to breech the accepted symbolic boundaries.

This work will concentrate on the Parsis, who, at the time of **The World Zoroastrian Survey 1986**, numerically dominated the Zoroastrian communities outside Iran and India. However, the influence of Iranian ideas remains strong and cannot be ignored when looking at groups of Zoroastrians outside Iran and India.

Although Sociological theories, of Inter-Group Relations, cannot explain the full range of Zoroastrian attitudes to their community it can provide useful explanations with regard to aspects of Zoroastrians as a minority group in the UK. There will be separate chapters in the work dealing with different theoretical parameters within which the study of Zoroastrians, as a community in the UK, can be conducted. The focus of the work will be a study of the Zoroastrian community in the UK and then a comparison with other communities of the Diaspora, conducted within the parameters of Symbolic Boundary theory. The Zoroastrian experience of symbolic boundaries will be highlighted by my own experiences of symbolic boundaries whilst living in Japan and in other societies; one, the USA, where English was the spoken language; and one, Brasil, where another European language, Portuguese was the spoken language.

I am connected to the Zoroastrian community through my father-in-law who emigrated to the UK in 1921. His children were never taught about their Zoroastrian background. In order to remedy this lack of knowledge, I wrote a small book for my children and the other grandchildren, which dealt with the family history in India and Iran, (1979) (2). As a social scientist I was interested in the fact that my father-in-law kept fairly close ties with the Zoroastrian community in the UK and Bombay but his wife and children were excluded from this part of his life. What was it about this group of people that did not incorporate out-marriage within its boundaries? What were the values of Zoroastrianism that were so individual and personalized and so tolerant of such divergent values within a family?

General Points about this Work

The work will be autobiographical from the point of view of my research into the British Zoroastrian community and it will trace the development of my ideas with regard to this community. It will also be autobiographical in the sense that it will be a conceptual journey, as well as a physical and geographical journey, as I have travelled through intellectual space and time as well as geographical space and time.

The methodology will include theory, qualitative analyses, experiential evidence and quantitative analyses. The main aim of this piece of work is to advance the sociological understanding of a religious minority group within the UK and a

variety of methodological approaches can be used to achieve this end. It will be a piece of work that is both analytical and experiential. A number of the chapters will have different theoretical perspectives. They will reflect the parameters of the theory that I was using at the time of that particular piece of research and will not be comprehensive surveys of that particular field of social theory as it existed at the time and certainly not a record of the body of theory as it stands today.

There are certain themes which run through the work and they will re-appear in a number of chapters. The Japan experience will be used to illustrate different facets of symbolic boundaries and in the next three chapters the experience will be used to look at:
a. Japanese symbolic boundaries as seen through the eyes of an outsider;
b. The ethnic element in Japanese symbolic boundaries;
c. The conflict that is endemic within Japanese society.
Japan will also be used in other chapters to balance and highlight Zoroastrian experiences in the fields of religion, inter-group relations and Zoroastrian history. Zoroastrian ideas about their religion and symbolic boundaries are the focal point of the work and will re-occur in more than one chapter.

The Sequential Development of the Paper

Initially, in Chapter two, I will look at the problems and interesting anomalies I encountered during the research work for my MA Thesis. They will be discussed as well as the fact that I needed other explanatory frameworks to account for some of my findings. My approach to the methodologies that can be used in research work and the value of experiential evidence in sociological work will be discussed. The personal effect of my own experiences as an outsider in other societies and as a reluctant member of a closed social group in these societies will be delineated. The experiences of the operation of symbolic boundaries for me on an individual level will be described. How these experiences directly affected my work and intellectual development as a sociologist in particular, and more generally as a social scientist, will be elaborated. The experiences of the intricate and subtle racial and ethnic systems in the USA and Brasil sensitized me the complexities of such systems but also to the limitations of working within theoretical parameters designed to explain such systems. The Japan experience focused my attention upon social anthropological theories of how groups form and maintain their cohesiveness through their symbolic boundaries.

In Chapter three the concept of symbolic boundaries will be introduced by a discussion about my experiences of symbolic boundaries in Japan and some of the characteristics of the Zoroastrian community, in the UK. Symbolic Boundary theories from Social Anthropology will be presented and discussed. The close connection between symbolic boundaries and ethnic identity will be emphasized. The concept of Culture is central to Sociological, as well as Social Anthropological theories and the concept will be elucidated. Theories relating to other aspects of the study of a group such as the Zoroastrians will be touched upon. There will be a theoretical discussion on methodology and I will delineate my particular approach

to methodology including the methods to be used in the work.

Chapter four will deal with the relationship between symbolic boundaries and ethnic identity at a practical level. The relationship will be illustrated by looking at Japanese symbolic boundaries and how they operate within the private and public spheres. The effects upon outsiders of the operation of the Japanese symbolic boundaries and ethnic identity system will be considered. There will be an elaboration of the theory behind measuring any type of social identity and this will be noted in a presentation of a statistical research project on the ethnic identity of Zoroastrians in the UK, (1989) (3). There will be a synopsis of the research material in this chapter as part of the introduction to the next stage of the work which is setting the historical background to the Zoroastrian community in the UK.

The history of Zoroastrians in Iran and India and the Diaspora will be set out in some detail, in Chapter five: the relevance of their history to the present day communities in Iran and India: boundary maintenance through religious values to prevent the community being swamped by Islam or Hinduism; the status of communities today; and the Zoroastrian Diaspora and types of community that evolved outside Iran and India. The differences between Iranis and Parsis will be commented on. Although there are few Iranis in Britain, and therefore in the research material, they have had an impact on the UK Zoroastrian community. Also the differences between the UK Zoroastrians will be discussed such as the later waves of immigrants, the political immigrants, were more orthodox in community matters than the earlier waves of economic migrants.

Personal interviews with individual Zoroastrians and their families, in Britain, will be described and commented upon, (1980) (4). This will be used as a lead into the next chapter dealing with Zoroastrians in Britain.

Chapter six will deal with the history of immigration into UK and the position of immigrant groups in the UK at the present moment. The heterogeneous, rather than homogeneous, nature of cultures in the British Isles will be commented on. It will be noted that although there has always been a diversity of cultures in Britain, today it is somewhat different because of introduction of cultures from societies that are geographically distant from the UK and that the immigrants have brought cultural values with them that are not based on the Christian-Judaic tradition.

The sociological theories of Inter-Group Relations relating to conflict between different groups within a society will be discussed as well as how they help in understanding what is happening in the UK today and how they relate to the position of the Zoroastrians as an ethnic group. The potential for the UK Zoroastrians to form a distinct ethnic group based on a unique definition as British Zoroastrians will be noted.

The sociological theories of Inter-Group Relations relating to the absorption and assimilation patterns of immigrant groups into urban industrial societies will be described. The loss of secular values before sacred values will be discussed as well as the persistent nature of the sacred values that immigrants bring with them to their

new place of residence. Statistical research relating to the Zoroastrians from this theoretical perspective will be described, analyzed and discussed, (1986) (5). The theoretical discussions will not attempt to encompass the range of theoretical material from the field of Inter-Group Relations that was available at the time of the data analyses, or how it has developed, or the state of play as it is today. The discussions will reflect what I thought was pertinent to my research at the time of the analyses. I will take a similar approach in my discussion of theories in the Sociology of Religion.

The place of religion in modern British society and the current UK Zoroastrian religious beliefs and practices there will be described in Chapter seven. The position of the Sociology of Religion vis-a-vie mainstream Sociology will be elaborated as well as the implications for research that is conducted within a field that is somewhat peripheral to mainstream sociological concerns. Some of the aspects of the theories of the Sociology of Religion relevant to the study of this group will be introduced and illustrated. My own research material pertaining to Zoroastrians in the UK from these theoretical perspectives, will be presented and analyzed. The findings from my research paper, **Zoroastrians in Britain**, (1981) (6), will be presented and discussed and, also, I will look at the paper **Zoroastrians in Britain: The Experiences of Religious Minority Group, (**1982) (7). This will lead into looking at the Zoroastrian community in the UK from the theoretical perspectives of the Symbolic Boundary theory. In Chapter eight a detailed statistical analysis of the data set, **The World Zoroastrian Survey 1986**, that I was involved in from its inception through to the analyses of the data, will be discussed and the results presented. The main thrust of the statistical analyses will be to measure the symbolic boundaries of the Zoroastrian community in Britain and to analyze the results. The information the data analyses give about the Zoroastrian community in the UK will be delineated.

Chapter nine will deal with the same detailed statistical analyses of the data set relating to the symbolic boundaries of Zoroastrian communities in other Societies; USA, Canada, Australia, New Zealand, Pakistan, Kenya and Hong Kong; and they will be discussed and the results analyzed. The implications of the results for the UK sample will be commented on.

A synopsis of all the material in the work relating to the British Zoroastrian community, with especial reference to all the statistical material, will be given in Chapter ten. The implications for another level of understanding of the UK community will be discussed. The question of whether the analytical tool "Symbolic Boundary theory" has added to our sum total knowledge and sociological understanding of UK Zoroastrians will be addressed.

The implication of the research findings for the Zoroastrian communities of the Diaspora will be elaborated in Chapter eleven. The implications of Symbolic Boundary theory utilized at an experiential level as well as at qualitative and quantitative levels will be discussed. The implications of the findings in the work for the fields of Sociological methods, Inter-group Relations and the Sociology of

Religion will be presented.

Conclusion

In Chapter one, , as an introduction to the work, I looked at the reasons why I wanted to continue to study the Zoroastrians in Britain and then I delineated the sequential development of the ideas related to this study, as they will occur in the work.

The work will commence, in Chapter two, with an account of the development of my interest in the concept of symbolic boundaries.

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2. SYMBOLIC BOUNDARIES: THE EXPERIENCE OF A SOCIOLOGIST

Interesting Questions Raised by My MA Thesis

The central theme of my MA Thesis, **The Parsees in Britain: An Analysis of the Survival of a Racial and Religious Minority,** was the survival of the Zoroastrian community as a distinct cultural unit in Britain, where Anglo-conformity is the long range goal but at the same time the white population is reluctant to accept non-whites into the core structure, (1). The Parsis have a double minority identity of race and religion. They want to be accepted by the indigenous majority as Zoroastrians but some are rejected as "Indians". The Parsis reject their designation as "Indians" because of their position as a distinct community in India where they are known as Parsis, a name that refers to their origins in Persia.

The research for the work was conducted at both the qualitative and the quantitative levels. I had to rely upon secondary data for the quantitative data analysis which gave rise to conceptual problems relating to perceived prejudice and discrimination. There were no direct questions in the survey material relating to these concepts. I balanced this lack of direct quantitative information through qualitative research which took the form of interviews with individual members of the Zoroastrian community. The interviews were open ended with the idea that the discussions could revolve around the effects of being a Zoroastrian in the UK in the early 1980s. Every single Zoroastrian who had emigrated to the UK, in adulthood spoke about discrimination, especially at work, because of their "Indianess". No one mentioned discrimination in any other area except that of occupation and there was considerable divergence of opinion as to the reasons for the discrimination ranging from "blatant racism" to the fact that they were "just foreigners".

From the interviews with the UK Zoroastrians I concluded that Zoroastrianism in the UK, was a phenomenon closely tied up with race and ethnicity but the nature of the relationship could only be described at the qualitative level because there was no quantitative data relating to specific racial and ethnicity questions. The more specific conclusion that I came to with regard to the interviewees was that the Zoroastrian community as it existed in the UK in the early 1980s, was a phenomenon of first and some second generation Zoroastrians but by the time the second generation reaches adulthood they move away from the community. More accurately it was a phenomenon of first generation immigrants and their young children. This conclusion was reflected in **The Survey of Zoroastrians in Britain**

1976, only three percent of the respondents were born in the UK, (2). This is a low percentage when one considers the fact that there has been a Zoroastrian community in the UK for over 100 years and that the respondents who were born in the UK were concentrated in the age group of under-thirty years old. The quantitative research material suggested that there was a process of assimilation going on within the Zoroastrian community in the UK but the direction of the assimilation, into mainstream society or into the larger "Indian" ethnic community was not indicated.

Zoroastrians whose parents had high occupational status and had themselves been educated in the UK were more likely to marry outside the Zoroastrian community. However, these people did not hold liberal views with regard to the practice of Zoroastrianism by other members of the Community; they held neutral verging on orthodox views with regard to the controversial aspects of Zoroastrianism, while holding liberal opinions with regard to the practice of Zoroastrianism by themselves and their families.

The process of assimilation was also indicated by the fact that the Zoroastrians who had been educated in the UK or had worked longest in the UK were associated with less orthodox practices Zoroastrianism by individual Zoroastrians and their families. However, the Zoroastrians who were educated in the UK tended to be less liberal in their attitudes to the controversial aspects of Zoroastrianism than those people who were educated abroad. Respondents who were educated in the UK might hold liberal attitudes for themselves and their families with regard to Zoroastrianism but they did not do so for other Zoroastrians.

The higher the occupational status of individual Zoroastrians the more likely they were to hold liberal views with regard to the controversial aspects of Zoroastrianism. Occupational status did not indicate "lax" practice of Zoroastrianism by individual Zoroastrians and their families but rather, the higher up the occupational hierarchy, the higher the commitment to widening the community to include as many Zoroastrians as possible. As JR.Hinnells noted in a paper delivered to the X1V International Congress of the IAHR in 1980,

> "Many Parsi religious leaders consider religious indifference to be the plague of the Parsi community. Indifference that is, until the Parsi identity and heritage appears threatened, for example by the conversion of an alien. In Parsi, eyes that is the time of the greatest danger, when traditions are in such contact as this, then drastic change is threatened. At such times there is no indifference", (4).

This can be illustrated by the reaction within the community to the marriage, conducted by the liberal Dastur Bode, of Zubin Mehta to an American Christian in 1969. The world community split over it and Dastur Bode, the Priest who conducted the ceremony, has since been ostracized by some sections of the community, (5).

In the conclusion to my MA Thesis, I suggested that the Zoroastrian community in the UK was in a borderline position because of their exposure to British culture in the sub-continent of India and their high socio-economic status in the UK. On the whole, if they want to, they are in a more favourable position than the members of other Indian communities to pass into mainstream society and some of them can, as individuals, be absorbed into the dominant group and leave their ethnic group behind. Both the quantitative and the qualitative data analyzed in the thesis indicated that individual Zoroastrians were being assimilated into other sections of British society but whether this was into mainstream society or the larger "Indian" community was not clear.

The legal restrictions on the entry of new Zoroastrian immigrants into the UK, means that the community is dependent upon Zoroastrians already in the UK for its survival. If they cannot attract second and third generation Zoroastrians into the community it will only survive as a community of first generation immigrants. Since 1975, there has been a significant change in the official organization of Zoroastrians in the UK. It began to close its doors on the outside world and became more inward looking. The more orthodox interpretation of the religion, Zoroastrianism, prevailed and those in favour of building up relations with other groups, whether mainstream or minority, were removed from positions of authority. This was coincidental with the arrival in the UK of political refugees, Parsis from Africa and Iranis from Iran. Up to this point in time Zoroastrian immigrants to the UK, on the whole, had been students or economic immigrants. The new wave of Zoroastrian immigrants brought a more orthodox interpretation of Zoroastrianism to the community and formed a new nucleus around which a new interpretation of the role of the Zoroastrians Association could be built. The members of the Association who felt that it should interface between the immigrant and the mainstream society, the Association being a staging post, were replaced by those who felt that it was a means by which members could define "what we are not".

Parsis do not want to be thought of as "Indians", Iranis do not want to be thought of as "Parsis" and the fusion of the two concepts of what constitutes a Zoroastrian in Britain may produce a self-identity of a Zoroastrian that is uniquely British. However, because of the combination of the small number of Zoroastrians and the dominant group's lack of awareness of diversity amongst British people who are not of European origin, it is doubtful that the Zoroastrian community will be able to impose its definition of itself on the majority of the British population.

The MA Thesis was the result of my first formal academic research into the Zoroastrian community in the UK. I wrote it in the USA where I had gone to study the American approach to Inter-Group Relations. The thesis research threw up more interesting problems than it resolved. It was obvious from talking to Zoroastrians and observing the community in action during social functions, at the Association headquarters in London that this was not a "dying" community. Also the qualitative data did not suggest that it was a community undergoing reaction transformation into an ethnic group due to host society hostility in the new environment. The discussions about racism in the UK were at the level of "this is

not something that cannot be overcome". They certainly did not appear to be people who were with-drawing into their own community whatever their experiences had been.

The quantitative data threw up some interesting problems of why did Zoroastrians, especially those who had married out, who held liberal views with regard to the practice of Zoroastrianism not hold liberal views with regard to the controversial aspects of Zoroastrianism? Also the problem of those respondents with high occupational status who seemed to hold the opposing attitudes of strict observance of Zoroastrianism but also a willingness to open up the religion to as many eligible people as possible.

The research methods that I used for the analysis of my MA Thesis problem were both qualitative and quantitative in orientation and I worked within the theoretical parameters pertaining to the problem. The theoretical overview "set the scene" for the thesis but I also used it to direct the qualitative and quantitative analyses. At the time, and with the benefit of hind-sight, I think I used the appropriate research methods but I was left with some very interesting problems to be researched and studied. I am very comfortable working at the theoretical level in social research as well as at the qualitative and quantitative levels. All three approaches are valuable and have to be used judiciously so that there is an appropriate interplay between the three levels. I do not favour one method over another but that does not mean that I do not have concerns about social research. My major area of concern is how do social scientists choose the theoretical parameters within which they are going to work.

The Case for Experiential Evidence

Growing up and reading for my first degree in the UK I was adept and cognizant with the concept of class and the ramifications of such a concept. If I had stayed in the UK my initial inclination in studying the Zoroastrians, would have been to stay within the theoretical parameters of class. However, with my exposure to American sociology and its dominant mode of thought with regard to divisions in society I began to think in terms of working within the theoretical parameters of inter-group relations. The MA Thesis which was discussed above was written at this point in my intellectual development. Since that time I have travelled both intellectually and geographically, living in several different social milieux that have added to my fund of knowledge and experience. This has had a profound effect upon the way I have approached my "interesting problems" with regard to the Zoroastrian community.

The remainder of the chapter will delineate the background to the development of my ideas with regard to this work. It should be noted that I have conducted other pieces of social research work and some of them will be mentioned in the work. They were not mere "stepping stones" on the way to the work but pieces of research conducted within theoretical parameters that were suitable for the questions I wanted to ask of the research data.

First of all I want to look at some recent sociological comment on the use of experiential evidence in sociological research. A.Giddens, in **Modernity and Self-Identity**, concerns himself with sociological themes he has been accused of neglecting, the self and self-identity.

> "The overriding stress of the book is upon the emergence of new mechanisms of self-identity which are shaped by-yet also shape-the institutions of modernity", (7).

He emphasizes the fact that the self is not a passive entity determined by external influences. When individuals "forge" their self-identities, however specific and local the context of their actions, they contribute to and directly promote social influences that are global in their consequences. The social sciences and particularly Sociology are

> "...inherent elements of the institutional reflexivity of modernity"(8).

Giddens argues that modernity institutionalizes the principle that all knowledge takes the form of hypotheses and consequently they are always open to revision or to be abandoned. Systems of knowledge compete with one another to be the authoritative source of knowledge. The acceptance of one system over another would have differing implications. The self,

> "....like the broader institutional contexts in which it exists, has to be reflexively made", (9).

The problem for self-identity is to sustain a coherent biographical narrative which is being continuously revised and takes place in the context of these multiple and competing systems of knowledge. Giddens also deals with the reflexivity of the self and how it affects the body as well as psychic processes.

Featherstone, Hepworth and Turner demonstrate that **The Body** has now entered within sociological theoretical parameters, (10). Not that it had ever been missing from them as is shown in the chapter entitled "**For a Sociology of The Body: An Analytical Review**," but it has moved from the periphery to the mainstream of sociological concerns. Frank proposes that it made this move because of three proximate sources modernism, post-modernism and feminism.

> "Bringing bodies back in is, as a theoretical and empirical research program, made thinkable and imperative by the practical political program of women bringing themselves back in", (12).

Stanley and Wise look at the influence of Feminism's criticisms and critique of Sociology and the impact it has made on the practice of Sociology, (13). Ultimately they are concerned with what are the effects of the researcher on the process of social research

" Central to all this (the research process) is how, and to what extent, researchers can be uninvolved to the extent that they do not "disturb" what is going on", (14).

The consciousness of the researcher is always the medium through which research processes. They point out that the "personal" is the crucial variable in doing research although it is frequently invisible in terms of the presentation of the research. They state that there is no way of avoiding deriving theoretical constructs from experience because we attempt to understand and explain what is going on as we experience it. I would suggest that this applies especially to sociologists who are trained to look for theoretical constructs behind the behaviour patterns in the social life around them. My own experience of living in a variety of different societies would suggest that I am much more highly sensitized to looking for the patterns in the behaviour of people in my new environment, than the non-social scientists that I travel and meet with in my life outside social science. I generate theories and explanations that are relevant and useful for me and my non-social science companions in making sense of the new surroundings.

Stanley and Wise emphasize that life outside research affects attitudes to theoretical aspects of sociology and that previous and current events are influenced by these changes in attitudes. Everything feeds into everything else the life of the researcher cannot be cut off from the research, (15). As noted earlier when discussing the work of Giddens this is all to do with the reflexivity of the self and self-identity. Since the "personal" cannot be left out of the research process this fact should be capitalised upon and I have, therefore, introduced my own experiences of symbolic boundaries into the work. They will act as an explanatory tool, as well as a counter weight in the work to my analytical work on the Zoroastrians experiences of symbolic boundaries.

In the next chapter, **Symbolic Boundary Theory**, I will discuss, in detail, my experiences of living in Japan and contrast it with the similarities to and differences from the Zoroastrian experience in the UK. It will be written from the point of view of an individual sociologist living and observing in a different culture. In this chapter I want to concentrate on my experiences as a member of a group in different cultural settings and the need to negotiate and understand the symbolic boundaries of this group and other groups with whom I came into contact.

I have lived for extended periods in the USA, Brasil and Japan; living in each of those societies was extremely varied and it is only within the parameters of Symbolic Boundary Theory that I have begun to understand and make sociological sense of some of these experiences, (16). It was the "black and white" nature of symbolic boundaries in Japan that crystallized my thoughts about my experiences in Brasil and the USA, two of the largest immigrant societies of modern times. In these societies the nature of symbolic boundaries was "grey" and in fact I did not think of applying the concept at the time. It would have explained some of the areas

of social interaction where I had problems but could not, at the time, identify the source of the problem. It is only with hind-sight and the Japanese experience that I have been able to do so. The social interaction with social groups outside the expatriate groups was different in each of these societies. In my experience, social interaction within expatriate groups has been the same wherever I have lived; an interesting phenomena in its own right.

It is apposite at this point in the chapter to make a comment about being a culture traveller and the accompanying feature of living in different cultures, culture shock, (17). There is a considerable body of literature in the social sciences relating to cross-cultural contact and the problems that ensue from such contact. It is a very complex field of social research and I will just look at the general aspects that are agreed upon by people who work in this area. Furnham and Bochner state that

> ".... there is general consensus that cross-cultural contact is inherently stressful, but there is substantial disagreement about the nature and determinants of cross-cultural stress and how it might be alleviated", (18).

They note that the most recent models have likened cross-cultural exposure to a learning experience. The stress is caused by the lack of appropriate social skills and this can be alleviated by remedial action. The structural aspects of the societies where the contact takes place is also a crucial variable in the culture-learning process. Cultural diversity and the extent to which ethnic stratification is important will affect the quality of culture-contact. The greater the extent to which societies differ externally from each other, and with increasing psychological distances between cultures of the societies then the difficulties experienced by newcomers trying to accommodate to the new society will increase. In terms of my own experiences as a culture traveller, I went from Britain to a society that was relatively close, in terms of structure and culture to my native society, the USA, then on to one that was qualitatively different in these areas from the two Anglo-Saxon societies that I had lived in, Brasil. However, Japan was the society that was furthest away from my native society in terms of structure and culture; there was considerable psychological distance between the two societies. By the time I went to live in Japan I had developed skills to deal with the problems thrown up by culture travel. As Furnham and Bochner demonstrate experienced culture travellers show high adjustment profiles whether measured abroad or at home, (19).

Experiential Evidence from the USA

In the USA I was able to live in the American community away from the expatriate community, both physically and psychologically, because there were, ostensibly, no language problems. However, reality demonstrated the inherent truth of George Bernard Shaw's remark that Britain and America are "two countries separated by the same language, (20). American English has a number of different varieties and I had to learn to use the English language in a different way, (21). The structure of US society is different from that of the UK and it took a major intellectual

adjustment to understand the differences. For example, I had spent several years in the US before I really understood the education system and the philosophy behind such a "strange" institution. Once I understood what Americans wanted from their education system I began to see its strengths and not dwell on the fact that it was not remotely like the system in England, even though everyone spoke a fluent variety of English. In fact, I became such an "expert" on the subject of American education that Americans asked me for advice with regard to their children's education.

The ease with which I could understand the American variety of English seemed to impede my understanding of the structure of American society. I was especially interested in Inter-Group Relations when I lived in the USA and I learnt what a subtle and complex relationship there was between the class system and the race/ ethnic system, (22). The long term intellectual effect of my exposure to this complex stratification system was the sub-conscious learning of the hierarchy and the cues for allocating individuals to their appropriate ethnic group. I have never lost this "ability" and use it in conjunction with the "ability" to assess an individual's social class. On meeting a person for the first time I now weigh up their ethnic background and then I judge their social class position.

Entering the American ethnic and racial stratification system at the top, as a WASP (because I came from the UK and my background fitted the necessary criteria), meant that it was difficult to learn the unwritten rules with regard to other ethnic and racial groups. It was only after I had left the USA that I fully understood that I was considered, by Americans, to be a member of the WASP ethnic group. However, if I had been a British Black entering American society for the first time I think that I would have had to learn, immediately about the ethnic/ racial system and the unwritten rules associated with the system. There were numerous times when I fell foul of the unwritten codes associated with the latter system. Although, at the time I knew there was a problem with my approach to inter-group interactions, I could not resolve it satisfactorily. Now I understand that I was transgressing in an extremely clumsy fashion, the symbolic boundaries of various ethnic and racial groupings, and that the quiet, but misunderstood comments of my Black American acquaintances, were trying to point me in the "right" direction. One day at lunch I asked a Black American friend why she was so reserved and up-tight about having lunch with me. She gave me a long look and decided that I was a rather naive English woman and she had better explain that all Black Americans were on their guard, whatever the social situation might be, when meeting with non-Blacks. I think she had also decided that I was from outside the American social system and that I could be treated differently from other WASP women at the college where we were working. I was then privy to some lively discussions between the Black Americans on the campus and saw them behaving in a way that changed as soon as non-Blacks joined the group or conversation. In another incident in the college, I was told that a woman was Jewish. The statement was meant to help me in my dealings with this particular woman. I realized that it was not an anti-semitic comment and did not refer to her religious practices but was intended to give me a practical way of initiating and conducting social interaction

with this particular individual. However, even today, with the benefit of hind-sight and much more trans-cultural experience, I would be unsure of quite how to use the information; I do not have sufficient knowledge of the symbolic boundaries associated with being part of the Jewish community in the USA. Recently when a member of my family decided to marry into a closed New York, German-Jewish family, I was at a loss to know how to deal with the difficult social interactions that ensued. I think that the marriage was fully accepted when the family decided that an English person was outside the American social system and, therefore, the rules governing social behaviour in the US had not really been violated.

There are three other incidents relating to symbolic boundaries in the US that interested me at the time and they all involved working with children within the local community. My family was very involved with the local sports scenes and we were coaches, members and supporters of baseball, soccer, basketball and swim teams. My husband was asked to help coach a baseball team because they were short of one assistant coach. That seemed strange given the level of parental support in the community. He agreed to do it and it was only at the end of the season, that a woman member of the committee said how grateful the league was for our support for this particular team. No one else had been prepared to help out because the head coach's wife "was not a nice person. After all she is Greek". At the time we were dumfounded because they seemed to be a regular "All American" family to us.

The second incident occurred one summer when we gave a party at the private swimming club, of which we were members, to celebrate the end of the soccer season and the success of "our" local team. All members and their families, which included a cross section of different American racial and ethnic groups, were invited. At the time I felt there was a sense of amusement amongst our guests and thought that it was just that we were giving an excellent party. I also noticed that other club members were not over delighted with the party and thought that they were just being miserable because they were not taking part in the proceedings. However, after I had left the USA, I was told that particular swim club was well known for discriminating against all people who were not of Anglo-Saxon origin. Hence our guests amusement at the British who were oblivious of the social boundaries they were "crashing" through. At the time I had not realized that it was not against the law to discriminate in the membership of private clubs in the USA for in most areas of American life the anti-discrimination laws were very tough.

Finally, from the very beginning of my life in the US I was considered to be suspect by other mothers at the local elementary school after I allowed one of my children to go to a birthday party given in the home of a Mexican migrant agricultural worker's family. The migrant family seemed acceptable to me and the child enjoyed itself at a very hospitable party. I very quickly learnt that unwritten rules regarding mixing between ethnic and racial groupings are far stricter in the US than those governing the mixing between social classes.

The US is a very complex society and the parameters of Symbolic Boundary theory

help in giving an explanation of some of my personal experiences of the symbolic boundaries of ethnic and racial groupings in the USA.

Experiential Evidence from Brasil

Brasil presented a different set of problems for a long stay visitor. Initially there were language barriers but it did not take long to begin to understand Portuguese. Fluency, however, was another matter and social interaction was somewhat circumscribed because of this lack of complete comprehension of the nuances of the language.

My first impression of Brasil was of the confidence of Black Brasilians who seemed to have much more self-esteem than Black Americans. They would talk about the history of Africans in Brasil and how much they had contributed to Brasilian culture. I was able to meet and talk to several Brasilians of African descent who were connected with my husband's work in Brasil, whereas in the US I had only met Black Americans through my work. In the US his company employed few Americans of non-WASP descent which was a reflection of the segregation of ethnic and racial groups in the American social structure. (I am not sure that this would be the case in 1993.) Similarly the type of people his company employed in Brasil reflected the social structure in Brasil, a racial and ethnic mix; Brasilians of Japanese, Chinese, Indian, American, Arabic, European, African, and Jewish descent. In talking to Brasilians who were not of European descent, there were none of the under-currents that were so apparent in the USA.

There is no doubt that the people at the top of Brasilian society are, on the whole, "white" and those at the bottom, on the whole, "black". I put the racial categories into quotation marks because it is very difficult to put people into racial categories in Brasil. The Brasilians have evolved a very complex system to designate peoples' lines of racial descent, but the system breaks down under the weight of its own complexity. That is not to say there are no racial tensions in Brasil. In fact, the evidence seems to indicate that as the urban areas grow, so do the racial tensions, (23). Brasilian social scientists are very sceptical of their foreign colleagues who try paint a picture of racial harmony in Brasil. Also they are scornful of those who try to use theories and concepts developed in Anglo-Saxon societies for explaining what is happening in Brasil, (24). Again as in the US, the relationship between the complex racial and ethnic system and the class system, which is evolving out of a rural society, is very intricate. The long term intellectual effect of living in Brasil was to make me much more circumspect about using Inter-Group theories and concepts that had been developed in the US and UK. They can be very useful as explanatory schemes but their utility is not over arching and they have to be used as part of a broader explanatory scheme.

In Brasil I was not aware of breaking the symbolic boundaries of other ethnic groups, as had been my experience in the USA. However, lack of fluency in Portuguese must have impeded my perception of what was happening during social interaction with all types of Brasilians. I did break the symbolic boundaries of the

foreign expatriate community, which was the group I was assigned to by both the Brasilians and the foreigners. It was a community with its own codes of behaviour one set for other insiders, mainly Westerners of European descent, and one set for outsiders, the Brasilians and other foreigners who did not "qualify" for membership. Qualifications for membership related to perceived status. Some of the symbolic boundaries that I breached included astounding the servants of our near neighbours, in the north of Brasil, because I did all my own housework and they had never seen a fair Brasilian of my class doing any physical labour. They used to come to the window and watch me. I felt like a local side show. Even though I lived in Salvador, Bahia, for eighteen months the servants never got used to watching me work. What was a worse breach of the un-written rules was that I used to go out in a car by myself and sometimes took a taxi ride alone, but after one incident I was a little more circumspect in my behaviour. A taxi driver thought that an un-accompanied fair woman going to a hotel could only be involved in one trade. This was a city where there were well defined roles for fair foreign women and going out to dinner un-escorted was not one of them. There were numerous other incidents when I did not play the role that was allocated to me in Brasil, a country where it was easier to break the unwritten rules than it ever could be in Japan. Although in some ways Brasil was a very dangerous place to live because of the high crime rates I was never in physical danger for breaking the un-written rules or symbolic boundaries of "my" group. It was in Japan where, with all its appearance of calm, law abiding, polite, non-violent people, that I experienced physical violence because, un-wittingly, the un-written rules had been broken. I shall refer to this incident in a later chapter that looks at the conflict within communities.

The real problems for me in Brasil lay in breaking the symbolic boundaries constructed and observed by the ex-patriate community. There was the pressure from the extended expatriate community which contained all foreigners who had been seconded to Brasil by large corporations and the much smaller British expatriate community. These expatriate communities excluded people who were foreigners but who could not maintain an appropriate life style. The extended expatriate community liked to indulge in hierarchies of life style based on material wealth and ostentation. The British community got together to celebrate the icons of Britishness and to distinguish themselves from all foreigners, Brasilian or otherwise. I never thought I would hear the word "Anglo" outside its Indian Raj connections but it was alive and well in the British community in Sao Paulo describing Brasilians of British/ Brasilian descent. It had the same racial over tones as in India. There were no problems for me in understanding the symbolic boundaries of "my" community in Brasil as there had been in the USA where, for most of my sojourn, I had not fully comprehended the implications of being assigned to an ethnic group.

I decided that we should live amongst the Brasilians, in spite of the language problems, and we were followed by one or two of my husband's colleagues. We were left in no doubt that we had broken the community rules and were correspondingly left out of social activities involving the expatriate community. To

make matters worse we did not get involved in the country club activities, in fact we gave our membership away, which was beyond the understanding of other expatriates because memberships were so difficult to obtain. We tried to do some of the activities that Brasilians were involved in such as football matches, music, Carnaval, dining out, conversation, out-door living, dressing well and exuberantly and enjoying a "good social" life. As a result of this partial "breaking away" from the social norms associated with the expatriate community a number of expatriates, for no apparent reason, were deliberately rude to me on several un-related occasions. The women seemed to be particularly affronted by my behaviour and were extremely hostile towards me although I was harassed by some men as well. An associate who is a Foreign Office "wife" has experienced the same sort of harassment when she has refused to take part in the social activities and the un-official hierarchy of the spouses of the UK Foreign Office officials. There were, and still are, certain codes of behaviour that were expected of company employees families, especially the wives, who were treated as if they were a category of people instead of individuals; wives join clubs and play tennis or golf or swim, help at the schools, organize social events, act as hostesses, shop, go to self-improvement classes and most important of all they help to pick up the pieces of the lives of company dependents that many companies' personnel departments render asunder, (25). In Brasil I had to help families who had got personal problems because of the difficult conditions in which they were expected to live. There was no one else for them to turn to but other families in the company. There were problems with alcoholism, wife and child battering, loneliness, educational problems, pregnancy, illness, sunstroke, boredom, gossip, bad housing, inadequate furnishing, lack of air conditioning in temperatures that never dropped below 28C, mosquito bites and the illnesses caused by mosquitoes, food poisoning, the list seemed endless. This ascribed voluntary social work took up a considerable amount of time and emotional energy and left little time for my research work. When I protested to the senior executives of the company about the un-wanted and un-requested "social work" because it interfered with my real reason for accompanying my husband to Brasil the immediate reaction was complete and mystified lack of comprehension. They could only see me as a member of a category of people; company wives who filled their time with certain duties and responsibilities which benefited the company. The second reaction was to attack me personally and withdraw into an attitude of extreme hostility which never wavered when I chanced to meet them again.

In Japan living conditions for expatriates were good and I was able to concentrate on my own reasons for going to live there. I did not get involved, at all, with my husband's work and his company. That was the biggest breach of expatriate symbolic boundaries I could have initiated and it has reverberated back to the UK where a local shop keeper told me that another customer who had visited Japan had "heard all about that wife". Another consequence of my resolve not to get embroiled in "voluntary" social welfare work in Japan was a total exclusion from company activities and the wider British community (because it is so small in Japan) which was a pity for me as a sociologist because I was not able to continue my observations of the very interesting phenomenon of English ethnicity. However,

I was able to concentrate on getting to "know" Japan through talking to Japanese acquaintances, talking to foreigners who worked in Japanese universities, attending lectures, reading anything to do with Japan that was written in English, struggling with learning to read and understand Japanese, watching Japanese television to try to learn what interested them as a society and so forth. Some of the fruits of that research will be contained in this book.

The Long Term Intellectual Effects of Living in Japan

One of the long term intellectual effects of living in Japan is the understanding that concepts do not have to be dichotomised culture/ nature, black/ white, upper class/ lower class. In order to begin to understand Japanese culture and their ways of thinking and approaching problems the idea of dichotomies has to be put aside. The Japanese pursue all logical avenues encompassed in a problem nothing is put to one side. In fact they try not to frame ideas or concepts under investigation as "problems" because framing prevents all the possible logical avenues encompassed in the idea being pursued, (26). This logical pursuit can be illustrated by watching a Japanese version of the American TV programme "Bloopers and Bloomers" where out-takes are aired for the general public. If a baseball player made a clumsy move and looked silly then being hit by a baseball was funny and to be hit by a baseball, bleed profusely and be semi-conscious was even funnier. Japanese logic was part of the problem that the Allies faced at the end of WW11; at what point would the Japanese recognize that their pursuit of victory, was finished because the military would continue to pursue any avenue that might lead to victory. Although the Japanese surrendered, they have never admitted defeat by word or on paper. By 1993 they have achieved one of main the objectives of WW11 which was economic domination of the Pacific region. It remains to be seen if their other objectives of cultural and political dominance now flow from the economic domination. The Japanese ability to achieve successful long term planning is partly based on their approach to logic. It is all part and parcel of each member of the organization having an opinion about the problem and being permitted to voice it and being listened to; different avenues in the pursuit of problem solving are aired and discussed. All aspects of a problem are pursued to their logical conclusion. I would not say that I have developed the mental capacity to think in terms of multiple solutions to problems rather than one unique solution, but only have an awareness that the option is there.

In Japan, for the first time in my life, I was subjected to the experience of overt racial prejudice and hostility which has had an impact on my intellectual processes. On a personal level it was extremely un-pleasant but from an objective social scientist's point of view it has been an illuminating experience which has modified my expectations of the explanatory powers of theoretical models based on the parameters of race, ethnicity and class. I moved to an intellectual position of seeing the need to balance and complement such models with other theories from social theory pertaining to community processes. An awareness of multiple solutions to problems had affected my approach to the study social relations.

Conclusion

This chapter has dealt with the interesting questions that arose from my research in the US with regard to the Zoroastrian community in the UK. Although I was satisfied with the theoretical parameters that I used to conduct the research because they allowed me to deal with the questions that I had set myself, they were not suitable for analyzing the problems that the MA Thesis had highlighted. I looked at the problems of choosing theoretical parameters within which to work, and how the "self" intrudes into social science research. The arguments for experiential research to be included as an integral part of the research process were put forward. The remainder of the chapter delineated my own experiences of symbolic boundaries in two different societies, the USA and Brasil, and how these experiences affected my intellectual processes. Also I commented on the long terms intellectual effects of living in Japan, a country whose intellectual under-pinnings are dissimilar from those under-pinning Europe and North and South America. My experiences of symbolic boundaries in Japan, as well as the experiences of Zoroastrians in relation to their community's symbolic boundaries, will be used in the next chapter to introduce and illustrate the theoretical concept of symbolic boundaries.

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3. SYMBOLIC BOUNDARY THEORY

Symbolic Boundaries and Japan

In an article, **The New Jews**, in **The Guardian** newspaper in 1991 W.Januszczak asked the question

"What is it about the Japanese that makes us fear them?"

He is baffled by the British attitudes to the Japanese because, as he writes, they are just ordinary people who work very hard and are clever. The fact that the Japanese have, in British eyes, an impenetrable "calligraphy", complicated rituals and strange customs puts up barriers to any real understanding of the Japanese. 1991 was the "Japan Year in Britain" and the typical "pseudo-Japanese" cultural artifacts and customs were rolled out for the British public to digest, along with what Januszczak calls kitsch distillations of Japanese culture such as the Clive James TV show version of Japanese television. These efforts do nothing to break down the barriers between the two cultures and in fact just reinforce the perceived incomprehensible differences. In much the same way, the manuals that "teach you how to survive in Japan" reinforce the stereotypes about Japan. Januszczak ends his article with a plea for the Westerner to be himself in Japan.

"Why do Westerners find this so difficult?"(1).

As a sociologist who has spent some time in Japan I fully sympathize with Januszczak's point of view. From the first orientation meeting in London, before I had even got to Japan, I was constantly bombarded by both the foreigners and the Japanese with information about the barriers between Japanese "unique" culture and other cultures: one cannot surmount the barriers, or understand the differences, one just had to accept it as a fact of life. In my experience it was a "game" played equally by the Japanese and by Westerners. In a sense Januszczak was like the little boy in the crowd in the Hans Christian Anderson story "But the Emperor has no clothes on". He is not playing the game that everyone wants to indulge in; for whatever reasons it is preferable to negotiate the symbolic barriers than to come to a real understanding of what is happening vis-a-vis Japan and the rest of the world.

Januszczak is concerned about British attitudes and reactions to Japan and the Japanese whereas Dr. Carmen Blacker in an interview given to the journal **Japan Digest** is concerned with Japanese reactions to the Stranger both in Japanese mythology and historical times, in the past and the present. She notes that although

she is fluent in the language and has considerable cultural understanding of Japan, the Japanese and their ways of life she was still considered really to be unable to understand words that traditionally foreigners are supposed to be unable to understand. When she said that she understood these words the Japanese replied saying that the explanation must have been flawed because she could not possibly understand. Dr. Blacker was up against Japanese symbolic boundaries, (2). Alan Booth, the writer and teacher about Japan, in his book **The Roads to Sata**, has commented that there are 120,000,000 people living in the Japanese archipelago which is 2,000 miles long and stretches across 21 degrees latitude and 23 degrees of longitude and their professions range from Emperor to urban guerilla. However, in spite of his efforts to see the Japanese as individuals he comes across the problems of being a "stranger" although he speaks fluent Japanese, including regional variants, and is well versed in the cultures of Japan. At times, his irritation with the symbolic boundaries, threaten to overwhelm the book which is essentially a travelogue, (3). I empathize with these reactions to the symbolic boundaries of Japan.

Although I have lived for extended periods of time in countries and cultures outside Western Europe they were essentially of European origin. I knew that the sojourn in Japan would be qualitatively different from all my other experiences of living in different cultures. However, the reality was beyond my expectations. For a sociologist whose current research interests lie in the area of symbolic boundaries, living in Japan was hands-on experience that has proved invaluable in my work; I now understand the practice as well as the theory.

My immediate response to arriving in Tokyo for the first time was that I had landed in Toyland by mistake from the size of the buildings and the colours to the "building block" aspects of the freeway construction, everything appeared to be scaled down in size and there was a nursery atmosphere in terms of tidiness and orderliness. Even the living plants looked as if they were wood blocks all the same size and shape. On top of the sensation of having landed up in Toyland there was the realization that the street signs, advertisements, names and instructions were all written in an incomprehensible "calligraphy" and where written in Roman script, were just as incomprehensible and unpronounceable. One was up against formidable cultural barriers on just trying to leave the airport by taxi.

All streets have names and the numbering system for the individual buildings is rather complex. In the end I just carried maps on visiting cards to instruct the taxi drivers where I wanted to go. Even then they would consult their large maps of Tokyo and frequently declare that the place did not exist. The solution was to battle on and find a taxi driver who at least admitted that the place actually existed. Of course, there is an excellent subway system and once I had learned to read some of the calligraphy and which was the up-line and which was the down line I could use it. Just moving around Tokyo on a daily basis provided ample evidence of symbolic and cultural barriers to be overcome. All basic areas of daily life presented me with cultural barriers to be negotiated if I was to fulfill the purpose for which I had come to Japan: To work and to learn and understand Japanese society and the formidable

symbolic boundaries that operate between the Japanese and foreigners living in Japan.

Having come to terms with the cultural barriers in Japan one is then confronted by the symbolic boundaries. As a foreigner living in Japan, certain patterns of behaviour were expected; one should take an interest in what Januszczak has called "pseudo-Japanese" cultural artifacts and customs together with "kitsch" distillations of Japanese culture. As a foreigner, attempts to master "unique" Japanese culture are expected to be clumsy and gauche and without any real and instinctive understanding of how the Japanese view their culture. I sometimes caused consternation with Japanese acquaintances if I inadvertently let them know I could read the "calligraphy"; Kanji, the Chinese characters which the Japanese use along with two phonetic syllabaries. Foreigners are supposed to concentrate on the syllabaries and not attempt the Kanji. Books, courses, self-help groups, clubs have a large following amongst the foreign communities living in Japan. The tension of such a life is released in jokes and stories about the "strange" and often incomprehensible situations in which foreigners find themselves. Equally the Japanese find the "antics" of the foreigners trying to accommodate to a Japanese life style somewhat of a farce. I quite often found that I was the butt of a joke when I was just walking down a street or ordering a meal in a restaurant.

These apparently trivial comments have been made to illustrate the pervasiveness of the symbolic boundaries for foreigners living in Japan. However, from my discussions with Zoroastrians living in Japan I found that they seemed to negotiate the cultural barriers with ease and moved between all the communities with which they came into contact; the Japanese, the Americans, the British, the Indians. They were surprised at my interest in symbolic boundaries because to them they are just a "fact" of life. "Surely all communities operate in similar ways". There are very few Zoroastrians who actually live in Japan, as opposed to those visiting Japan from Hong Kong for business purposes. The great wealth of the Zoroastrian community in India was founded on business interests in Hong Kong. The British were not the only people to make fortunes out of the opium trade. In **The World Survey of Zoroastrians 1986** I found that two percent had actually lived in Japan at some stage in their lives, (4).

Social scientists come under pressure to view Japanese culture as "unique". There is considerable debate about Nihonjinron, that is Japanese theories about what it is that makes them uniquely Japanese. JG.van Bremen in his essay **The Post-1945 Anthropology of Japan**, discusses this problem in detail putting forth the arguments supporting the "unique" Japanese culture argument and those opposing it with especial reference to Anthropology, (5). However, his paper is critical of all social science work with regard to Japan and its tendency to take the "unique" Japan culture point of view. In my opinion the symbolic boundaries between the Japanese and other peoples are so pervasive that even social scientists, who should be aware of such problems, get caught up in the symbolic boundary differences. But what are symbolic boundaries?

Symbolic Boundary Theory

In 1969 F. Barth adopted an approach to ethnicity which emphasized that "ethnic groups are categories of ascription and identification by the actors themselves", (6). He moved the theoretical emphasis from social structure to that of social organization. There are several points worth noting with regard to Barth's work.

1. The analysis of ethnicity starts from the definition of the situation held by the actors themselves.
2. The focus of attention becomes the maintenance of ethnic boundaries and the social interaction, between them and us, which takes place across the ethnic boundary.
3. Ethnic identity depends upon ascription, both by the members of the ethnic group and outsiders.
4. Ethnicity is not fixed; it is situationally defined.
5. Ecological issues are particularly influential in determining ethnic identity especially with regard to economic niches within the society in question.

There are criticisms to be leveled against the work of Barth and his co-workers, of which the main ones that concern this paper are a preoccupation with social integration and consensus, and a theoretical style characterized by a concentration upon the identification of social groups. R.Jenkins has noted a solution to the problems with a rigorous theorisation of the distinction between groups and categories in the context of inter-ethnic relations, (7). It is important to distinguish between the process of group identification and the process of categorisation; the first takes place inside the ethnic boundary, the second outside or across it. Japanese inside and outside Japan perceive themselves as "unique" in terms of their culture and life style as do some non-Japanese people, who have difficulty in assigning these "unique" people to categories; are they "Western"; are they part of Chinese cultural traditions; are they part of the Pacific cultural tradition; where do they belong? The Parsis of the Zoroastrian Diaspora recognize themselves as members of an ethnic group which has a unique religion and social values that have a lot in common with other ethnic groups whose origins are in the sub-continent of India. However, the Parsis do not want to be assigned to the racial group "Asian" by people who are outside the ethnic group; they do not even want to be assigned to another ethnic group from the sub-continent. Jenkins suggests that ethnicity is largely a matter of group identification, and race is one of categorisation which may be invoked on the basis of putative ethnic, cultural, social or other criteria.

Barth is chiefly concerned with boundary maintenance and in conditions of relative stability, addressing the emergence of ethnicity as a response to changing social conditions as a problem which is marginal to the main thrust of his work. He notes that the bases of boundedness can be visible or invisible, symbolic or real. The bases most often converted into ethnicity are territoriality, history, language, economic considerations, and symbolic identifications of one kind or another, (8).

The interminable academic, discussions about the "uniqueness" of Japanese culture is based on these considerations. However, there is no limit to the number and kind

of considerations. The Zoroastrians have territorial roots in Gujarat, India, and in Iran. Their ethnicity is based on their history both as facts and as myth. In Iran under the last two Shahs and in India, under the British Raj, they found their economic niches. However, they do not appear to have an economic niche in the UK except that they have a high representation in the professions, Engineering, Medicine, Law, and Accountancy. They have symbolic representations of their religion in the religious garments that they always wear the Sudre and the Kusti. The symbolic allegiance to their religion is manifest in certain ritual ceremonies such as the initiation ceremony and the death ceremonies. All prayers are conducted in a "dead" language, Avestan, which most Zoroastrians do not understand. Zoroastrianism can be summed up, for Zoroastrians in a phrase "Good Thoughts, Good Words, Good Deeds".

There is no logical limit to the number of the bases of boundedness of an ethnic group and even if they could be enumerated, the problem of whether individual members of the ethnic group will utilize the bases, and which ones they will use, remains with the researcher. S.Wallman suggests that anthropologists have come to recognize that it is the identity element of ethnic boundaries which moves the boundary process; (9).

> "....differences between groups of people turn into ethnic boundaries only when heated into significance by the identity investments of either side, irrespective of their purpose or the actors' consciousness of it. Sometimes these investments can readily be shown to match the economic or political interest of the actors quite explicitly. Alternatively the match may be inferred from the way in which information and other resources are distributed. When no such correspondence can be demonstrated, identity has no visible purpose or expression; it is only affect", (10).

A.Cohen writes that the boundary as the community's public face is symbolically simple, (11). The Zoroastrians have rigid rules about no conversion and that only children of a Zoroastrian father and a non-Zoroastrian mother can be initiated into the religion (the converse does not apply). However, there is great dissension within the community about conversion and the position of the children whose mothers are Zoroastrian and fathers non Zoroastrian. These are part of what I refer to as the "Controversial aspects of Zoroastrianism". Cohen notes that within the private mode, differentiation and variety proliferate, and generate a complex symbolic statement. In the case of Japan, the public face is that of a homogeneous, consensual, group orientated society but the private face is of a very complex modern society whose members range from Emperor to urban guerilla. Thus the boundary symbolizes for the members of the ethnic group their own sense of their community and it also symbolizes how people outside the group perceive the ethnic community.

Wallman comments on the impact of the outsiders on the ethnic boundary and suggests that there is a dynamic relationship between the outsiders and the group

members across the ethnic group boundary, (12). It is in Japan that one can really see the effect of foreigners, or strangers, on group boundaries. There are rigid rules which try to keep these non-Japanese at a physical and social distance. For the Japanese, the danger of cultural and racial "pollution" is becoming so great that the idea of locating all foreigners residing in Tokyo on an artificial island in Tokyo bay has been discussed in the Japanese media, (13). The transparency and permeability of the boundary affect the system; the more opaque the boundary the more the chance the ethnic group has to manipulate others' perception of it, or to stay invisible if it chooses; permeability controls the kinds of items, influences and people that can cross from one side of the boundary to the other. Wallman suggests that weak ties are stronger than a tightly bound system. However, ethnic groups and ethnic networks can only persist to the extent that incomers are excluded or controlled by rites of passage to membership. The Zoroastrians belong to both types of ethnic group; they have weak ties in terms of numbers, geographic dispersal of members, no formal organization, no hierarchy within the religion, there is no position akin to the Pope; but, they do not allow conversion to Zoroastrianism except in the case of the children of a Zoroastrian father and non-Zoroastrian mother, and the mother cannot become a Zoroastrian.

It was noted above that it is the identity element in ethnic boundaries which moves the boundary process. A.L.Epstein, in **Ethos and Identity**, seeks to examine the problem that Barth leaves unanswered; boundary maintenance and why it is maintained at all in situations of rapid social change, (14). He suggests that in looking more closely at the nature of ethnic identity some light may be thrown on the problem. How is ethnic identity generated and transmitted, how does it persist and how is it transformed, or how does it disappear, yielding to other forms of identity. The most important point to note is that no one is composed of a single identity; as members of society each person carries simultaneously a range of identities just as each person occupies a number of statuses and plays a variety of roles. There is a close resemblance between identity and status and role but the latter two are socially defined in terms of rules and expectations, whereas identity is a synthesis; it is a process by which the person seeks to integrate his various roles and statuses together with his diverse experiences into a coherent self image. Because identity touches the core of the self, it is likely to be bound by a powerful affect. Epstein observes that ethnic identity is always in some degree a product of the interaction of inner perception and outer response, of forces operating on the individual from within and those impinging from without. Ethnic identity can be thought of as lying on a continuum marked by positive and negative poles. At the positive pole, ethnic identity depends more on inner concepts of exclusiveness, and upon inner strength and resources. However, at the negative pole identity rests on a minimal definition, if at all, and is imposed from without. The Japanese see themselves as "unique" not just in cultural terms but also in terms of physical attributes, having larger brains and longer digestive tracts than other peoples. This apparent superiority and arrogance co-exists with a worry that they are not viewed in such "glowing" terms by non-Japanese people. There can be real consternation amongst a group of Japanese people when faced with hostility, especially from young non-Japanese people whose parents and grandparents suffered under the

Japanese Imperial Armed Forces conquests. I attended a number of meetings in Tokyo, where I heard and saw the Japanese react to being accused of having cultural traits and a history that was quite at a variance with their own views and knowledge, (15).

Ethnic identity is the product of the interplay of internal and external factors and the strength of the individual's attachment to his ethnic group may not be measurable in terms of observed traits which can be quantified. For Epstein

> "....what would seem to be important in the transmission of identity is not the practice itself, but the meaning that attaches to it, and the way it is cathected", (16).

He observes that the "intimate" culture of ethnic groups is not well documented but those features of attachment that can be quantified, "public" culture of ethnic groups, have been well documented. Surveys conducted on the Zoroastrians, in the UK and the USA, have a wealth of evidence to suggest that Zoroastrians who no longer observe the "public" culture of Zoroastrianism, in terms of religious and social ritual, retain a strong feeling of affection for their ethnic group; in some cases more than the Zoroastrians who observe the ritual.

Culture as the Central Concept in Sociology

Within this theoretical discussion about symbolic boundaries there is a basic assumed theoretical concept, that of culture. As M.Featherstone comments in **Consumer Culture and Postmodernism**

> "One of the noticeable features of sociology of the 1980s has been the growth of interest in the cultural dimension of social life which has propelled the sociology of culture from a marginal position towards the centre of the sociological field", (17).

He says that as this has been happening there has been a similar but reverse process with regard to the sociology of religion which has become more marginal and isolated within the field, (18). I will look at this situation with regard to the Sociology of Religion a little more closely in the chapter dealing with Zoroastrianism as a religion, and will note the position of religion within the classical theories of sociology. As well as religion being treated as a necessary ingredient in the understanding of social structure and social life, culture was a basic and core concept for these theories.

The classic anthropological definition of culture is that of E.B.Tylor where he stresses that it is man's non-biological inheritance which is learned. Culture is distinct from society, which is considered to be the structures, rules and formal relationships by which groups of people live together. Culture is the sum of the possessions, tangible and intangible, of that group. This includes the beliefs, values and expressive creations of the people bound by social arrangements. It is culture

that gives meanings that are comprehensible to social action. Robert Redfield has said that

> "Culture is a body of shared understandings", (19).

However, in practice the concept of culture is difficult to define in terms of an all embracing definition that all social scientists will subscribe to. In my research into Black American music in the USA, I worked within a working definition of "Black Culture" that had been developed, over time, by social scientists working in areas concerned with Black American culture. It refers, primarily, to the Black Americans who are at the bottom of the social structure. There are certain characteristics which lower class Black Americans exhibit and interest in these characteristics has led to some fascinating research work which documents, in detail, the variety of life styles within the lower class and the underclass Black communities, (20). The so called characteristics are ideal types, facets of which the individual person exhibits in his own unique life style. The individual, by participating in the social process, learns beliefs, norms, values and types of action that are shared by other members of the society. These form the basis of the individual's cultural repertoire and within any one individual repertoire there are mainstream and ghetto specific cultural items co-existing side by side.

Ethnic sub-cultures as they evolved in the USA were largely adaptations of immigrants to hostile surroundings. Hannerz comments that there is a Black culture, which was largely developed as a response to the Black American conditions, (21). In studies of Black American culture it is noted that the most unique of the cultural traits are those to be found in music, dance and language and these have their origins in Africa, (22). In my study of Black American music, with especial reference to Jazz, I detailed the fact that as a particular jazz style was appropriated by White America another style was developed within the lower class Black Community, (23). The lower class Black community, in the USA, alters its symbolic boundaries with regard to its own musical form to distinguish itself from mainstream America. I suspect it also does so with regard to its varieties of American English as these are appropriated by mainstream America. Similarly, my research into Brasilian musical forms noted the complexity of rhythm and dance patterns and how this complexity increased as one looked at the musical forms of lower class Black Brasilians. As the upper and middle class White Brasilians appropriated samba styles the lower class Blacks responded with even more complexity. During Carnaval week these differences were apparent at Brasilians took to the streets to make music and dance.

S.Steinberg, in **The Ethnic Myth,** has pointed to the problem of the reification of "culture" and treating it as a thing unto itself, independent of other spheres of life, (24). This is especially the case when ethnic groups are assumed to be endowed, in some mystical fashion, with a given set of cultural values which are independent of their social setting. One must consider ethnic factors as well as historical, economic, political and social factors. Steinberg is at pains to point out that in the USA today ethnicity is largely a question of being used as a symbolic means to identify an individual with a particular group of people. In some ethnic groups the

boundaries have become very fluid indeed but others such as Black Americans still retain strong symbolic boundaries.

Classical Interpretations of Shared Cultural Values

Classical sociological theorists would concur with Steinberg on his insistence that one consider a number of factors when looking at a group of people who exhibit a set of cultural values. Weber explicitly and Durkheim implicitly saw man as a social and religious creature,

> ".... man is the creator of values and social systems, and sociology seeks to understand the structure of these values and systems; .ie. the structure of social action", (25).

For Weber social action occurs when man assigns a certain meaning to his conduct and it relates and is orientated to the behaviour of other persons, (26). Social action takes place when the social actions of several people are reciprocally orientated towards each other's behaviour. The regular repetition of this reciprocated behaviour is the basis of social integration into a community and is immanent with a sense of belonging experienced by the participants, a feeling whose motivation is either affective or traditional. A further process of communal integration is that of the group, and this can be either open or closed, depending on its accessibility. Weber suggests that human groups (other than kinship groups) which value a belief in their common origins of such a kind that it provides a basis for the creation and maintenance of a community, should be called an ethnic group. The Parsis have a very strongly held myth about their origins and how they arrived in the sub-Continent of India. Some special ethnic groups are capable of with-standing severe stress where, for one reason or another, the members of a community retain the memory for a long time of the establishment abroad either by peaceful separation from the mother-community or by migration to some distant land. Again, the Zoroastrian communities in India and Iran have survived for many centuries in spite of being numerically overwhelmed by the surrounding populations which were, at times, extremely hostile. A shared language and a common pattern of ritual regulation of life based on shared religious conceptions play an important part in engendering feelings of ethnic affinity. Although Zoroastrians no longer have a shared language, apart from their religious language, Avestan, they have a common pattern of religious ritual wherever they live in the world. Besides these two major factors in determining ethnic group ties of affiliation, there are other factors that can play an important role, such as type of dress, type of housing and food, division of labour between the sexes and between the free and unfree, as well the conduct of the economic life of the group. In fact, it includes all the factors which one comes across when looking at differences in social "rank": the feeling of "ethnic status", exactly like the concept of status based on social "rank", comes from the conviction that ones own customs are superior to other peoples. "Ethnic status" is open to the whole mass of the population who claim common ancestry. Members cling to "ethnic conventions" to distinguish them from non-members. The heated debate within the Zoroastrian community with regard to who is eligible to be a member has already been mentioned several times in the work. This difference in custom

can lead to the development of a sense of ethnic identity and beliefs about blood-relationships and strong ethnic boundaries. The Parsis, in particular, have very strong feelings about "racial purity" and not polluting the community by introducing "inferior" racial groups, (27).

Durkheim saw the individual as an expression of the collectivity, even in societies which authorize each man to be and to know himself. Otherwise the society of organic differentiation could not endure, if it were not for collective imperatives, prohibitions, values and things held sacred, to bind individuals to the social group, (28). It was through his study of the division of labour that Durkheim postulated this important idea together with the idea that in some societies, individual consciousness is entirely external to itself. Every society needs a set of common beliefs and in some societies religious beliefs fill this role:

"Religious interests are merely the symbolic form
of social and moral interests", (29).

The category of religious interests is formed by the division of the world into the sacred and the profane. The former consists of a body of things, beliefs and rites. He also saw that much of human social behaviour is directed to symbols and not to things themselves. In chapter six, **The Zoroastrian Experience in Britain**, I will analyze some quantitative data relating to this sacred/ profane dichotomy in terms of the Zoroastrian attitudes to the sacred/ secular aspects of Zoroastrianism.

For Simmel there was no unit or objective theory that could be called society; only the individual is real, (30). To describe society is merely to describe the social interactions of individuals: Society only seems real. It is through conflict and interchange that social reality is to be found. However, Simmel did not stick to his self imposed guide lines. He says that in order to understand a group of people one must treat the group as if it really did have its own life and laws. Also one must look at the differences between the group and the individual. In the case of this work I am going to assume that symbolic boundaries really exist and that by looking at individual differences in the Zoroastrians' attitudes towards these boundaries I can gain some knowledge both about the group and the symbolic boundaries themselves. Individual actions strike one as "free" whereas group actions strike one as if they were determined by natural law. One must separate the individual himself, the values and behaviours by which he contributes to the collective spirit and those which constitute his private property and set him apart from other members of the group. Specific needs and interests make men band together in groups, and as well engender a feeling of being sociated and satisfied by this association. Sociability is not dependent upon wealth, social position, fame, erudition, intelligence or creativity, it depends upon individual personalities.

Man has many roles to play in life because he is, in reality, a member of many groups and his sociability threshold limits his activity within these groups. A group secures suitable behaviour from its members through custom, and where the group becomes too large for custom to operate, members behaviour is regulated by laws.

The group pursues its own purposes with a level of inconsiderateness which would be called egotistical in an individual and often requires group members' selflessness and sacrifice. Excluding out-married Zoroastrian women and their children from the Zoroastrian religion is an example of this phenomenon and it is there to "protect" the exclusiveness of the Zoroastrian community. Groups often act on the principles of exclusiveness and inclusiveness. On the one hand, there is the principle of including everyone who is not explicitly excluded; on the other hand, there is the principle of excluding everyone who is not explicitly included. Within groups there is the feeling of seclusion from the outside and a striving for internal cohesion on the inside. The stranger, in the sense of a potential wanderer who has not yet moved on, confronts the group by being outside it and by also being a member. He is not radically committed to the unique ingredients and peculiar tendencies of the group and approaches the members with an attitude of objectivity of indifference and involvement. The final comment of Simmel could apply to my experiences within the ex-patriate communities in Brasil and Japan: The "stranger" who is at one and the same time inside and outside the community, and who views the members with an attitude of objectivity of indifference and involvement.

Summary of the First Part of Chapter Three

The first part of this chapter has dealt with the theoretical background to the concept Symbolic Boundaries and was introduced and illustrated by experiential evidence. It was noted that there is a basic core concept of culture underlying Symbolic Boundary theory: The sociology of culture is at the centre of sociological theory and practice in the 1980s and 1990s. The classical theorists Weber and Durkheim, also understood religion to be of equal importance to culture in explaining social structure and social life, (31). What they had to say is pertinent to some of the observed behaviour of Zoroastrians. Simmel's approach to theoretical analyses of group behaviour also related to the Zoroastrian community. He had some very interesting comments on group behaviour and the practice of exclusiveness and inclusiveness. This is a phenomenon closely related to ethnic identity which was noted to be associated with symbolic boundaries.

 In the next chapter, **Symbolic Boundaries and Ethnic Identity**, I will look at this relationship between symbolic boundaries and ethnic identity both at the theoretical and at the applied level, but first I want to look at the theoretical background to the different types of research methods that I will be employing, and have already employed in chapter two, **Symbolic Boundaries: The Experience of a Sociologist**, in this work.

Research Methods in Sociology

Research methods in Sociology can be divided into the two familiar groups of Qualitative and Quantitative research techniques. There are three features that are common to both types of research techniques, those of validity, reliability and representativeness.

Validity refers to the problem of whether the data collected measures what it is supposed to be measuring. In my survey work on the Zoroastrians I always make a careful note in the reporting the results of the analyses that the respondents **said** that they did such and such... Although I will use tests of validity within the statistical testing that will not tell me if the Zoroastrians actually do what they say they do. It will tell me if the answers to the questions of the questionnaire are consistent and valid within that sample of Zoroastrians. Similarly with the qualitative data I can only report what I have been told in the interviews.

Reliability refers to the ability of another researcher being able to repeat my research. Certainly the survey method which looked at the religious and social attitudes of the Zoroastrian community, could be repeated quite easily although, there could be variations because of the problems of sampling such a community. My own research on the Diaspora has shown that the research can be repeated within different Zoroastrian groups. This is described and discussed in chapter 9, **Zoroastrian Symbolic Boundaries: A Comparative Analysis**. In terms of interviewing and observing the community the researcher may come to different conclusions, because most of my qualitative research was done when I was experimenting with the theoretical parameters within which to locate my research.

Representativeness is concerned with the problem how typical are the people that are being studied of the group as a whole. For the Zoroastrians, it is impossible to know what the parameters of the group population are. The surveys have been conducted through the community centres and through personal contacts with Zoroastrians who are not members of the associations. This is a snowball type of sample and the results of the analyses cannot be extrapolated to the group as a whole. They can only tell the researcher about that particular group of people. However, my comparison of different groups of Zoroastrians of the Diaspora suggests that the certain concepts do hold across different samples of Zoroastrians, as well as across national boundaries. In qualitative analysis this is supposed to be a major problem too but it need not be. In my research in Brasil I was interested in Brasilian Japanese and although I only met two men and one woman who had married out of the community, I knew from this tiny sample that the results probably held across the community as a whole. Brasilian Japanese men who marry out still remain within the community. They are not excluded from it whereas Brasilian Japanese women have to join the communities of their new families. Research into similar ethnic groups would suggest that this was the pattern of treating out-marriage within the Brasilian community, as it is with the Zoroastrians.

Theoretical Assumptions Under-Pinning Research Methods

The theoretical assumptions under-pinning these two types of methods, are those of "positivism" and "interpretivism" respectively. I will deal with "positivism" first and then "interpretivism" under the sub-heading **Qualitative Research**.

The philosophical concept of positivism is based on a set of assumptions about the world and the appropriate way of studying it. To put it simply, it entails a belief that

the methods and procedures of the natural sciences are appropriate for studying the social world. The fact that people, the object of the research, can think and understand their world is not an obstacle to using the "scientific" method. Only phenomena that can be observed are counted as knowledge. Thus "feelings" or "subjective experience" can not be used as evidence. Theory reflects the accumulation of "scientific" facts and forms the backbone of empirical research because of the hypotheses that are derived and tested from the theory. Positivism tries to maintain the objectivity of the researcher both in conducting the research and in stressing the difference between scientific issues and normative issues, (32). The hypothetico-deductive method is the name given to the logic that natural science is thought to employ and at its basis is the experiment, either in the laboratory or in the field, to test the hypothesis which the scientist tries to prove to be wrong. The hypothesis is then refined or developed and eventually it is added to the theory which is used to make predictions about future events, (33). In practice however, concepts and not theories form the focus of much quantitative research and the researcher tends to look for associations between concepts and causal explanations of these associations, (34).

The Comparative Method

Within the discipline of Sociology the comparative method is the most useful experimental method because, for obvious reasons, the classic, natural, scientific method cannot be used. In social science there is the before-and-after situation where the researcher studies the effects of change and it can also be called evaluative action research. A current phenomenon can be explained by looking at the past experience of a group where it is occurring and at the past experience of a group where it is not occurring. Many of the natural sciences such as Astronomy, Seismology and Climatology employ this method. The researcher can also locate what is not the independent variable when studying a group of people and comparing them with other groups of people who matched in terms of similar characteristics except those under investigation. Within Sociology, Weber and Durkheim established the comparative method as their principle method of social scientific investigation. P.McNeil notes that

> "Any sociologist who is trying to identify the causes of social events and behaviour is going to be involved in making comparisons, whether by means of conducting surveys among different groups of people, or by conducting experiments with control and experimental groups, or by the comparative methods."

and that

> "It is fundamental to causal explanation that comparisons are made between instances where the thing to be explained is absent and instances where it is present", (35).

In this work the main statistical analyses will be used to compare different groups

of Zoroastrians from the world-wide Diaspora. The data which enabled to me to conduct the comparison was collect by the social survey method.

Social Surveys

Social surveys are a method of obtaining large amounts of data about people in a relatively short space of time. The information can either be explanatory or descriptive. There are about nine stages to go through in executing social surveys and they start with choosing the topic to be studied, through the literature review to drafting the questionnaire and administering it to the appropriate population. Then the collating and coding of the data is followed by the analyses, the written report and the publication of the report, (36). There is considerable philosophical discussion about what quantitative research methods, such as survey material actually present to the researcher. There is some philosophical concern about individuals being tested and then the results added together. This engenders a view of society that it is composed of an aggregation of disparate individuals who do not know one another, (37). It is considered inappropriate to study patterns of relationships and interaction using random sampling methods which produce the responses of disparate individuals in aggregate form. Methods such as snowball sampling are considered more suitable for this type of research and certainly in my work on the Zoroastrians I have used material that was collected by snowball sampling, or interviewing people who were either known to the interviewer or to each other if only by reputation within the community. The advantages of survey research are that large numbers of people can be included in the research and that the personal influence, in terms of social interaction, of the researcher is minimal. (I will discuss my particular problems with personal contact with the people I wanted to research later in this chapter). It enables comparisons to be made between different populations. The disadvantages are that it cannot be known if what people say they do or think is what they actually do or think. All this type of research has to be qualified by the statement that the respondents **said** that they thought or did such and such. Survey style research imposes limits of the structure of data being collected rather than letting the research situation dictate the structure of the data. In this work I am using secondary survey data that is data that was not specifically set up to test the theories that I am particularly interested in. For a researcher to use secondary data involves some considerable creativity and lateral thinking in seeing how the existing material can be used in their research. Some of the statistical results that I obtain in my analysis of secondary data from a descriptive survey yields results that I find exciting. In the main body of the research material of the work I am pleased to have R Squared equals .20 and consider it a good statistical explanation of attitudes to the Symbolic Boundaries of Zoroastrianism. If I had designed and obtained primary data from an explanatory survey research tool that was solely based on Symbolic Boundary theory, then I might not be so comfortable with an R Square at these levels. The statistical results that the researcher obtains are dependent upon a number of factors and these have to be taken into consideration when evaluating the results of survey research, or for that matter any type of social research, (38).

Qualitative Research

Not only quantitative research methods, but also qualitative research methods give rise to large amounts of data, the only difference being the type of data. Qualitative methods produce data that concentrate on presenting the quality of the way of life as described by the subjects and the researchers. Qualitative research is based on different philosophical assumptions from those of quantitative research methods. It was Weber who argued that the essential difference between the subject matter of Sociology and that of the natural sciences was that human beings have an understanding of their acts and what is happening to them, unlike natural phenomena which have no understanding of what is happening to them. For Weber it was not enough to show the external causes of social phenomena but also was necessary to show how people's understanding of these causes affected people in their thinking about the world. The prime example of Weber's work in this regard is **The Protestant Ethic and The Spirit of Capitalism**, (39). The emphasis on meaning and consciousness is central to areas of sociological theory such as the work of the Chicago School under the influence of George Herbert Mead. Symbolic Interactionism, with its philosophical under-pinning of pragmatism, views social life as an unfolding process in which participants interpret their social environment and act on their interpretation, (40), (41). WI.Thomas said that if men define their situations as real, then they are real in their consequences. Naturalism is a philosophical derivative of Symbolic Interactionism which seeks to minimize the effects of the research and the researcher on the subject matter, (42). Phenomenology, with its separate philosophical assumptions based on the work of Edmund Husserl and Alfred Schutz, seeks to understand social reality in people's experience of that reality, (43). Participant Observation or Ethnography has methods of data collection that are most closely identified with qualitative methods, (44). It entails the total immersion of the researcher in the group or organization that they wish to study and the use of unstructured and structured interviews, and written questionnaires to enhance and support the researcher's observations of the group. Unlike quantitative data collection qualitative data collection tends to be gathered at the same time as the testing of theories and concepts. This makes qualitative research flexible and unstructured but there are problems associated with this type of research method; the ability of the researcher to actually "see the world through the eyes of the respondent" and then to interpret this world; the relationship between theory and research; and the extent to which the results of research from a group can be generalized to other populations, (45).

The Use of Qualitative and Quantitative Methods in Social Research

Bryman in **Quantity and Quality in Social Research** notes the difference between the philosophical approach and the technical approach to the debate about social research. The technical version of the debate is more flexible because it does not see qualitative and quantitative methods as competing and mutually antagonistic, as does the epistemological debate. He wants quantitative and qualitative methods to be used together where possible.

"....such philosophical reflections should not lose

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sight of the practices of social researchers. Certain aspects of the debate about quantitative and qualitative research share with the philosophy an alarming disinterest in social research... ...The application of philosophical ideas to social research must not lose touch with the practices and aims of social researchers", (46).

P.Halfpenny in **Principles of Method,** talks about the principles of method in order to put the philosophical discussion into perspective and to give a very practical guide to social researchers, (47). McNeil has practical advice too when he suggests that data should be viewed as if it were on a continuum of social surveys at one end, with many numbers of respondents involved, down through structured interviews, unstructured interviews, observation, participant observation. The number of respondents involved declines as one moves through the continuum. He states that in terms of theory, it ties in with the recognition that

".... while people's actions are a result of their interpretation of a situation, their interpretation and their choices are limited by structural factors external to them and beyond their control", (48).

It has been shown within the parameters of the philosophy of science that scientific knowledge in the natural sciences is a product of social, cultural, historical and political processes. The contributors to **Knowledge and Reflexivity: New Frontiers in the Sociology of Knowledge** think it is time that social scientists see their particular speciality as being driven and generated by the same forces. They suggest that self-reflection and self-referral should be part and parcel of the research process; as the research proceeds the researcher should be continually assessing their research methods as well conducting the research, (49).

The Intrusion of the Self into Social Research

Not only has there been severe questioning of the theoretical assumptions behind social research from the philosophy of science and the sociology of knowledge, but there has now been formidable questioning from the field of feminist theory and the growth of feminist research, (50). They have shown that, due to male ideas about the nature of the world and how it should be observed and measured women have been excluded from most social research, or at the best been marginal to it. Feminist researchers have developed new techniques for studying issues that relate to women. I have discussed this issue in chapter two, **Symbolic Boundaries: The Experience of a Sociologist**, where I introduced my reasons for using experiential research evidence in this work.

Experiential evidence can be used in the same way as I described the symbolic boundary approach to studying Zoroastrians that is in a "lateral" way, coming at the problem from a completely different perspective and using the material in a different way to illuminate the problem. In a way, that helps with the "vertical" or orthodox way of approaching the research problems, (51). It can be used to

illuminate the research problem and as a means of "kick starting" the research work or giving impetus to ideas. Being outside my culture of origin has had the effect of enabling me to see my native cultures in a different light, in a sense coming at them obliquely without losing the ability to see the cultures in the original light. This enabled me to contemplate using a different theoretical approach to my research problems. The obvious theoretical approach to researching a group such as the Zoroastrians in Britain would be either through class and race orientation, or through sociology of religion orientation. Symbolic Boundary theory approaches the problem from a different angle, and the analogy could be between "lateral" versus "vertical" thinking approach, with Symbolic Boundary theory being the "lateral" thinking approach. Symbolic boundary theory uses aspects of the concept of ethnicity and many of the attitudes of the Zoroastrians to their community, including those regarding their religion.

Working in the field of cross-cultural research, the social scientist has to take several factors into account, not least of which is the experience of the researcher themselves. Boon has said that

> "Experience across cultures, like communication across languages, is neither unique nor universal. Its advantage lies rather in the sense of exaggeration it ensues", (52).

In my experience of living in other cultures, I would say the Boon's quote encapsulates simply but clearly what is so remarkable about the experience. It was the "exaggerated" nature of my experience of social relations which led to my intellectual appreciation of the clear cut nature of symbolic boundaries in Japan. Meoran states that the problem for anthropologists is whether to bring their own theories and concepts to other cultures or to attempt to understand the culture, under study, in its own terms, (53). Bryman suggests that the latter approach has three factors which must be taken into account; the way in which the members of the culture view the world; the researcher's view of how the members view the world; and the researcher's construction of the these two factors for presentation to colleagues of the researcher's own intellectual cultural community. In recent years anthropologists have begun to examine the literary devices they use to present an alien culture to their audience, (54).

As RE.Pahl, in **Divisions of Labour,** writes

> "....I found that seeking such connections
> encouraged lateral thinking and helped me to see all forms of work
> (work: the focus of the research project) in a better perspective", (55).

J.Beckford has commented in his work on New Religious Movements that the interpretation of the interview transcripts and the search for patterns common to the set of transcripts were best done after a period of time had elapsed and after considerable reflection of the implications of the content of the interviews. He was trying to achieve some distance from the informant's world but at the same time not

to lose contact with it, (56). For myself, it has only been through the passage of time, other types of research on the Zoroastrian community and other sociological research, together with my experience of other cultures, that I have gained a perspective on the Zoroastrian community that I feel, at this point in time, will produce illuminating and interesting research material about the Zoroastrian community in Britain.

My Personal Approach to Social Research

My personal approaches to social research demonstrate that I am drawn equally to both types of method of research and do not favour one above the other, (57). I am equally comfortable working within either perspective. However, I do not think that I would be comfortable about working exclusively within one or the other type of research, unless the research problem dictated that it was the only way that the research could be achieved. A research problem viewed from only one research strategy would be uni-dimensional and, certainly, for the researcher it is more interesting and illuminating if the research problem is viewed from different angles. Whatever research methods are adopted by the researcher, there is the need for considerable skill and talent in distilling vast amounts of data to a "reader friendly" form, so that the non-researcher can understand the precise nature of the research material that has been compressed into the report format. Hopefully, the essential elements of the data will have been retained by the reporting of the researcher. However, for this particular piece of research there is considerable emphasis on quantitative methods. My experience of meeting, observing and interviewing Zoroastrians in the UK, USA and India was that I could not get near to any aspects of the religion. I was always received with great courtesy and consideration, and was made aware that I was a very welcome visitor, but a visitor none the less and my presence was noted. I was kept well clear of the religious aspects of community life. Obviously part of the problem was that I was female, North European and an Academic. However impeccable my connections were through family, friends and academia, these did not over-ride the principal objections to me as female and of European origin, with the implication that I was an Anglican.

I began to understand my experiences with the Zoroastrian communities in London, USA and Bombay after going through a survey of Zoroastrians that I was asked to collate, code and prepare for transfer to a computer. It was a formal interview schedule that had been conducted on a personal basis by Zoroastrian interviewers. The interviewers had written their own observations about the interviewee on the back of each questionnaire and although it told me nothing about the interviewees it told me a lot about the Zoroastrian interviewer's perceptions of social status and class. I suspect that someone reading the transcripts who was of the same background as the interviewers would have had a much better "picture" of the interviewees than I was able to gain. It alerted me to some of the reasons for my difficulties in researching Zoroastrians, especially in Bombay. The person that I stayed with was highly regarded and very successful in her career in a government agency but within the community in Bombay she was perceived as being the wife of, the daughter of, the sister of and not as an individual in her own right. In fact at

times I got the very strong impression that many people in the community were not aware of her position and achievements in her career even though she worked out of Bombay. This is a community where people are judged on their family connections. Outside Bombay and the Zoroastrian community we were treated quite differently and my hostess was accorded the respect and recognition that was due to her and people were much more relaxed about talking to me. Unfortunately, they were not Zoroastrians. When my daughter went to India to study, her reception within the community in Bombay was quite different from my experience. People could not do enough for her and I suspect that the main reason was that her hostess was from a very well known family of ancient lineage. Although her hostess had little individual career status because she was starting her research career the family connections opened all doors for my daughter. As a consequence of this difficulty in personal contact with the community I was effectively closed off from one of the areas that really interested me that of attitudes towards the religion.

The World Zoroastrian Survey 1986 was conducted under the auspices of J.R. Hinnells and the University of Manchester, and although I did a considerable amount in helping to conduct the survey, including all the pre-survey work in the US, my presence remained relatively anonymous (I was acknowledged on all letters that accompanied the questionnaires, but compared with J.R. Hinnells name, mine would have meant nothing to the people receiving the questionnaires). We had a good response rate of approximately twenty percent, but with a snowball sample and a community where there are only "guesstimates" for the total size of community, it is difficult to give an accurate response rate. The data that the survey collected was comprehensive in terms of information about the individual members of the community world wide. The survey did not set out to test hypotheses or concepts, it was just an information gathering exercise, with the interviewees being encouraged to give YES / NO responses to the questions as well as more individual responses, if they so desired. I used the survey material as secondary data and it formed the basis of this work because it contained data relating to the religious as well as the social aspects of Zoroastrianism.

Conclusion

In this chapter I have discussed the theoretical assumptions behind Symbolic Boundary theory as well as other Sociological theories and concepts that have a bearing on Symbolic Boundary theory. The theoretical assumptions behind qualitative and quantitative methodologies were delineated. I have made my position clear on my approaches to qualitative and quantitative methods in my work. I demonstrated this in chapter two, **Symbolic Boundaries: The Experience of a Sociologist**, with my discussion and the use of experiential evidence. In the next chapter, **Symbolic Boundaries and Ethnic Identity**, I will demonstrate my use of quantitative methods when I look at the relationships between symbolic boundaries and Zoroastrian social identities within the community in the UK.

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4. SYMBOLIC BOUNDARIES AND ETHNIC IDENTITY.

Ethnic Identity, Private and Public Cultures

In the previous chapter I commented on the fact that it is the identity element in ethnic boundaries which moves the boundary process. Looking more closely at the nature of ethnic identity may throw some light on the problem of how boundary maintenance operates as an on going process. To re-iterate what I wrote in chapter three, **Symbolic Boundary Theory**, about social identities, no one is composed of a single identity, each person exhibits simultaneously a range of identities. Identity is a synthesis whereby the person seeks to integrate his various roles and statuses together with his diverse experiences into a coherent self image. Ethnic identity is always, in some degree, a product of the interaction of inner perception and outer response, of forces operating on the individual from within and those impinging from without, and can be thought of as lying on a continuum marked by positive and negative poles. At the positive pole, ethnic identity depends more on inner concepts of exclusiveness, and upon inner strength and resources. However, at the negative pole, identity rests on a minimal definition, if at all, and is imposed from without. Ethnic identity is the product of the interplay of internal and external factors and the strength of the individual's attachment to his ethnic group may not be measurable in terms of observed traits which can be quantified. The "intimate" culture of ethnic groups is not well documented, but those features of attachment that can be quantified, the "public" culture of ethnic groups, have been well documented.

In this chapter I will focus on my experiences as an outsider in Japan observing the "public" cultures of the Japanese as well as focusing on an analysis of a survey that was undertaken to try to gain some knowledge of the "private" culture of the Zoroastrians. As I noted in the last chapter the "public" culture of the Zoroastrians is well documented and the main analytical thrust of my work will deal with a mixture of the "private" and the "public" culture of the Zoroastrians.

Internal Community Conflicts

Before proceeding with my observations and analyses, I want to comment on a paper written by Peter Weinreich **The Operationalisation of Identity Theory in Racial and Ethnic Relations**, in which he introduces a conceptual framework for the operationalisation of identity theory in the arena of racial and ethnic relations, (1). The conceptual framework is known as Identity Structure Analysis, (2). It is able to incorporate the distinction between internally recognized categorisations of the self as being a member of an ethnic group and externally ascribed definitions by others of self as being a member of a general category. It also seeks to make a

conceptual distinction between the personal and the social identity. However, the main concern of ISA is with the pragmatics of establishing people's complex amalgamations of partial identifications with significant others, whether they be within or across social boundaries, within or across groups, or within or across the family group.

Amalgamations of such complexity cannot occur without some degree of conflict. These "identity conflicts" are the fundamental conditions which give rise to the process of identity development and re-definition, and it is a definition of a person's conflicted identification with another that is operationalised (in ISA) in order that the relative magnitudes of self's various identification conflicts may be gauged. Weinreich suggests that for the operationalisation of identity theory with regard to subordinate communities and/ or racial and ethnic groups there are additional factors to be taken into account.

When I worked on the statistical analyses for this chapter, I kept Weinreich's points in mind although I could not use his concepts in a practical way, (due to the nature of the data set). However, I did take account of certain concepts, such as the common patterns of identification conflicts which occur within a group of people, (3). The Zoroastrian community is riven with internal conflicts, some of which affected **The World Zoroastrian Survey 1986**. We could not survey the Zoroastrian community in Singapore because it has divided into two mutually hostile groupings, and if we surveyed one grouping the other would not co-operate. Later in this chapter I will deal with some of the conflicts within the Zoroastrian communities, but first of all I want to discuss my experiences of internal conflicts within Japanese society.

Public Cultures and Community Conflicts in Japan

R.C.Christopher, in **The Japanese Mind: The Goliath Explained**, suggests that Japanese society is an exclusionary one and that centuries of cultural isolation have not produced a harmonious group of people, (4). However, the Japanese rarely admit to this. The myth, both in and outside Japan, is that it is a unique society in terms of the harmonious existence of competing groups, with little conflict either overt or covert. First impressions of Tokyo are of a law abiding city with virtually no crime or violence, and the myths within the ex-patriate community support the idea of Japan as a very law abiding society. Similarly the Parsis still talk about the myth of the "Golden Past" in the days of the British Raj in India when every Parsi's word was his bond, (5).

In Tokyo I used to go out and quite happily leave the door to my flat open, because I felt that security at the outside entrances to the apartment complex was adequate in such a law abiding society. With hind-sight I realized, that if this was the case, I should have wondered why there was such tough security. Reality intervened when I was robbed of a good deal of money and since no one broke into the apartment, or the complex, the thief must have been some one who had access to the building. The police were very sympathetic and were "flattered" that I felt so safe in Tokyo,

but were emphatic that I must be more careful in the future. This was all the help that was given to find the culprits. The owners of the apartment block did not change any of the security arrangements. I felt that, since the block housed both Japanese and foreigners neither, the police nor the owners wanted to investigate further because of the potential trouble for them.

Shortly after this particular incident, there was an article in the **The Japan Times** which described a survey concerned with what the Japanese disliked most about their society; top of the list came police attitudes. I then understood the apartment block's owner's reluctance to pursue the robbery and, in fact, to pretend that it had never happened. The police just prefer to stay clear of foreigners, because they do not fit into the well organized pattern of urban crime in Japan. Urban crime is confined to a few highly organized "Mafia" groups called yakuza. There are unwritten rules that operate between the police and these gangs. If someone is murdered during a crime the gang supplies a member to come forward and admit to the crime and thus the status quo is restored. However, one summer in the late 1980s, the unwritten rules broke down when a gang in Osaka refused to supply a person for a murder conviction. The police announced that the truce was off and all the laws would be enforced with vigour. The consequence was fierce fighting and rioting in the streets of downtown Osaka. Eventually equilibrium was restored and the unwritten rules were back in force.

I often wondered how near the surface violence was in Tokyo, because of the crowded condition of the roads and public transport. I witnessed incidents where even Japanese patience spilled over and there were physical fights over taxis and cars. The security surrounding the Imperial Palace during the last days of Emperor Hirohito's life, and for the funeral, made me realize how seriously the security forces took the risk of violence from extreme left political activists. Violence by the extreme right was directed at individuals who were accused of being "anti" the emperor system, and by association anti-Japanese. Motor cycle gangs called bosozuka terrorize neighbourhoods with their noisy silencer-less motor cycles. The noise was horrific and because there were then, no noise pollution laws in Japan the police said that they were helpless in protecting neighbourhoods from the noise. There have been cases of individuals who complained about the noise to the gangs being murdered by them. A new law, enacted in 1992, is aimed at dealing with noise pollution problems and now it remains to be seen if the police actually use the law to deal with the motor cycle gangs.

In the national pastime and national obsession, baseball, violence occurred from time to time, usually when a pitcher had deliberately hit a "gaikokujin", or foreign, batter once too often and he reacted with fists flying. The Japanese players then rushed on to field with karate kicks to "protect" their players. This type of violence is of minor consequence when compared to the massacres that occurred after the Great Kanto earthquake in Tokyo, in 1923, when thousands of Koreans and left wing activists were murdered, if not with the actual help of the police then with their passive help when they did nothing to protect the victims.

There is a considerable amount of white collar crime in Japan, from not paying train fares to large scale corruption. There seemed to be a constant stream of news stories of political scandals in involving senior political players and their financial dealings. During my short stay in Japan, several senior business men and political figures were sent to prison for corruption of this kind. Political corruption was considered a perfectly normal state of affairs and not something peculiar to that particular point in time. In spite of the myth of Japan being unique and a harmonious society, it is in reality, much like any other urban industrialized society, except that it has its own particular ways of containing crime and violence.

The conflicts in Japanese society go much wider than crime and violence, as Christopher says when he looks at the "ugly fact" that there are about two million Japanese who are hereditary outcasts: The Eta (full of filth) or, to use the modern name, Burakumin (the people of the hamlets). No one is sure of the origin of these people, but other Japanese shun them and they are victims of systematic economic and social discrimination. Prospective sons and daughters-in-law are checked to make sure that they do not carry the least suspicion of a drop of Burakumin blood.

H.Befu, in **Japan: An Anthropological Introduction**, says that the minority phenomenon should be distinguished from the stereotyping the Japanese have of people from other regions, or prefectures. For example, people from Osaka are expected to be hard workers and people from Koichi heavy drinkers, (6). The minority groups are considered to be less desirable people, lacking in a sufficient amount of the qualities needed to be Japanese and this lack is considered to be biological in origin. Befu says that most Japanese are unaware of the problem of the Eta, and Christopher notes that his section on the Burakumin will be omitted from the Japanese language edition of his book. Ignoring, or omitting, or inventing new explanations for sensitive, issues both current and historical, is a phenomenon that I came across time and time again. There was a ferocious argument between the Japanese Ministry of Education and the Korean government over the omission of the conquest and annexation of Korea by the Japanese in 1910 in the latest edition of school text books. Similarly, the treatment of the "Rape" of Nanking by the Japanese in 1937, in the same text book, has caused trouble between the Government of mainland China and the Ministry.

Befu writes that from time immemorial Japan has had a number of minority groups which have been discriminated against. He says that the Ebune (boat-people) are another example, and that a modern polluted pariah group, are the victims of the atom bombs and their descendants. The notion of pollution and discrimination are indigenous to Japanese culture. The Japanese believe that only the descendants of the truly Japanese can be considered a fully fledged member of Japanese society and culture. However long a foreigner has lived in Japan, even if they were born there, they will always be foreigners. Koreans and Chinese, who are second and third generation residents in Japan, are considered to be foreigners and they are treated as such. Recently, as a gesture of good will towards President Roh Tae Woo, during a state visit to Japan, finger printing of third generation Japanese

Koreans was suspended. However, because there were few of them, and they were still babies, the Korean community knew that the finger printing could be re-activated for the third generation. Meanwhile, people of Japanese descent who are second and third generation immigrants to other countries, could return to live and work in Japan. At the time that I lived in Japan there were people of Japanese descent arriving to live and work in Japan from the large Japanese communities in South America, and they have to be taught Japanese language and culture. In the eyes of the Japanese they are "Japanese", whereas the Korean-Japanese and Chinese-Japanese are not.

Other minority groups of importance are the Ainu, the indigenous native minority group of Hokkaido, and the Ainoko or children of Japanese and foreign parentage. The word ainoko means child of mixed "blood" but has a derogatory connotation as well. There is a very serious problem in Japan in the 1990s with hundreds, if not thousands, of children being born to the prostitutes who are brought into Japan by organized crime syndicates. These children are being abandoned by their mothers and although they are cared for by the Japanese prefectural governments, as far as the national government is concerned they do not exist. They are not entitled to any civic rights including a passport: Stateless citizens within a state. Recently some American Christian missionaries have taken the Japanese government to court over the plight of these children. The government is determined to fight to last to deny responsibility for the children, according to them the children "belong" to the country of their mothers. The court battles continue.

The Japanese sharply distinguish between themselves and foreigners, who they rank, according all foreigners lower status except Caucasians to whom they give a higher status than the Japanese. However, it was my experience that this "higher ranking" was touched with considerable ambivalence and although the Japanese were interested in the ideas of Western foreigners, they were not interested in the foreigners themselves. Christopher suggests that despite the Japanese readiness to accept foreign ideas, institutions and techniques, most Japanese do not welcome contact with foreigners, and they are particularly uncomfortable with foreigners who have mastered the language and nuances of Japanese etiquette and culture. Christopher thinks that this is due to a deep seated psychological conviction that the Japanese hold with regard to themselves: "Ware-ware Nihonjin" (we Japanese) are the pick of the human crop. Although the Japanese are reluctant to admit this feeling of superiority to foreigners, they will readily admit that Japan is a closed and exclusionary society.

Foreigners are received with great courtesy so long as they remain "Gaikokujins", or outsiders, and make no attempt to become "Japanese". One of my favourite places in Tokyo was a restaurant which over looked a very old, traditional Japanese garden. On a few occasions, I had very short conversations with one of the waitresses about why I was in Japan, and what my daughter thought of Japan, and what she did there; nothing more than polite talk. I thought no more about it until one evening when I was eating at the bar with my husband, and two un-ordered drinks arrived at our table. We were at a loss to understand what had happened

because this particular restaurant did not make mistakes. Eventually we found out that "my" particular waitress had finished her degree course at Todai University and was leaving Tokyo. The drinks were a leaving gift. We did not know what to do and in the end we decided to shake hands with her and wish all the best for the future: We stayed well within our defined ethnic roles as foreigners in Japan, the ethnic identity being imposed upon us from without. On another occasion, my husband experienced ethnic identity being imposed from without when he was at a beach party with his Japanese colleagues and their families. A baby was suddenly thrust into his arms with the comment that "This is the first time that my baby has been held by a 'blue eyes'". My husband has dark brown eyes and could not be considered fair. He wondered what type of behaviour this categorisation implied. When I was in the "supposed" role of a tourist several more pleasant incidents of great courtesy occurred. One of these was being given some traditional food by complete strangers, in the East wing gardens of the Imperial Palace, on the occasion of the national holiday of Children's day. On the same day I was given bread, again by strangers, to feed the black swans in the moat of the Imperial Palace: All pleasant and unexpected courtesies to a "supposed" transient stranger, a tourist.

The more eagerly and knowledgeably a foreigner tries to assimilate in Japan the more firmly the society rejects that person. Although foreigners are expected to stay "foreign" in Japan they are not expected to be themselves and behave as if they were operating within their own culture, but to learn the Japanese way for foreigners to live in Japan. My daughter and I learnt about this code of behaviour the hard way when we went out together to the local restaurants in Tokyo. After several unpleasant experiences of Japanese men coming up to us and being insulting we realized that unaccompanied western women were supposed to dine at the clubs or hotels reserved for foreigners. In fact, on one occasion when my daughter and I had been left alone for a few moments, during the day time, in a quiet suburban street in Yokohama, a drunken sailor tried to assault us. The Western women who did not suffer any sexual harassment were those who did not use public transport or taxis, but who kept themselves entirely within the foreign community. Not a difficult proposition in Tokyo, where there are foreign ghettos which have all that a foreigner needs in terms of housing, shopping and leisure facilities, but it means that people are completely cut off from Japanese society, except from Januszczak's kitsch varieties of Japanese culture: Comfortable for both the Japanese and the foreigners but not conducive to mutual understanding. The stereotypes continue to be reinforced. It is my impression that both the foreigners and the Japanese want this way of interacting to continue indefinitely and they were all suspicious of any one who tried to break through the symbolic boundaries to a mutual understanding. I was "frozen out" and snubbed a number of times by both the Japanese and foreigners, for going beyond the accepted boundaries of interest in Japanese culture and society.

Internal Community Conflicts in Zoroastrian Communities

Within any complex and stratified society, the meanings of social identities will

differ according to the place of the group in that society. Apart from social identities such as gender, social class, marital status, work, and ethnic group, most members of a nation-state will have a core social identity in common. The emphasis on types of social identity which are exhibited at any particular time within members of a nation-state, ethnic group, or family, will depend upon the social circumstances pertaining at the time. Thus for the Zoroastrians the types of social identity to which they give emphasis at any one point in time, will depend upon their own particular circumstances, what is happening within the ethnic group and what is happening within Britain at large.

JR.Hinnells, in his paper **Parsi Attitudes to Religious Pluralism**, looks at some of the most recent conflicts within the community concerned with religion, race and conversion, and notes that the first

> ".... major public outcries against initiation of the children of inter-marriages was in 1882", (7).

When a girl, a daughter of a Parsi woman and non-Parsi father was adopted into a Parsi family in 1914 she undertook initiation rites into Zoroastrianism. In 1915 she entered a fire temple and a section of the Parsi community filed a court case against her, asserting that she was not a Parsi and had no right to enter the temple. Although the girl won the legal case, for the majority of Parsis religion and race were, and still are synonymous. In 1980 there were vigorous protests from the Parsi community in India when a new **Adoption of Children Bill** was introduced into the Indian parliament. The High priest, Dastur Mirza insisted that its application would pose a direct threat to the very existence of the community. The view was also expressed that

> " A Parsi can be a Parsi only by birth ..... Racial and genetic
> purity is a command of the religion", (8).

In my own extended family, even though there was no question of initiation into the religion, considerable opposition and hostility was voiced by Zoroastrian members when two children were adopted into the family. The most vocal hostility came from a member who had married out of the Zoroastrian community and as a consequence had been "disowned" by their Zoroastrian father. The rift over the out-marriage, in that particular Zoroastrian family was not healed until the father died and the mother was reconciled with the individual who had married out. The idea of racial and genetic purity runs much deeper than "preserving" the religion: It appears to be a core Parsi cultural concept. As I note in the chapter five, **Zoroastrians in Iran, India and the Rest of the World**, Iranis have a different perception of "race" and genetic inheritance from Parsis' notions of "race" and genetic "pollution".

Hinnells says that, in spite of all the controversies within the community as regards inter-marriage, communal rights and religion, and the out come of the court battles, the preservation of community identity is as powerful and emotive an issue as it

ever was for the Zoroastrian community. There have been numerous clashes in North America between the Parsis and Iranis over conversion and what the Iranis consider the "racialism" of Parsis in wanting to limit the religion to the children of Zoroastrians. The clashes have been so profound that separate Zoroastrian groups have been established in New York, San Francisco and Los Angeles, (9). However, P.Axelrod in his study of Indian Zoroastrian identity, notes that the efforts of Parsis to integrate the Indian Iranis into the community is quite unlike the normal Indian pattern, (10). Although they have not been completely absorbed into the Parsi community, they do not form a separate caste group. Axelrod says that the relationship between the Parsis and Iranis is complex, and that some Parsis view Iranis as slightly vulgar, but there is no hint of the hostility that exists between the two communities in the USA. When I interviewed Parsis and Iranis in the UK, I felt that there was antipathy on the part of the Iranis towards the Parsis. The Iranis did not want to have a social identity "Parsi".

To conclude this discussion on symbolic boundaries and ethnic identity I want to look at a survey of British Zoroastrians that was conducted in 1987.

The Data Set Describing Zoroastrian Social Identities

The Face-to-Face Survey of Zoroastrians in Britain 1987 asked in some detail about ethnic identity and what individuals would do to preserve their ethnic identity under different social conditions in the UK. It also sought to ascertain whether individual respondents were hostile, neutral or friendly towards the Zoroastrian community. Questions such as the following were asked in order to try to gain a picture of the identity conflict patterns within the Zoroastrian community:

a. Did the respondents exhibit conflict or inconsistency in giving answers to similar questions regarding ethnic identity?
b. Did they distinguish between personal and social identity?
c. Was their ethnic identity important to them?
d. How much did it affect their day to day living?
e. For the young Zoroastrians born in the UK but brought up by first generation parents, questions were posed about the conflict they feel between the demands of their parents and the demands of the wider society.
f. Were they experiencing dual socialization conflict?
g. What were the respondents' perception of discrimination and prejudice in the UK whether directed towards them or other members of the Zoroastrian community or the members of other ethnic groups in the UK?
h. How did the respondents relate to the wider society in the UK?
i. Also, Zoroastrian attitudes, together with other possible social identities, such as gender, social class, type of occupation, country of origin, age cohort were to be described.

Professor J.R.Hinnells and Dr R.Writer conducted the face to face survey of Zoroastrians living in the UK, who they contacted through replies to **The World Zoroastrian Survey 1986.** I was not responsible for the interview schedule or the

interviews themselves. However, I was responsible for coding and analysing the material quantitatively. Professor Hinnells notes in his analysis that identity is a major question for Zoroastrians, because most people in Britain do not know what a Zoroastrian is, and they tend to think of the Zoroastrians as "Indians", (11). The Zoroastrians do not think of themselves as "Indians", but rather as "Persians", with an ancient tradition, Zoroastrianism, which has influenced many other religions and cultures. The Zoroastrians see themselves as an ethnic group and have a strong sense of ethnic identity, but the non-Zoroastrian population in the UK wants to assign the Zoroastrians to a racial category "Indian". The Zoroastrians are operating at both ends of the ethnic identity continuum with a positive Zoroastrian ethnic identity imposed from within, and at the negative end, with an "Indian" ethnic identity imposed from without. This applies to Parsis and Iranis alike.

<div align="center">
Statistical Analyses of Data Set Describing Zoroastrian
Social Identities
</div>

The data set consisted of 232 respondents, of whom 106 were male and 126 were female. Their ages ranged from 16 to 84 with forty one percent under 30 years old and eighty-six percent under 60 years old. The majority lived in the London area and all but twenty-three percent were born outside the UK. Fifty-five percent were or had been married, with thirty-two percent having non-Zoroastrian partners. English was the first language of sixty-one percent of the respondents and sixty-six percent were educated beyond secondary school level, with twenty-two percent in professional occupations.

In looking at the data set I thought about Weinreich's points and built up nine attitudinal variables to reflect these points from the questionnaire schedule. They were

Cultural Conflict;
Ethnic Identity;
Religious Identity;
Symbolic Boundaries;
Attitudes to Outsiders;
Attitudes to Insiders;
Perceived Racial Prejudice;
Symbolic Boundaries and Race;
Religious Knowledge
In Appendix A, I describe how I built up these variables from the data set: The Face-to-Face Survey of Zoroastrians, in Britain 1987. Also, I give a detailed account of how I proceeded through the statistical analysis.
I was interested in those Zoroastrians:

a. Who said that they had social identities
b. Who supported maintaining the symbolic boundaries
c. Who said that they had problems with outsiders; d. Who said that there were no problems between Parsisand Iranis

e. Who thought that the close connection between symbolic boundaries and race should be kept

f. Who had knowledge of their religion

Table 1 shows the correlation of the attitudinal variables (YES responses) with each other.

Table 1: CORRELATION OF ATTITUDINAL VARIABLES (YES RESPONSES) WITH EACH OTHER

CULTURAL CONFLICT

PERCEIVED RACIAL PREJUDICE	.1835*

N of cases: 232 * p= .01

ETHNIC IDENTITY

RELIGIOUS IDENTITY	.3846**
RELIGIOUS KNOWLEDGE	.2425**

N of cases: 232 ** p= .001

RELIGIOUS IDENTITY

SYMBOLIC BOUNDARIES	-.1623*
ATTITUDES TO INSIDERS	.1744*
RELIGIOUS KNOWLEDGE	.3891**

N of cases: 232 * p= .01** p= .001

For these Zoroastrians there is a positive correlation between admitting to Cultural Conflict and Perceived Racial Prejudice. Those Zoroastrians who admit to an Ethnic Identity have a high Religious Identity and Religious Knowledge. For those with a Religious Identity there is a correlation with Religious Knowledge. The negative correlation between Symbolic Boundaries and Religious Identity suggests that the more positive the religious identity of the respondent the more likely they are to be in favour of keeping the symbolic boundaries closed. Also, Religious Identity is associated with perceiving differences between Parsis and Iranis, Attitudes to Insiders. However, the positive correlation between Ethnic Identity, Religious Identity, and Religious Knowledge implies the more positive the religious and ethnic identity the higher the religious knowledge. Similarly the higher the feeling of cultural conflict, the more likely the respondent admits to perceived racial prejudice.

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Table 2: CORRELATION ATTITUDINAL VARIABLES
                    (NO RESPONSES) WITH EACH OTHER

                          ETHNIC IDENTITY
SYMBOLIC BOUNDARIES
& RACE   .2128**

N of cases: 232 ** p= .001

                          RELIGIOUS IDENTITY
SYMBOLIC BOUNDARIES   -.1597*
ATTITUDES TO OUTSIDERS   .2038**

N of cases: 232
* p= .01** p= .001

                          SYMBOLIC BOUNDARIES
SYMBOLIC BOUNDARIES
& RACE   -.1737*

N of cases: 232 * p= .01

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Table 2 shows that when I looked at the Zoroastrians who said NO to the questions comprising the attitudinal variables, I found the above associations for the correlation of the attitudinal variables (NO responses) with each other. (The variable Attitudes to Insiders could not be used because there was only one category that of the respondents agreeing that there were differences between Parsis and Iranis). The positive correlation between Symbolic Boundaries and Race and Ethnic Identity suggests that the less positive the ethnic identity of the respondent, the less likely they will to be in favour of keeping the close connection between symbolic boundaries and race. Similarly, the positive correlation between Religious Identity and Attitudes to Outsiders implies the lower the religious identity, of the respondent the more likely the positive response to outsiders. The negative correlations of Symbolic Boundaries with Symbolic Boundaries & Race and Religious Identity suggests that those respondents with a low religious identity, or who do not want to keep the association between group boundaries and race, will be in favour of opening up the Zoroastrian Community symbolic boundaries.

I wanted to look at different sub-groups of the sample of Zoroastrians in this survey. Although there were a number of demographic and socio-economic variables in the data set, I will report only with those variables that had a statistical significance when correlated with the eighteen attitudinal, (YES and NO

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responses), variables. When the demographic variables, Gender, Age, Country of Origin, Marital Status, Marital Partner, Language Think In, Level of Education, Place of Education, Occupation, Member of Zoroastrian House, Permanent Immigrant, Self Description Zoroastrian, Practicing Zoroastrian, Race & Religion Demarcation, Intergenerational Conflict were correlated with the nine attitudinal variables (YES responses) the following correlations were observed. See Tables 3a-3h, for the correlation of the attitudinal variables (YES responses) with the demographic variables.

Table 3a: CORRELATION ATTITUDINAL VARIABLES (YES RESPONSES) DEMOGRAPHIC VARIABLES

CULTURAL CONFLICT

GENDER	-.1528*
PLACE OF EDUCATION	-.1740*

N of cases: 231 * p= .01

Looking at Table 3a it can be seen that Cultural Conflict is negatively correlated with Gender, (r = -.15), and Place of Education, (r = -.17), suggesting that women report more feelings of cultural conflict than men, and that those respondents who were educated abroad are less likely to admit to cultural conflicts than those educated in the UK.

Looking at Table 3b it can be seen that the Ethnic Identity attitudinal variable is positively correlated with Marital Status, (r = .22), and Place of Education, (r = . 23), indicating that married Zoroastrians are more likely to have a more positive ethnic identity than never been married Zoroastrians, and those respondents who were educated abroad are more likely to have a more positive ethnic identity than those educated in the UK.

Table 3b: CORRELATION ATTITUDINAL VARIABLES (YES RESPONSES) DEMOGRAPHIC VARIABLES

ETHNIC IDENTITY

AGE	.1920*
MARITAL STATUS	.2169**
MARITAL PARTNER	.2814**
LANGUAGE THINK IN	-.3116**
PLACE OF EDUCATION	.2252**
MEMBER ZOROASTRIAN HOUSE	.2238**
SELF DESCRIPTION ZOROASTRIAN	.2176**
PRACTICING ZOROASTRIAN	.3119**
RACE & RELIGION DEMARCATION	.2039**

N of cases: 120 * p= .01** p= .001

Ethnic Identity is also correlated positively with Marital Partner, (r = .28), Member of Zoroastrian House, (r = .22), Self Description Zoroastrian, (r = .22), Practicing Zoroastrian, (r = .31), and Race & Religion Demarcation, (r = .20). Thus those respondents who are either married to Zoroastrians, or members of Zoroastrian House, or describe themselves solely as Zoroastrian, or say they are practicing Zoroastrians or advocate keeping the racial and religious demarcation associated with the community, have a high ethnic identity. There is one negative correlation with Language Think In, (r = -.31), suggesting that those respondents who think in English are not likely to score highly on the Ethnic Identity attitudinal variable. These results point to a strong relationship between the respondent's ethnic identity and their religion. Ethnic Identity is positively correlated with Age, (r = .19), and the implication is that the older the respondent the higher the ethnic identity.

Table 3c: CORRELATION ATTITUDINAL VARIABLES (YES RESPONSES) DEMOGRAPHIC VARIABLES

	RELIGIOUS IDENTITY
MARITAL PARTNER	.3746**
LANGUAGE THINK IN	-.2783**
MEMBER ZOROASTRIAN HOUSE	.3461**
SELF DESCRIPTION ZOROASTRIAN	.1590*
PRACTICING ZOROASTRIAN	.4919**
RACE & RELIGION DEMARCATION	.3262**

N of cases: 120* p= .01 ** p= .001

Looking at Table 3c it can be seen that the Religious Identity attitudinal variable is negatively correlated with Language Think In, (r = -.28), and again because of the coding of the identity variable those respondents who think in English are not likely to have a positive score on the Religious Identity attitudinal variable. The variables Marital Partner, (r = .37), Member of Zoroastrian House, (r = .35), Practicing Zoroastrian, (r = .49), and Race & Religion Demarcation, (r = .32), show a strong positive relationship with the Religious Identity attitudinal variable as they did with the Ethnic Identity variable. The Religious Identity attitudinal variable has one other positive correlation with Self Description Zoroastrian, (r = .16), pointing to the fact that those respondents who describe themselves solely in Zoroastrianism terms have a high religious identity.

Table 3d: CORRELATION ATTITUDINAL VARIABLES (YES
RESPONSES) DEMOGRAPHIC VARIABLES

SYMBOLIC BOUNDARIES

MARITAL STATUS	.1620*
MARITAL PARTNER	-.2257*
PRACTICING ZOROASTRIAN	-.1745*
RACE & RELIGION	
DEMARCATION	-.1986*

N of cases: 120 * p= .01

Looking at Table 3d it can be seen that the Symbolic Boundaries attitudinal
variable is correlated with Marital Status, (r = .16), Marital Partner, (r = -.23),
Practicing Zoroastrian, (r = -.17), and Race & Religion Demarcation, (r = -.20).

The interpretation of these results is that being married indicates support for
opening the symbolic boundaries. On the other hand being married to a Zoroastrian,
or describing oneself as a Zoroastrian, or supporting the traditional race and
religion demarcation, does not indicate support for opening the group boundaries.

Table 3e: CORRELATION ATTITUDINAL VARIABLES (YES
RESPONSES) DEMOGRAPHIC VARIABLES

ATTITUDES TO INSIDERS

COUNTRY OF ORIGIN	.1632*
LANGUAGE THINK IN	-.1654*
LEVEL OF EDUCATION	.1763*
MEMBER OF ZOROASTRIAN	
HOUSE	.2004*

N of cases: 230 * p= .01

Looking at Table 3e it can be seen that the Attitudes to Insiders attitudinal variable
is correlated with Country of Origin, (r = .16), Language Think In, (r = -.17), Level
of Education, (r = .18), and Member of Zoroastrian House, (r = .20). Those
respondents who were born outside the UK are more likely to see differences
between Parsis and Iranis in the UK Zoroastrian community, than those who were
born inside the UK. The same is so for those respondents who were graduates, or

who were members of Zoroastrian House. However, those respondents who think in English are more likely to see different insiders in a positive light.

Looking at Table 3f it can be seen that the Perceived Racial Prejudice attitudinal variable has two negative correlations, Place of Education, (r = -.25), suggesting that those respondents who were educated abroad are less likely to say that they perceive racial discrimination

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Table 3f: CORRELATION ATTITUDINAL VARIABLES (YES RESPONSES) DEMOGRAPHIC VARIABLES

PERCEIVED RACIAL PREJUDICE

AGE	-.1895*
PLACE OF EDUCATION	-.2457**

N of cases: 231 * p= .01 ** p= .001

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than those educated in the UK; and Age, (r = -.19), suggesting that the older the respondent, the less likely they are to perceive racial prejudice.

Table 3g: CORRELATION ATTITUDINAL VARIABLES (YES RESPONSES) DEMOGRAPHIC VARIABLES

SYMBOLIC BOUNDARIES & RACE

AGE	-.1927*

N of cases: 232 * p= .01

Looking at Table 3g it can be seen that the Symbolic Boundaries and Race attitudinal variable has only one significant correlation and that is with Age, (r = -.19), indicating that the older the respondent, the less likely they are to advocate raising the community's boundaries because of increased racism in the UK.

Table 3h: CORRELATION ATTITUDINAL VARIABLES (YES
RESPONSES) DEMOGRAPHIC VARIABLES

	RELIGIOUS KNOWLEDGE
AGE	.2201**
COUNTRY OF ORIGIN	.1699*
MARITAL STATUS	.2110**
MARITAL PARTNER	.3062**
LANGUAGE THINK IN	-.3380**
PLACE OF EDUCATION	.1871*
MEMBER ZOROASTRIAN HOUSE	.3304**
SELF DESCRIPTION	
ZOROASTRIAN	.2262**
PRACTICING ZOROASTRIAN	.4458**

N of cases: 120 * p= .01 ** p= .001

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Looking at Table 3h it can be seen that the Religious Knowledge variable is
correlated with the identity variables Age, (r = .22), Marital Status, (r =.21), Marital
Partner, (r = .31), Member of Zoroastrian House, (r = .33), Self Description
Zoroastrian, (r = .23), and Practicing Zoroastrian, (r = .45). These correlations
suggest that the older the respondent, the higher the religious knowledge score, and
similarly with the Marital Status variable; the married are more likely to have more
religious knowledge than the never been married. Those respondents who have
Zoroastrian marital partners, or who are members of Zoroastrian House, or who
describe themselves as Zoroastrian, or say that they are practicing Zoroastrians, are
likely to score highly on the religious knowledge attitudinal variable. Again, those
respondents who think in English are not likely to have a positive score on this
variable, Language Think In, (r = -.34). The Religious Knowledge attitudinal
variable is also positively correlated with Place of Education, (r = .19), and Country
of Origin, (r = .17). These results suggest that those respondents who were born
abroad or who were educated outside the UK were more likely to have knowledge
of their religion than those respondents who were born in the UK or educated in the
UK.

There were no significant correlations at all for the attitudinal variable Attitudes to
Outsiders. This completes the analysis of the nine attitudinal variables (YES
responses).

Turning to the results of the analysis when the fifteen demographic variables
Gender to Permanent Immigrant, were correlated with the nine attitudinal variables,
(NO responses). The following correlations were observed see Tables 4a-4g for the

correlation attitudinal variables (NO responses) demographic variables.

Table 4a: CORRELATION ATTITUDINAL VARIABLES (NO RESPONSES) DEMOGRAPHIC VARIABLES

CULTURAL CONFLICT

MARITAL STATUS	.1929*
PLACE OF EDUCATION	.1700*

N of cases: 231 * p= .01

Looking at Table 4a it can be seen that Cultural Conflict is positively correlated with Marital Status and Place of Education, (r = .19), and (r = .17) respectively, indicating that single respondents and people educated in the UK were more likely to report cultural conflict than those respondents who were married or were educated abroad.

Table 4b: CORRELATION ATTITUDINAL VARIABLES (NO RESPONSES) DEMOGRAPHIC VARIABLES

ETHNIC IDENTITY

MARITAL PARTNER	-.2148*
LANGUAGE THINK IN	.2101**
MEMBER ZOROASTRIAN HOUSE	-.2961**
SELF DESCRIPTION	
ZOROASTRIAN	-.2729**
PRACTICING ZOROASTRIAN	-.1932*
RACE & RELIGION	
DEMARCATION	-.2104**

N of cases: 120 * p= .01 ** p= .001

Looking at Table 4b it can be seen that the Ethnic Identity attitudinal variable is positively correlated with Language Think In, (r = .21), indicating that those Zoroastrians who think in English have a low ethnic identity. The variables Member of Zoroastrian House and Self Description Zoroastrian have correlation coefficients of (r = -.30), and (r = -.27), indicating that those respondents who are members of Zoroastrian House, or who identify themselves as Zoroastrians, are likely to have a high ethnic identity. Ethnic Identity has three other negative correlations, with Marital Partner, (r = -.21), Practicing Zoroastrian, (r = -.19), and Race & Religion Demarcation, (r = -.25), suggesting that those respondents who are married to Zoroastrians, or who say they are practicing Zoroastrians, or who want to maintain the race and religion demarcation, do not score positive points on a scale that measures lack of ethnic identity; that is they have high ethnic identity.

Table 4c: CORRELATION ATTITUDINAL VARIABLES (NO RESPONSES) DEMOGRAPHIC VARIABLES

RELIGIOUS IDENTITY

LEVEL OF EDUCATION	.2113**
OCCUPATION	.1711*
PRACTICING ZOROASTRIAN	-.2287**
RACE & RELIGION DEMARCATION	-.2470**

N of cases: 230 * p= .01 ** p= .001

Looking at Table 4c it can be seen that the Religious Identity attitudinal variable is positively correlated with Level of Education, ($r = .21$), indicating that the higher educational qualifications of the respondent, the lower the religious identity. The Religious Identity attitudinal variable has one other positive correlation with Occupation, ($r = .17$), pointing to the fact that those respondents who have a high occupational status, have a low religious identity. The negative correlations, Practicing Zoroastrian, ($r = - 23$), and Race & Religion Demarcation, ($r = -.25$), reinforce the fact that Zoroastrians who say they practice their religion and those who do not want to change the race and religion demarcation have a high religious identity.

Table 4d: CORRELATION ATTITUDINAL VARIABLES (NO RESPONSES) DEMOGRAPHIC VARIABLES

SYMBOLIC BOUNDARIES

MARITAL PARTNER	.3040**
MEMBER ZOROASTRIAN HOUSE	.1717*
PRACTICING ZOROASTRIAN	.2702**
RACE & RELIGION DEMARCATION	.3585**

N of cases: 120 * p= .01 ** p= .001

Looking at Table 4d it can be seen that the variable Symbolic Boundaries is correlated with Marital Partner, ($r = .30$), Practicing Zoroastrian, ($r = .27$), and Race & Religion Demarcation, ($r = .36$), suggesting that those respondents who are married to Zoroastrians, or who say that they are practicing Zoroastrians, or who favour retaining the race and religion demarcation, do not support opening the symbolic boundaries of the community. The Symbolic Boundaries attitudinal variable has one other significant correlation with Member of Zoroastrian House, ($r = .17$). The interpretation of this result is that being a member of Zoroastrian

House is not associated with a willingness to open the community boundaries.

Table 4e: CORRELATION ATTITUDINAL VARIABLES (NO RESPONSES) DEMOGRAPHIC VARIABLES
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-----------------------------------------------------------
                 PERCEIVED RACIAL PREJUDICE
RACE & RELIGION
DEMARCATION              -.1752*

N of cases:   230 * p= .01
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Looking at Table 4e it can be seen that the variable Perceived Racial Prejudice has one significant correlation with the Race & Religion Demarcation variable, (r = -.18), indicating that those respondents who support keeping the race and religion demarcation, say that they have not experienced racial prejudice.

Looking at Table 4f it can be seen that the Symbolic Boundaries and Race attitudinal variable has significant correlations with Marital Partner, (r = -.34), Language Think In, (r = .22), Self Description Zoroastrian, (r = -.27), and Race & Religion Demarcation, (r = -.22).

Table 4f: CORRELATION ATTITUDINAL VARIABLES (NO RESPONSES) DEMOGRAPHIC VARIABLES
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-----------------------------------------------------------
                 SYMBOLIC BOUNDARIES & RACE
MARITAL PARTNER         -.3424**
LANGUAGE THINK IN        .2209**
MEMBER ZOROASTRIAN HOUSE  -.1557*
PERMANENT IMMIGRANT     -.1946*
SELF DESCRIPTION
ZOROASTRIAN             -.2685*
PRACTICING ZOROASTRIAN    -.1623*
RACE & RELIGION
DEMARCATION             -.2239**

N of cases:   120 * p= .01  ** p= .001
```

These results suggest that those respondents who were married to Zoroastrians, or who were practicing Zoroastrians, or who supported keeping the race and religion demarcation, did not score highly on a scale measuring keeping group boundaries open during increased racism in the UK. On the other hand the respondents who thought in English were not in favour of closing group boundaries during increased racism in the UK, Language Think In, (r = 22). The Symbolic Boundaries and Race

attitudinal variable has three other significant correlations with Member of Zoroastrian House, (r = -.16), Permanent Immigrant, (r = -.19), and Practicing Zoroastrian, (r = -.16), indicating that those respondents who were members of Zoroastrian House, or who were living permanently in the UK, or who were practicing Zoroastrians, were more likely not to support keeping group boundaries open under increased racism in the UK.

Table 4g: CORRELATION ATTITUDINAL VARIABLES (NO RESPONSES) DEMOGRAPHIC VARIABLES

RELIGIOUS KNOWLEDGE

	RELIGIOUS KNOWLEDGE
AGE	-.1776*

N of cases: 232 * p= .01

Looking at Table 4g it can be seen that the Religious Knowledge attitudinal variable has one correlation with the variable Age, (r = -.18), suggesting that the older respondents have a greater knowledge of Zoroastrianism than the younger respondents.

There were no correlations at either significance level for the attitudinal variable Attitudes to Outsiders. This completes the analysis of the attitudinal variables (NO responses).

Summary of Statistical Analyses of the Data Set Describing Zoroastrian Social Identities

To sum up: The analysis of The Face-to-Face Survey of Zoroastrians in Britain 1987. This is not a random sample of Zoroastrians living in the UK. There is no means of knowing how representative it is of the community as a whole, but it is very interesting when taken as an exercise in looking at the identities of a particular group of people in the UK in 1987. Ethnic identity increases with age and tends to be associated with not being single, being married to a Zoroastrian, educated abroad, a member of Zoroastrian House, a self description of social identity solely as Zoroastrian, a practicing Zoroastrian and in favour of retaining the race and religion demarcation in the symbolic boundaries of the community. On the other hand, those respondents who thought in English were more likely to have a negative response to ethnic identity. Religious identity is also, negatively associated with English as a language that is thought in, high educational achievements, and high occupational status; those respondents who either think in English, or have graduate level education, or who have high occupational status tend to have low religious identity. Religious identity was positively correlated with having a Zoroastrian marital partner, being a member of Zoroastrian House, a practicing Zoroastrian, having a social identity solely as a Zoroastrian, and wanting to

maintain the race and religion demarcation. These variables appear again in relation to knowledge of the religion, suggesting that it is closely associated with involvement in the community by the Zoroastrians, or by those Zoroastrians who were older, or who were educated abroad or who born outside the UK, or who were married. Again, those respondents who think in English do not have much religious knowledge.

The strong negative correlation between perceived racial prejudice and being educated abroad, suggests that the respondents may be unwilling to accept, or understand, an ethnic identity imposed from without. Also, those respondents who were older were less likely to report perceived racial prejudice, as were those Zoroastrians who wanted to retain the race and religion demarcation. Cultural conflict tends to be reported by the women in the sample but not by those Zoroastrians who were educated abroad. Single people and respondents who were educated in the UK recognized cultural conflict in their lives. Perception of differences between insiders in the UK community is associated with being born outside the UK, or being a member of the formal Zoroastrian organization, or being highly educated. However, those respondents who think in English show a positive response to "different" insiders. I think this particular set of variables points to the conflicts within the community. In terms of attitudes to outsiders, there were no significant relationships measured, except that the lower the religious identity of the respondent the more likely the positive response to outsiders. In terms of attitudes to the group withdrawing behind community boundaries if the racial situation deteriorated in the UK, certain relationships were measured. Those Respondents, who were members of the official Zoroastrian organization, or who said they were practicing Zoroastrians, or who were married to Zoroastrian partners, or who identified themselves solely as Zoroastrian, or who supported maintaining the race and religion demarcation, or who had emigrated permanently to the UK, were not likely to support keeping the group boundaries open under increased racism in the UK. Again, those respondents who thought in English, or those respondents who were older, tended to be in favour of keeping the group boundaries open if there was increased racism in the UK. It would appear that Zoroastrians operate their ethnic identity from both ends of the continuum; from a positive position of strength in terms of inner concepts of exclusiveness and inner strength and resources and from a negative position due to pressures from without the community.

Support for no change to the traditional symbolic boundaries of Zoroastrianism came from those Zoroastrians who were married to Zoroastrians, or said that they were practicing Zoroastrians, or supported the race and religion demarcation, or who were members of Zoroastrian House. On the other hand those respondents who were married indicated that they were in favour of changing the symbolic boundaries of the community, reflecting the worries of those Zoroastrians who thought that their children might marry out, or who had themselves, married out of the community.

The survey was set up to investigate, amongst other social identities, Zoroastrians'

ethnic identity. Ethnic identity is always, to some degree a product of forces operating from within the individual and those impinging from without. At the positive, pole ethnic identity depends more upon inner resources of exclusiveness, and at the negative pole, of minimal definition imposed from without. The results from the data analysis would support these propositions. Those respondents who had social identities based upon their affiliation to Zoroastrianism showed a tendency towards exclusiveness. There were few significant relationships with perceived racial prejudice or any with attitudes to outsiders. However, there were strong relationships between ethnicity and keeping the group boundaries closed if racism increased in the UK. These respondents are not un-aware of the pressures being imposed from without. The relationship between social identities and group boundaries was strong.

Conclusion

In this chapter I have been looking at the ethnic identity and how it interacts with "private" and "public" cultures of communities both large and small. The internal conflicts that are found within the communities were described. I looked at Japan and how Japanese ethnic identity operates with other identities in conjunction with symbolic boundaries in a large scale society. My experiences, and those of my family, at the receiving end of the ethnic identity continuum, in Japan, have been described. Ethnic identity was imposed from without with little opportunity given to us to use our own positive ethnic identity resources. We were forced to stay within the imposed symbolic boundaries of our "ethnic" group. The areas of conflict within the Zoroastrian community and their relationship to ethnic identity were discussed. Weinreich's ideas on measuring identity were touched upon. These were used as a reference point only for analyzing a data base concerned with the Zoroastrian community in the UK. It is a tiny ethnic group in the UK, whose members exhibit the positive responses of inner strength and resources of ethnic identity but who also exhibit responses to negative ethnic identity imposed by the wider society. The close relationship between the symbolic boundaries of the group and ethnic identity was reported on.

Before proceeding to the main analysis of the work, the symbolic boundaries of the Zoroastrian community, in the UK I want to look at the background of the community and will discuss the history, culture and religion of the Zoroastrian community together with some more statistical analyses of the community utilizing different theoretical view points. The next few chapters will be devoted to this end.

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5. ZOROASTRIANS IN IRAN, INDIA AND THE REST OF THE WORLD.

The Long History of the Development of Modern Zoroastrian Communities

During the long, long history of the development of modern Japanese and Zoroastrian societies there is a constant theme of isolation either physical or cultural. Ideas are borrowed and incorporated into both cultures but the societies would prefer that only the ideas migrated to their communities, and not the people themselves. They consider their cultures to be unique and that they are "racially" superior and distinct from other peoples. Both communities are unhappy about their culture being used by outsiders and both go to great trouble to prevent this happening. The Zoroastrians do not allow conversion to their religion and the Japanese make it difficult for foreigners to understand their culture and how they operate on a psychological level, (1). These phenomena are related to symbolic boundaries and ethnic identities. In the last chapter I looked the Zoroastrians in the UK and how their social identities interacted with the symbolic boundaries of the community. In this chapter I want to look at who these people are and how they arrived in Britain.

Zoroastrians of today can be divided into two main groups; those who have their origins in India, the Parsis, and those who have their origins in Iran, the Iranis. JR.Hinnells writes about the development of Zoroastrianism in India where there is a strong emphasis on the inter-twining of race and religion and where religious truth may be found in different traditions, (2). The Iranian Zoroastrians clash with the Parsis over the logical development of this point which they consider to be a racialist stance whereby membership of the religious group is confined to the offspring of Zoroastrian parents. The Iranis have a belief in the uniqueness of religious truth developed through living in an environment dominated by Muslim concepts of the simplicity of religious ritual, and the uniqueness of religious truth in the revealed word of God found exclusively in scriptures. It should be noted here that Fischer says that in contemporary Iran racial categories make two kinds of cultural statements about superiority and inferiority. The former is in contrast to Semite peoples and although it involves a whole set of characteristics, the main differences between them are thought to be between Semite religion and Aryan religion. Inferiority is concerned with not being "white" like Europeans, although they say this has nothing to do with skin colour. It is tied up with Islamic notions of the use of colour, (3). This clash of ideas between Iranis and Parsis has already been mentioned in the previous chapter, **Symbolic Boundaries and Ethnic Identity**, but it is important to keep in mind the conflicts within this tiny religious group which has survived relatively intact for several millenia.

The Origins of Zoroastrianism

Zoroastrianism was already old when it first enters recorded history is the opinion of M.Boyce and that it has its roots in a very distant past, (4). There are elements that go back to Indo-European times. It is thought that the ancestors of Zoroastrians were pastoralists and lived, originally, on the South Russian steppes. They were semi-migratory and herded their animals over limited areas with the help of dogs before the horse was tamed and domesticated. The society appears to have been divided into three main groups of priests, hunters and herdsmen. The rigorous life on the steppes probably allowed little development or change and slowly a religious tradition evolved which stood the test of time. To this day, elements of this early religion are preserved in the religious beliefs of their descendants, the Zoroastrians of Iran and the Brahmins of India. The religious ideas of these peoples centred upon what was most important in their lives, fire and water. Both fire and water were strengthened by offerings from the plant and the animal world. The offerings to fire and water formed the basis of daily worship. There were gods to whom the Indo-Iranians offered worship and these gods were associated physical phenomena.

It is difficult to fix a definite time for the life of Zoroaster, the founder of Zoroastrianism, but Boyce suggests that it was at the time when the Stone Age was giving way to the Bronze Age in Iran; 1700 to 1500 BC, (5). It was a restless period and to some extent an age of the survival of the fittest, which lent itself to a metaphysical explanation of why peoples' lives were so troubled on earth. The modern understanding of the teachings of Zoroaster has been gleaned from the few works, hymns, that are left in the original language, Avestan, so named after the title of the hymns. This is a unique language and only to be found in these few works. The Zoroastrians are very proud of their ancient religious language and the continuous use of it from the distant past until the present day.

An essential part of Zoroaster's teachings was that every man must make a choice between good and evil in this life on earth. As each person dies they will be judged on what they have done in their life to promote the cause of goodness. All people could attain Paradise but those who failed to tip the scales of justice in the correct direction will be sent to hell, and those few souls who balance the scales will be sent to a place lacking both joy and sorrow. Some of the leading doctrines of Zoroastrianism were adopted by Judaism, Christianity, Islam, Gnostic faiths and northern Buddhism.

The Zoroastrian myth of creation says that Ahura Mazda, being all knowing knew of the existence of Ahriman, the embodiment of evil, and his destructive nature from all eternity, (6). He therefore created the world to help him in his battle with Ahriman. First the world existed in non-material form but Ahriman beheld a source of light, and true to his hostile nature, he sought to destroy it. The world assumed material form, with the sky enclosing the other creations of water, fire, earth,

plants, cattle and man. Despite the air of peace after creation Ahura Mazda, knew that battle was imminent. Man elected to join him in the battle with evil, and was to be guided by the teachings of the priest Zoroaster. The myth itself is detailed and I have given only a very brief outline here, emphasizing the main point of the battle between good and evil.

Zoroastrianism in Persia and Iran

Zoroastrianism became the state religion of the three great Iranian empires, Achaemenian, Arsacid and Sassanian, from the sixth century BC to the seventh century Christian Era, (CE). The consequence of the conquest of Iran by the Muslim Arabs in the seventh century was that Zoroastrianism lost its secular power but continued to survive as a minority faith. In order to escape the pressure of conversion to Islam, and discrimination Zoroastrians retreated from the large towns or left Iran. From the ninth to the seventeenth century Zoroastrians fled to India where they settled in the region of Gujarat. There was another wave of Irani migration to India in the late nineteenth and early twentieth century, (7). Today there is still considerable antipathy by Zoroastrians, towards Islam, (8). Those Zoroastrians who stayed in Iran were tolerated by the Muslims, but kept out of public life, and called unclean by the Muslims. They lived near each other in small towns and villages in central Iran, centred on the towns of Yazd and Kerman, generally as peasants and weavers. For many centuries they experienced cultural and material stagnation. As with other groups in similar conditions, they married within their community, refused converts or acceptance of outsiders into the community, and they usually gave their children pre-Islamic Iranian names. Today they identify with the non-Muslim aspects of Iranian culture and consider themselves to be "true" Iranians, direct descendants of the ancient Persians. Parsis express similar attitudes of intense pride in their lineage and refer to themselves as of Persian origin, rather than of Indian origin.

From the beginning of the twentieth century the circumstances in which the Iranian Zoroastrians had to live, took a definite turn for the better, just as the Parsi community fortunes in India were on their slow but inexorable decline. From 1906, for 54 years, until the establishment of the Islamic Republic, the Iranis continued to improve their community's and their individual positions in Iran. There were opportunities for them to practice their religion and to migrate from the villages to the capital Tehran. There they could obtain an education and pursue professional, academic or business careers.

Since the Islamic revolution of 1979 Iranian Zoroastrians have left Iran because they feared persecution under the new regime not least because of the way the Zoroastrian community had prospered under the late Shah. R.Antia suggests that according to some estimates there are only 7,000 left in Iran in 1983 compared with 25,000 in 1977, (9). In the US, I met one young Irani girl who was studying at the college where I was doing some research work, and she told me that her family had left Iran with considerable financial assets. They were political and religious

refugees, not economic refugees as are the Parsis. Those Iranis who have stayed behind in Iran have maintained a low profile and so far have not experienced an organized campaign against them, as has been the case with the Baha'is. The evidence of the **The World Zoroastrian Survey 1986** would suggest that most Iranis moved to the USA and Canada, with very few going to the UK, Australia. However, I do not know if many went to mainland Europe where there are close ties between France and Iran, and possibly Germany and Iran. Within the USA, as has already been mentioned, there has been friction between the two branches of the Zoroastrian community.

Zoroastrians in India

The Parsis' myth about their arrival in India is contained in a text called the Qissa-i Sanjan, **The Tale of Sanjan**, which was written down in the year 1600 CE, (10). M.J.J. Fischer writes that the text crystallized a Parsi self-conception into a social charter for the next four centuries, (11). Since the landing is accepted to have taken place in about 936 CE, this is probably a text which reflects the attitudes of the Parsis to Hindu India rather than a factual document. I suspect that there has been a continual movement of people and ideas between Iran and India which has continued to the present day. On a flight to India from the USA, in 1983, I spoke to an American of Indian/ Iranian Muslim descent. He told me that most of his family still lived in Bombay, and that his uncle had migrated to Bombay in the early 1900s, walking overland to get to a country which was stable and at peace. Patterns of migration are not within the scope of this work, but they have had a profound effect upon the communities I am studying, in the late twentieth century. The Parsi myth probably relates to the significance of the sacred fire reaching India and that this was going to be home for the Zoroastrians rather than Iran being the homeland.

The Qissa-i Sanjan says that the Zoroastrians were guided by an astrologer on their journey to India, and that in spite of the dangers of the sea voyage, the religious refugees landed safely in India. They were received with hospitality by the local Hindu, King who gave them permission to settle and consecrate the scared fire. The Zoroastrians were asked to abide by certain rules in India; that they speak the local language; observe the local marriage laws; traditions of women's clothing; that they would not carry weapons. Hinnells says that the Qissa-i Sanjan reflects the Parsis attitude that settlement in India was divinely ordained, and that it did not make them make any significant changes to their religious practices or beliefs. There is a modern twist to the myth, and as Axelrod suggests, it is very revealing about the way that contemporary Parsis see themselves in modern Indian society, (12). When the Hindu ruler asked the Parsis what their intentions were with regard to fitting into the pre-dominantly Hindu India, the Parsis' leader presented the king with a cup of milk into which a golden ring had been dropped. This meant that if the Parsis were permitted to settle in Sanjan they would add to the value of the kingdom, without mixing with or disturbing the native population. Axelrod emphasises that the Parsis perceive themselves as integrated into Indian society but as an exclusive or even superior part of it.

After settling in India the Parsis led a reasonably peaceful existence as agriculturalists and also as weavers in their own homes: in 1689, Ovington noted that they were the principal workers at the loom, (13). The Parsis did not absorb the Hindu caste system into their social structure, although they fitted into the caste system as a caste in its own right. Their position, before the advent of the British, was comparable to that of the Vaishiya caste. The Parsis practised endogamy, kept rules on commensality, adapted to local customs in terms of dress, food and language, and made no attempt to convert Hindus to Zoroastrianism. No sanction arose, however, to prohibit a Parsi from choosing a different occupation from that of his forbears. This facilitated a much faster adaptation to the socio-economic changes in India under British rule, during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, than occurred amongst other Indian communities. Even the priests, who have the only hereditary occupation among the Parsis, were permitted to enter new fields of work. When the new professions were opened up to the non-British in India, the Parsis entered them in above average numbers, (14).

The Beginnings of the Modern Zoroastrian Diaspora

Parsis operated as the middle men in trade between the British and the Hindus and Muslims in India. To some extent the Parsi community was in a unique position in British India with a social, political, cultural and economic "foot in both camps" of the British and Indians. This unique position facilitated the Parsi Diaspora internally in the sub-continent and in the world outside India. The British controlled western trade, the Hindus and Muslims the internal trade. The Parsis turned eastward and to trade with China, and from this trade many Parsis became rich and prominent in India. The trade was in opium which earned Chinese silver for the foreign merchants, and from 1800 the opium trade was conducted not least by Parsis and Ismailis, (15). Hinnells quotes a prominent Parsi as saying that the basis of the fortunes of the Parsi community in India were made in the opium trade. There is no doubt that the income from the opium trade was vital in funding the British rule of India, and that by 1876 it is estimated that the trade provided twenty six percent of the total revenue of the Government. The abolition of the opium trade in 1908 reduced Parsi wealth in Hong Kong. There are still Zoroastrians living in Hong Kong at the present time as shown by **The World Zoroastrian Survey 1986**. In fact there has also been a tiny representation in Japan although I cannot find any mention of these Zoroastrians in any of the cited works on Zoroastrians. However, I did meet an elderly Zoroastrian who was born in Yokohama, and his wife who was born in Shanghai. Their children and grandchildren were scattered all over the world. He was extremely wealthy and had flown from Hong Kong to take part in bridge party with other Parsis in Japan. His wife had come to shop in the Ginza, Tokyo. She said that she did not understand why people went from Tokyo to Hong Kong to shop when there were such beautiful commodities to buy in Japan. She did not appear to understand, that for most people, Japan was a very expensive place in which to live. I asked about 1997 and the reversion of Hong Kong to China. The Hong Kong Zoroastrian said that the community would attend the ceremony of lowering the Union Jack, and raising of

the Republic of China flag, and then they would say to themselves, as they have done for the last two hundred years, "How shall we make money today?" Although he said that he was not worried about the future, he held an Indian passport.

Another example of a Parsi who made several fortunes from trading in Hong Kong was Sir Jamsetji Jijibhoy, 1875-1859, who used his wealth in a number of charitable causes, a prime religious duty of Zoroastrians, an ideal to which all other Parsis aspire but come nowhere near to Jijibhoy's success. He had a great interest in education, and one of his foundations was running twenty one schools within twenty years of its inception, and these were mainly for the poor. Not only were Parsis concerned with educating the poor, they were also keen on educating their daughters. Jijibhoy had his daughters educated in secret in 1842, but by the late nineteenth century it was acceptable practice to educate Parsi girls. The concern for the education of their daughters continues up to the present time, and in fact is causing problems for the community in India, where the girls are becoming more highly educated than their peer group boys. As a consequence they look for husbands outside the community. The rule, or symbolic boundary, within the community is that these women and their children are then lost to the community. My daughter, who is Zoroastrian only by descent, went to college in the USA where she met Parsi women from India and Kenya, and Irani women from Iran. She had her British culture in common with the Parsis, but no point of contact at all with the Iranis. In fact she continued academic work in India, with one of the Parsi women, and has learnt first hand about the problems these educated Zoroastrian women have in finding appropriate partners within the Zoroastrian community in Bombay.

As a direct result of the Parsis' early interest in British education, the Parsi community was able to take advantage of the opportunities to enter the professions when they were opened up at the turn of the nineteenth century. Not only did the Parsis trade in the Far East they traded in Southeast Asia, Singapore, Malaya, Ceylon, Burma, the East coast of Africa, the Middle East. Zoroastrian communities are still to be found in some of these places today. By the second half of the nineteenth century in India, Parsi entrepreneurs, with backing from Parsi bankers, had made Bombay the centre of Indian industry, beginning with the industrialization of the cotton industry. Thus a third field of economic activity was opened up to the Parsis, adding to those of trade and finance which had developed in the eighteenth century.

As well as founding the industrialized cotton industry in India, the steel industry was started by a Parsi, NJ.Tata, and today the Tata concern is the largest economic enterprise in India. Its interests include iron, steel, energy, cement, textiles, jute, trade, hotels, printing, insurance and investments, (16). Parsis were involved in industrialization not only as entrepreneurs but also as managers, engineers, administrators and skilled workers. Although the standard of education of Parsis has continued to be high, they have, in recent years, failed to keep up their numbers in business and the professions, as other Indian communities have improved their educational standards and entered the modern Indian economy. Unemployment in

the Parsi community has continued to rise. This decline in the present day economic fortunes of the community in India, has led many Parsis to emigrate.

Experiential Evidence of the Zoroastrian Community in Bombay

I have visited Bombay and stayed in the home of a Parsi family. I was taken out and about by the family and in the whole of my time in Bombay I only met Parsis, with the exception of one Irani woman. She had been born in Shanghai, one of thirteen children. When the communists took over China in 1949, the family moved to Bombay. Outside Bombay, the Zoroastrian family had non-Zoroastrian friends and acquaintances, but in Bombay, the social network was just within the Zoroastrian community. I was introduced to two of the high priests, one of whom was very friendly and helpful and gave me gifts for his family and friends in the UK. The other one was extremely hostile, and made it clear that he did not like non-Zoroastrians researching into the community and he especially did not like the fact that a woman was conducting the research. This particular Zoroastrian prevented some of my work on the Zoroastrians in the UK being published in Bombay. It was not a personal antipathy to me as a person, but rather as a woman and a non-Zoroastrian. Needless to say, he was very active on the conservative side of the world wide community, and has been involved in clashes with North American Zoroastrians.

During my stay in Bombay, I was taken to see the Dokhmas, or Towers of Silence, but, quite properly, we were promptly turned away at the gates by a very agitated employee of the burial authorities. My Zoroastrian hosts should never have taken me there, nor to The Atomic Energy Research Centre; their eagerness to show me Bombay and the achievements of the Zoroastrian community, nearly got us arrested because they insisted on driving into this very secret atomic research establishment that is located in Bombay, and headed by a Zoroastrian. The security people were not amused by my hosts' antics, but let us go with a word of warning. A less traumatic day was spent as a guest at a Naujote ceremony, or the Zoroastrian initiation ceremony, which is most commonly, explained as meaning "new birth". It usually takes place when the child is about ten years old and is able to learn the prayers in Avestan. The child takes a special bath and is cleansed, both in body and spirit, before being led into the room where the ceremony is to take place. When I was present, the room was full of hundreds of people who had come to witness several children undergo their naujote. The child, dressed in white trousers of the pyjamas type, with a shawl around its shoulders and a cap on its head, sits in front the officiating priests and the scared fire. There are introductory prayers which the child recites with the priests, after which the child is invested with the sacred emblems of the religion. These are the sacred shirt, the Sudre, and the sacred cord, the Kusti. The Sudre has a special pocket at the "v" of the neck, into which the Zoroastrian should store "Good thoughts, Good words and Good deeds". The ceremony itself was very simple and the children seemed to enjoy and not be intimidated by it all. The "audience" talked and chatted rather noisily all though the ceremony and were obviously waiting for the enormous meal or banquet which

followed. There were endless special commemorative photographs taken of the occasion.

I attended other purely social parties during my stay in Bombay, and these were very noisy, exuberant affairs. A visit to one of social clubs left over from the days of the British Raj was rather disconcerting, because it felt as if time had stood still, apart from the change in membership of the club. The food that was served by barefoot waiters, in a uniform that had not changed since 1947, was of the soggy, badly cooked English variety. However, the atmosphere was very lively and noisy, not as it would have been at the height of the Raj. Visits to Zoroastrian homes for meals confirmed the impression of a community of extremely articulate, vocal and informed people.

During my most recent visit to Bombay in May 1993, I noted some comments made by a Zoroastrian who described himself and his family as orthodox Zoroastrians. First of all he made sure that everyone knew that on the next day, a public holiday in India for Vesak day (the day when Buddha gained enlightenment and, thus, for Buddhists the most important religious day of the year), this orthodox Zoroastrian family was going on a pilgrimage to the most important Zoroastrian Fire Temple in India. He also commented on the sorry state of the Fire Temples in Iran since the Islamic revolution. "No one seems to attend them these days. Even in the days of the Shah anyone could enter the Fire Temple and the Fire was attended by men wearing ordinary everyday clothes. In those days there were few Zoroastrians, about 7,000, but today 90,000 say they are Zoroastrians. I expect that they are all Baha'ists. Well anyone can become a Zoroastrian outside India". The other Zoroastrians did not react to these comments, probably because of the presence of non-Zoroastrians as the principle guests at the dinner party.

On reflection my lasting impression of the community in Bombay, is of a group of very lively people, each of whom had their own unique opinion of what should be done to "save" the community. No one agreed with any one else, except on the question of "no" to conversion. Even permitting women who had married out to stay within the religion was considered too controversial for a serious discussion in front of a non-Zoroastrian woman. The symbolic boundaries of the community in Bombay are not about to be altered because of the needs of the sister communities overseas.

The Modern Zoroastrian Diaspora

The world wide Zoroastrian Diaspora has included North America, Australasia, Europe, the Middle East, the Far East as well as Africa. Although, the evidence from, **The World Zoroastrian Survey 1986,** seems to point to the onward migration of Zoroastrians from their first ports of call in the Diaspora, (Europe, Africa, the Pacific Region, the Middle East), towards North America and Australasia. The survey picked up a few Zoroastrians who were on the move and had filled the questionnaire in Canada and then in Australia.

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The survey contains respondents from both new sister communities and the much older overseas Zoroastrian communities. It would be appropriate to give a short synopsis of the histories of these communities before passing on to the history of the Zoroastrian community in the UK. I will concentrate on Hong Kong, whose affairs were so closely tied up with the rise of the economic fortunes of the community in Bombay.

JR.Hinnells has done some unique research on the community in Hong Kong, and this section is based on his research, (17). The history of the community in Hong Kong is associated with that of the communities in Macau, Canton and Shanghai. The Portuguese were the first Europeans to trade with China and did so from the sixteenth century, but it was not until the eighteenth century that the Indians began to trade with the Chinese. The one commodity that the Chinese wanted in exchange for their silver, tea, cotton and silk was opium. From 1800 the trade was conducted by private merchants, with the Parsis and the Ismailis in the forefront. The British benefited from the taxes they imposed on the trade. Jamsetji Jijibhoy became a partner in the biggest British firm in the region, Jardine and Matheson. Many of the other famed Parsi families appear in the China trade. Hinnells says that on the day that the Union Jack was first raised on the island of Hong Kong there were 2,700 Indian troops present and four Indian merchants, three of whom were Parsis. The formal Zoroastrian community in China was started in 1845. The intention was to establish funds for religious ceremonies, to aid the community poor and to procure burial grounds. The list of donors indicates about 70 Zoroastrians in Canton where the organization was set up. The records seem to show that eventually there were communities in Shanghai, Beijing, T'ientsin and Penang but these disappeared after the communist take over in 1949. Today the Zoroastrian community in China is based in Hong Kong. Parsis were very involved in the development of Hong Kong. They were instrumental in being founding members of the Hong Kong and Shanghai bank as well as other banks, and were involved in commercial, as well as property, development. A Parsi, Hourmusji Mody founded the University of Hong Kong in 1910. They also founded charitable organizations as well as social clubs such as the Hong Kong Cricket Club. The numbers of Parsis in Hong Kong was never very large and Hinnells estimates that they about 110 in 1908, 230 in 1916 and down to 80 in 1938.

Parsis were involved in the development of Karachi, which Boyce says was a progressive, mercantile Zoroastrian community during the British Raj. Today, in Karachi, Lahore and Quetta they number about 5,000, (18). Hinnells notes that Zoroastrians are proud of their community's role in the development of Karachi and are aware of the historical contributions that Zoroastrianism has made to Islam.

One of the most famous Parsi scholars, Manecki Dhalla, was sent from Karachi to New York to study under the Iranist Williams Jackson. He wrote several influential books on Zoroastrian theology and history. He was a prime mover in advocating reform of Zoroastrianism. It is worth noting that the reformers within the Zoroastrian community have come from communities outside the main Zoroastrian communities of Bombay and Iran.

The community in Kenya was based on salaried employees there was only one Parsi firm that established a foothold in Kenya, (19). The first Parsis came as traders from Zanzibar in about 1860. The communities in both countries are small and, at their largest, numbered about 350 people. Their most famous son was Freddie Mercury, the international rock star who was born in Mombasa and who died recently of an Aids related illness. Salvatori says that the communities are dwindling and consist mostly of elderly people. The young have emigrated to Canada and the UK and the East African communities have no way of recruiting new members, (20).

In the US I met a Zoroastrian family who held Kenyan passports but who were educating their children in the US and the UK, so that if the need arose, they could leave Africa. The forced ejection of the Asians from Uganda in the 1960s has not been forgotten. The new communities in North America and Australasia have only been founded since the relaxation in the emigration laws for people of Asian origin; in North America since the late 1960s and in Australasia since the late 1970s. These are very new communities, which becomes evident when the results of **The World Zoroastrian Survey 1986** are discussed in chapter nine, **Zoroastrian Symbolic Boundaries: A Comparative Statistical Analysis.**

R.Antia, an American Zoroastrian, notes that groups of people who define themselves objectively through fixed common attributes, such as religion, which are immutable and can only be acquired by birth, are more liable to be threatened by out-marriage, whereas groups adopting more subjective approaches to group affiliation are less threatened by out-marriage. She says that the Zoroastrian objective approach to group affiliation is giving cause for concern in North America where a subjective approach would be more appropriate. However, she comments on the fact that those Zoroastrians who had married out in North America perform religious acts more frequently than social or cultural customs. On the other hand those Zoroastrians who had married within the community attended Zoroastrian social and cultural functions more often than religious functions, (21). Zoroastrian attitudes to their community are very complex, and some of the connections between Zoroastrian religious and social values and the community's symbolic boundaries are un-raveled in chapter ten, **Symbolic Boundaries and British Zoroastrians.**

Summary of the Modern Zoroastrian Diaspora

To sum up the effects of Zoroastrian history on the present day Zoroastrian communities, which consist of; about 25,000 in Iran, of whom 19,000 lived in Tehran in 1976, (However by 1992 these figures are no longer reliable and R.Antia has suggested the figure is now as low as 7,000); 82,000 in India; 5000 in Pakistan; 500 in Ceylon; 5000 in both of UK and North America and approximately 200 in Australasia, (22). There are small communities in Hong Kong, Singapore and Kenya. There is little information about Zoroastrians in South Africa. The history of a constant battle to survive in societies that threaten to overwhelm the tiny

communities, has led to the development of rigid symbolic boundaries which now threaten to lead to the demise of the communities in modern society, especially North America and Europe, where more flexible symbolic boundaries would be appropriate.

Zoroastrians see the world in terms of the constant battle between good and evil, and the threat of chaos from the surrounding society overwhelming the community: Constant vigilance with regard to the symbolic boundaries seems to be the Zoroastrians response to their perceived danger.

The History of the Zoroastrian Community in Britain

I want to finish this chapter with a discussion about the history of the Zoroastrian emigration to the UK, and a resume of interviews that I had with individual Zoroastrians about living and practicing their religion in Britain. The first Zoroastrian known to have visited Britain was N.Rustomji in 1724. It was not until the middle of the nineteenth century that the religious Society of Zoroastrians of Europe was founded, in 1861. There were six members. The society's first act was the acquisition of a burial ground, because the disposal of the dead was a real problem. In those days, bodies could not be transported back to Bombay for disposal in a Dohkma, and cemeteries were associated with Christianity. The burial ground is still in use today. It was not until 1909 that there was an officially recognized Zoroastrian Organization with Articles of Incorporation. A house was purchased in 1929 and it enabled the Association to become a community centre. There was even a tiny prayer room. This house was the centre of the community for forty years until the present community building was purchased. The estimate for the number of members between the 1920s and the 1950s is about 120, (23). The membership was 177 in 1954 but by 1974 it was 612. There is no way of knowing how many Zoroastrians there are in the UK and estimates vary from 2,000 to 5,000. Since 1939 there have been four waves of immigration; those escaping from the communal violence that accompanied the partition of India in 1947; those wanting to beat the new immigration laws in the 1960s; those Zoroastrians who were thrown out of East Africa in the late 1960s and early 1970s; those Iranis who came to the UK after the fall of the Shah in 1979. The four waves have had different effects upon the Zoroastrian community in the UK, with the economic refugees tending towards the reformist end of community spectrum and the political refugees tending towards the orthodox end of the community spectrum. This has created great tensions and conflict within the official Zoroastrian organization, some of which surfaces in the interviews that I conducted with individual Zoroastrians in 1980.

Interviews with Zoroastrian Families in Britain

The families were interviewed in their homes. I undertook the interviews which were open ended, but had a hidden agenda of looking at how individual Zoroastrians affiliated to the Zoroastrian community. Was it along religious lines, or secular lines, or both, or neither? I also wanted to find out about their socio-

economic positions in the UK. The descriptions are based on my subjective assessment of the people concerned.

The First Family

The first family is one who had a firm attachment to both religious and social Zoroastrian values. The father was in the middle of a professional career and his Zoroastrian wife was a secretary. They lived in a small country town in the south-east corner of England with their two children and the husband's mother. The man was a leading member of the Zoroastrian Association in London. Some time after the interviews the man gave up his position in the association, amongst a good deal of acrimony. It is not unusual for the association to behave in this way, as I was assured by a very elderly Zoroastrian man who had problems in his youth, both in the UK and in Bombay, with Zoroastrian associations and their complex politics. For Zoroastrians who become disenchanted with the London Zoroastrian association, there is another umbrella organization, The World Zoroastrian Organization, to expend energy upon. This is an international organization which holds World Congresses on a regular basis and is well supported by North American Zoroastrians. I believe that this particular Zoroastrian has now moved his allegiance to this Zoroastrian association.

Although the family lived at a considerable distance from the association's head quarters in London, they spent a good deal of their spare time involved with association matters. In fact all the family members were enthusiastic about the association and took part in its activities, whether religious or social: the primary social contacts for the family were through the Zoroastrian association. They appeared to have little contact with their neighbours, who were part of the indigenous population and not immigrants. There were few people of Asian descent in the small market town.

The maternal grandmother spoke only Gujerati. The parents spoke both Gujerati and English, but the children only spoke English, although they understood a little Gujerati. The language within the household was a mixture of English and Gujerati.

The man spoke bitterly about his career and lack of "success". He had not progressed up the company hierarchy as he felt he should have done with his qualifications and experience. He did not put his lack of "success" down to the fact that he had been educated abroad, or that his life style was different from his indigenous counterpart, or any other class factor: "Racism" was at the root of his perceived career problems. The energy he had hoped to put into his career was now diverted into the London Zoroastrian association and then the World Zoroastrian movement. He was most concerned about his children's prospects and life opportunities in Britain, because of the "endemic racism".

The son went to an expensive private school where he had experienced prejudice from both teachers and his peer group. It was not clear if this was affecting his progress and academic achievements. The daughter was training to be a nurse and

had been educated in the state system. She made no reference to prejudice at school or at work. The wife did not mention prejudice and discrimination with regard to herself but did comment that most Zoroastrians meet discrimination because they are dark skinned peoples and not because they are Zoroastrians.

They were very keen to talk to me about the problems of prejudice and discrimination in the UK and I did not have to introduce the subject into the conversation. They were less interested in talking about their attitudes to the cultural aspects of being a Zoroastrian. The parents arrived in England in the early sixties just before the immigration laws were tightened up.

This particular family was from the professional strata of the British class system; the parents, and grandmother, were educated abroad and they have a life style that is at some variance with the traditional British life style for people who at this level in the occupational hierarchy. The family maintains ties of affiliation to the Zoroastrian community on both religious and secular grounds and they are very active in the official Zoroastrian association. One of the reasons that they give for being so active within the association is escape from the discrimination that they feel subjected to by mainstream society.

The Second Family

The parents of the next family arrived in the UK at the end of World War 11, long before there was any question of closing the doors to people from the old empire. They felt that there was no future for them in an independent India. The family lived in one of the new satellite towns which encircle London and they were much more relaxed about their life in the UK than the previous family. Their immediate neighbours were local people with whom they had little contact except to pass the time of day. However, the town had a sizeable population of first generation non-European immigrants. The father was an engineer and worked for a local engineering company which employed several non-European immigrants, one of whom was a supervisor. It was not made clear if the father had a degree in engineering or if he had received vocational training in India. Neither he, nor his

wife, had undertaken any formal training for their careers in the UK. I was not invited to inquire too closely about the wife's education or career, or about the husband's education or career. Both said that they had suffered from discrimination in the UK, but they felt that it was because they were "foreigners" and had "strange" ways at variance with traditional British culture. They did not feel that it was due to racial prejudice. In fact they felt that they met far more prejudice and discrimination as Zoroastrians than as "Asians" in Britain.

The parents were very active in the religious side of being a Zoroastrian and spent most of their spare time working for the promotion of Zoroastrianism. They rarely, if ever, went to the Zoroastrian Association meetings in London, and then only for religious observances. In fact, they had little time for the association and its members. They talked of the dissent and fighting within the association and thought

that it had lost track of its real purpose to protect Zoroastrianism in the UK.
The children were now adults but they had grown up in the UK. English was the language of the household and both children had attended the local state schools. Neither had attended university but had gone straight from school to work, the boy to train as an engineer and the girl to train as a clerk in the Civil Service. Both were married to non-Zoroastrians who were European in origin. The son seemed to have moved completely into mainstream society and had little to do with the Zoroastrian community except for his immediate family. His children were being brought up in their mother's faith and were not being taught about Zoroastrians or Zoroastrianism. The son made no comment about prejudice or discrimination. The daughter, however, said that discrimination and prejudice had affected all aspects of her life from school, to work, to marriage, to finding a home. Her husband was very worried about meeting and having contact with his new Zoroastrian relations. Both the daughter and her husband had "white collar" occupations and lived in a "white collar" residential area of the new town. The daughter was becoming very active in the Zoroastrian Association in spite of the fact that it is extremely difficult for women who have married out of the Zoroastrian community to maintain contact with it. The real problems will arise if she tries to have her children initiated into Zoroastrianism.

This is a family that crosses the skilled working class/ white collar strata of the British class system with the children being upwardly mobile compared with their parents. The parents received all their formal education abroad and their life style was some what different from their peers at a similar point in the British class system especially with regard to religious matters. They maintained religious ties of affiliation to the Zoroastrian community even though they felt that they had been subjected to discrimination on religious grounds in the UK. The son seemed to have moved away from the Zoroastrian community and into mainstream society, whereas the daughter seemed to be moving closer to the Zoroastrian community because of perceived prejudice and discrimination she had experienced in the UK.

The Third Family

The parents of the last family maintained religious values with regard to Zoroastrianism but this family has only maintained secular ties through the father. He was a successful businessman who dealt, mainly, with other immigrant enterprises, including professional services such as solicitors. He was a first generation immigrant, and had entered Britain just before the new immigration laws came into effect in the sixties. He had few educational qualifications from India and I was not invited to inquire too closely about his educational experiences or qualifications. In fact I did not learn anything very specific about his work, except that he had been very successful by any standards in terms of the material possessions he had provided for his family. He lived in an expensive suburb of London where there were few non-European people. The family was on good terms with their neighbours meeting them for social events such as parties or just popping in for a chat and a coffee.

The wife was of German origin and she had no idea of her husband's experiences of discrimination until he spoke to me about them. I have found that this is not uncommon in cross-cultural marriages, where one partner has experienced difficulties in the new environment and not re-counted the incidents and difficulties to his or her partner. The children went to the local state school and had not experienced prejudice or discrimination. Both children were destined for university, the boy for Oxford. English was the language used in the household although the children knew some German too.

The children had been brought up as Anglicans and attended the local Anglican church. They had visited India to be initiated into Zoroastrianism but this was a cultural experience rather than a religious one, to go with their other experiences of Zoroastrian culture, such as the food, their names, their visits to India and their contacts with their father's friends and business colleagues. The family had little contact, if any, with the Zoroastrian Association and it was clear that the children saw their Zoroastrian cultural inheritance as something that had to be tolerated for their father's sake.

This is a family from the entrepreneurial strata of the British class system. The parents were educated abroad, and the father married outside the community. Their life style is some what different from their peers at the same point in the class structure due, to the different cultural practices the parents brought to the UK. Any ties of affiliation to the Zoroastrian community were on secular grounds, and these were verging on the symbolic variety because of the lack of contact that the wife and children had with the community. The father spoke about racial discrimination he had experienced in the UK, but it was something that he dealt with at work and did not bring home to his family. I met this man's cousin and family in the USA, and he was keener to talk to me about how his American cousins were faring economically, rather than to discuss his own problems in the UK. The world wide family system was more important than the place he had happened to settle in. His children were moving into mainstream society and away from the community.

The Fourth Family

The next family had little contact with Zoroastrians except for a few close friends that they might meet in their careers as musicians. The parents spoke of Zoroastrian achievements in the past, but had little time for the present day community in the UK. In fact their comments about the Zoroastrian community in the UK were deprecating. The parents lived in an exclusive area of London.

The father had a successful career in the extremely competitive field of music. Although the parents had met discrimination, they felt that it was something to be overcome and certainly not to be dwelt upon. These particular people were very open with me about the difficulties of adapting to English culture as it is lived in England, rather than the ethnic version they had encountered in India. They found it especially difficult to understand the apparent "freedom" of European women. Other Zoroastrian men have mentioned the fact that the ease of contact with non-

family women was very distracting and for years it disrupted the tenor of their lives. The women did not discuss this problem with me, but I think it has been a source of disruption in many marriages. One very old Zoroastrian man that I met, never sorted it out and his marriage to an English woman was a very unhappy and stormy relationship, because of his continuing friendships with non-family women. He never understood where to draw the line in his relationships with English women. The subtlety of the social relationships in England, were lost on him.

The musician's wife worked as the husband's social manager, which is a very important facet of a musician's life, because a good deal of his work comes through his personal contacts. To go to one of their parties is to see social competition at its most intense, and one would need to be extremely adept, and understand the minutiae of English social relationships, to survive and be successful in such a competitive environment.

The children were independent adults and had grown up in a household where English was the medium of communication. There was no discussion about the children's education and where they had been to school, but judging from the life style of the family, it would have been carefully supervised. The daughter had a successful musical career of her own (I once heard her playing, on tape, on a local radio station in Pennsylvania, USA) and has moved completely into main stream society through her career, marriage and four non-Zoroastrian children. She has no contact with the Zoroastrian community except for those she might meet through her work or through her parents working contacts.

The son is quite different. Ever since he was a small child he felt diffident about his "strange" religious background and developed an intense interest in Christianity which never waned. He had trained as a Probation Officer and worked in one of the toughest areas in London, where he met considerable racial hostility from his

clients. His parents were worried about him and felt that he was not fitting into English society as they experienced and enjoyed it. However, as a Probation Officer, one could say that he was part of the very structure of established English society. He had no contact with the Zoroastrian Association or the Zoroastrian community.

This is a family from the professional strata of the British class system; the parents were educated in India; there is little to distinguish them from their peers in a similar position in the class system; they had no ties of affiliation with the Zoroastrian community except a pride in the communities achievements in the past and their children's traditional names. The parents spoke about racial discrimination in passing, they said that it was a small matter for them and they had dealt with it. The son seemed to be dealing with the aggression and hostility he was meeting in his work.

The Fifth Family

The last family in this section of the chapter will deal with a family that as lost all ties of affiliation to the community. The father came from India sixty years ago to study at the University of Oxford. He had little time or respect or interest in the community, or the religion. However, as he got older the pull of his early religious training showed itself in an intellectual interest in Zoroastrianism. He was married to an English woman who had a professional training but gave up her chances of a career to devote herself to her extended family: The house was always full of distant maternal relations and English friends.

The husband spoke of racial discrimination in his careers, one in music and one as a teacher. Neither had been successful, and on retirement he embarked upon a third career writing, teaching and lecturing about Indian philosophy and ethics, excluding anything to do with Zoroastrianism. The parents lived in a large dilapidated house in a decaying inner area of London. The husband was joined at regular intervals by his "disciples", for lectures on ethical issues and he also ran a consulting service where his "disciples" came to talk to him about their personal problems. In fact, on reflection, he was behaving very much as an Indian guru with his group of followers whose loyalty seem to last a life time. EV.Stonequist (24) would have included this particular Zoroastrian within the definition of the marginal man because of his intimate understanding of both English and Indian cultures, but belonging to neither culture.

The parents had little or no contact with their working class neighbours in an area of London which had a high concentration of non-white and white immigrant populations. The wife was very out spoken in her dislike of people of African descent and I was under the impression the she was not comfortable with people of Indian descent.

The children grew up in a house where English was the medium of communication and where there was no discussion or information about their father's Zoroastrian cultural heritage, although there was an emphasis on the importance of Indian religions compared with Christianity especially on ethical grounds. The children had won scholarships to an exclusive public school but felt that they had experienced racial discrimination from both pupils and teachers. One of the sons seemed to have come to terms with his experiences at school, but the other did not do so until his own sons, the third generation went to the same school; they enjoyed themselves so much that he had to re-assess his own youthful perceptions and why they had been so negative. Both the second generation sons eventually visited India; one enjoyed it and he has been back several times, but the other one hated it and has completely rejected his Zoroastrian/ Indian cultural inheritance.

The son who enjoyed India did so from the position of a successful career and a much travelled life. He could relate his experiences in India to his other travelling experiences. He has moved into mainstream society and his children have little interest in their Zoroastrian cultural background except as something rather "exotic" to be traded for social brownie points. This son's children went to high status private schools and universities completing their education to doctoral level.

One is now active in academia and the other in management consultancy. They have both married non-British spouses of European descent.

The other son, who hated India went into teaching and had a rather unsuccessful career. After his marriage to a daughter of German refugees from Naziism, he became totally involved in an obscure Christian sect and lives within its symbolic boundaries with his wife and four children. They are some what marginal to mainstream society and there is little contact between the sons' families much to the grandparent's distress.

This last family is from the white collar strata of British society although the parents were educated to such a high level in the British educational system, and the cultural atmosphere in the home was at a variance with their actual material position. Their life style was markedly different from their peers at a similar position in the class system. The father maintained no ties of affiliation to the Zoroastrian community in fact he showed some considerable hostility to it, especially with regard to Parsis. He spoke about racial discrimination ruining his first two careers in the UK but his third career was successful even though it was some what marginal to mainstream society. One son had joined mainstream society but the other son was some what marginal too.

Summary of the Interviews with the Zoroastrian Families

The families who were interviewed were selected to "represent" different types of affiliation to the ethnic community in terms of their attitudes to the religious and social values of Zoroastrianism. Some of the people interviewed had retained both sets of values, and some of them had retained one or other set, or part of the values.

On the whole the second generation, or the children of first generation immigrant parents, had never been taught or were just acquiring a symbolic interest in the cultural values of Zoroastrianism. The exception was one woman who was trying to stay within the Zoroastrian community, even though she had married a non-Zoroastrian, a very difficult situation for her because initiation into Zoroastrianism depends upon the male line and not the female line. All first generation immigrants mentioned perceived prejudice and discrimination in the UK, as did some of the second generation, but it seemed to have little effect upon attitudes to the values of Zoroastrianism of the interviewees. The families selected also "represented" the occupational and educational spectrum of the Zoroastrian community in the UK.

Conclusion

This chapter has dealt with the history of Zoroastrianism and Zoroastrians. The original Diaspora from Iran was documented as well as the modern Diaspora from Iran and India. The history of the relationship between Zoroastrians and the UK was delineated. A resume of interviews with members of Zoroastrian families in Britain was given. These families "represented" Zoroastrian families in the UK, not only in terms of their religious and social ties to the Zoroastrian community, but

also in terms of their positions in the British socio-economic system. In the next chapter I will look at the position of the Zoroastrian community, as a whole, in British society today.

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6. THE ZOROASTRIAN EXPERIENCE IN BRITAIN

The Variety of Cultures in Britain

In the last chapter I looked at the history and origins of Zoroastrians and the Diaspora to the UK as well as to other societies outside Iran and India. In this chapter I want to continue looking at their experiences in the UK. There will be a brief synopsis of some of the vast theoretical literature pertaining to this field of study in Sociology. I will also look at some of my own research into the Zoroastrian community in the UK from one aspect of one of these theoretical perspectives.

The groups of people of non-European origin form a very small percentage of the total population in the UK. However, their cultural impact is far greater than the absolute numbers would seem to warrant. One has only to look to the USA to see a far greater cultural impact of relatively small groups of people in a more fluid cultural environment, (1). What happens to these groups of people has to be seen against the mosaic of the wider British society which is composed of peoples of European descent and a bewildering variety of cultures, finely differentiated from one another, (2). There is a similarity between Japan and Britain, as I discussed in chapter three, **Symbolic Boundary Theory**, in the homogeneous nature of British culture and society that is presented to the outside world, and the actual reality of the heterogeneous nature of the society and cultures. The British people are not a homogeneous mass in terms of culture, class, and ethnic group affiliation. **The Guardian** newspaper in an editorial stated that

> ".... there are many sorts of British. They salute
> many flags, as well as none at all. Only the white
> English, and not all of them either, can easily elide all these levels
> (different cultures) into one seamless and unproblematic identity---and
> often with distressingly racist and violent results. Many Scots, by
> contrast seek to have no other identity than as Scots, bridling at the idea
> of themselves as British. Smaller minorities also have equally proud
> visions of themselves as irreducibly Welsh, Irish, Manx or Cornish.
> These identities are distinctly national in ways which proud people from
> Yorkshire, much less proud people from Berkshire, will never know",
> (3).

The above quote just scratches the surface of the complexities of the identities and cultural values of the inhabitants of the British Isles. Similarly R.Hoggart has commented on the changes, towards more complexity, in the class system in the UK.

> " It can be argued that the old-style sense of class is now giving way to

divisions by professional stratifications, that we separate ourselves now by objects and notions, by the type of holidays we take, cars we buy, supermarkets we patronize, opinions we one after another adopt", (4).

He hypothesizes that there has been a long-term change in attitudes of all social groups. On a similar theme A.Clifford, in an article about the decline of British comedy, writes that

"....it seems that this kind of expansive, egalitarian comedy can no longer comment adequately on the complexity (and perhaps extreme nature) of contemporary conflicts. Britain, like other Western countries, has fragmented into its various cultural minutiae with little sense of nationhood. Society no longer locates itself around stable reference points, like family morality or simple class divisions, against which to take up comic arms", (5).

The conservative magazine **Country Life**, in a discussion about TV programmes dealing with English ethnicity, states that

"The Welsh, the Scottish and most of the Irish can see their countries as a whole. They know where they belong and they belong to a culture they know. The English find it hard to pin down anything which binds all England together as a distinctive unity", (6).

However, some of the icons that represent "Little England" can be studied when one looks at the English abroad with their attachment to cups of tea, English food, the old school tie, the monarchy, English style furnishings. It has been my experience that it is much easier to gain some of idea of what constitutes "Englishness" by observing the English abroad than by observation in England.

I have quoted the above articles to show that it is not only Anthropologists and Sociologists who are writing, and talking about the complexities of British social life, it is also a matter for discussion by the general public in the UK. Apart from the differences in the four main groups of peoples that inhabit the British Isles, there are differences within these groups, (7). The situation in Northern Ireland is indicative of how deep these differences, and the conflicts thus engendered, can go. As I move between North Cheshire and North Yorkshire I am constantly struck by the different social values of the two areas that I live in; not only by the accents, but also by the way that the English language is used and the volume of words that is used; the emphasis of community over individual in North Cheshire and vice versa in North Yorkshire; the impact of generations of immigrants entering the North West via the port of Liverpool, compared with internal migration of people from the land to the towns in North Yorkshire. These differences are compounded by the rural/ urban divide and the wealth and social values that still reside in rural England compared with the working class atmosphere of North Cheshire.

These are comments about the broad differences between the inhabitants of the British Isles. They do not deal with the differences based on ethnic descent, ranging from peoples who can trace their origins back to mainland Europe to those peoples who origins lie in other continents, Africa, the Americas, Asia, Australasia. Vera Brittain comments in her autobiography, **Testament of Experience,** that in 1940 the influx of Norwegian refugees was the advanced guard of foreign nationals who were to "transform England from a compact homogeneous island into a cosmopolitan state", (8). Her comments refer to a time when the era of Imperial Britain was coming to a close. It is no coincidence that the "discovery", as exemplified by Brittain, of a multi-cultural Britain occurred after the demise of Empire.

My own research paper, **Sacred and Secular Ties of Affiliation to an Ethnic Community**, deals with mosaic and the complexity of the different types of cultural groups within the UK, (9). There has been a continual absorption of immigrants into the British Isles, whether by conquest or by migration, since people began to live in the islands. It has not been an easy process, but it has continued from Celtic times, as demonstrated by the richness of the English language, (10). Non-white migration is not new, it has been part of the British social fabric since the Romans conquered Britain and it continued as British sailing ships made contact with the world outside the continent of Europe, (11). The periodic slamming of the door on a particular group of people is not new either, and has always coincided with a down turn in the economy, (12). Modern large non-White immigration, representing all occupations and social strata, to the UK began after World War 11, (13).

Theoretical Perspectives from Inter-Group Relations

Within urban industrialized societies the immigrant, or immigrant group, will find themselves confronted with comparatively intricate social structures, and under pressure to assimilate, on the one hand, and in conflict with the indigenous population, on the other. The ethnic group is one resource that the immigrant, or immigrant group, can turn to in order to deal with the complex and contradictory factors involved in living in an urbanized industrialized society, (14). There is a wide body of theory and knowledge pertaining to the absorption of immigrant groups into host societies. At one level, there are the power conflict theories which focus upon ethnic stratification, social control and conflict associated with the subordination of the migrant group. At the other level there are the assimilation theories which concentrate on the adaptation of the migrant group to the dominant culture and social structure of the host society.

The Ethnic Group

The definition of ethnic group utilized by these two main groups of theories tends to fall into either a broad or narrow definition of an ethnic group. Within the parameters of the former, Milton Gordon refers to a group with a shared feeling of peoplehood as an ethnic group, whether that shared feeling is based upon race,

religion or national origin, (15). Whereas Glazer and Moynihan have defined an ethnic group as

> "....one possible position on ethnicity and race, and the one I hold, is that they form part of a single family of social identities-a family which, in addition to races and ethnic groups, includes religions, language groups, and all of which can be included in the most general term, ethnic group, groups defined by descent, real or mythical and sharing a common history and experience", (16).

Schermerhorn suggests that an ethnic group is

> "....a collectivity within a larger society, having real or a putative ancestry, memories of a shared past, and a cultural focus on one or more symbolic elements defined as the epitome of their peoplehood", (17).

Similarly, Yinger refers to a

> "....segment of a larger society whose members are
> thought, by themselves and/ or by others, to share
> a common origin and to share important segments of
> a culture, and who, in addition, participate in shared activities in which
> the common origin and culture are significant ingredients", (18).

According to the above definitions of an ethnic group there are several key features; shared culture, regular social interaction and a sense of "belonging to the people-hood". It is the emphasis on the cultural features in the definition of an ethnic group that leads to the narrow definition utilized by some scholars working in the field of inter group relations. As early as 1945 Warner distinguished between racial groups and ethnic groups on the grounds of cultural characteristics of ethnic groups as opposed to the physical characteristics of racial groups, (19). Van den Berghe notes that ethnic groups

> "....are socially defined on the basis of cultural
> criteria", (20).

and although there may be some confusion in practice between racial groups and ethnic groups, the analytical distinction remains useful. Feagin writes that scholars who utilize either of these two categories of definitions of an ethnic group tend to have different underlying assumptions, (21). In the case of the narrow definition, the ethnic group is seen as a category distinct from racial groups because the assumption is made that the

> "....experiences of non-European racial groups have been distinctively different from those of European groups", (22).

Those scholars who prefer the broader definition assume that the experiences of

racial groups and ethnic groups are similar and that the same theoretical framework is adequate to explain both types of phenomena. Theorists working within the parameters of power conflict theory tend towards the narrow definition of an ethnic group. D.Noel has suggested that for the emergence of racial and social stratification systems, three conditions must exist in society; ethnocentrism, competition and differential power, (23). Working within these theoretical parameters, OC.Cox notes that

> "....the struggle has never been between all Black
> and all White people-it is a political-class struggle", (24).

Conflict Theories

There have been two inter-related modes of analysis associated with political-economic oriented socio-structural approach: The internal-external colonial and the marginal-working class models, (25). The former's conceptual frame work is based upon an analysis of the inequalities of power and resources in colonial societies. The model can also be applied to communities within nation states, or to "independent" nation states, (26).

> "Common elements of both types of colonialism include such factors as low per capita income, high birth rate, small middle class, and low rates of increase of capital formation and domestic savings. Both are heavily dependent on external markets", (27).

One of the basic ideas of this model is the exploitative relationship between the metropolitan society and the colony or the neo-colonial society and the majority of the newly "independent" states. The model can be applied to the labour market chances of a white worker compared with that of a non-white worker in the same industrialized society. The labour market chances of the former are much better than those of the latter, and this especially applies to the agrarian sector of that society, (28). Usually this exploitative relationship was initiated by force, and the subsequent development of the relationship has continued to be unequal and co-ercive, (29). The marginal-working class model, or the split market theory, looks at the unequal market position of white and non-white workers.

> " A symbiotic and exploitative relationship is established between the two industrial groupings", (30).

The industrial groupings are based on the employment of white or non-white workers with the non-white workers being relegated to the marginal labour market. As a development of the marginal-working class, or split level labour market theories, E.Bonacich has studied the position of ethnic and racial groupings as small-scale traders, merchants, and entrepreneurs such as the Parsis in India under British rule, or Indian communities in Africa today. She says that they occupy a

> ".....distinctive class position that is of special

use to the ruling class....they act as a go-between to society's subordinate classes", (31).

Whether the immigrant to an urban industrial society is from a colonial, neo-colonial or an internal-colonial market situation, they are moving from a relatively simple stratification system to a complex one. The simplicity of the former should not be underestimated; it is a comparative simplicity. Also, the relationship between the metropolitan system of stratification and that of its "colony", is far more complex than the "crude" dichotomy between the capitalist system, on the one hand, and peasant economies on the other, (32). Wallerstein and Frank have discussed this problem from both the historical and modern point of view, (33). Castles suggests that sociologists have tended to emphasize either the class position or the ethnic minority status of the immigrant, when in fact these two social characteristics of the immigrant interact with one another, (34). JW.Zander comments that within the US there are two types of stratification, those of class and race/ ethnicity, which are tightly inter-woven in the American social structure: Americans are differentiated vertically along racial, ethnic and religious lines and horizontally by class lines, (35). M.Gordon working, like Zander, within the assimilation school of theory, developed the idea of 'ethclass'; it refers to the

> "....social space delineated by the intersection of
> the vertical dimension of ethnicity with the horizontal dimension of
> class", (36).

However, Geswender argues that the relationship between the class and race/ ethnic stratification systems is in reality a complex one: There is the dialectic of class and the dialectic of race, which exist simultaneously and cannot be subsumed within each other, (37). Schermerhorn and Wilson also use the concept of the dialectic in explaining the relationship between an immigrant group and the receiving society, (38). The relationship will be one of intergroup contact with

> "....social space delineated by the intersection of
> the vertical dimension of ethnicity with the horizontal dimension of
> class", (39).

Schermerhorn also states that there will be considerable differences between societies with regard to the dialectic of integration and conflict between the ethnic groups and the indigenous population, (40). Some of the assimilation theories that explain the experiences of non-European ethnic groups lay stress on the concept of the ethnic stratification, but they stress the primacy of order and stable relationships:

> "Ethnic stratification is one aspect of community
>   organization; individuals are placed in a
>   hierarchical order, not in terms of their personal aptitude but in
>   terms of their supposed ancestry", (41).

Assimilation Theories

RE.Park was one of the earliest writers in modern assimilation theory with his concept of the race relations cycle: The ongoing relationship between a migrant group and the host society, from competition, conflict, accomodation through to assimilation, (42). Park did not distinguish between different types migration as is set out in the work of S.Lieberson with his concepts of migrant superordination and indigenous superinordination, (43).

> "In interpreting differences in the effects of migrant and indigenous subordination, the migrant must be considered in the context of the options available to the group", (44).

There is far greater pressure upon the subordinate migrant group to assimilate, and they are much more rapidly assimilated than subordinate indigenous populations. S.Patterson working within the theories of the absorption of migrants of SN.Einsenstadt, has charted the four main factors influencing the process of the absorption of immigrants: Structural, demographic, socio-economic and cultural, and factors specific to the situation of the particular host society, (45) (46). These factors take into account the interplay between the immigrant group and the absorbing society. Patterson has looked at various ethnic groups in the UK and she suggests, with regard to the Jewish community, that today there are about 450,000 Jews who maintain some link, however tenuous with Jewish tradition and organizations, (47). As S.Weil noted in her study of Indian Jews in Britain

> "Like the English Jews they are members of Orthodox, Reform or Liberal Synagogues, according to their conviction and the local availability. Of course some Bene Israel are members of no Synagogues and are not interested in being members. It is the latter who are married to non-Jews", (48).

The Jewish community in Britain encompasses all social groups within its rubric, including members who are not of European origin. In a sense, the British Jewish community can be seen as a metaphor for British society which has, according to Patterson,

> "....a strong, all embracing, complex, and flexible
>   class system", (49).

In her work, Patterson has tried to demonstrate that this class system is capable of absorbing all types of immigrants to the UK but power-conflict theorists would disagree with her and reiterate that non-European ethnic groups pose different problems for the social system. The research into non-European ethnic groups in the UK is tending to support their position. Second generation members of these communities do not appear to be moving away from their ethnic groups, and the pattern established by the Jewish community does not seem, in the late 1980s, to be

being replicated. That is not to say that individual members of ethnic groups are not moving away from their communities, (50). When one looks the history of the Black community in Britain, considerable doubt and caution is evinced with regard to the explanatory value of either of these two "opposing" theoretical view points when used in isolation. In the middle of the eighteenth century there were about 20,000 people of African origin living in the London area alone. Those who were taken as slaves and had gained their freedom lived in the poorest areas of London. Here they developed a culture which was a synthesis of the slaves' version of Christianity and the cultures which they brought from Africa. But by the time that Mayhew conducted his famous survey of the London poor in the mid-nineteenth century, he found few negroes in evidence.

> "In the first years of the nineteenth century in London, Black society had been vibrant and dynamic, even if depressed. Within the space of two generations it had ceased to exist", (51).

As I have already mentioned power-conflict theorists and assimilation theorists emphasize different aspects of the experiences of ethnic groups in the receiving society. In some ways their work can be seen as complimenting each other. Assimilation theorists are mainly concerned with cultural or primary group network adaptation of the ethnic group to the host society. In marked contrast, power-conflict theorists are concerned with non-European ethnic groups and the structural integration of ethnic groups at the secondary level, the penetration of the ethnic group into the economic, educational and political institutions of the receiving society. In other words, they are concerned with ethnic stratification.

Conflict and Assimilation Theories and the UK Zoroastrian Community

In looking at the Zoroastrian community in the UK I found the power-conflict theories useful in locating the Zoroastrians as a group within the hierarchy of other groups in the UK, whereas assimilation theory was useful for locating individual Zoroastrians within their group. The Zoroastrian community in the UK is located within the wider "Asian" community. In **The World Zoroastrian Survey 1986**, only seven percent of the respondents were Iranis, all the other respondents being

Parsis. What is happening within the wider "Asian" community in the UK impacts upon the Zoroastrian Community. It is within the "Asian" community that Zoroastrians are able to define themselves Zoroastrians and to be recognized as such, whereas within the wider British society very few people have heard of or understand Zoroastrianism. There are insufficient numbers of UK Zoroastrians for them to be able to use their own ethnic definition in the wider British society. In **The Face-to-Face Survey of Zoroastrians in Britain 1987**, thirty-six percent of the respondents described themselves as Zoroastrian. This particular variable, of self description as Zoroastrian, was highly correlated with Ethnic Identity and Religious Identity and high involvement in community activities. Similarly in **The**

World Zoroastrian Survey 1986 eighty one percent of the respondents described themselves in religious terms rather than not. As I discussed in chapter four, **Symbolic Boundaries and Ethnic Identity**, the respondents', (from **The Face-to-Face Survey of Zoroastrians in Britain 1987**)**,** attitudes to increased racism and perceived prejudice in the UK exhibited a range of responses, and the attitude of the Zoroastrian interviewees, discussed in chapter five, **Zoroastrians in Iran, India and the Rest of the World**, towards perceived prejudice was not one of resignation and withdrawal but of a problem to be overcome. The attitude of members of the Zoroastrian community in the UK to the realities of the social conditions created by the ethnic stratification system is, in fact, rather complex and not a simple "them/ us" dichotomy.

The Limits to the Explanatory Powers of the Theories of Conflict and Assimilation

My 1981 Thesis, **The Parsees in Britain: An Analysis of the Survival of a Racial/ Religious Minority,** utilized aspects of both of these theoretical perspectives and generated some intriguing results that I have continued to investigate. I became interested in the fact that the traditional assimilation model does not explain the persistence of ethnic groups. A.Greeley developed the concept of cultural pluralism to elucidate his model of Ethnogenesis where ethnic groups share traits with the dominant group and yet retain their ethnic characteristics, (52). It is a two way process, the host society changing the migrant group and the migrant group modifying the characteristics of the dominant group, (53). M.Gordon criticizes assimilation theorists for their basic assumption of the complete assimilation of migrant groups. He suggests that the persistence of ethnic groupings in the US is due to the fact that these particular ethnic groups have not reached the stage of structural assimilation. Gordon proposes six types of assimilation, of which structural assimilation is the most important in terms of complete absorption of the ethnic group. He posits that most of the remaining ethnic groups in the US have only reached the stage of cultural assimilation. In developing his theoretical types of assimilation, Gordon suggests that there are two very important aspects of cultural traits of an ethnic group: Intrinsic cultural traits such as religious beliefs and practices, ethical values, musical tastes, literature and language; and Extrinsic cultural traits such as dress, manners, patterns of emotional expression, pronunciation of the English language. Intrinsic cultural traits are vital to the ethnic culture whereas the latter, extrinsic cultural traits, are not. Gordon also analyses the functions of the ethnic group for the individual member.

> "1. A psychological source of self-identification.
> 2. A patterned network of groups and institutions
> which allows the individual to confine his primary group
> relationships to his own ethnic group throughout his life cycle. 3. It
> refracts the national cultural patterns of behaviour and values
> through the prism of his own cultural heritage", (54).

Not only does the ethnic group network enable the individual member to stay

within the group for all his primary group contacts but for some of his secondary group contacts too. EV.Stonequist discusses the problems encountered by the migrant who lives in both the world of the ethnic group and that of the dominant group, and the migrant who wants to leave the ethnic group but is not accepted by the dominant group. These situations give rise to the "marginal man". He

> "....is one whose fate is to live in two societies
> and in two, not merely different but antagonistic
> cultures. He is a personality type that arises at
> a time place where, out of the conflict of races and culture, new societies,
> new peoples and cultures are coming into existence", (55).

Stonequist points to the fact that children of the first generation of immigrants are particularly susceptible to the problems of trying to move away from the ethnic group. As I noted in my description of interviews with Zoroastrians, I came across one particular individual who appeared to be marginal to both Zoroastrian and British cultures, and one of his sons had become marginalised with regard to mainstream society. H.Gans records the fact that the ethnic organizations and cultures used by first and second generation immigrants are less visible than the symbols the third and fourth generations use to express their ethnic identity which is a new form of ethnic behaviour and ethnic affiliation, (56).

> " Symbolic ethnicity can be expressed in a myriad of ways, but above
> all, I suspect, it is characterized by a nostalgic allegiance to the culture
> of the immigrant generation, or that of the old country; a love for and a
> pride in a tradition that can be felt without having to be incorporated
> into everyday behaviour", (57).

Straight Line Theory

Gans developed his concept of "symbolic ethnicity" in response to the arguments put forward by sociologists suggesting that there has been an ethnic revival in the US. He says that there has been no ethnic revival but that the sociologists in question are just working within "straight line theory" in which, through acculturation and assimilation, the ethnic group is absorbed into the dominant group, (58). His criticism of "straight line" theory is that it does not take into account the fact that immigrants arriving in a new society have two types of ethnic cultures: Sacred and secular.

> " While acculturation and assimilation have affected both sacred and
> secular cultures, they have affected the latter more than the former, for
> acculturation has particularly eroded the secular values which Jews and
> Catholics brought from Europe", (59).

Most assimilation theorists base their concepts on ethnic groups whose origin is European. A few include non-European ethnic groups within their framework but assume that the non-European ethnic groups will, in the long run, follow the pattern

set by the European ethnic groups. In spite of Gans' concentration on ethnic groups of European descent I was interested in his theoretical parameters.

Statistical Analyses of a Data Set to Map out Zoroastrian Attitudes to Zoroastrian Religious and Social Values

I wanted to map out, at a point in time, the "state of play" with regard to the Zoroastrian community in the UK and the individual members' retention and loss of sacred and secular values. The research paper dealt with ties of affiliation to an ethnic community through sacred and secular values, (60). The exercise was to look at the retention and loss of "sacred" and "secular" values within the Zoroastrian community at one point in time. The "sacred" and "secular" values of the Zoroastrians were extracted from the data set on the basis of theoretical considerations and also on the experience gained from working on the earlier UK Zoroastrian data set which I analyzed between 1979-1981, (61). It was known that these particular variables, representing "sacred" and "secular" values of the respondents, clustered together, as shown by using factor analysis in the earlier data set, (62). The mapping out, at a point in time, of a group of Zoroastrian's positive and negative attitudes towards "sacred" and "secular" values showed a somewhat more complex picture than a simple loss of "secular" values by first generation immigrants. I was not entirely comfortable with the way I divided the attitudes of the respondents into "sacred" and "secular". Plus the fact that, due to conditions under which I was living at the time (Northern Brasil) when I wrote up my research, my access to computing facilities was severely limited and I had to use statistical procedures that lacked finesse. When the data from **The World Zoroastrian Survey 1986** was up and running on the computer at the University of Manchester, I re-worked this particular analysis. This time I used a very simple but crude definition of the values "sacred" and "secular": Any attitude involved with the religion was labelled **Religious** and any attitude not concerned with the religion was labelled **Social**. For a list of the division into **Religious** and **Social** see Appendix B.

The data to be discussed is a sample taken from a much larger data set, which will be used in the main body of the work, of a world-wide survey of Parsis and Iranis.

The survey was initiated, devised, distributed, collected, coded, transferred to the computer and analyzed by myself and Professor JR.Hinnells, of the University of Manchester, in the years 1985-1986. The study was executed to gain a picture of the Zoroastrian Diaspora, since 1947. The survey sought to gather information about the demographic and socio-economic features of the religious community, as well as the religious and secular attitudes of the Parsis and Iranis in their new environments. The questionnaire (see Appendix B) was devised to elicit as much information as possible about each respondent, bearing in mind the particular sensitivities of the these two ethnic communities; questions about country of origin, nationality, citizenship, income, savings, expenditures, physical characteristics and racial problems had to be approached with care. The problems of coding such massive amounts of information were successfully dealt with when the

questionnaires were returned to the University of Manchester. A data set of 2,000 respondents was built up, with 154 variables. It is a descriptive data set and was not designed to tests hypotheses.

The sample of 498 respondents who resided in the UK, were selected out from the total data set. The questionnaires, in the UK, had been distributed through the Zoroastrian Association Centre in London, with copies of the questionnaire being passed on to friends who were not members of the association. Thus, it was a snowball sample and it is not known how representative it is of the total UK Zoroastrian population. There are thought to be between 3,000 to 5,000 Zoroastrians in the UK, but an exact figure is not known. Racial and ethnic group statistics were taken for the first time in the 1991 Census of Britain, and a more accurate figure, of UK Zoroastrians, may be available in the future, (63). Although the sample is not statistically representative of the Zoroastrian community in the UK "pointers" about the community, at a moment in time, can be drawn from this sample.

The Frequency Distribution of Zoroastrians in the Data Set

In Table 1 a list of the frequency distribution of the UK Zoroastrian sample is given.

Table 1: Frequency Distribution UK Zoroastrians

GENDER

Male	52%
Female	48%.

PLACE OF

BIRTH
UK	7%
Outside UK	93%

PROVENANCE

London	52%
Home Counties	36%
Other	12%

AGE

Under 29 years	21%
30-59 years	58%
Over 59 years	21%

FIRST

LANGUAGE
English	15%
Gujerati	67%

Other languages   18%
Continued_____

Table 1: Frequency Distribution UK Zoroastrians

MARITAL STATUS

Single   28%
Ever been married   72%

OF THOSE ZOROASTRIANS EVER BEEN MARRIED

Out marriage   27%

SIZE OF FAMILY

1 Child   35%
2 Children   51%
3 or more children 14%

TYPE OF FAMILY (not necessarily under one roof)

No family   13%
Nuclear family   12%
Extended family   75%

EDUCATION LEVEL

Up to College and
Vocational training   32%
College or University 45%
Post-Graduate   23%

EDUCATION WHERE

Totally in UK   13%
Both UK & Abroad   43%
Totally Abroad   44%

OCCUPATION-TOTAL SAMPLE

Housewives, Students,
Retired   26%
Blue collar   6%
White collar   40%
Professional   35%

OCCUPATION-PAID WORK

Blue collar   7%
White collar   58%
Professional   35%

Table 1: Frequency Distribution UK Zoroastrians

FRIENDS-ZOROASTRIANS

Regular meetings	65%
Infrequent meetings, Never	35%

FRIENDS-NON ZOROASTRIANS

Regular meetings	59%
Infrequent meetings, Never	41%

DISCRIMINATION ON GROUNDS OF ETHNIC ORIGIN

Perceived discrimination	37%
No perceived discrimination	59%

RELATIONS IN ZOROASTRIAN COMMUNITY

Excellent or Good	36%
Reasonable or poor	43%

ETHNIC IDENTITY

Self description as Zoroastrian	59%
Self description not as Zoroastrian	21%

MOTHER COUNTRY

United Kingdom	12%
Other	84%

_____

This is a similar frequency distribution to the 1976 survey sample, (64). It is not known how many people filled in both sets of questionnaires (the 1976 and 1986 surveys) but it would suggest that these statistics are representative of the community in the UK, in terms of education, occupation and family size, because of what is known about Zoroastrians in the rest of the world and earlier research into the UK Zoroastrian community. It is not a sample that is representative in terms of immigrant generations, as there are few respondents beyond the first generation immigrants, even though Zoroastrians have been settling in the UK for over one hundred years. It is not known if the other attributes of this sample are representative of the community as a whole.

The Building of Scales to Measure Zoroastrian Religious Values and Zoroastrian Social Values

I selected variables that related to attitudes towards religious and social ideas and practices of Zoroastrians and from these created two new variables **Attitudes to Religious Values Scale** and **Attitudes to Social Values Scale**. A full list of the variables, the method used to build the scales and the complete frequency distribution for both new attitudinal scales are given in Appendix B sections b & c.

In order to look for the potential relationship between the two attitudinal scales, the scales were correlated with the social and religious variables from the data set. See Appendix B section d. Both scales had significant correlations, with social aspects of Zoroastrian for **Attitudes to Religious Values Scale**, and religious aspects of Zoroastrianism for **Attitudes to Social Values Scale.** These results suggest that from looking at the two sets of correlations, there is a strong relationship between the religious and social aspects of Zoroastrianism: Those respondents who score high on one attitudinal scale probably score high on the other. This was investigated using a technique described in the next section.

Mapping Out Zoroastrian Attitudes to Religious and Social Values

In order to look at the relationship between the two attitudinal scales, I used the **SPSS Plot** facility and plotted **Attitudes to Religious Values Scale** against the **Attitudes to Social Values Scale**. The actual plots are contained in Appendix B, Plot 1 to Plot 17, and the exact position of each respondent with regard to the sum total of their attitudes to the religious and social values of Zoroastrianism can be examined. In the text I will represent the graphs with tables like Table 2 below.

Table 2: Total Sample of Zoroastrians. (Plot 1)

RELIGIOUS/ SOCIAL VALUES SCALES

Social Values Scale-   Social Values Scale +

Religious Values Scale +	11% 56%	Religious Values Scale +
Religious Values Scale -	10% 14%	Religious Values Scale-

Social Values Scale -   Social Values Scale +

N   498
Correlation .42
Significance .00001
R Square   .17
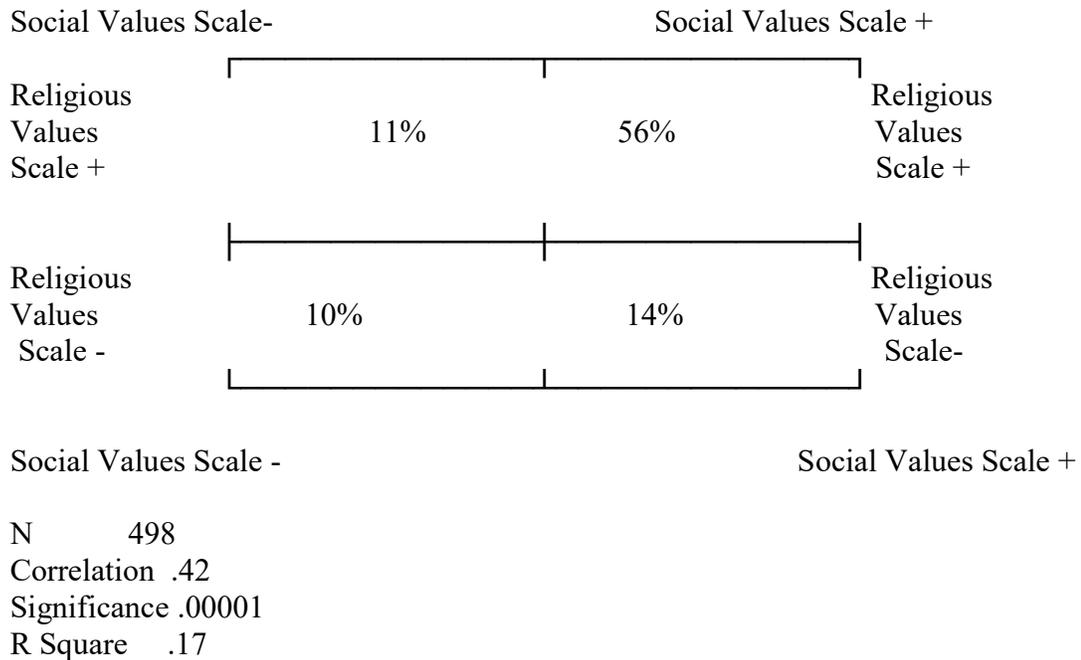
The majority of respondents fall into the positive quadrant; they have positive attitudes to both sets of values. A significant number of respondents fall into the quadrants, with either one set attitudes to the values negative, or both attitudes to both sets negative. From the table it can be seen that fifty-six percent, 279, of respondents have a sum total that reflects "positive" attitudes to both sets of values. Eleven percent, 53, of respondents have a positive score on the religious values scale and a negative score on the social values scale. Fourteen percent, 68, of respondents have a positive score on the social values scale and a negative score on the religious values scale. Ten percent, 51, of respondents have negative scores on both scales. It should be noted that, certain respondents:

a.2% (10) respondents have a positive score on the religious scale and zero on the social scale;
b.3% (17) respondents have positive score on the social scale and a zero score on the religious scale;
c.2% (11) respondents have a negative score on the religious scale and zero score on the social scale;
d.2% (8) respondents have a negative score on the social scale and a zero score on the religious scale;

e.0.2% (1) respondent has zero scores for both scales. Graph Appendix B, Plot 1. From Table 2, it would appear that twenty-five percent of respondents fall into those areas of the table that indicate negative or zero responses to the social aspects of Zoroastrianism, whereas seventy-five percent had positive responses to the social aspects of Zoroastrianism. As far as the religious aspects of Zoroastrianism is concerned twenty-six percent fall into the negative or zero quadrants of the graph and seventy-four percent fall into the positive quadrants of the graph.

The correlation coefficient at the .00001 significance level is $r = .42$. That is a reasonable correlation between the scales; that is, those respondents who are high on one scale tend to be high on the other scale, and similarly for low scores on both scales. There appears to be a connection between attitudes to Zoroastrian religious values and attitudes to Zoroastrian social values. Some respondents have only positive scores for one scale and negative scores for the other scale. The **Attitudes to Social Values Scale** explains seventeen percent of the variance in the **Attitudes to Religious Values Scale**, R Square = .17. A discussion about explained variance is given in Appendix D section f.

Mapping out Zoroastrian Attitudes to Religious and Social Values for Sub-Samples from Data Set

The **SPSS Plot** procedure was then used to look at the scales representing attitudes to the social and religious values Zoroastrianism, but broken down by the demographic, the socio-economic variables and perceived prejudice variables. The most important graphs are shown in Appendix B from Plot 2 to Plot 17. Each Plot has the exact position of each respondent as they fall in the particular graph sub-sample. Some scores fall on the zero line for the religious and social scales. They have not been included in the percentage estimates. The correlations of the scales, **Attitudes to Religious Values** and **Attitudes to Social Values**, together with the significance levels, and the R Square are given on each Plot.

Looking at Table 3 it can be seen that although the first two tables are very similar to one another and follow the general pattern of the total sample there is a difference with regard to their correlation coefficients and R Square.

TABLE 3

Place of Residence: London. (Plot 2)

RELIGIOUS/ SOCIAL VALUES SCALES

Social Values Scale-   Social Values Scale +

Religious Values Scale +	11% 60%	Religious Values Scale+
Religious Values Scale -	8% 13%	Religious Values Scale-

Social Values Scale -   Social Values Scale+

N   252
Correlation .36
Significance .00001
R Square   .13

Place of Residence: Home Counties (Plot 3)

RELIGIOUS/ SOCIAL VALUES SCALES

Social Values Scale-   Social Values Scale +

Religious Values Scale +	9% 62%	Religious Values Scale+
Religious Values Scale -	13% 11%	Religious Values Scale-

Social Values Scale -   Social Values Scale +

N   148
Correlation .52
Significance .00001

R Square   .27

TABLE 3

Place of Residence: Rest of UK (Plot 4)

RELIGIOUS/ SOCIAL VALUES SCALES

Social Values Scale-   Social Values Scale +

	Social Values Scale-	Social Values Scale +	
Religious Values Scale +	11%	37%	Religious Values Scale +
Religious Values Scale -	13%	21%	Religious Values Scale -

Social Values Scale -   Social Values Scale +

N   97
Correlation .39
Significance .0001
R Square   .15

For those respondents who live in the Home Counties, the **Attitudes to Social Values Scale** explains twenty-seven percent of the **Attitudes to Religious Values Scale**, whereas for those respondents who live in London it only explains thirteen percent of the variance. Those respondents who live in the "Rest of UK" show a lower percentage of respondents with positive attitudes to both religious and social values, (37%), and a larger percentage of respondents in positive attitudes to social values and negative attitudes to religious values, (21%), compared with the total sample, but with an explained variance of fifteen percent.

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<div align="center">

TABLE 4

Place of Origin: UK (Plot 5)

RELIGIOUS/ SOCIAL VALUES SCALES

</div>

Social Values Scale-   Social Values Scale +

Religious Values Scale +	23%	30%	Religious Values Scale +
Religious Values Scale -	18%	14%	Religious Values Scale -

Social Values Scale -   Social Values Scale +

N   44
Correlation .41
Significance .0056
R Square   .17

_____

The respondents who were born outside the UK had a pattern of attitudes to both scales that followed the pattern of the total sample, including correlation and R Square. Looking at Table 4 those respondents who were born in the UK show marked differences. Only thirty percent of the respondents reflect positive attitudes to both religious and social values, but twenty-three percent have positive attitudes to the religious values combined with negative attitudes to the social values. There is low significance of .006, indicating that the association between the two sets of values is not at an acceptable statistically significant level for this sub-sample of Zoroastrians, in this set of analyses.

_____
TABLE 5

Age: Up to 30 Years (Plot 6)

RELIGIOUS/ SOCIAL VALUES SCALES

Social Values Scale-   Social Values Scale +

Religious | 11% | 44%   Religious
Values   Values
Scale +   Scale +

Religious   18% | 14%   Religious
Values   Values
Scale -   Scale -

Social Values Scale -   Social Values Scale +

N   106
Correlation .47
Significance .00001
R Square   .22

Age: 31 to 60 Years (Plot 7)

RELIGIOUS/ SOCIAL VALUES SCALES

Social Values Scale-   Social Values Scale +

Religious   10% | 57%   Religious
Values   Values
Scale +   Scale +

Religious   8% | 16%   Religious
Values   Values
 Scale -   Scale -

Social Values Scale -   Social Values Scale +

N   289
Correlation .38
Significance .00001
R Square   .15

Continued--

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TABLE 5

Age: Over 60 Years (Plot 8)

RELIGIOUS/ SOCIAL VALUES SCALES

</div>

Social Values Scale-   Social Values Scale +

Religious Values Scale +		9% 67%	Religious Values Scale +
Religious Values Scale -	9%	6%	Religious Values Scale -

Social Values Scale -   Social Values Scale +

N   89
Correlation .53
Significance .00001
R Square   .28

_____

Looking at Table 5 it can be seen that when the Zoroastrians were divided up in terms of age there is an increase in the percentage of respondents showing positive attitudes to both sets of values as the age group gets older. For those respondents who were under thirty years of age, the scale **Attitudes to Social Values of Zoroastrianism** explains twenty-two percent of the variance in the scale **Attitudes to Religious Values** and for those Zoroastrians who are over sixty years old it explains twenty-eight percent of the variance**.**

TABLE 6

Marital Status: Single (Plot 9)

RELIGIOUS/ SOCIAL VALUES SCALES

Social Values Scale-   Social Values Scale +

Religious	10%	48%	Religious
Values			Values
Scale +			Scale +
Religious	16%	14%	Religious
Values			Values
Scale -			Scale -

Social Values Scale -   Social Values Scale +

N   139
Correlation .50
Significance .00001
R Square   .25

When the respondents were compared according to marital status, it was found that those Zoroastrians who had ever been married had attitudes to the social and religious values of Zoroastrianism that were similar to the total sample, but those respondents who were single had a different pattern of attitudes and the scale **Attitudes to the Social Values** of Zoroastrianism explained twenty-five percent of the variance in their attitudes to the religious values. See Table 6.

TABLE 7

Marital Partner: Zoroastrian (Plot 10)

RELIGIOUS/ SOCIAL VALUES SCALES

Social Values Scale-   Social Values Scale +

Religious Values Scale +	11%	68%	Religious Values Scale +
Religious Values Scale -	4%	10%	Religious Values Scale -

Social Values Scale -   Social Values Scale +

N   281
Correlation .34
Significance .00001
R Square   .11

Marital Partner: Non Zoroastrian (Plot 11)

RELIGIOUS/ SOCIAL VALUES SCALES

Social Values Scale-   Social Values Scale +

Religious Values Scale +	12%	25%	Religious Values Scale +
Religious Values Scale -	21%	25%	Religious Values Scale -

Social Values Scale -   Social Values Scale +

N   76
Correlation   .24
Significance .0352
R Square   .06

Looking at Table 7 it can be seen that although the respondents who were married to Zoroastrians had a high percentage of people who had positive attitudes to both sets of values, this did not translate into much explained variance, (11%), of the scale **Attitudes to Religious Values** by attitudes to the social values. For the Zoroastrians who were married to non-Zoroastrians, the correlation coefficient, (r = .24), is at the significance level of .04 suggesting that there is little correspondence between the two attitudinal scales, at an acceptable statistically significant level, for this sub-sample of Zoroastrians.

_____
TABLE 8

Type of Family: Family in UK (Plot 12)

RELIGIOUS/ SOCIAL VALUES SCALES

Social Values Scale-   Social Values Scale +

Religious Values Scale +	10%	56%	Religious Values Scale +
Religious Values Scale -	11%	13%	Religious Values Scale -

Social Values Scale -   Social Values Scale +

N   429
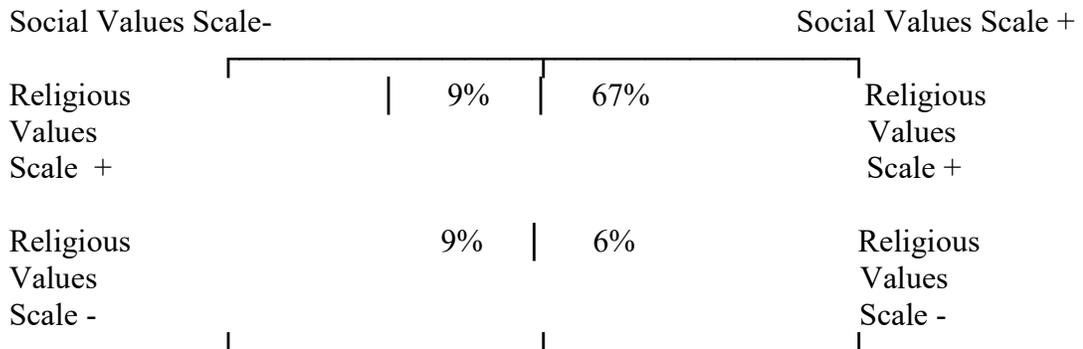Correlation .44
Significance .00001
R Square   .2

TABLE 8

Type of Family: No Family in UK (Plot 13)

RELIGIOUS/ SOCIAL VALUES SCALES

Social Values Scale-   Social Values Scale +

Religious Values Scale +	12%	57%	Religious Values Scale +
Religious Values Scale -	6%	16%	Religious Values Scale -

Social Values Scale -   Social Values Scale +

N   69
Correlation .20
Significance .10
R Square   .04

_____

Looking at Table 8 it can be seen that those Zoroastrians who had other family members in the UK follow the response pattern of the total sample, and the explained variance of the attitudes to the religious values is twenty percent. On the other hand those Zoroastrians who said that they did not have family members in the UK showed a similar pattern of percentage responses as the total sample, but the correlation coefficient between the two attitudinal variables, (r = .20), has a significance level of .1 suggesting little correspondence between the two attitudinal scales, at an acceptable statistically significant level, for this sub-sample of Zoroastrians.

TABLE 9

Place of Education: UK (Plot 14)

RELIGIOUS/ SOCIAL VALUES SCALES

Social Values Scale-   Social Values Scale +

Religious Values Scale +	14%	43%	Religious Values Scale +
Religious Values Scale -	14%	17%	Religious Values Scale -

Social Values Scale -   Social Values Scale +

N   63
Correlation .47
Significance .0001
R Square   .22

Looking at Table 9 it can be seen that the Zoroastrians who were educated in the UK showed a different pattern, with different statistics from the total sample. Twenty-two percent of the variance in attitudes to religious values of these Zoroastrians can be explained in terms of their attitudes to the social values of Zoroastrianism, although there are fewer respondents, in terms of percentage, who have positive attitudes to both sets of values. The Zoroastrians who were educated abroad followed a similar pattern to the total sample in terms of responses and statistical measures.

TABLE 10

Level of Education: Up to Degree Level (Plot 15)

RELIGIOUS/ SOCIAL VALUES SCALES

Social Values Scale-   Social Values Scale +

Religious Values Scale +	7%	65%	Religious Values Scale +
Religious Values Scale -	8%	12%	Religious Values Scale -

Social Values Scale -   Social Values Scale +

N   153
Correlation .44
Significance .00001
R Square   .20

Looking at Table 10 it can be seen that the respondents who did not have a degree showed a higher percentage of respondents who had positive attitudes to both sets of values (65%), than either the total sample, (56%), or those Zoroastrians who had at least one degree, who followed a similar pattern to the total sample. Twenty percent of the variance in their attitudes to the religious values can be explained by their attitudes to the social values.

TABLE 11

Correspond with Zoroastrians: No (Plot 16)

RELIGIOUS/ SOCIAL VALUES SCALES

Social Values Scale-   Social Values Scale +

Religious Values Scale +	11%	38%	Religious Values Scale +
Religious Values Scale -	18%	22%	Religious Values Scale -

Social Values Scale -   Social Values Scale +

N   55
Correlation .27
Significance .0482
R Square   .07

Looking at Table 11 it can be seen that those Zoroastrians who say that they did not correspond with other Zoroastrians differed from the total sample. The correlation coefficient between the two attitudinal scales, (r = .27), has a significance level of .05, suggesting little correspondence between the two attitudinal scales, at an acceptable statistically significant level, for this sub-sample of Zoroastrians. The respondents who said that they write to other Zoroastrians had a profile that resembled the total sample. Similarly, looking at Table 12, it can be seen that those Zoroastrians who say that they do not meet with other Zoroastrians show a different pattern of attitudes from the total sample of Zoroastrians.

_____
TABLE 12

Meet with Zoroastrians: No (Plot 17)

RELIGIOUS/ SOCIAL VALUES SCALES

Social Values Scale-   Social Values Scale +

Religious Values Scale +	12%	18%	Religious Values Scale +
Religious Values Scale -	36%	21%	Religious Values Scale -

Social Values Scale -   Social Values Scale +

N   33
Correlation .34
Significance .0517
R Square   .12

_____

The correlation between the two attitudinal scales, (r = .34), has a significance level of .05 suggesting that there is little correspondence between the two attitudinal scales, at an acceptable statistically significant level, for this particular sub-sample of Zoroastrians. Those Zoroastrians who say that they meet with other Zoroastrians, have attitudes to both sets of values that are similar to the total sample.

Other Sub-Samples of Zoroastrians

There was little difference between Zoroastrians who entered the UK before 1960 and those who entered after 1960, except for slight differences in the percentages of Zoroastrians who had positive attitudes to both sets of values. Similarly, there was little difference in the Zoroastrians in terms of gender, both female and male sub-samples following the pattern of the total sample. The Zoroastrians who had children living at home showed more respondents who had positive attitudes to both sets of values compared with those Zoroastrians who did not, but there was little difference compared with the total sample of Zoroastrians. Zoroastrians from this sample showed little difference between the sub-samples and the total sample when divided up according to occupation all the sub-samples were similar to the

total sample. There was no difference between Zoroastrians sub-divided on terms of whether they see relations between Parsis and Iranis as good or bad, or they say they have been subjected to discrimination or prejudice on grounds of ethnic origin, with regard to their attitudes to religious and social values of Zoroastrianism.

Summary of Mapping Out of Sub-Samples from Data Set

To sum up the quantitative section of this chapter, which dealt with "mapping" out at one point in time the attitudes of UK Zoroastrians to their social and religious values, it should first be noted that the division of Zoroastrian "sacred" and "secular" values into "religious" and "social" values is a somewhat crude and simplified practical application of Gans' theoretical position. In spite of the "crude" application of a theoretical perspective, the "mapping" out indicated a far more complex pattern than the "simple loss of secular" values postulated by Gans. Except for those respondents who are at the periphery of the Zoroastrian community, those who have married out, those who have no family in the UK, and those who do not keep in contact with other Zoroastrians, the Zoroastrians in Britain seem to have attitudes to their social and religious values that are inter-connected. The correlations between the two religious and social attitudinal variables were statistically significant, apart from the sub-samples of respondents mentioned above. For these respondents at the periphery of the community there seemed to be little statistical correspondence between the two sets of values. In chapter ten, **Symbolic Boundaries and British Zoroastrians,** I will look at the inter-connection between the two sets of values via their relationship to the symbolic boundaries of the community.

Conclusion

In this chapter I have been looking at the Zoroastrian experience in Britain. The history of the entry into Britain of continuous waves of immigrants, both Black and White, Christian and non-Christian, urban and rural, was mentioned. I commented upon the complex system of cultures in the UK which is not, in reality, the homogeneous undifferentiated cultural system that is presented to the outside world.

There was a very short synopsis dealing with some of the theoretical literature pertaining to this vast sociological field. I am aware that I have not included all the theories pertaining to inter-group relations either in terms of classical theory, or the most recent developments in this field. This is because I wanted to present a section of the theoretical literature that was of relevance to my work at the time that I was very involved in this sociological area.

I presented data that was analyzed quantitatively within the parameters of one of these theoretical perspectives. The quantitative data suggested that there was a close connection between UK Zoroastrian religious and social values. The respondents at the boundaries of the community did not exhibit such close ties

between their religious and social values. In the next chapter, **Zoroastrianism as a Religion in Britain**, I will look at the UK Zoroastrians' attitudes to their religion, and the theoretical perspectives within the field of the Sociology of Religion that might offer an explanation of these attitudes.

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7. ZOROASTRIANISM AS A RELIGION IN BRITAIN.

Introduction

This chapter can be considered to fall into three major sections. In the first section I will set the scene for looking at Zoroastrianism as a religion in Britain in the years 1970-1989. The varieties of religious groups within the UK will be discussed. The position of the Sociology of Religion vis-a-vis mainstream sociology will be commented on before I move to the second section of the chapter. This will deal with particular theories from the sociology of religion that I considered pertinent to my research at the time of the data analyses which will be presented in the third section of the chapter. Throughout the first two sections of the chapter, I will make reference to evidence from Japan that illustrates the various points discussed in the text.

Religion in Modern Britain

In a report, in **The Guardian**, 14 July 1988, which discussed the state of organized religion in the UK, it was stated that there is

> "....a strong revival emerging among evangelical groups and ethnic groups, according to a new survey."

The report was published by the Press Association and it comments that outside the Anglican, Roman Catholic and non-Conformist churches, there was then a thriving Christian movement with a considerable growth in Black-led churches with approximately 100,000 members. Islam had the highest number of followers, about 2,000,000, outside the Christian churches. Hindus and Sikhs had about 300,000 followers each. Compared with these figures Zoroastrian numbers were very small, an estimated 3,000 in the UK. It should also be noted that the mainstream Christian churches had largely stemmed the losses suffered in the last two decades, and in some places made modest advances. The report by the Press Association suggested that within British society adjustments were being made to the social changes that had been taking place over the past decade.

Nine years earlier when I began my research on the Zoroastrian community in Britain, reports on religion tended to emphasize the activities of members of the mainstream religious institutions, and such reporting tended to be isolated from the reports on other important community characteristics. There was information that the leaders of the Anglican church were still members of the ruling class, (1). The clergymen of the Anglican church still maintained high status in their communities and this was despite declining church attendance, (2). Less than five percent of the members of the Anglican church received Easter Communion, which is usually accepted as a good rule of thumb for active church membership, (3).

Age differences within the church attendance records suggested that older people predominated in the congregations. As regards class differences, the working class attended church less than non-manual workers, thirty percent of non-manual workers attended religious services on a regular basis but only seventeen percent of manual workers did so. The higher the educational attainment, the more likely the individual attended church on a regular basis. There was also the slight likelihood that the upper and upper-middle classes were members of the Church of England rather than the Roman Catholic church or the Non-Conformist churches, (4). In 1979 four fifths of the population, in England, claimed some type of religious affiliation. Generally, in these reports about religion in Britain, there was little discussion about membership of non-Christian or non-White religious organizations.

Although, at that time, there had been a decline in church attendance, with reference to the established Christian churches, there had been little decline in beliefs about God. The majority of the population appeared to believe in a metaphysical "being" but was less and less inclined to identify with the personalized Christian deity, (5). However, if the institutional agents of religion in a society were on the wane, but the beliefs were still held by the majority of the population then something interesting and important was happening within the rubric of the sociology of religion in that society. It is crucial for a clearer understanding of that particular society that these aspects of the sociology of religion are taken into account.

It would appear from the report in **The Guardian** that in the late 1980s, not only was the place of non-Christian and non-White religious communities in Britain recognized, but also the institutional agents of religion in Britain were beginning to mobilize the religious belief systems of sections of the population as the country under-went rapid social change. During periods of rapid social change in a society, religious sects can gain ground. In Japan, especially since World War 11, or The Pacific War, there has been a growth in the membership of religious sects. When the ban on "unofficial" religious activity was lifted in 1945 seven hundred religious organizations were registered with the government. They derived their simple tenets from Shinto, Buddhism and Christianity and other religions.

The Zoroastrians in Bombay have turned to sect Zoroastrianism at times of community turmoil. The Zoroastrian movement Ilm-i Khshnoom arose at the beginning of the Twentieth century as a reaction to western influence on the tenets of Zoroastrianism. Its founder claimed to have occult knowledge from a race of secret Zoroastrian giants in Iran. There was a belief in rebirth, an ascetic tendency, vegetarianism and an acceptance of truth in all religions, (6).

In the late 1980s K.Knott noted that, in Leeds alone there was a wide range of religious groups and organizations: Hindus, Muslims, Sikhs, Buddhists, Anglicans, Methodists, Salvation Army, Baptists, Irish, Italian and Polish Catholics, Orthodox and Reform Jews, Mormons, Christadelphians, Christian Scientists, Theosophists. This list was not exhaustive and cut across racial and ethnic groups, (7). There were

Tibetan monks who lived and worked in the Kings Cross area of London. They came to the UK as missionaries to make their religious beliefs and practices known in the West and to gather members, regardless of class, race or ethnic groups, to work in their mission in London, (8). The Buddhists formed a loosely affiliated religious group which cut across race, ethnicity and country of origin. There was an organization based in East Anglia called The Friends of the Western Order of Buddhism as well as the Buddhist Society which was centred on London, and the Amaravati Buddhists Centre in Hemel Hempstead which was a community where Buddhists could live for long or short periods of time, (9). There were Muslims in the UK who originally came from the Middle East, Pakistan, India, Bangladesh, Sri Lanka, Africa, the Pacific Region, (10). Islam was becoming an "established" religion in the UK with the highest number of people affiliated to it after those people who were affiliated to Christianity, and lessons were being offered to children in state schools as an alternative to Anglicanism, Catholicism and Judaism, (11). Hinduism had an extensive following in the UK, and according to Knott, the co-religionists came together at the Temples for religious observance, regardless of caste, country of origin, area of origin, occupation or class, but as far as I am aware Hinduism had not yet reached the stage when there was sufficient demand or pressure for it to be taught in schools, (12).

In 1976, the Commission for Racial Equality, (CRE), looked at the facilities for people affiliated to non-Christian religions to practice their various religions. Islam had the best facilities and Hinduism the worst. All communities mentioned that they had difficulty in finding religious teachers for their children. The majority wanted their child's religion taught at school to counteract the influence of Christianity in the schools, (13). The CRE had published a number of monographs on different ethno-religious groups in Britain. The University of Leeds had conducted detailed research into Hinduism, Islam and Sikhism as it is practised in the North of England. The University of Newcastle had started a research project to survey all the non-Christian communities which have grown up on Tyne-side since 1945. The Ballards, in their study of the Sikh community in Leeds, commented on the fact that during the pioneer period of immigration the Sikhs rarely practised their religious rituals and abandoned the use of the turban. However, with the arrival of a group of Sikhs from East Africa there was pressure within the community to start holding religious services. By 1958, a Gurdwara, or Temple, had been established. It should be noted here that attendance at the Temple is much more frequent abroad than it is in the Punjab. The East African Sikhs had established a tradition in East Africa, of living as an ethnic minority group with separate moral and religious standards from the other groups there, (14). In the early 1970's the Zoroastrian population in Britain was swelled by a large influx of political refugees from East Africa. They had a similar effect upon the community as was experienced by the Sikh community. They were used to being an ethnic minority in East Africa and they used their religion as a means of ethnic identity. The strains within the Zoroastrian community were reflected in the changes that took place in the official Zoroastrian organization. Office holders who favoured a policy of gradual absorption into British society, with appropriate changes in religious observance, were replaced by office holders who wanted to preserve the

orthodox religious and cultural values of the Zoroastrians. There was pressure on the official organization to change from a religious centre to an ethnic-religious centre.

S.Weil has written about the Bene Israel in the UK, who had only begun to emigrate from India since 1947. They had a demographic and socio-economic profile similar to the Parsis and, like the Parsis, they were seen as "Indian" by the indigenous population: It was not understood that they were Jewish in terms of religious affiliation and not Hindu or Muslim. None of the Bene Israel was a member of an Indian organization or had any Indian friends, other than their Bene Israel friends. Weil suggested that the Bene Israel seemed to be assimilating, at an individual level, with either main stream society or with Anglo-Jewery, (15). Again this was similar to the Parsis' experience at an individual level. S.Weil noted the different origins of members of the Jewish faith in the UK; Persian, Iraqi, Adenese, Indian, as well as those people from Central and Eastern Europe, (16). Some of the members of the Indian-Jewish community in the UK were into their third and fourth generation, (17). There were other ethnic groups in the UK who probably exhibited similar characteristics to the Parsis; Anglo-Indians, Goans, Ismaili or Lohana or Oshwa or Patel communities from East Africa. I do not know how much research has been conducted within these communities.

Pentacostalism, which had large congregations in the West Indies and the US, had a large number of affiliates in the UK. One branch alone had about eleven thousand members, fifteen ministers, and a theological college, (18). Membership of the church involved adhering to a strict ethical code, which proscribed contacts with peoples from outside the religious group because they might be "contaminated". Hill says that this withdrawal is due to status deprivation, because although the members of the congregation were materially better off than in the Caribbean, they suffered severe racial discrimination in the UK.

> "There is a definite link between the experience of deprivation and membership of the all-Black immigrant religious sect in Britain", (19).

Similarly, the British Seventh Day Adventists attracted immigrants from the West Indies and although, it was a racially mixed group of religious affiliates the non-Whites out-numbered the Whites. The church offered a range of social activities as well as religious observances. The Rastafarian movement began to attract a significant number of adherents in the UK in the early 1970s.

> " Black youths adorned themselves with the national
> colours of Ethiopia, coiled their hair into dreadlocks, cultivated an
> esoteric language and generally attempted to detach themselves from
> the society they regard as inherently evil and exploitative of Black
> peoples", (20).

They rejected Christianity; salvation was not to be waited for because the Rastafarians think the spirit of God is living within each person and is the

motivating force behind all their actions. Communication of their religious and cultural ideas was through their music, Reggae. The movement also attracted disadvantaged youth of non-West Indian descent, (21).

Rastafarianism borders on the fringes of the religious movements that caused considerable controversy in the UK. These were the New Religious Movements (NRMs) which grew rapidly in the 1960s and 1970s with their relatively small and unconventional groups of people. They attracted members from all walks of life and have been consistently presented by the mass media, and in books relating to them, as controversial and threatening to the point that they "endangered" the very fabric of society, (22).

The Position of the Sociology of Religion Vis-a-Vis Mainstream Sociology

It was Beckford's aim in studying NRMs in the UK

> "....to make the sociology of religion more responsive to insights arising from other sociological specialisms", (23).

He said that he attempted his work without any theoretical context for the research because of the inadequacies he perceived in the more conventional social research of the time, (24). In a later work, he said the central message is, that in order to make sociological sense of present-day religion, theoretical ideas about the distinctiveness of advanced industrial societies and the emerging world order have to be taken into account, (25). The sociology of religion could no longer be so self-contained with its own concepts, theories and general problematics. As long ago as 1971, Berger and Luckman suggested that in spite of both Weber's and Durkheim's seminal work in the area of the sociology of religion,

> "It remains true that the sociology of religion is
> marginal in terms of the sociological enterprise
> proper, both in terms of its practice and in terms of its
> thought......religion is not a central concern for sociological theory or
> for the sociological analysis of contemporary society", (26).

In the late 1980s, Becker's main contention was that the legacy of "classical" sociologists was so coloured by assumptions about the nature of industrial societies that attempts to explain religion in Advanced industrial societies was being hindered. He argued that religion is still problematical for the sociology of Advanced industrial societies and that religion must be "brought back" into the mainstream of sociological thought. The theoretical problems associated with explaining the presence of NRMs in advanced industrial societies, the religious conflicts in newly industrializing societies, and the persistence of "old" problems such as conservative working class, the status of women, racial and ethnic conflict needed explanatory theories that included the Sociology of Religion. In coming to grips with these phenomena, Marxist scholars began to introduce new and novel concepts that threw new light on religious issues; religion was being brought back

to centre stage, (27).

The problem of religion and its place within social science theory is very apparent when social scientists study modern Japan. Hendry noted that it is hard to decide what can be considered under the umbrella of "religion" in Japan, (28). The ideas associated with the great tradition in religion have to be abandoned and a different approach taken. Some writers have even asserted that the Japanese themselves, their language and cultural identity have been endowed with sacred qualities, (29). Religion pervades many areas in Japanese life and cannot easily be consigned to an area termed "religion and its effects". Many Japanese people claim not to have any religious affiliation to a particular organization and only use religion at special times in their lives. I saw Japanese children, in traditional costume, being taken to Shinto shrines to celebrate reaching three years old for both boys and girls. Then, when boys reach five years old they visit the shrine again to pray for a long life, but the girls do not go again until they are seven years old. On "coming of age day", in January, young people would be attired in their traditional clothes and visit their local temple or shrine. Similarly, for each of the first three days of the New Year, Japanese families would visit their local shrines and temples to pray for a prosperous new year. Weddings have a traditional aspects as well as modern celebrations. Funerals are conducted according to Buddhist rites whereas Shinto is used for life affirming activities. Shinto priests officiate at the start and completion of new buildings or ventures and the rites associated with the accession of Emperor Akihito were Shinto in origin.

At the core of all Shinto ceremonial is the idea of purity and at the core of all Shinto beliefs is the idea of fertility. What is abhorrent to Shinto is pollution and not sin; all pollution, whether the fault of the individual victim or not, has to be washed away. Sansom states that Japanese history makes more sense to Westerners when one fact is taken into account; that the Japanese have never been tormented by the guilt of sin, (30). In the Shinto hierarchy of polluting activities, death comes first followed by injury, disease, menstrual blood and childbirth, (31). Salt is considered to be a purifying agent. The Japanese sport of Sumo wrestling contains a number of significant purifying and fertility Shinto rituals which can be observed by any foreigner at any of the major Sumo tournaments which take place throughout Japan. I found the rituals just as interesting as the psychological contest between the combatants; in a sense, the physical jousting is a coda to the psychological battle. Shinto rituals are also part of the folk festivals which take place continually all over Japan. However, the festivals are also associated with folk beliefs, the origins of which are mainly Shinto, Buddhist, and Toaist, but some have their origins in the distant past and are related to the folk beliefs of the aboriginal societies of the Pacific region, (32).

Buddhism entered Japan in about the sixth century CE, but came via China and is unlike its sister religion, Indian Buddhism. Most Japanese can practice both Shinto and Buddhist rites without conflict. Japanese homes contain Buddhist altars, Butsudan, and Shinto shelves. Families visit their Buddhist temples at special times of the year; at the spring and autumn equinoxes, New Year and the summer festival

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of O Bon when families visit the graves of their ancestors. The Japanese "report" events of interest to the deceased. When I was in Japan there was a significant amount of media news concerned with the litigation over the Japan Air Lines Boeing 747 air crash in 1986. Frequently, family members were filmed climbing up the high mountains near Tokyo, to "report" the latest court developments to their dead relatives.

Confucianism entered Japan at about the same time as Buddhism and its ideology has had a big impact on Japanese culture. It has no priests and virtually no places of worship, but throughout Japanese history it has been used to justify codes of conduct and moral behaviour. The family system drew much of its ideological strength from the Confucian ideal of the stable family. These ideals supported indigenous notions already present in Japan and the Confucian ideals which conflicted with indigenous notions did not make much impact in practice. Hendry suggests that Confucianism has been used to build up and support the ethics of Buddhism and Shinto, (33). Religion seems to be tightly interwoven with the everyday fabric of Japanese life, as is religion for the Zoroastrians in India and Iran.

In my own research into Zoroastrians in Britain, I found that if I relegated their religious attitudes, beliefs and practices to the position of one independent variable, amongst many others, and concentrated upon the racial and ethnic characteristics of the group as the explanatory factor for the maintenance of the group's boundaries, then the conclusions to be drawn were vague and general, (34). The differences within the Zoroastrian community, in their attitudes to their religion, was the crucial factor in explaining their continued survival, (35).

Theories within the Sociology of Religion

I want to now look at some of the theories within the rubric of the Sociology of Religion that pertain to the study of Zoroastrianism. This will not be an exhaustive examination of all the theories, but will include those that I considered to be relevant to my work at the time I conducted the quantitative analyses which are presented at the end of the chapter.

Weber and Durkheim were both interested in the problem of how individuals give meaning to social life and how individuals and groups identify themselves in the world, in relation to each other and to the social, cultural and natural conditions of their existence. Weber was primarily interested in the ways in which different types of social experience were related to different modes of religious expression and belief. He was also concerned with the rationalization of religious belief systems. Durkheim was more interested in the general social significance of religious expression and belief. He saw religious belief as synchronized with the network of social relations in any given society, (36). Both Parsons and Aron have noted the similarity between the ideas of Weber and Durkheim with regard to primitive and eternal religion.

" At the outset of Weber's sociology of religion, I

find an interpretation of primitive and eternal religion which is very close to Durkheim's conception in **Les Formes Elementaires de la Vie Religieuse**. Talcottt Parsons has remarked upon this similarity; I think it is valid and may even be a case of borrowing", (37).

T.Parsons in his seminal work **The Structure of Social Action**, critiques the ideas of Weber, Durkheim, Pareto and Marshall, and develops his own sociological theory, a General Theory of Action. Parson's theory is an analytical system, comprising the social system, the cultural system and the personality system, which provides a framework within which the sociologist can work with a very complex set of ideas, (38). Using this analytical system, the effect of religion in society can be studied through its action in three areas; the social structure, the cultural values, and the individual.

It was Weber who emphasized that different classes, occupational strata and educational strata interpret their shared religion in different ways. A shared religious tradition, in any society, is the cumulative product of many people making their religious interpretations in a specific social and cultural environment. World religions have become multiple systems of ways of dealing with the fundamental problems of life, from which the different strata may select the aspects most congenial to them, and at the same time share a common religious system with all the other members, (39). As societies become more complicated, more highly stratified and affected by mobility and social change, their dominant religions become flexible systems of belief and practice. The flexibility of the Japanese religions has already been described. I have commented upon the controversies within Zoroastrianism as the Diaspora puts great strains on the inflexible aspects of Zoroastrianism. These are mainly to do with aspects of community life which are bound up with symbolic boundaries, but the discussions about the controversies are couched in religious terms.

According to E.Fischoff's translation and interpretation of Weber's work, Weber did not take particular account of a fourth division which is prevalent in modern society, that of minority group, either racial or ethnic, differences in terms of religious beliefs and practices, as compared with the majority groups' religious behaviour, (40). Members of minority groups are categorically assigned to minority group status, by the dominant group, using criteria such as race, ethnicity and religion. The way that minority groups, deal with this categorical assignment can be divided into three types of behavioural patterns those of acceptance, avoidance and aggression. JM.Yinger makes the following proposition with regard to minority groups' reactions to their imposed status,

> " The more a minority group does not share and wants to share in the dominant culture of a society, the greater its power, the stronger its hope, the more its religious tradition encourages an emphasis on the values of this life, the more aggressive the leadership, the more the personality tendencies of the members encourage them to confront life directly, rather than inventing symbolic solutions, the farther religious

response to its status will move down the road of acceptance-avoidance-aggression, and the more it will develop secular themes to supplement or replace sectarian movements", (41).

He suggests that the functions of identification with an ethnic-religious group can be studied not only with an analysis at the group level, but within the group itself. Differences in belief, religious aesthetics, organization, and religious practices, are all closely related to differences in secular status, class and experience, (42). R.Niebhur has demonstrated that different classes, races, ethnic groups and within geographical regions, different religious values and structures are developed, (43). Although his research was confined to Protestantism in the US, it can be borne in mind when looking at other societies and other religions. When a minority group becomes highly differentiated, internally, with different degrees of social and geographical mobility and of contact with other groups, together with widely differing degrees of contact with the economic, political and educational systems of the majority group, then religious differentiation within the religious group begins to appear. The professional member will take a quite different reference group from the wider society as compared with the working class member. They will differ in terms of life style and in terms of interpretation of the religion. In fact, the type of ethnic-religious group that a member of the middle class will identify with will be different from that of the working class.

However, with regard to a ethnic-religious group as small as the Zoroastrians in the UK, they seem to present a united front to the outside world. There is little hierarchical structure within institutionalized Zoroastrianism, although the priests are divided into high priests, Dasturs, and ordinary priests, Mobeds. The former are in charge of the Atash Bahrams, which are equivalent to Cathedrals, and the latter are in charge of the Agairis, equivalent to parish churches. In the UK, the community does not even have a custom built Agairi but uses a house that has been converted into a community centre with a room set aside for worship. The lack of a rigid hierarchical structure leads to problems of interpretation of ritual and belief; there is no single authority figure to pronounce on controversial topics such as out-marriage and conversion. It is only when questions are asked about these topics and about modifications to Zoroastrian religious beliefs and practices, in order for the religion to survive in the West, that the differences within the community become obvious to an outsider, (44).

Durkheim's ideas dominate the field of sociological research concerned with religion and the cultural system. He considered that religious interests were the symbolic form of social and moral interests; society can always provide itself with the gods it needs. These concepts were formulated in the work **Les Formes Elementaires de La Vie Religigieuse**, in which Durkheim gives not only a detailed analysis of the clan system and of totemism in certain Australian tribes, but also a theory of the essence of religion, a sociological interpretation of human thought, an attempt to explain categories in terms of social contexts; in other words, the sociology of knowledge, (45). He defines religion thus

"A religion is an interdependent system of beliefs
and practices regarding things which are sacred,
and that is to say, apart, forbidden, beliefs and
practices which unite all those who follow them in a single moral
community called a church", (46).

Religion is the original nucleus from which not only have religious rules emerged but also, by a process of differentiation, moral rules and scientific thought. R.Fenn says that in modern society the process of differentiation has gone so far that there is no relationship between the two sets of values. Religion may have an indirect relationship with secular values because it legitimates the secular values and the social order, (47).

Britain's mainstream value systems are propagated through the mass media, the education system, the political, economic and social systems. A member of an ethnic-religious group cannot escape being exposed to the secular value system. A process of elective affinity must take place, with those values in the immigrant's religious value system that are most suited to the new secular value system, taking precedence over less suitable items. It is in this area that there is tension between the Zoroastrian community in the UK and the community in Bombay, especially with regard to out-marriage and conversion. The religion itself can become secularized either through the secularisation of the organization or through the secularisation of the theology. In the US, sociologists have noted the changes in Japanese religious practices as they were adapted to American conditions. They came to resemble the dominant religious groups with worship being "reserved" for Sundays, (48). Zoroastrianism in the UK has begun the process of secularisation: They hold their religious ceremonies on Sunday; the priests are part-time priests who have other careers; the religious centre is also a social centre; the social centre is run by the laity; the building is looked after by non-Zoroastrians and this includes the inner sanctum where the sacred flame is lit; the flame can only be lit when the building is in use and is not an eternal flame as it would be in India.

Religious values are central to the cultural repertoire of a group of immigrants, such as Zoroastrians, where Zoroastrianism is part and parcel of the ethnicity of the Zoroastrians; in order to call oneself a Zoroastrian one has to have Zoroastrian parents and be initiated into Zoroastrianism. All Zoroastrians have some rudimentary knowledge of their religion in terms of ritual, if not the meaning of the prayers and the ceremony: It is a religion whose ceremonies are conducted in a dead language Avestan whose meaning is not readily available to the laity, or even

the priests. Zoroastrianism postulates that both the principles of good and evil are at work in man and he has to fight evil forces to his last breath. The regeneration of society will ultimately be brought about by the conscious efforts of each individual person: each and every individual is obliged to carry on ceaselessly the work of redeeming the world. It was for this purpose that man, as climax and crown of creation, was brought into existence by God. Active work, hard labour and strenuous efforts are paramount virtues: The Zoroastrian motto is "Good Thoughts,

Good Words, Good Deeds".

The practice of Zoroastrianism is centred on the family and the home. This facilitates the relative ease of transfer of Zoroastrianism to new environments. Other aspects of Zoroastrianism facilitate its Diaspora. There are centres of worship, the Atash Bahrams or the Agairis, where Zoroastrians can go as and when they feel the need either to observe the religious rituals being performed by priests, or for personal contemplation: there is no compulsion to attend, but many Zoroastrians do so as part of their religious observances. The priests are the ritually pure representatives who act on behalf of the lay community. However, only the son of a priest can become a priest. If three generations of sons fail to undertake the preliminary initiation rites, or Navar, for the priesthood, then the family is no longer a priestly family and becomes designated Behdin.

The most important day to day religious rite for a Zoroastrian is the observance of the Sudre/ Kusti prayers. The prayers are said five times per day at specified times and are associated with the religious symbols that Zoroastrians who have undergone the initiation ceremony, the Naujote, wear all the time. The Sudre is a muslin vest, and the Kusti a lambs wool cord, which is tied three times around the waist. The Sudre and Kusti are the symbolic armour against the evil which man must be aware of and fight at all times. The Sudre and Kusti prayers are offered at home as can most of the major religious ceremonies associated with birth, initiation, marriage and death. These ceremonies are officiated over by priests and do not include the laity who observe the ritual.

As with most religions the rites associated with death have a special significance. Zoroastrians do not wish to pollute the earth, water or fire with a dead body. In India and Iran the dead are exposed, to be devoured by vultures. In places outside Iran and the sub-continent of India it is not possible to do this, and Zoroastrians have to find other means of disposing of their dead in accordance with their religious rites: Cremation by electrical means has been used in Europe and North America. However, some Zoroastrians stipulate in their wills that their bodies are to be flown back to India to be exposed in the Towers of Silence.

Zoroastrianism does not seek converts because of the belief that religion is an ascribed characteristic and cannot be changed after birth. For them religion is a racial matter and each race should maintain its own religion: no religion can lay claim to the unique truth, (49). In some cases race becomes more important than religion. In a letter written by a Zoroastrian Priest, living and working in Bombay, about the adoption of a Black American child by an American Zoroastrian couple, I saw the comment "we do not want niggers in our religion". The racial "purity" view is more prevalent amongst Parsis than Iranis, and is called the "race and religion question" in discussions amongst Zoroastrians; a point of great tension and conflict. This causes problems for the community with regard to out-marriage and the initiation of the children of such marriages, especially in the Zoroastrian communities outside Iran and the sub-continent of India.

Progress is a Zoroastrian watchword: man must continually move forward and work towards establishing the Kingdom of Righteousness and banishing the Kingdom of Evil. It is a prophetic, monotheistic, iconoclastic religion of a "people" in much the same way that Judaism is a religion of a "people". The key to their survival has been their combination of a refusal to compromise on any question concerning their identity and spiritual boundaries, with a remarkable willingness to adapt and innovate in all other areas of their life. The Japanese have shown similar characteristics with regard to the preservation of the central core of their culture, and to adaptation and innovation in all other spheres of their life.

In Britain, Zoroastrians find their cultural repertoire under pressure from the indigenous culture. Non-Christian immigrants find their sacred cultural values under attack because Anglicanism is the state religion, and its values are articulated via the education system and through the mass media. For racial, ethnic and religious minorities, there are further complications regarding the dominant religious values of Anglicanism. Studlar found that, in general, Anglicans are most consistently unfavorable in their attitudes towards immigrants, (50). The Parsis have a history of antipathy towards Anglicanism, because of the activities of missionaries in India at the beginning of the nineteenth century. Thus, Zoroastrians are under pressure to modify their religious cultural value system, but at the same time, due to their antipathy to Anglicanism, there are pressures reinforcing their original religious cultural system.

For the individual personality religion may be seen as having several functions among which the most important are;
1. Defence functions to allay anxieties; tensions in everyday life, tensions from feelings of frustration and failure in present life, tensions from feelings of "uprootedness". The Japanese quite often state that they only turn to religion in times of crisis.

2. An identity function which is of two types:
    a. That of personal identity as a human being. The religion gives a stable set of definitions of the self which the individual can adopt. These sets of definitions can be reinterpreted throughout the individual's life cycle to meet the current needs of that personality. In Japan religion was one of the resources used by foreigners to hold on to a sense of "reality" in what could sometimes feel like a kafkaesque situation. Church membership flourished in Tokyo and helped to draw the symbolic boundaries around the particular foreign ethnic groups.
    b. It can also give the individual a sense of social location and group identity. This is very important for immigrants who have a precarious sense of social location and individual identity in a new society. As well as defining the individual as a member of a group, it also says what he is not: For the Zoroastrians in the UK this means not affiliated to Hindu, Islamic or Sikh religions. It serves to maintain social distance from other religious groups.

3. Religion answers the ultimate question "Why?" and gives metaphysical explanations which cannot be verified or repudiated.

4. Religion also gives a set of moral standards for the adherent to utilize. This factor must be important for immigrants to a society where they may disapprove of the "low moral" standards of the indigenous population. The immigrants can use their own religious standards as a yard-stick to guide their own behaviour in a confusing new society. In the latest survey of the Zoroastrians in the UK, (1987), the majority of those interviewed said that moral standards in Britain were lower than in their country of origin.

5. Religion can also help in adjusting to new society through meeting fellow believers, giving a sense of social status in relation to them and a reference group to which to conform. For immigrants it can act as an interface between the old world and the new. The members of the religious group help during the adjustment period and they set standards of behaviour that the immigrant can relate to. The foreign communities in Tokyo have used their churches and religious organizations as mechanisms for mediating between their old life in their home countries, and their new life in Japan. The successive generations of Zoroastrians who have emigrated to the UK, have used Zoroastrian house and its members, in London, as an interface between the old world and the new. As each new wave of immigrants has come in, the old established members have faded away or have been "helped" to move on, (51).

The social psychologist, G.Allport, suggests that there are two analytical types of orientation towards religion. In their ideal forms they are Intrinsic and Extrinsic orientations. The former implies an ultimate orientation such that the individual is interested in the meaning and moral standards given by the religion. It gives the person a sense of identity and is an end in itself. There is no doubt Zoroastrianism lends itself to this type of orientation and I, both through interviews and questionnaires, have come across Zoroastrians who fall into this category. Extrinsic orientation implies that the religion is a means to an end. It is used for social location purposes, adjustment to society in terms of conformity to a religious group's norms. Zoroastrians have used their religion in this manner in the UK. As Allport states, the orientations are ideal types and most members of religious groups have an admixture of both, (52). From my own research, this would also appear to be the case for Zoroastrians.

Brown has further differentiated the extrinsic motivation into two types, those of inner and outer orientation. The former involves the use of the religion as a personality support or help in a crisis, and the latter involves the use of religious membership for social purposes such as meeting the "right" people, gaining social standing and acceptance in the community, (53). There is no doubt that amongst the Zoroastrian community there are members who feel marginal to both the Zoroastrian community and to mainstream society, (54). They use their religion in the manner of "inner orientation". At least one Zoroastrian has actually devised an ethical system, based on Zoroastrianism, which has a small but loyal group of non-

Zoroastrian followers.

As an aspect of individual behaviour, Glock and Stark state that religion is concerned with personal commitment or religiosity. They have defined five dimensions of religiosity: experiential, ritualistic, ideological, intellectual, and consequential, (55). Their analysis has served as a spring board for both quantitative and qualitative research on the multi-dimensional concept of religiosity. From all this research several conclusions can be drawn:
1. The content and number of reported dimensions varies considerably.
2. Aspects of the belief and ritual dimension are the most frequently operationalised.
3. The experiential and the knowledge dimension are less frequently researched.
4. The moral or consequential dimension, when investigated at all, is often used as a dependent variable rather than an integral part of religiosity.
5. Almost all empirical studies have been done within the US.
6. The studies have not addressed the question of a more general dimension of religiosity.

De Jong, Faulkner, and Marland show that, for a cross cultural study between students in the US and West Germany, there is a strikingly similar dimensional pattern of religiosity. Religious belief, practice and experience, and to some extent moral consequences, tend to form a generic dimension of religiosity, whereas religious knowledge and social consequences appear to be unique dimensions of religiosity, (56).

The relationship between socio-economic status, education and religiosity is equally complex. Fukuyama, Demerath, and Hertel have reported a positive correlation between socio-economic status and religious participation, (57). They postulate that lower-class religiosity is characterized by emotional attachment to religious beliefs, whereas upper-class religiosity is characterized by ritual affirmation. In the early research on education and religious participation, there seems to be some agreement of a positive correlation between education level and religious participation, (Lenski, Fukuyama, Argyle) but Dittes, and Glock and Stark remain sceptical over this positive correlation, (58). Stan Geade investigated the relationship between religious belief, socio-economic status and education. He found that when the traditional socio-economic status variable is dichotomised into economic status and education, it is the latter variable, and not the former, that relates constantly to religious participation. There are a number of reasons why education might be a stimulant of increased religious participation amongst individuals holding similar beliefs. For example:
1. Highly educated religious group members are more likely to be placed in positions of authority that require greater organizational participation.
2. A high level of education may enable the participant to deal cognitively with the content of the religious ritual, (59).

This is an important relationship to be born in mind when discussing the Zoroastrians because, as a group in the UK, they have very high levels of

educational attainment which are not necessarily indicative of high occupational attainment; personal frustration with lack of "success" in their careers in the UK, may lead some Zoroastrians to very active participation in the organizational side of the Zoroastrian religious community. However, the research discussed above was only dealing with levels of education, and not with the content of the education. Stark has commented that at the level of human behaviour, religion and scientific scholarship are infrequently found together. The less that a particular faith stresses the intervention of a supernatural being the less the faith will conflict with the empiricism of science. He suggests that data on the scientific orientation of various religious groups should show that the less traditional and the less supernatural faiths are more science oriented and have more scientists, than conservative bodies. Stark has also noted that the degree of involvement in a religious group may be related to the academic and social status of university that the individual graduates from; the higher the status, the less likely the involvement of the individual in a religious group, because he tends to be concerned with his career in his chosen field, (60). Again this is important research to bear in mind when addressing a highly educated community such as the Zoroastrians who have a high proportion of scientifically trained members. Kennedy has noted the affinity between the rationality inherent in Zoroastrian religious values and that of industrial capitalism, (61).

Summary of the First Two Sections of Chapter Seven

The first section of this chapter looked at the problem of the Sociology of Religion when it operates away from the mainstream of sociological thought. By the late 1980s, this problem was being addressed as was the recognition, not only by social scientists but also by media persons, of the diversity of religious cultures in Britain.

For people such as the Japanese and Zoroastrians, religion is woven into the very fabric of their daily lives and it cannot be separated out and labelled "religion". From my own research I found that Zoroastrian attitudes to their religion were central to gaining any comprehensive understanding of the community in Britain.

In the second section, theories within the Sociology of Religion, especially as they pertained to Zoroastrians, were delineated and discussed.

In the final section of this chapter, a data set referencing the Zoroastrian community in the middle of the 1970s will be analyzed quantitatively. The analysis will seek to gain some understanding of the Zoroastrian community in the UK in 1976, through the investigation of Zoroastrian attitudes to their religious beliefs, values and practices.

Statistical Analysis of Data Regarding UK Zoroastrians

The research and theories discussed in the section Theories within the Sociology of Religion, excluding the work of Weber and Durkheim, tended to relate to the US

and European societies and to the established religious groups there such as Jews, Catholics and Protestants. So, for the purposes of my quantitative research, I knew that certain types of relationships have been found to be statistically significant for particular religious groups in the US and the research might reflect a general pattern of religious behaviour, and as I discussed the theories and research I noted where they pertained to Zoroastrians in the UK.

When looking at the Zoroastrians in the UK from the point of view of quantitative data analyses, I found that I could ask questions of the data that gave me interesting "facts" about Zoroastrians and Zoroastrianism in the UK, but the analyses told me nothing about cohesiveness of the community or how it functioned as a group. In the research paper Zoroastrians in Britain, (1981), questions such as:
a. Is there any indication that those who know the meaning of the prayers pray at home more often than those who do not know the meaning?
b. Can one build up a picture of those respondents who say that they will not have their children's Naujote performed?
c. Are there essential characteristics that constitute a descriptive definition of each of: Orthodox, Liberal, or Reformist Zoroastrian? Do they relate to a notional definition?

Questions such as these were asked and elaborated with interesting results, but they did not produce an overall explanation of the community in the UK (62).

These questions and many more were the fruits of an analysis of a data set that I collated and analysed from a set of questionnaires relating to the Zoroastrian community in the UK which had been distributed and collected, but never analysed (63). I approached the task with the idea of looking for patterns in the responses of the Zoroastrians. The data was descriptive and not explanatory. It had not been collected to test any hypotheses or concepts and so I did not try to work within the parameters of any particular theory from the Sociology of Religion. However, I was aware as I worked with the data, of the research and theories from the Sociology of Religion of the type of relationships that might appear in the data. The analyses were illuminating and pointed to a connection between some of the social
and some of the religious aspects of Zoroastrianism that would have to be investigated before any solid explanation of the Zoroastrian community in the UK could be delineated.

In 1976, a survey of the Zoroastrian community in Britain, The Survey of Zoroastrians in Britain 1976, was carried out by JR.Hinnells from the Department of Comparative Religion, the University of Manchester, in collaboration with the Open University and the Zoroastrian Association of Europe. The questionnaire was Initially, distributed through the headquarters of the Zoroastrian community in Britain, Zoroastrian House, London. See Appendix C for a copy of the questionnaire.

Three hundred and fourteen completed questionnaires were returned, approximately ten percent of the Zoroastrian population in Britain in 1976. The

survey indicated that the majority of Zoroastrians, eighty-one percent, came from the sub-continent of India, with twelve percent coming from Africa and two percent from Iran. Only three percent of the respondents were born in the UK, so the survey can be regarded as one of first generation Zoroastrians in Britain in 1976.

Frequency Distribution of Zoroastrians in Data Set

Fifteen percent of the respondents were over sixty years of age and fifteen percent were under thirty years, with the mean age for the whole sample being forty one years. The majority of the respondents spoke English as one of their "mother tongues" and this facility with English was reflected in their educational and occupational qualifications. Seventy-two percent of the respondents had had some type of higher education, either in the UK or abroad. Twenty-seven percent were in the professions and of those respondents who were gainfully occupied fifty percent were in "middle class" occupations. Five percent were in "working class" occupations and these were of the skilled type.

Table 1: Frequency Distribution UK Zoroastrians

GENDER	
Male	57%
Female	43%

PLACE OF BIRTH	
UK	3%
Outside UK	97%

PROVENANCE	
London	60%
Home Counties	19%
Other	21%

AGE	
Under 29 years	15%
30-59 years	70%
Over 59 years	15%

FIRST LANGUAGE	
English	15%
Other languages	85%

MARITAL STATUS	
Single	19%
Ever been married	81%

OF THOSE ZOROASTRIANS EVER BEEN MARRIED	
Out marriage	15%

SIZE OF FAMILY	
1 or 2 Children	68%
3 or more children	22%

Continued---
  Table 1: Frequency Distribution UK Zoroastrians

              TYPE OF FAMILY (not necessarily under one roof)
No family   25%
Extended family   75%
                    EDUCATION LEVEL
Up to College and Vocational Training   28%
College Level +   72%
                OCCUPATION-TOTAL SAMPLE
Housewives, Students, Retired   30%
Blue collar   5%
White collar   38%
Professional   27%
                    FRIENDS-ZOROASTRIANS
Regular meetings   42%
Irregular meetings   57%
Infrequent meetings, Never   1%

In the total sample, fifty-seven percent were men and forty-three percent were women. Nineteen percent of the respondents had never been married and just over half of these were men. Of those who had been married, fifteen percent were married to non-Zoroastrians. Sixty-eight percent of those respondents who had children had either one or two children, with a further twenty-two percent having three children. The majority of respondents had extended family relations living in the UK, and ninety-four percent of all respondents corresponded abroad on a regular basis. With regard to keeping contact with Zoroastrian friends in the UK, forty-two percent did so on a regular basis, while only one percent did not have any Zoroastrian friends.

According to The Survey of Zoroastrians in Britain 1976, the Zoroastrian community in Britain consists, by and large, of members of the middle class, with the majority of them having origins in the sub-continent of India. If they are married they tend to have small families and they keep in touch with Zoroastrian both inside and outside the UK. Sophisticated statistical analyses of this comparatively homogeneous group sample, however, high lighted some interesting differences within the group with regard to their religious beliefs, practices and values. (64)

Patterns in the Responses of Zoroastrians, 1976

In approaching the analysis of this data set I looked for patterns in the responses of he respondents because I had not set the questionnaire and had, at that time, only a general idea of the kind of patterns to be expected from this particular group of people. For each question asked about religious practice, belief or attitude there was a range of responses. In order to look for a pattern in this range, a series of

crosstabular statistical analyses was conducted. The analysis showed that the type of marital partner of Zoroastrians had the highest number of statistically significant measured associations with Zoroastrian religious practices, beliefs and values. I then analyzed the demographic and socio-economic variables which were associated with the type of marital partner by the means of linear regression techniques.

These variables gave an explained variance of thirty three percent and the best predictor of the type of marital partner was whether the respondent was educated in the UK or abroad. Thus, it followed that education Education: UK/ Abroad, was also a predictor for the respondent's religious practices and beliefs. A summary of the statistical analysis of the type of marital partner is given in Appendix C section b and also a discussion of the principles behind this type of statistical procedure is given in Appendix D section d.

<div align="center">Analyses of Scales Measuring the Attitudes of
Zoroastrians to Aspects of Zoroastrianism</div>

The religious beliefs, practices and values of Zoroastrianism were then analysed using factor analysis techniques. See Appendix C section c, for the background to the statistical analyses and Appendix D section b, for a discussion on factor analysis. Two different scales for measuring different aspects of Zoroastrianism were built which were Attitudes to the Zoroastrian Religion and Attitudes to the Controversial Aspects of Zoroastrianism.

The variables included in the scale Attitudes to Zoroastrian Religion are given below.
1. Read Zoroastrian literature.
2. Pray at home.
3. Wear Sudre/ Kusti.
4. Describe yourself in religious terms.
5. Observe Zoroastrian religious calendar.
6. Adoption of single religious calendar.
7. Attend Zoroastrian House.

The scale measured the actual practice of the religion as well as other aspects of religious values. A positive score on the scale indicated that the respondent took part in the actual practices of the religion, as well as reading Zoroastrian literature, describing themselves in religious terms and having an opinion on the adoption of a single religious calendar. A negative score on the scale implied the opposite response from the respondent.

The variables included in the scale Attitudes to the Controversial Aspects of Zoroastrianism are given below.
1. Insist on traditional burial.
2. Approve of marriage to non-Zoroastrian.
3. Approve of conversion of non-Zoroastrian spouses.

4. Approve of conversion of other non-Zoroastrians.
5. Initiation of children of bi-cultural marriages.
6. Approve of non-Zoroastrians entering Fire
   Temples.

A positive score on the scale indicated an orthodox interpretation of the aspects of the Zoroastrianism that were the subject of considerable controversy within the community. That is the respondent insisted upon a traditional burial, did not approve of marriage to non-Zoroastrians or of conversion of any non-Zoroastrians or children of bi-cultural marriages or of non-Zoroastrians entering the Fire Temples. A negative score on the scale implied the converse of these responses.

The scales were correlated with independent demographic and socio-economic variables from the total data set. The results are given in tabulated form in Tables 2 and 3. For the scale Attitudes to the Zoroastrian Religion, Table 2, the most statistically significant variables were those of Education and Marriage Partner, followed by Longest Occupation. The variables Occupation and Gender were not statistically significant and therefore they appeared not to be relevant when determining UK Zoroastrians' attitudes to their religion.

Table 2: The Scale Attitudes to the Zoroastrian Religion Correlated with BackgroundVariables

Variable	Pearson's Correlation	Number of Respondents	r
Country of Origin:Other/ UK	.130 **	314	
MarriagePartner:Zoroastrian/ non-Zoroastrian	.364 ***	254	
Education:Abroad/ UK	.200 **	310	
Gender:Male/ Female	-.001	314	
Occupation High/ Low	.001	254	
LongestOccupation:Abroad/ UK	.207 **	170	

best predictor *** p= .001 ** p= .01

These results indicated that those Zoroastrians who were married to Zoroastrians were more supportive of the religious aspects of Zoroastrianism than those who were married to non-Zoroastrians. Similarly, those respondents who had received higher education abroad were more supportive of the religious aspects of Zoroastrianism than those respondents who had received their higher education in the UK. Those respondents who had worked longer abroad than in the UK exhibited positive scores on attitudes to the religious aspects of Zoroastrianism compared with those respondents who had worked longest in the UK. It would also appear that those respondents who were born outside the UK were more supportive of the religious aspects of Zoroastrianism than those who were born in the UK.
The scale Attitudes to Controversial Aspects of Zoroastrianism was correlated with demographic and socio-economic variables from the total data set. Looking at

Table 3 it can be seen that the most statistically significant variables were Education and Occupation.

Table 3: The Scale Attitudes to the Controversial Aspects of the Zoroastrian Religion Correlated with Background Variables

Variable	Pearson's Correlation	Number of Respondents	r
Country of Origin:			
Other/ UK	-.003	302	
MarriagePartner:			
Zoroastrian/Non-Zoroastrian	.078	245	
Education:Abroad/ UK #	.186 ***	300	
Gender:Male/ Female	.005	314	
OccupationHigh/ Low	-.118 **	254	
LongestOccupation:Abroad/ UK	-.051	170	

best predictor ** p= .01 *** p=. 0001

These results suggest that those Zoroastrians who were educated abroad are most likely to support the orthodox interpretation of the controversial aspects of Zoroastrianism and those respondents who were high on the occupation scale were more likely to support the liberal interpretation of the controversial aspects of Zoroastrianism. The variables Marriage Partner, Country of Origin, Gender, Occupation Longest were not statistically significant and seemed not to be relevant to an analysis of attitudes towards the controversial aspects of Zoroastrianism.

To sum up: the results of the analysis of the two scales which measured different aspects of Zoroastrianism. Gender did not have a statistically significant relationship with either scale. The variable Education had a similar statistical relationship with the scales Attitudes to the Zoroastrian Religion and Attitudes to the Controversial Aspects of Zoroastrianism. Zoroastrians who were educated abroad tended to exhibit conservative or orthodox attitudes to Zoroastrian religious beliefs and practices as well as to the controversial aspects of Zoroastrianism in contrast to those Zoroastrians who were educated in the UK. However, the variables Marriage Partner, Occupation, Country of Origin, Occupation Longest appeared to have a different statistical relationship with each scale. Zoroastrians who were married to Zoroastrians supported conservative or orthodox attitudes to the religious practices and beliefs of Zoroastrianism, but seemed to be neutral in their attitudes to the controversial aspects of Zoroastrianism. For the respondents who were married to non-Zoroastrians, their attitudes tended to support liberal attitudes to religious beliefs and practices of Zoroastrianism, and they appeared to be neutral in their attitudes to the controversial aspects of Zoroastrianism. Respondents who were high on the occupational scale supported liberal attitudes to the controversial aspects of Zoroastrianism whereas as respondents who were low on the scale exhibited orthodox or conservative attitudes. The type of occupation of the respondent did not seem to be relevant in the analysis of their attitudes to the religious practices and beliefs of Zoroastrianism. Zoroastrians who were not born in the UK or who had worked longest abroad tended to exhibit conservative or orthodox attitudes to the religious practices and beliefs, and vice versa for

respondents who were born in the UK or who had worked longest in the UK. However, these characteristics did not seem to be relevant when studying the attitudes to the controversial aspects of Zoroastrianism.

Further Analysis of Scale Attitudes to Controversial Aspects of Zoroastrianism

The variable Marriage Partner, which had the highest number of measured statistically significant associations with the religious beliefs, practices and values in the initial analysis and had a statistically significant correlation with the scale Attitudes to the Zoroastrian Religion, was seen to have a low correlation and no statistical significance with the scale Attitudes to the Controversial Aspects of Zoroastrianism. On the other hand, Education: Abroad/ UK, which was the best predictor of Marriage Partner, was a good predictor of Zoroastrian attitudes both to the religion and to the controversial aspects of Zoroastrianism.

The scale Attitudes to Controversial Aspects of Zoroastrianism was subjected to a more rigorous statistical analysis. For a discussion of the methods used see Appendix D section f. New variables were entered into the analysis and they were Self Description as an orthodox or liberal Zoroastrian, Place of Residence in London or else-where in the UK, Age and Gender. A scale, Education, was built. The list of variables used in the scale, are given below.
1. Education Abroad.
2. Education UK.
3. Education level.
4. Education qualifications UK.

The scale was built so that a positive score indicated that the respondent had been educated abroad, had no education qualifications from the UK and a level of education which was below university level. Conversely a negative score indicated that the respondent was educated in the UK, had UK educational qualifications and was educated at university level.

As can be seen in Table 5 and also Tables 3a and 3b, Appendix C section d, the percentage of explained variance in the scale is only eighteen percent.

Table 5: The Action of the Background Variables on the Scale Attitudes to the
Controversial Aspects of Zoroastrianism

Background Variables	Pearson's Correlation	Independent Action of Variables	Percentage Explained Variance
	r	beta	R SQUARE x 100
Self Description	.22	.17 *	6%
Education Scale #	.31	.29 **	12%
Marriage Partner	.21	.12	14%
Place of Residence	-.12	-.13	15%
Country of Origin	-.04	-.04	15%
Age	-.07	-.01	15%
Gender	-.08	-.01	15%
Language	-.13	-.15	17%
Longest Occupation	.05	-.06	18%
Occupation	.05	-.07	18%

N = 314   p = .05   R Square x 100 = 18%
best predictor * p= .05 ** p= .01

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When relationships between the dependent variable and the independent variables were considered together, the best predictors of Zoroastrian attitudes to the controversial aspects of Zoroastrianism were Self Description, Education, Marriage Partner, Place of Residence, and Language. However, the independent action of the variables, suggested that the best predictors of Zoroastrian attitudes to the controversial aspects of Zoroastrianism are Education and Self Description. The other variables did not have a statistically significant independent relationship with the scale. Zoroastrians who described themselves as "orthodox", or who were not highly educated, or did not receive their education in the UK, tended to support the traditional interpretation of the controversial aspects of Zoroastrianism. This result is in line with those of the less rigorous statistical analyses, where those respondents who were educated abroad tended to support the orthodox interpretation of both attitudes to the religion and to the controversial aspects of Zoroastrianism.

In the latter, more rigorous, statistical analysis the variable Marriage Partner had a stronger relationship with the scale Attitudes to the Controversial Aspects of Zoroastrianism than appeared to be the case in the original statistical analysis but, again as in the previous analysis, was not a statistically significant independent relationship. The variable Occupation's independent relationship with the scale Attitudes to the Controversial Aspects of Zoroastrianism is much weaker than it appeared to be in the previous analysis and also it is not statistically significant. The only independent relationships to be statistically significant in the more rigorous analyses were Self Description and the Education scale. The variables Country of Origin, Gender, and Longest Occupation have little impact in the

statistical explanation of the scale Attitudes to the Controversial Aspects of Zoroastrianism and again, as in the previous analysis, these did not have a statistically significant independent relationship with the scale. There are also reductions in the strength of the relationships for these variables in the more rigorous statistical analyses compared with the previous analyses. For an explanation of these changes see Appendix C section d.

I wanted to see if social attitudes were associated with the scale Attitudes to the Controversial Aspects of Zoroastrianism, the statistical exercise was repeated with the addition of a scale measuring social attitudes but without the variables Marriage Partner, Language, Place of residence, Country of Origin, Gender, Age, Occupation, and Longest Occupation.

The scale built to measure the social attitudes of the Zoroastrians in the 1976 sample included the following variables:
1. Belong to Zoroastrian organizations.
2. Keep in touch with non-family Zoroastrians.
A positive score indicated that the respondent kept in touch with other Zoroastrians and had memberships of Zoroastrian organizations. A negative score indicated the converse of this position. With this group of variables only twelve percent of the variance was accounted for, compared with eighteen percent for the first group of variables. The introduction of a new variable associated with social attitudes did not increase the explanatory power of the model. In fact, the removal of the other variables diminishes the explanatory power of the statistical model. See Table 6 in Appendix C section d.

Whether the relationships are considered together or independently, the best predictors of Zoroastrian attitudes to the controversial aspects of Zoroastrianism are Self Description and Education. See Table 6. Again it can be seen that Zoroastrians who described themselves

Table 6: The Action of the Background Variables on the Scale Attitudes to the Controversial Aspects of Zoroastrianism

Background Variables	Pearson's Correlation	Independent Action of Variables	Percentage Explained Variance
	r	beta	R SQUARE x 100
Self Description	.23	.18 *	5%
Education Scale	.31	.28 **	12%
Social Attitudes Scale	-.03	-.03	12%
N = 314 p = .05		R Square x 100 = 12%	

as "orthodox", or who were not highly educated, or received their education outside the UK, tended to support the orthodox interpretation of the controversial aspects of Zoroastrianism. The Social Attitudes Scale added nothing to the explained variance in the dependent variable Attitudes to the Controversial Aspects

of Zoroastrianism and it did not have a statistically significant independent relationship with the scale. This finding was an early indication of some of the results of the statistical analyses that will be described in chapter ten, Symbolic Boundaries and British Zoroastrians, when I look at the statistical relationships between the Zoroastrian attitudes to the community's symbolic boundaries and their attitudes to their religious and social values.

Summary of the Quantitative Data

I looked for patterns in the Zoroastrian responses to the questions posed in The Survey of Zoroastrians in Britain 1976. With regard to Zoroastrian attitudes to their religious beliefs and practices, the type of marriage partner produced the most number of measured statistical associations with these attitudes. The statistical analysis of the variable Marriage Partner suggested that there were several socio-economic and demographic characteristics of Zoroastrians which predicted the type of marital partner. The most important of these was where the respondent was educated.

In a further analysis of the Zoroastrian attitudes to their religious beliefs and practices, certain variables appeared to have similar relationships with the scales which measured attitudes to the religious beliefs and practices and attitudes to the controversial aspects of Zoroastrianism. The most important of these was the respondent's place of education, with those Zoroastrians who were educated abroad tending to support the orthodox or conservative attitudes to the religion and its controversial aspects. However, those respondents who were educated in the UK tended to support the liberal or non-orthodox attitudes to the religion and controversial aspects of Zoroastrianism. A more rigorous statistical analysis did not change this relationship, but there were other variables where a more rigorous statistical analysis indicated that, for some of the variables, the statistical relationships with the scales measuring attitudes to the religion and the controversial aspects of Zoroastrianism, were more complex than they originally appeared to be. The most important variables were Marriage Partner and Occupation of the respondent. In the original analysis, the variable Marriage Partner seemed to be neutral in its weak relationship with the scale Attitudes to the Controversial Aspects of Zoroastrianism, whereas in the more rigorous analysis there appeared to be a stronger relationship, but it was not a statistically significant relationship. The more rigorous analyses added nothing to the understanding of the relationship between the type of marital partner and attitudes to the controversial aspects of Zoroastrianism. The type of occupation of the respondent did not seem to be important in predicting their attitudes to these controversial aspects in the more rigorous analysis, but in the original analysis it suggested that the higher the occupation of the respondent the more likely they were to support the liberal interpretation of the controversial aspects of Zoroastrianism. Thus, the more rigorous statistical analyses point to a more complex picture of Zoroastrian attitudes to their community's social and religious values than the original statistical analyses suggested.

Conclusion

In this chapter I have looked at the place of religion in modern British society, 1970-1989, and the array of different religious groups that exist in the UK. I noted that in a society under-going rapid social change it is important to look at what is happening to the institutions of religion, and the beliefs associated with religion.

The problems associated with the Sociology of Religion as it was located and practised within the field of Sociology over the past few decades, was discussed. The Sociology of Religion has become somewhat marginal to the interests of mainstream sociology, and it has carved out a unique sphere for itself with its own concerns and developments. This is in spite of the seminal work of the classical theorists in Sociology who took as a basic assumption that the study of religion was central to the understanding of any society or group of people. I also looked at specific sociology of religion theories and their application to the study of a group of people such as the Zoroastrians. The chapter then described and discussed the quantitative research that I conducted on a survey sample of British Zoroastrians that was collected in 1976.

The analysis of the data led me to look at, not only those aspects of the data that concerned attitudes to Zoroastrianism, but also the relationship between various social and demographic features of the sample which had strong measured associations with religious aspects of Zoroastrianism.

The investigations discussed in chapter six, **The Zoroastrian Experience in Britain**, indicated that Zoroastrian attitudes to Zoroastrianism should be analysed further under the rubric of theories from the Sociology of Religion. However, this analysis of the community did not lead to an understanding of the survival of that community as a whole. Although it produced interesting "facts" about Zoroastrians and their religion, there was no comprehensive explanation of how the community operated as a group. The final statistical analyses also pointed to the "fact" that Zoroastrian attitudes to the religious and social aspects of Zoroastrianism was a complex set of relationships, including the apparent lack of a relationship between Zoroastrian social attitudes and the "controversial" aspects of Zoroastrianism.

In my research to this point, I could not fail but to observe that this was one aspect of Zoroastrianism that consistently produced responses which divided the UK community along different lines from those suggested by attitudes to other social and religious aspects of Zoroastrianism. What was it about the "controversial" aspects of Zoroastrianism that elicited such interesting response patterns? In order to move my research into the UK Zoroastrian community forward, especially with regard to finding an explanation for the "survival" of the community, I wanted to examine the religious and social factors of Zoroastrianism under one theoretical "umbrella". In the next two chapters I will focus further on the "controversial" aspects of Zoroastrianism, and analyse them in detail, working within the parameters of Symbolic Boundary Theory.

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8. ZOROASTRIAN SYMBOLIC BOUNDARIES:
A STATISTICAL ANALYSIS

Putting Symbolic Boundary Theory into Practice

In the last two chapters I looked at the Zoroastrian community in the UK from two different theoretical perspectives, those of Inter-Group Relations and the Sociology of Religion. I utilized particular aspects of these theories for quantitative analyses of the Zoroastrian community in the UK. The results of these analyzes pointed to looking at the Zoroastrian community through a theoretical perspective that dealt simultaneously, with religious and social values. In this chapter I want to utilize a theoretical perspective, in which to base the quantitative data analysis that moves the research forward from the circular pattern of social to religious theoretical perspectives evinced in chapter six, **The Zoroastrian Experience in Britain**, and chapter seven, **Zoroastrianism as a Religion in Britain**. The theoretical perspective of Symbolic Boundaries appeared to be the way forward theoretically from the previous chapters' theoretical perspectives. The essential ideas of Symbolic Boundary theory can be summarized, as follows with the five propositions that have been delineated in chapter three, **Symbolic Boundary Theory**, with regard to looking at the problem of symbolic boundaries, (1).

1. The analysis of ethnicity starts from a definition of the situation held by the actors themselves. The Zoroastrians in the **The World Zoroastrian Survey 1986** define themselves in terms of Zoroastrianism. Only twenty-one percent of the respondents from the survey did not do so.

2. The focus of attention becomes the maintenance of ethnic boundaries and the social interaction, between them and us, which takes place across the ethnic boundary. The considerable private discord within the world wide Zoroastrian community is focused upon this point: What characteristics constitute a Zoroastrian, ascribed or achieved or both.

3. Ethnic identity depends upon ascription, both by the members of the ethnic group and outsiders. One of the problems for Zoroastrians in the UK, and probably the other communities in the Diaspora, is to be defined as Zoroastrians by outsiders and not as "Indians". Zoroastrians are divided on the issue of whether Zoroastrians are born or made. In **The World Zoroastrian Survey 1986** the respondents were fairly evenly divided on the question of initiation of non-Zoroastrians into the religion. Slightly more than fifty percent were in favour of initiation of non-Zoroastrians.

4. Ethnicity is not fixed; it is situationally defined. In India, Iran and the "old" Zoroastrians communities of the Diaspora the boundaries of the community were fixed geographically, physically and socially. The "new" Zoroastrian communities

find themselves in a much more fluid social situation. This leads to considerable tension between the "new" communities and the "old" communities and the "Mother" communities in India and Iran.

5. Ecological issues are particularly influential in determining ethnic identity especially with regard to economic niches within the society in question. Zoroastrians in India, Iran and the "old" communities had definite economic niches, and in the eras of the British Raj in India and the last two Shahs in Iran, they were powerful and wealthy economic niches. The "new" communities are in quite a different economic situation with most of the communities' members in professional, salaried work.

The bases of boundedness can be visible or invisible, symbolic or real. The bases most often converted into ethnicity are territorial, historical, linguistic, economic considerations, and symbolic identification of one kind or another, (2). It is important to distinguish between the process of group identification and the process of categorisation; the first takes place inside the ethnic boundary, the latter across it or outside the boundary, (3). Ethnicity is largely a matter of group identification, and race is one of categorisation which may be invoked on the basis of putative ethnic, cultural, social or other criteria. Zoroastrians identify themselves as a religious group and do not want to be placed into a racial category in the UK. However, some Zoroastrians, especially the Parsis, invoke "race" as one of the reasons to maintain the communities as they are today. There is no logical limit to the number of the bases of boundedness of an ethnic group, and even if they could be enumerated the problems of whether individual members of the ethnic group will utilize the bases, and which ones will they use, remains within the domain of the researcher, (4). In my research I will state quite clearly which data I am going to use to "represent" the Zoroastrian Symbolic Boundaries. The reasons for picking out the particular variables to "represent" the symbolic boundaries were based on my knowledge of the Zoroastrian community in the UK.

The differences between a community's public face and that of its private face must be noted. The boundary as presented for a symbolic statement of the public face of the community is symbolically simple, but within the private mode the boundary is a complex symbolic statement. The very simple rule for defining who is and who is not a Zoroastrian is both parents of the initiation candidate must be born of Zoroastrian parents and be initiated Zoroastrians. Within the community there is slightly more flexibility about this rule than would appear from the public face of the community. The impact of outsiders on the boundary is important and there is a dynamic relationship between outsiders and group members across the boundary. Outsiders are strictly prohibited from entering the sacred areas of the Fire Temples or the Burial Places of the Zoroastrians.

A crucial point to be born in mind by the researcher is that it is the identity element of ethnic boundaries which moves the boundary process, (5). I have dealt, in detail, with the relationship between ethnic identity, other social identities and symbolic boundaries in chapter four, **Symbolic Boundaries and Ethnic Identity**. However,

this relationship will be tested again in the statistical analyses dealing with the symbolic boundaries of the Zoroastrians in the UK.

To re-cap, the Zoroastrians of the Diaspora recognize themselves as members of an ethnic group which has a unique religion, but has social values that have a lot in common with other ethnic groups whose origins are in the sub-continent of India if they are Parsis, or Muslim Iranians if they are Iranis. The Zoroastrians do not want to be assigned to the racial group "Asian" in the UK, or even be assigned to another ethnic group from the sub-continent. Within the Parsi side of the Zoroastrian community there is considerable feeling that the Parsis constitute a special and unique "race" which must not be polluted by outsiders. This is an area of considerable dissent within the community but for the outside world there is a simple rule that a member must be born to parents who are themselves members. Exceptions will be made for men who marry out but this is not something that is broadcast about to non-members: A simple symbolic boundary to the outside world but a very complex and convoluted boundary to the private world of the community. As bases for the community boundaries, the Zoroastrians have territorial roots in India and Iran, and historically in Persia. The history of the Zoroastrians' arrival in India and their subsequent history there has given rise to a rich cultural heritage, where fact is as important as myth. They had an economic niche under the British Raj in India and under the Shah in Iran. Today, in Britain, they are well represented in the professions. The symbolic representations of their religion are the two garments, the Sudre and Kusti, which the initiated Zoroastrians always wear. The symbolic allegiance to the religion is manifest in certain ritual ceremonies, such as initiation rites and the death ceremonies. All prayers are conducted in a "dead" language, Avestan.

The Measurement of Symbolic Boundaries

In order to put the ideas from symbolic boundary theory into practice, I had to develop a statistical tool for measuring the attitudes of the UK Zoroastrians to their community's symbolic boundaries. The statistical analyses then followed a sequence of logical steps, from building the scale to measure symbolic boundaries, through the analyses, including crosstabular analyses to look for problems with the data, correlation analyses to look for patterns in the data, to linear regression analyses which pointed to the important relationships between Zoroastrian symbolic boundaries and other characteristics of the community. This sequence of logical steps will apply to the UK sample as well as to the other two samples of Zoroastrians to be investigated in the next chapter, **Zoroastrian Symbolic Boundaries: A Comparative Statistical Analysis**. The detailed statistical analyses will be given in Appendices D and E. The results and my conclusions will be given in the main text.

I worked with data set **The World Zoroastrian Survey 1986** which has already been introduced in chapter six, **Zoroastrianism as a Religion in Britain**. Not only was I involved in collaborating with Professor JR.Hinnells in drawing up and administering the questionnaire that formed the basis of **The World Zoroastrian**

Survey 1986, I was also conducted the pre-test in the US and located all the Zoroastrian groups in North America at that time. The sample of 498 British Zoroastrians was taken from the total data set of **The World Zoroastrian Survey 1986**. To re-cap the frequency distribution given in chapter six, **Zoroastrianism as a Religion in Britain**, this was a sample that had a balanced ratio between men, (52%), and women, (48%), but it had few respondents, (7%), beyond first generation immigrants, (93%). Over seventy percent of the sample had been married, with twenty-seven percent of those married to non-Zoroastrians. The majority of the respondents had extended families, (75%), in the UK with eighty-five percent of the respondents, who had children under sixteen years old, having either one or two children. Only eighteen percent of the respondents had three or more children.

It was a highly educated group of people with sixty-eight percent being educated to college level and beyond. In terms of occupation, only seven percent were in the blue collar strata, with thirty-five percent in professional occupations. The majority of the respondents kept in touch with Zoroastrian and non-Zoroastrian friends on a regular basis, with thirty-five percent infrequently meeting Zoroastrians and forty-one percent infrequently meeting non-Zoroastrians.

Thirty-seven percent of the respondents said that they had suffered from discrimination on grounds of ethnic origin, but fifty-nine percent said that they had not suffered from this type of discrimination. In terms of intra-group relations, thirty-six percent said that relationships within the Zoroastrian community were either excellent or good. However, forty-three percent said that the relationships were only reasonable or just poor. As far as ethnic identity is concerned, fifty-nine percent described themselves in Zoroastrian terms and eighty-four percent did not see the UK as their "mother country".

These statistics are representative of the community in the UK, in terms of education, occupation and family size, because of what is known about Zoroastrians in the rest of the world and earlier research into the UK community. It is not a sample that is representative in terms of immigrant generations, as there are few respondents beyond the first generation immigrants, even though Zoroastrians have been settling in the UK for over one hundred years. It is not known if the other attributes of this sample are representative of the community as a whole.

Building a Scale to Measure Symbolic Boundaries

Bearing in mind the theoretical points relating to symbolic boundary theory, I took variables from the data set that related to theoretical ideas of symbolic boundaries, and as I noted earlier, I intended to work with those variables that related directly to boundary maintenance, the dividing line between insiders and outsiders. I wanted to work with a well defined set of variables that were clearly concerned with

Zoroastrian symbolic boundaries. Other variables from the data set, relating to symbolic boundaries, were used during the statistical analyses. The variables that

were used to build the scale which measured Zoroastrian attitudes to the community's symbolic boundaries are listed below.

1. **Marriages between Zoroastrians and non-Zoroastrians.**
 2. **Bi-cultural marriage ceremony before Zoroastrian Priests.**
3. **Children of bi-cultural marriage to be considered as Zoroastrians.**
4. **Conversion of non-Zoroastrians.**
5. **Naujote for non-Zoroastrians.**
6. **Actively seek converts.**
7. **Non-Zoroastrians allowed in Temples in India.**
8. **Non-Zoroastrians allowed in Temples in Iran.**
9. **Non-Zoroastrians allowed in Temple in UK.**

These variables related directly to the demarcation between insiders and outsiders. They went from exclusion, only those people with Zoroastrian parents could be included and initiated as Zoroastrians, to inclusion, the actively seeking of converts to be initiated into Zoroastrianism. The scale was constructed so that a high score meant support for keeping the symbolic boundaries; that is, the only people eligible for initiation are those with initiated parents, no bi-cultural marriages, non-Zoroastrians not permitted in the Temples, no conversion. On the other hand, a low score meant support for altering the symbolic boundaries to allow more people to be eligible to be Zoroastrians. See Appendix D section b for a discussion on the construction on the scale **UK Zoroastrian Boundaries.**

Looking for Patterns in the Relationships Between the Scale Measuring Symbolic Boundaries and the Data Set UK Community

The scale was correlated with independent variables from the data set. The results of the correlations between the scale, **UK Zoroastrian Boundaries**, and the groups of variables are given in Appendix D section e. I will discuss the results that show a significant relationship as well as the important non-significant results. The variables were divided into groups so that the action of similar variables on the scale could be compared. In Table 1, the Zoroastrian characteristics that were associated with support for the symbolic boundaries are listed, as well as the characteristics that supported change in the symbolic boundaries. It should be noted that if the action of the variables suggests support for the status quo, there is the implication that the converse applies for some of the respondents. Thus, being married to a Zoroastrian suggests support for the status quo and being married to a non-Zoroastrian implies support for change to the symbolic boundaries. Likewise, keeping contact with non-Zoroastrian friends suggests support for change, with the implication that not keeping contact with non-Zoroastrian friends suggests support for the status quo.

Table 1: Correlation **UK Zoroastrian Boundaries** with Variables

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SUPPORT STATUS QUO	SUPPORT CHANGE
Demographic	
Married to Zoroastrian	
	Early arrival in UK
Speak, read and write other languages	
Read Zoroastrian Literature	
	Read non-Zoroastrian literature
Education	
Professional training outside UK	
Community Relations	
Keep contact with Zoroastrian Friends	
	Keep contact with non-Zoroastrian friends
	Relations between Parsis and Iranis good
	Relations between Parsis good
Zoroastrian Association	
Member Zoroastrian Association Attend Zoroastrian House for religious, social and community matters	
Ethnic Identity	
Self Description Zoroastrian	
	Self Description Citizen
Feel need to explain Zoroastrian	
Religious Practices	
Pray at home	

Continued_____

Table 1: Correlation **UK Zoroastrian Boundaries** with Variables
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Wear Sudre/ Kusti
Observe Zoroastrian
religious traditions
Observe Zoroastrian calendar
Prefer Zoroastrian funeral
practices

        Do not mind about funeral practices
        Prayers for the dead

Changes in Religious Beliefs and Practices

        Changed religious beliefs Changed
        religious practices

Secular Practices of Zoroastrianism

Wear traditional clothes
Eat traditional food

        Indo/ Pakistani arts worth saving

Future of Community

        In doubt due to declining numbers In doubt
        due to conversion to other religions

Other Aspects of Zoroastrian Symbolic Boundaries

Religious authority lies
with priests

        Religious authority lies with individual's
        conscience

        Hold individual opinion on conversion

        Want Priesthood open to all Zoroastrian
        males

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The most interesting of those independent variables which were not correlated with the scale will now be discussed. The aspects of Zoroastrianism that did not appear to be associated with the symbolic boundaries, including the most important variables are listed in Table 2.

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Table 2: NO Correlation **UK Zoroastrian Boundaries** with Variables

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Demographic:
Country of Origin
Place of Residence
Gender
Age
Marital Status
Children
Type of Family
Zoroastrian Class Membership Mother Country

Education/ Occupation:
Age at which Formal Education Ended Level of Education
Education Where
Type of Education
Occupation
Parent's Occupation,

Inter and Intra Group Relations:
Discrimination on the Grounds of Ethnic Origin

Zoroastrian Religious Education:
Receive Zoroastrian Instruction in School

Secular Practices of Zoroastrianism:
Preservation of Indo/Pakistani Dress Preservation of Indo/Pakistani Music Preservation of Indo/Pakistani Language Preservation of Indo/Pakistani Religions

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The sample of Zoroastrians that I was dealing with could not be differentiated by any of the above demographic, educational or occupational characteristics with regard to attitudes to the symbolic boundaries of the community. As I noted in the chapter seven, **Zoroastrianism as a Religion in Britain**, these were some of the characteristics that sub-divided the sample in terms of attitudes to religious practices and beliefs. In the same quantitative analyses **Education**, was a very

important aspect in explaining and predicting the attitudes of the 1976 UK Zoroastrian sample to the controversial aspects of Zoroastrianism. It began to appear not to be very important in explaining the attitudes of the 1986 UK Zoroastrian sample to the symbolic boundaries, apart from professional education outside the UK.

The pattern of attitudes towards the symbolic boundaries was beginning to emerge. It looked as though it concerned practices of the Zoroastrian religion, including attending Zoroastrian House for religious matters, ethnic identity, one aspect of education, certain community relations, specific Zoroastrian social practices, fear for the future of the community, changes in religious belief and practice, as well as attitudes to other aspects of the symbolic boundaries.

Rigorous Testing of the Patterns of the Relationships between Scale UK Zoroastrian Boundaries and the Data Set UK Community:

In order to further investigate these relationships, I conducted a more rigorous statistical testing schedule. The procedures are described in Appendix D sections f and g. The analyses were divided into two major sections, the **Primary Analysis** and the **Secondary Analysis**. The **Primary Analysis** looked at the initial investigations of the more rigorous analyses which produced some of the most important results. The **Secondary Analysis** is the further statistical analyses of the stronger relationships in the **Primary Analysis** and also the secondary analyses of the weaker relationships in the **Primary Analysis.** The results from the two sets of analyses will be called the **Primary Findings** and the **Secondary Findings.**

PRIMARY ANALYSIS

a. The groups of variables that gave the most explained variance in the scale **UK Zoroastrian Boundaries** are listed in Table 3 in the order of the amount of explained variance.

Table 3: Groups of Variables Giving the Most Explained
Variance in the Scale **UK Zoroastrian Boundaries**

Variables Entered into Equation	Pearson's Correlation	Independent Action of Variables	Percentage Explained Variance
	r	beta	R SQUARE x100

Religious Practices
Observe Zoroastrian

Calendar	.32	.19 **	10%
Preferred Funeral Practices #	.26	.20 **	14%
Wear Sudre/ Kusti	.30	.17 ***	17%
Observe Zoroastrian Religious Traditions	.19	.10 *	18%

--N = 467 p = .00001   R SQUARE x 100
= 18%

Ethnic Identity
Self Description

Zoroastrian #	.35	.33 ***	11%
Self Description Citizen	-.13	-.10 **	12%
Do You Have to Explain Yourself in UK	.07	.09 *	13%

N = 454 p = .00001   R SQUARE x 100 = 13%

Zoroastrian Association
Attend Zoroastrian
House Religious

Reasons #	.34	.34 ***	12%

N = 350 p = .0001   R SQUARE x 100 = 12%

Other Aspects of
Symbolic Boundaries
Individual Opinion

on Conversion #	.34	.34 *	11%

N = 50 p = .00001   R SQUARE x 100 = 11%

Continued				
Demographic				
Marriage Partner #		.32	.32 ***	10%

N = 344 p = .0001   R SQUARE x 100 = 10%

best predictor *** p= .001 ** p= .01 * p= .05

It can be seen that types of religious practices give the highest explained variance in the scale with eighteen percent, followed by ethnic identity, with thirteen percent. The Type of marriage partner, attending Zoroastrian House for religious reasons and individual opinions on conversion, account for ten percent, twelve percent and eleven percent respectively. The groups of variables that have an explained variance of more than ten percent are concerned with the religion or ethnic identity, with only one variable outside these two groups and that is marital partner Zoroastrian or non-Zoroastrian.

The patterns of the most important relationships between Zoroastrian attitudes to their community's symbolic boundaries and other characteristics of UK Zoroastrians were beginning to emerge. Thus, members of the 1986 UK sample who said that they took part in certain religious practices, or who identified themselves as Zoroastrian and not as a citizen and who had to explain Zoroastrianism in the UK or who were married to a Zoroastrian or who attended Zoroastrian House for religious reasons or who did not have an individual opinion on conversion probably wanted to maintain the status quo with regard to the symbolic boundaries. The members of the sample who said that they took part in the converse of these responses probably wanted to change the symbolic boundaries.

The independent action of the variables, or the best predictors of attitudes to the symbolic boundaries, within each group of variables, was investigated. It should be noted that these are the best predictors, from their groups of variables, of Zoroastrian attitudes to the symbolic boundaries, whether the respondent said that they did or did not or were unlikely to take part in the activities. See Appendix D section f for the detailed statistical analyses. The best predictors from each group of variables are shown in Table 3 by the symbol #. They can also be identified as the highest beta, which is the independent action of the variable with the dependent variable, in this case the scale **UK Zoroastrian Boundaries.** The statistical significance of the betas are also noted in Table 3 by asterisk *.

Thus, knowing how Zoroastrians from the 1986 UK sample respond to these questions, predictions could be made about their attitudes to the symbolic boundaries. If they wanted their body to be sent to a Tower of Silence in India, or described themselves as a Zoroastrian, or attended Zoroastrian House for religious reasons, or did not have an individual opinion on conversion, or were married to a Zoroastrian, then they probably did not want to change the symbolic boundaries of

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the community. Conversely, if they said that they did not mind how they were to be buried, or did not have an ethnic identity as Zoroastrian, or did not attend Zoroastrian House for religious reasons, or had an individual opinion on conversion, or were not married to a Zoroastrian, then they probably supported changes in the symbolic boundaries. A definite pattern was emerging with regard to the specific characteristics of the Zoroastrians who supported the symbolic boundaries and of the Zoroastrians who wanted to change them.

b. Turning to the groups of variables that had a weaker relationship with the scale in terms of explained variance, it appeared that the only group of variables to deal with the religion was changes in religious beliefs and practices. All the other groups of variables are concerned with either demographic, or educational, or social aspects of Zoroastrianism. The groups of variables are listed in Table 4.

Table 4: Groups of Variables Giving Weak Explained Variance in the Scale **UK Zoroastrian Boundaries**

Variables Entered into Equation	Percentage Explained Variance R SQUARE x 100
Future of Community **Future in Doubt Due to Declining Numbers. Future in Doubt Due to Conversion to Other Religions.**	8%
Education **Place of Professional Education**.	7%
Zoroastrian Secular Practices **Eat Traditional Food. Indo/ Pakistan Arts Worth Saving. Wear Traditional Clothes.**	5%
Changes in Religious Beliefs and Practices in UK **Religious Beliefs Changed in UK**.	4%
Community Relations **Relationships between Parsis in UK. Keep Contact with Zoroastrian Friends.**	3%

Looking at Table 4 it can be seen the groups of variables dealing with Education and Future of the Community had explained variances of seven percent and eight percent respectively. These were important relationships which came into play when the independent action of the variables, involved in the combination of the groups of variables with weak explained variance in the scale, was investigated in the **Secondary Analyses.** To sum up thus far, the investigation into Zoroastrian attitudes to the symbolic boundaries of Zoroastrianism in the UK, as measured by the scale **UK Zoroastrian Boundaries**, suggested that there was a strong connection between the actual practice of the religion and the symbolic boundaries, with especial reference to preferred funeral practices of the UK Zoroastrians. Also, ethnic identity had a connection with the symbolic boundaries as did attending Zoroastrian House for religious reasons, individual attitudes towards conversion and the type of marital partner. There was a weaker connection between demographic, educational and social characteristics of Zoroastrians and their attitudes to the symbolic boundaries. Definite patterns with regard to the relationships of specific characteristics of Zoroastrians and Zoroastrian attitudes to the symbolic boundaries, as well as the strong connection between religious practices and attitudes to the symbolic boundaries were delineated. These are the **Primary Findings** of the **Primary Analysis.**

SECONDARY ANALYSIS

c. In the secondary analyses I wanted to see if there was a pattern to the relationships between the combination of the groups of variables that had contributions to the most explained variance in the scale **UK Zoroastrian Boundaries** and as well, between those groups of variables that had contributions to the weak explained variance in the scale. Also I wanted to see if there was a relationship between those variables that were the best predictors, from the groups of variables that had contributions to the strong explained variance in the scale, of attitudes to the symbolic boundaries.

The results for the combinations of variables that originally gave a strong explained variance in the scale, are shown in Table 5, and they suggested that for questions regarding ethnic identity as expressed in terms of the respondent's self-description as a Zoroastrian, a self-description as a citizen and the need to give an explanation of Zoroastrianism, together with the religious practices of preferred burial practices, wearing the Sudre and Kusti, observing a Zoroastrian religious calendar and other Zoroastrian religious traditions, had the highest explained variance in the Zoroastrian attitudes to the symbolic boundaries, of twenty-four percent. Other combinations gave nearly as high an explained variance, including ethnic identity and the type of Zoroastrian partner, of twenty percent. Attending Zoroastrian House for religious reasons together with ethnic identity also gave an explained variance of twenty percent. Thus a strong connection between religious practices together with specific characteristics of Zoroastrians, and Zoroastrian attitudes to the symbolic boundaries was demonstrated.

Table 5: Combination of Groups of Variables that had a Strong Explained Variance in the Scale
UK Zoroastrian Boundaries

Variables Entered into Equation	Pearson's Correlation r	Independent Action of Variables beta	Percentage Explained Variance R SQUARE 100
Religious Practices + Ethnic Identity			
Self Description Zoroastrian #	.34	.18 **	11%
Observe Zoroastrian Calendar	.32	.16 **	16%
Preferred Funeral Practices	.26	.17 **	19%
Need to Give Explanation of Zoroastrian	.07	.11 **	20%
Wear Sudre/ Kusti	.30	.14 **	22%
Self Description Citizen	-.13	-.13 **	23%
Observe Religious Traditions	.19	.10 *	24%

N = 454 p = .00001   R SQUARE x 100 = 24%

Variables Entered into Equation	Pearson's Correlation r	Independent Action of Variables beta	Percentage Explained Variance R SQUARE 100
Religious Practices + Zoroastrian Association			
Attending Zoroastrian House for Religious Reasons #	.34	.23 ***	12%
Observe Zoroastrian Calendar	.32	.17 **	17%
Preferred Funeral Practices	.26	.18 **	21%
Wear Sudre/ Kusti	.30	.13 **	22%

N = 434 p = .00001   R SQUARE x 100 = 22%

Continued_____

Table 5: Combination of Groups of Variables that had a
Strong Explained Variance in the Scale
UK Zoroastrian Boundaries

Religious Practices + Demographic

Marriage Partner	.32	.21 **	10%
Preferred Funeral Practices #	.26	.21 **	16%
Wear Sudre/ Kusti	.30	.14 **	19%
Observe Zoroastrian Calendar	.32	.14 **	21%

N = 345 p = .00001   R SQUARE x 100 = 21%

Zoroastrian Association + Ethnic Identity

Attending Zoroastrian House for Religious Reasons #	.34	.29 ***	12%
Self Description Zoroastrian	.34	.26 ***	19%
Self Description Citizen	-.13	-.12 **	20%

N = 424 p = .00001   R SQUARE x 100 = 20%

Ethnic Identity + Demographic

Self Description Zoroastrian	.34	.26 ***	11%
Marriage Partner #	.32	.27 ***	19%
Self description Citizen	-.13	-.13 **	20%
Need to Give Explanation of Zoroastrian	.07	.11 *	20%

N = 431 p = .00001   R SQUARE x 100 = 20%

Table 5: Combination of Groups of Variables that had a
Strong Explained Variance in the Scale
UK Zoroastrian Boundaries

Zoroastrian Association + Demographic

Attending Zoroastrian House for Religious Reasons #	.34	.28 ***	12%
Marriage Partner	.32	.25 ***	18%

N = 324 p = .00001   R SQUARE x 100 = 18%

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 # best predictor *** p= .001 ** p= .01 * p= .05

The independent action of these variables within their combinations, are also shown in Table 5. See Appendix D section f(2). The results suggested that the best predictor of Zoroastrian attitudes to the symbolic boundaries is a self description as Zoroastrian followed by attending Zoroastrian House for religious reasons, the type of marital partner, and preferred funeral practices. These are the best predictors of Zoroastrian attitudes to their symbolic boundaries when they are working in combination with other groups of variables. Thus, for example, for this particular sample of UK Zoroastrians, if they said that they attended Zoroastrian House for religious reasons then they probably wanted to keep the symbolic boundaries as they existed, or if they said that they did not think of themselves as Zoroastrian then they probably wanted to change the symbolic boundaries of the community. This analysis reinforced the role of the major specific characteristics of UK Zoroastrians that emerged in the **Primary Analyses**, and their relationships with the attitudes to the symbolic boundaries.

d. In this section the groups of variables with the weak explained variance in the scale **UK Zoroastrian Boundaries** in the **Primary Analysis** will be examined.

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Table 6: Combination of the Groups of variables that Had a Weak Explained variance in the Scale **UK Zoroastrian Boundaries**

Pearson's Correlation Variables Entered into Equation	Independent Action of Variables	Percentage Explained Variance
r	beta	R SQUARE x 100

Table 6: Combination of the Groups of variables that Had a Weak Explained variance in the Scale **UK Zoroastrian Boundaries**

Pearson's Correlation Variables Entered into Equation	Independent Action of Variables	Percentage Explained Variance
	r	beta	R SQUARE x 100

Future of Community + Education + Secular Practices + Changes in Religious Beliefs

	r	beta	R SQUARE x 100
Fear for Future of Zoroastrian Community/ Declining Numbers #	-.27	-.24 ***	8%
Place of Professional Education	.26	.19 *	15%
Eating Traditional Food	.17	.15 *	17%
Changes in Religious Beliefs	-.21	-.14 *	17%

-N = 431 p = .00001   R SQUARE x 100 = 17%

Future of Community + Education

	r	beta	R SQUARE x 100
Fear For Future of Zoroastrian Community/ Declining Numbers #	-.27	-.24 ***	8%
Place of Professional Education	.26	.22 **	12%

N = 498 p = .00001   R SQUARE x 100 = 12%

Future of Community + Community Relations

	r	beta	R SQUARE x 100
Fear for Future of Zoroastrian Community/ Declining Numbers #	-.27	-.26 ***	8%
Relations Between Parsis	.17	.16 **	10%
Keep Contact Zoroastrian Friends	.17	.12 **	12%

-N = 498 p = .00001   R SQUARE x 100 = 12%

Table 6: Combination of the Groups of variables that Had a Weak Explained variance in the Scale **UK Zoroastrian Boundaries**

	Pearson's Correlation Variables Entered into Equation	Independent Action of Variables	Percentage Explained Variance
	r	beta	R SQUARE x 100

Future of Community + Secular Practices

	r	beta	R SQUARE x 100
Fear for Future of Zoroastrian Community/ Declining Numbers #	-.27	-.28 ***	8%
Eat Traditional Food	.15	.17 ***	11%
Indo/ Pakistan Arts Worth Saving	-.14	-.12 **	12%

N = 430 p = .00001   R SQUARE x 100 = 12%

_____

Future of Community + Changes in Religious Beliefs **Fear for Future of Zoroastrian Community/**

	r	beta	R SQUARE x 100
Declining Numbers #	-.27	-.25 ***	8%
Changes in Religious Beliefs	-.21	-.18 **	11%

N = 498 p = .00001   R SQUARE x 100 = 11%

_____

best predictor *** p= .001 ** p= .01 * p= .05

Looking at Table 6 it can be seen that those Zoroastrians who said that the future of the Zoroastrian community is in doubt due to the declining numbers, together with either those respondents who said that they wanted to preserve traditional art and said that they did not eat traditional food, or those who said that they did not maintain contact with other Zoroastrians and who perceived that relations between Parsis were poor, or had professional education in the UK, or had changed their religious beliefs, supported change in the symbolic boundaries. The different combination of variables gave different percentages of explanation of the attitudes to changing the symbolic boundaries, ranging from eleven percent to seventeen percent.

The independent action of the variables within these combinations of groups of variables suggested that the best predictor of attitudes to the symbolic boundaries is the attitudes of respondents to fear for the future of the community due to declining numbers. See Appendix D section f(2).

This particular sequence of variables focused directly on predicting attitudes to changing the symbolic boundaries. Thus, those respondents who feared for the future of the community due to declining numbers wanted to change the symbolic boundaries, whereas as those respondents who did not fear for the future of the community due to declining numbers did not want to change the symbolic boundaries. This analysis revealed new characteristics of UK Zoroastrians with regard to attitudes to the symbolic boundaries, the most important of which was related to fear for the future of the community due to declining numbers.
Thus far, the statistical analyses had revealed not only the strong connection between Zoroastrian attitudes to religious practices and their attitudes to the symbolic boundaries, but also the relationships between major and minor specific characteristics of UK Zoroastrians and attitudes to the symbolic boundaries.

I wanted to see if there was a statistical relationship between the best predictors from each group of variables and the scale, **UK Zoroastrian Boundaries**, that had a strong explained variance in the secondary analyses. The best predictors were **Attend Zoroastrian House for Religious Reasons**, **Self Description Zoroastrian**, **Marriage Partner**, **Preferred Funeral Practices**, **Fear for Future of the Community**. See Tables 5 and 6. Was there a statistical relationship between the major specific characteristics of UK Zoroastrians and attitudes to the symbolic boundaries?

Table 7: The Best Predictors from ALL Groups of Variables of the Scale **UK Zoroastrians Boundaries**

	Pearson's Correlation	Independent Action of Variables	Percentage Explained Variance
	r	beta	R SQUARE x 100
Variables entered into Equation			
Attending Zoroastrian House for Religious Reasons	.34	.20 **	12%
Self Description Zoroastrian	.34	.19 **	19%
Fear for Future of the Zoroastrian Community/			

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Declining Numbers #   -.27   -.20 ***   23%

continued_____

Table 7: The Best Predictors from ALL Groups of Variables of the Scale
UK Zoroastrians Boundaries

	Pearson's Correlation	Independent Action of Variables	Percentage Explained Variance
	r	beta	R SQUARE x 100
Marriage Partner	.32	.20 **	26%
Preferred Funeral Practices	.26	.18 **	29%

N = 324 p = .00001   R SQUARE x 100 = 29%

_____

 # best predictor *** p= .001 ** p= .01 * p= .05

It was found that the combination of these five variables explained twenty nine percent of the variance in the scale. When working in combination with each other the best predictors of attitudes to the symbolic boundaries were attending Zoroastrian House for religious reasons and ethnic identity. When the independent action of the variables was investigated, it can be seen from Table 7, that although there was little to choose between the five variables in terms of their betas, **Fear for the Future of the Community Due to Declining Numbers** has the highest statistical significance, p = .001. See Appendix D section f(3).

To sum up the **Secondary Analysis** the evidence reinforced the strong connection between Zoroastrian religious practices and Zoroastrian attitudes to the symbolic boundaries, as well as pointing to the importance of the relationships between attitudes to the symbolic boundaries and other characteristics of UK Zoroastrians.

Of these the most important concerned attendance at Zoroastrian House for religious reasons, ethnic identity, fear for the future of the community, the type of marriage partner and preferred funeral practices.

Summary of the Statistical Analyses of the Data Set UK Community

A scale was built to measure Zoroastrian attitudes to the community's symbolic boundaries. It was narrow in its scope but it focused directly upon eligibility for membership and how much access outsiders should have to the religion and the religious buildings. The **Primary Analysis** demonstrated the central importance of Zoroastrian attitudes to certain religious practices in explaining the most variance

in attitudes to the symbolic boundaries. Of this group, religious practices, the best predictor of attitudes to the symbolic boundaries was the type of funeral practices the respondent prefers. There were other specific Zoroastrian characteristics that contributed to the explained variance in the attitudes to the symbolic boundaries and they were ethnic identity, marital partner, attending Zoroastrian House for religious reasons and individual Zoroastrian opinions on the question of conversion.

The **Secondary Analysis** reinforced the central importance of the relationship between religious practices and attitudes to the symbolic boundaries, as well as the importance of the major specific characteristics of UK Zoroastrians that related to attitudes to the symbolic boundaries including fear for the future of the community. In combination, these major specific characteristics gave the highest statistical explained variance for the measured attitudes to the symbolic boundaries. Minor specific characteristics of UK Zoroastrians that had relationships with Zoroastrian attitudes to the symbolic boundaries were delineated.

Characteristics of the Sample of UK Zoroastrians

A composite "picture" of UK Zoroastrians who support or who want to change the symbolic boundaries, can be obtained from looking at Zoroastrian attitudes to religious practices as well as the major and minor specific characteristics of UK Zoroastrians as revealed in the statistical analyses.

It would appear that the characteristics of the UK Zoroastrians in this sample, who supported the status quo with regard to symbolic boundaries, tended to be traditional in their outlook. They said they took part in specific religious practices, that their religious beliefs had not changed since coming to the UK, that they attended Zoroastrian House for religious purposes, and married within the community. Their stated preferences for the type of burial practices they observed would probably give a good indication of how strongly they supported the symbolic boundaries as they stood. They tended to describe themselves in religious terms as Zoroastrians, and not as citizen, and they felt the need to explain their ethnic identity as Zoroastrian to outsiders. They did not see danger to the Zoroastrian community due to declining numbers and they did not have individual opinions on the question of conversion. They also maintained contact with other Zoroastrians, whom they perceived to have good relationships, especially between the Parsis. They said that they ate traditional food but that Indian and Pakistani traditional arts were not worth saving. If they had received any professional training, it was outside the UK.

On the other hand, the characteristics of those Zoroastrians in the UK sample who wanted to change the symbolic boundaries were less traditional. They said that they did not take part in certain religious activities that their religious beliefs had changed since coming to the UK that they did not attend Zoroastrian House for religious reasons and married outside the community. They did not mind the sort of burial practices they observed, and this was an indication of how strongly they

supported changes to the symbolic boundaries. Ethnic identity was not given as Zoroastrian and they tended to report a social identity as citizen. They reported strains between members of the community and that they did not keep contact with other Zoroastrians. However, their biggest concern was with fear for the future of the community due to declining numbers, which they perceived to be associated with not changing the symbolic boundaries and changing the "rules" for membership of the community, and they tended to have strong individual opinions about the issue of conversion.

These are the characteristics for the sample as a whole and not every UK Zoroastrian who either supports the symbolic boundaries or who wants to change them will exhibit all these characteristics. Individual Zoroastrians will only tend to exhibit some of the characteristics associated with support for, or changes to the symbolic boundaries.

Support for Propositions of Symbolic Boundary Theory

The results and conclusions contained in this chapter support some of the propositions of symbolic boundary theory stated at the beginning of the chapter, numbers one and two to be precise. These were concerned with an analysis of ethnicity starting with a definition of the situation held by the actors themselves. One of the important findings of the **Primary Analysis** was that ethnic identity as measured by a self description by the Zoroastrians was a good predictor of their attitudes to the symbolic boundaries. The focus of attention is the maintenance of the ethnic boundaries and the social interaction which takes place across them. In a sense, the focal point of the work is concerned with this proposition of who is eligible to be a Zoroastrian and who is not eligible. As far as the third proposition is concerned there was no evidence that perceived discrimination or issues relating to relationships with "outsiders" had a statistical significance with this sample of British Zoroastrians as measured by this particular data set. However, there is evidence that fear for the future of the community due to declining numbers, a decline which was perceived to be tied up with the present "rules" governing the boundaries, together with attitudes towards internal relationships, focuses the attention of some of the Zoroastrians on to the need to change the symbolic boundaries. There was no evidence of support for the last two propositions, concerned with the un-fixed nature of ethnicity and the ecological issues which influence ethnicity, from these analyses.

In the next chapter, **Zoroastrian Symbolic Boundaries: A Comparative Statistical Analysis**, I will look at different Zoroastrian groups of the Diaspora and see if ethnicity is situationally defined for Zoroastrians with regard to attitudes to their symbolic boundaries, and whether the different economic niches of the various groups affect these attitudes.

Conclusion

In this chapter, a practical application of Symbolic Boundary theory was

demonstrated. I developed a statistical tool for measuring the Zoroastrian attitudes to their community's symbolic boundaries. A detailed account of statistical analyses of a data set, concerned with the attitudes of UK Zoroastrians to different aspects of Zoroastrianism, was given. It was a secondary data analysis, because the data was not collected and collated for an explanatory study of the symbolic boundaries of Zoroastrians in Britain. However, the data lent itself to statistical procedures that enabled me to study UK Zoroastrian attitudes towards the symbolic boundaries of their community.

The results of the study were very interesting and demonstrated that certain characteristics of this sample of British Zoroastrians were not only good at statistically explaining attitudes to the symbolic boundaries, but also were good predictors of the respondents attitudes towards these boundaries. They demonstrated the central importance of certain religious practices in statistically explaining and predicting attitudes to the symbolic boundaries. The best predictor of attitudes to the symbolic boundaries was the respondent's preference for type of burial practices. The results also indicated that there were other major, as well as minor, specific characteristics of the UK sample of Zoroastrians that had to be taken into consideration. Of these the most important was respondents' perception of fear for the future of the community due to declining numbers.

A composite "picture" of UK Zoroastrians who supported the status quo with regard to the symbolic boundaries and those who wanted to change them was built up from the major and minor specific characteristics that were delineated in the statistical analyses.

This set of statistical analyses was derived from a "snowball" sample of UK Zoroastrians, and the results cannot be projected to the total population of UK Zoroastrians but they can give an idea, or a set of "pointers", towards how the total Zoroastrian population might regard the symbolic boundaries. In the next chapter, **Zoroastrian Symbolic Boundaries: A Statistical Analysis**, I want to use the same sort of statistical tool to measure and analyse the attitudes of members of Zoroastrian communities of the Diaspora to the symbolic boundaries and see if they are similar, and in what way, to what has just been demonstrated and delineated with regard to the UK Zoroastrians and their attitudes to the symbolic boundaries of the community.

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9. ZOROASTRIAN SYMBOLIC BOUNDARIES:
A COMPARATIVE STATISTICAL ANALYSIS

Zoroastrian Communities of the Diaspora

In chapter nine I am going to look at a comparative statistical analysis of the Zoroastrian Diaspora communities through out the world. The data will be drawn from the same data set as the material used in chapter 8, where a detailed account of the statistical analysis of the UK Zoroastrians was discussed. The material from chapter nine will be used to throw more light on the main problem of the work; Zoroastrian symbolic boundaries in the UK. The material about Zoroastrian communities from around the world is very interesting in its own right, but here it is only going to be used to illuminate one particular community in one particular place and time.

I have divided the data up into "old" communities and "new" communities. The former comprise respondents from Hong Kong, Pakistan and Kenya and the latter respondents from the USA, Canada, Australia and New Zealand. This is a very crude division because of the differences within the communities encompassed in the two groups. However, for the purposes of this analysis it will suffice.

Table 1: TIME CHART REPRESENTING THE ESTABLISHMENT OF THE COMMUNITIES OF THE ZOROASTRIAN DIASPORA

Pre-1800		1860	1890		1970	1980
Pakistan	Hong Kong	UK	Kenya		USA Canada	ANZ

If I were to place the Zoroastrian groups of the Diaspora on a continuum, see Table 1, in terms of time since the establishment of that particular community, the UK community would be nearer to the "old" communities than the "new" communities. The UK community probably was started earlier than the Kenyan community. Also, the Kenyan community has a similar economic niche to the UK community and the "new" communities with Zoroastrians being employees rather than employers. The "old" and "new" communities cover such a wide geographical area

that there may be greater differences between the groups that comprise the "old" and "new" communities than between these and the UK community. The statistical analysis of both the "old" communities and the "new" communities was conducted in exactly the same way as the statistics on the UK community were conducted and analyzed in the last chapter. A comparison will then be made between the results for the three groups of communities; the UK, the "old" communities and the "new" communities.

The "old" Zoroastrian communities have been established for several generations, although they still include first generation immigrants from other Zoroastrian communities. On the other hand the "new" communities comprise first generation immigrants and have only been able to grow as communities as immigration restrictions on people from the sub-continent of India were relaxed in the receiving societies since the late 1960s. As communities they are younger than the British Zoroastrian community. The Zoroastrian community is now becoming so mobile, geographically, that **The World Zoroastrian Survey 1986** had to take into account the fact that it might pick up a few respondents as they moved from one community to another. There was only one case of a person, who had moved from Canada to Australia as the survey was being conducted, completing two forms.

Statistical Analyses of Data Sets Referencing Other Communities of the Diaspora

I will not give such a detailed statistical analysis in the main text as I did for the UK Zoroastrian sample the analysis will be delineated in Appendix E. The statistical analyses were conducted in the exactly same manner and using the same types of statistical tools as for the UK Zoroastrian sample. The results of the statistical analyses and the implications of the results will be commented on. The first group in the discussions will be the Zoroastrians from the "old" communities followed by the Zoroastrians from the "new" communities and then, in the last section of the chapter, the implications of these results regarding the UK Zoroastrians attitudes towards their symbolic boundaries will be discussed.

Frequency Distribution of Zoroastrian Respondents from The Communities of the Diaspora

The frequency distributions of the three samples of Zoroastrians are given below in Table 2.

	"OLD"	UK	"NEW"
Table 2: Frequency Distribution "Old", UK, "New" Zoroastrians			
GENDER			
Male	55%	52%	53%
Female	45%	48%	47%
PLACE OF BIRTH			
Country of Residence	41%	7%	2%
Outside	49%	93%	96%
No Comment	10%	0%	2%
PROVENANCE			
Hong Kong	29%	--	--
Pakistan	57%	--	--
Kenya	14%	--	--
London	--	52%	--
Other	--	48%	--
USA	--	--	52%
Canada	--	--	18%
Australia	--	--	18%
New Zealand	--	--	<1%
AGE			
Under 29 years	19%	21%	19%
30-59 years	51%	58%	73%
Over 59 years	30%	21%	8%
FIRST LANGUAGE			
English	10%	15%	13%
Other languages	90%	85%	87%
MARITAL STATUS			
Single	23%	28%	20%
Ever been married	77%	72%	80%
OF THOSE ZOROASTRIANS EVER BEEN MARRIED			
Out marriage	3%	27%	11%

SIZE OF FAMILY

1 Child	17%	35%	19%
2 Children	19%	51%	32%
3 or more children	28%	14%	11%

Continued_____

Table 2: Frequency Distribution "Old", UK, "New" Zoroastrians

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	"OLD"	UK	"NEW"
TYPE OF FAMILY (not necessarily under one roof)			
No family	9%	13%	14%
Nuclear family	18%	12%	30%
Extended family	71%	75%	55%
EDUCATION LEVEL			
Up to College and			
Vocational training	37%	32%	19%
College or University	49%	45%	46%
Post-graduate	14%	23%	34%
EDUCATION WHERE			
Country of Residence	48%	13%	5%
Both C of R & Abroad	19%	43%	44%
Totally abroad	33%	44%	50%
OCCUPATION-TOTAL SAMPLE			
Housewifes, Students,			
Retired	30%	26%	21%
Blue collar	6%	6%	5%
White collar	46%	40%	37%
Professional	18%	35%	30%
OCCUPATION-PAID WORK			
Blue collar	8%	7%	11%
White collar	66%	58%	51%
Professional	26%	35%	42%
FRIENDS-ZOROASTRIANS			
Regular meetings	95%	65%	73%
Infrequent meetings, Never	2%	35%	24%
FRIENDS-NON ZOROASTRIANS			
Regular meetings	89%	59%	59%
Infrequent meetings, Never	2%	41%	28%
DISCRIMINATION ON GROUNDS OF ETHNIC ORIGIN			
Perceived discrimination	18%	37%	36%

	No perceived discrimination	71%	59%	60%

No perceived
discrimination   71%   59%   60%

Continued_____

Table 2: Frequency Distribution "Old", UK, "New" Zoroastrians

	"OLD"	UK	"NEW"
RELATIONS IN ZOROASTRIAN COMMUNITY			
Excellent or Good	56%	36%	24%
Reasonable or Poor	23%	43%	60%
ETHNIC IDENTITY			
Self description as Zoroastrian	72%	59%	66%
Self description not as Zoroastrian	23%	21%	29%
MOTHER COUNTRY			
Place of Residence	100%	12%	<1%
Other	0%	84%	96%

The "old" communities' respondents were from Hong Kong = 61, Pakistan = 114, Kenya = 30. These are well established communities and the small number of respondents from Hong Kong and Kenya reflects just how tiny the communities are in these countries. However, the figures from Pakistan did not reflect the size of the community which is thought to have about 6,000 members. The respondents were Parsi in origin. Eighty three respondents, (41%), were born in the country of their present residence, thus this is a data set that contains a considerable number of respondents who were not first generation immigrants. Only thirty-seven percent of the respondents admitted that they were first generation immigrants, and fifty-nine percent did not reply to the question "What Year did You Enter Your Present Country of Residence"?

The "new" communities' respondents were from the USA= 591, Canada= 332, Australia= 200, and New Zealand= 13. The majority of respondents were Parsi in origin. However, eleven percent had migrated from Iran, compared with three percent in the UK sample. This reflects the migration patterns of Iranians, rather than problems with the sample in the UK as there are strong ties between Iranian Zoroastrians and the USA, and the most of these respondents were from the West coast of the USA. Only seventeen respondents, two percent, were born in the country of their present residence, thus this is a data set of first generation immigrants. Seventy-one percent of the respondents had entered their present country since 1970, so these are very new communities.

Looking for Patterns in the Relationships between the Scale Measuring the Symbolic Boundaries and the Data Sets "Old" Communities and "New" Communities

Scales were constructed so that a high score meant support for keeping the symbolic boundaries, whereas a low score meant support for changing the symbolic boundaries. The scales, **Zoroastrians "Old" Symbolic Boundaries** and **Zoroastrians "New" Symbolic Boundaries**, were correlated with groups of independent variables from the data sets. The analyses are delineated in Appendix E section e and l. I will discuss the results that show differences from the correlation results of the UK sample.

For the "old" sample Zoroastrian religious education and Zoroastrian class were correlated with the symbolic boundaries scale. Several independent variables were not correlated with the scale, **Zoroastrians "Old" Symbolic Boundaries**, but were correlated with the scale, **UK Zoroastrian Boundaries** for the UK sample. These are listed in Table 3.

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Table 3: NO Correlation **Zoroastrians "Old" Symbolic Boundaries** with Variables
----

Demographic:
Mother Tongue
Marriage Partner
Read non-Zoroastrian Literature

Education/ Occupation:
Professional Training

Community Relations:
Keep Contact with Zoroastrian Friends Relations Between Parsis & Iranis Relations Between Parsis

Zoroastrian Association
Member of Zoroastrian Association Member of non-Zoroastrian Association Attend Zoroastrian Association Headquarters for Religious/ Social/ Community Matters/ Other

Ethnic Identity
Self Description Zoroastrian Self Description Citizen Need to Explain Zoroastrian

Secular Practices of Zoroastrianism:
Eat Traditional Food

Continued_____

Table 3: NO Correlation **Zoroastrians "Old" Symbolic Boundaries** with Variables

----

Future of the Community:
Fear for Future Due to Declining Numbers Fear for Future Due to Conversion

Changes in Religious Beliefs and Practices:
Religious Beliefs Changed in Country of Present Residence Religious Practices Changed in Country of Present Residence

Other Aspects of Zoroastrian Symbolic Boundaries:
 Hold Individual Opinion on Conversion

_____

As far as the "new" sample was concerned the results showed more statistically significant relationships, with the symbolic boundaries scale, and was nearer to the UK sample than the "old" sample in this regard. There were significant correlations between the scale, **Zoroastrians "New" Symbolic Boundaries**, and the level of education, occupation, parents in the country of residence of the respondent and the respondent's children living away from home. Several independent variables were not correlated with the scale, **Zoroastrians "New" Symbolic Boundaries**, but were correlated with the scale, **UK Zoroastrian Boundaries**, for the UK sample. These are listed in Table 4.

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Table 4: NO Correlation **"New" Zoroastrian Symbolic Boundaries** with Variables

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Demographic:
Language Read In
Language Write In

Education/ Occupation:
Professional Education Abroad/ UK Read Zoroastrian Literature Read non-Zoroastrian Literature

Community Relations:
Relations Between Parsis and Iranis Relations Between Parsis

Ethnic Identity:
Self Description Citizen
Need to Explain Zoroastrian

Zoroastrian Association:
Member Zoroastrian Association Member non-Zoroastrian Association

_____

                 Table 4: NO Correlation **"New" Zoroastrian Symbolic Boundaries** with Variables
                 ----

Attend Association Headquarters for Religious/ Social/ Community Matters/ Other

Future of the Community:
Fear for Future of Community Due to Conversion to Other Religions

Other Aspects of Zoroastrian Symbolic Boundaries:
 Hold Individual Opinion on Conversion

      _____

The patterns of the attitudes of the samples of "old" and "new" Zoroastrians to the symbolic boundaries of their communities were beginning to emerge. For the "old' sample, in spite of some differences, mainly in demographic and socio-economic areas, the pattern was similar to the UK pattern with regard to religious practices. The pattern of the attitudes of the sample "new" Zoroastrians to the symbolic boundaries of the community was similar to the UK pattern, including religious practices.

Rigorous Testing of Patterns in Relationships Between Scales
Zoroastrian "Old" Symbolic Boundaries, Zoroastrian
    "New" Symbolic boundaries **and the Data Sets "Old"
Communities and "New" Communities**

In order to further investigate these relationships I conducted a more rigorous statistical testing schedule. The procedures are described in Appendix E section f and m. The results are divided up into two major sections the **Primary Findings** and **the Secondary Findings**. The **Primary Findings** are the most important results and were the focus of the initial investigations of the more rigorous analyses. The **Secondary Findings** are the results of the secondary statistical analyses of the stronger relationships as well as the weaker relationships in the **Primary Analysis.**

PRIMARY ANALYSIS

    a. The groups of variables that gave the most explained variance in the scale, **Zoroastrian "Old" Symbolic Boundaries** are listed in Table 5.

Table 5: Groups of Variables Giving the Most Explained Variance in the Scale
Zoroastrian "Old" Symbolic Boundaries

	Pearson's Correlation Variables Entered	Independent Action of Variables	Percentage Explained Variance into Equation X 100
	r	beta	R SQUARE

Religious Practices			
Observe Zoroastrian Calendar	.36	.21 **	13%
Preferred Funeral Practices #	.35	.25 ***	20%
Wear Sudre/ Kusti	.34	.16 *	22%

N = 189 p = .00001   R SQUARE x 100 = 22%

Other Aspects of Symbolic Boundaries			
Behdin Boys Undertaking Navar #	-.26	-.24 **	8%
Religious Authority #	.26	.24 **	13%

N = 169 p = .00001   R SQUARE x 100 = 13%

Language, Education and Reading			
Language Write In #	.29	.25 **	9%
Zoroastrian Instruction in School	.23	.17 *	11%

N = 188 p = .00001   R SQUARE x 100 = 11%

best predictor *** p= .001 ** p= .01 * p= .05

It can be seen that types of religious practices give the highest explained variance in

the scale, with twenty-two percent. The groups of variables that have an explained variance of more than ten percent are concerned with the religion, or with aspects of the religion and the language the respondent writes in.

The independent action of the variables, or the best predictor, of attitudes to the symbolic boundaries from each group of variables are listed in Table 5. See Appendix E section g(1) for detailed statistical analyses. It should be noted that these are the best predictors, from their group of variables, of Zoroastrian attitudes to the symbolic boundaries, whether the respondent said that they did or did not or were unlikely to take part in the activities. The results are listed in order of priority from the groups of variables that had the most explained variance. Thus it can be seen that the best predictor from the religious practices group of variables, is the type of funeral practices the respondents say they prefer. Therefore, the results suggest that Zoroastrians who say they prefer to observe certain funeral practices support maintaining the symbolic boundaries as they now exist, whereas those Zoroastrians who say that they do mind which type of burial practice they observe, are more likely to support changing the symbolic boundaries. Also, Zoroastrians who say they support Behdin boys undertaking the rites to become priests, and who say that religious authority is to be found in the individual's own conscience, want to change the symbolic boundaries, and vice versa for those Zoroastrians who have the opposite responses to these questions.

The variables that gave the most explained variance in the scale, **Zoroastrians "New" Symbolic Boundaries**, are listed in Table 6.

Table 6: Groups of Variables Giving the
Most Explained Variance in the Scale
Zoroastrian "New" Symbolic Boundaries

	Pearson's Correlation	Independent Action of Variables	Percentage Explained Variance
Entered into Equation	r	beta	R SQUARE x 100
Religious Practices			
Preferred Funeral Practices #	.33	.27 ***	11%
Wear Sudre/ Kusti	.32	.22 ***	18%
Prayers for Dead	.20	.08 **	19%
Observe Zoroastrian Calendar	.21	.08 **	19%

N = 1009 p = .00001   R SQUARE x 100 = 19%

best predictor *** p= .001 ** p= .01

It can be seen that there was only one group of variables that were statistically significant at this level. They were the related to religious practices of

Zoroastrianism and had an explained variance in the scale, **Zoroastrians "New" Symbolic Boundaries**, of nineteen percent**.**

The independent action of these variables found that the best predictor of attitudes to the symbolic boundaries was the type of funeral practices that the respondent preferred. See Appendix E section m(1) for detailed statistical analyses. Thus knowing if "new" Zoroastrians wanted their body to sent to a Tower of Silence then it would be known that they probably did not want to change the symbolic boundaries of the community. On the other hand knowing if "new" Zoroastrians did not mind how they were buried then it would be known that they probably supported changing the symbolic boundaries of the community.

The pattern of the relationships between certain religious practices and attitudes to the symbolic boundaries are the same for the three samples of Zoroastrians, "old", UK and "new" communities. However, at this point in the analyses there were far fewer significant relationships between attitudes to the symbolic boundaries and specific characteristics of the sample "new" Zoroastrians than there was for the samples UK Zoroastrians and "old" Zoroastrians.

b. Turning to the groups of variables that had a weaker relationship with the symbolic boundaries scales. It can be seen, from Table 7, that there were only three of the variables with any explained variance in the scale, **Zoroastrian "Old" Symbolic Boundaries.**

Table 7: Groups of Variables Giving Weak Explained Variance in the Scale **Zoroastrian "Old" Symbolic Boundaries**

Variables Entered into Equation	Percentage Explained Variance R SQUARE x 100

Demographic	
Year of Entry into Country of Present Residence	
Community Relationships	9%
Perceived Discrimination Due to Colour	5%
Secular Practices of Zoroastrianism	
Wear Traditional Clothes	4%

They were the year of entry of the respondent into the country of residence, perceived discrimination due to colour and the wearing of traditional clothes. There

were problems with the statistical analyses, see Appendix E section g. The connections between these variables and the symbolic boundaries should be remembered as a point of reference, for any further research into these particular communities. The fact that there is a low statistical connection may reflect problems with this particular sample of Zoroastrians. Different samples may produce a much more solid connection. It should be remembered that the sample "old" Zoroastrians is an aggregate group of Zoroastrians from three different communities of the Diaspora. They have been put together in one group because they "represent" communities of the Diaspora that have been established for several generations. See Table 1, **Time Chart Representing the Establishment of the Communities of the Zoroastrian Diaspora.**

Now to turn to the groups of variables that had a weaker relationship with the scale, **Zoroastrians "New" Symbolic Boundaries**. The relationships are shown in Table 8. _

Table 8: Groups of Variables Giving Weak Explained Variance in the Scale
Zoroastrian "New" Symbolic Boundaries

Variables Entered into Equation	Percentage Explained Variance
	R SQUARE x 100

Other Aspects of Symbolic Boundaries **Behdin Boys Undertaking Navar. Religious Authority.**	7%
Demographic **Marriage Partner.** **Parents in Country of Residence.** **Children Living Away from Home.**	7%

Variables Entered into Equation	Percentage Explained Variance R SQUARE x 100
Ethnic Identity **Self Description/ Zoroastrian**.	6%
Community Relationships **Relations Between Zoroastrians and Hindus in Country of Origin.** **Keep Contact with non-Zoroastrian Friends.** **Keep Contact with Zoroastrian Friends.** **Discrimination Due to Other Factors.** **Discrimination Due to Colour. Discrimination Due to Politics.**	5%

Table 8: Groups of Variables Giving Weak Explained Variance in the Scale
Zoroastrian "New" Symbolic Boundaries

Variables Entered into Equation	Percentage Explained Variance R SQUARE x 100

Future of Community
Fear for Future of Zoroastrian Community/ Declining Numbers. Fear for
Future of Zoroastrian Community/ Persecution.   4%

Secular Practices of Zoroastrianism
Indo/ Pakistani Arts worth Saving.
Wear traditional cloths.
Indo/Pakistani Religions worth saving.   **4%**

Changes in Religious Beliefs and
Practices in Country of Residence
Changes in Religious Practices.   3%

Language, Education and Occupation
Place of Post-Graduate Education.   3%

_____

The groups of variables concerned with Demographic characteristics of Zoroastrians, Ethnic Identity and Other Aspects of the Symbolic Boundaries had an explained variance of seven and six percent. These were important relationships which came into play when the independent action of the variables involved in the combination of the groups of variables with weak explained variance in the scale was investigated in the **Secondary Analyses.**

To sum up thus far, the strong connection between the actual practice of the religion and the symbolic boundaries, with especial reference to the preferred funeral practices of both the "old" and "new" samples of Zoroastrians was demonstrated. Specific characteristics of both these samples of Zoroastrians were shown to have a relationship with attitudes to the symbolic boundaries. Some of the relationships were strong some were weak. These are the **Primary Findings** of the **Primary Analysis** for the samples "old" and "new" Zoroastrians.

SECONDARY ANALYSIS

c. In the **Secondary Analyses** I wanted to see if there was a pattern of relationships between the combination of variables that had the most explained variance in the scale, **Zoroastrian "Old" Symbolic Boundaries**. The potential relationships between those groups of variables that had contributions to the weak explained variance in the scale could not be thoroughly examined because of the problems with the statistical analyses. See Appendix E section g.

The results for the combination of the groups of variables that had a strong explained variance in the scale, **Zoroastrian "Old" Symbolic Boundaries**, are shown in Table 9.

Table 9: Combination of Groups of Variables that had a Strong Explained Variance in the Scale **Zoroastrian "Old" Symbolic Boundaries**

	Independent Correlation Variables Entered into Equation	Percentage Action of Variables	Explained Variance	Pearson's
		r	beta	R SQUARE x 100
Religious Practices + Other Aspects of Symbolic Boundaries				
Observe Zoroastrian Calendar		.36	.24 ***	13%
Behdin Boys Undertaking Navar #		-.26	-.29 **	22%
Preferred Funeral Practices		.35	.22 **	28%
Wear Sudre/ Kusti		.34	.18 *	30%
N = 205 p = .00001	R SQUARE x 100 = 30%			
Religious Practices + Language, Education & Reading				
Observe Zoroastrian Calendar		.35	.16 *	13%
Preferred Funeral Practices #		.35	.23 **	20%
Language Write In		.29	.15 *	22%
Wear Sudre/ Kusti		.34	.16 *	24%
N = 205 p = .00001	R SQUARE x 100 = 24%			

Language, Education &

Reading
Language Write In .29 .21 ** 9%
Religious Authority .26 .21 ** 15%
Behdin Boys Undertaking
Navar # -.26 -.24 ** 19%

Continued_____

Table 9: Combination of Groups of Variables that had a Strong Explained
Variance in the Scale **Zoroastrian "Old" Symbolic Boundaries**

	--Pearson's		
Independent	Percentage		
Correlation	Action of	Explained	
Variables	Variables	Variance	
Entered	--into		
Equation	r	beta	R SQUARE x 100

Zoroastrian
Instruction in School .23 .17 ** 22%
_____
N = 205 p = .00001   R SQUARE x 100 = 22%

_____

best predictor *** p= .001 ** p= .01 * p= .05

They suggested that each of the three sections had different combinations of
religious practices and other religious and non-religious variables. Each group of
variables has an explained variance of over twenty percent. The best predictor, or
independent action, within each group of variables, of attitudes to the symbolic
boundaries is shown in Table 9. See Appendix E section f(2). It can be seen that
attitudes to Behdin boys being permitted to begin the first step to priesthood and the
type of funeral practices observed were the best predictors of attitudes to the
symbolic boundaries. However, again there were problems with these results. An
explanation is given in Appendix E section g. The results can only be used as an
indication of where further research might lie for this sample of Zoroastrians. I
think that they point the way to the type of community specific characteristics of
this sample of Zoroastrians that might have a connection with their attitudes to the
symbolic boundaries.

For the "new" sample of Zoroastrians I wanted to see if there was a pattern to the
relationships between a combination of the groups of variables that had weak
contributions to the most explained variance in the scale, **Zoroastrians "New"**
Symbolic Boundaries, and, also, between those variables that were the best
predictors, from the groups of variables that had contributions to the strong
explained variance in the scale, of attitudes to the symbolic boundaries.

Looking at Table 10 which lists the groups of variables with the weak explained
variance in the scale, **Zoroastrians "New" Symbolic Boundaries**, in the **Primary**

Analysis it can be seen that there were some very interesting results.

Table 10: Combination of the Groups of Variables that had a Weak Explained Variance in the Scale **Zoroastrian "New" Symbolic Boundaries**

```
                                    ----------------------------------------------------------Pearson's
                                    Independent    Percentage
                                    Correlation  Action of    Explained
                                    Variables    ariables     Variance
                                    Entered
                                     ---------------------------------------
                                    into Equation       r        beta    R SQUARE x 100
                                    ----------------------------------------------------------
```

Ethnic Identity + Other Aspects of Symbolic Boundaries

	r	beta	R SQUARE x 100
Self Description			
Zoroastrian #	.24	.24 ***	6%
Behdin Boys			
Undertaking Navar	-.22	-.23 ***	11%
Religious Authority	.15	.12 **	13%

```
-------------------------------------------------------
```
N = 1136 p = .00001   R SQUARE x 100 = 13%
```
----------------------------------------------------------
```

Other Aspects of Symbolic Boundaries + Demographic

	r	beta	R SQUARE x 100
Behdin Boys			
Undertaking Navar #	-.22	-.21 ***	5%
Marriage Partner	.22	.19 ***	9%
Religious Authority	.15	.12 **	11%
Parents in Country of Residence	-.10	-.11 **	12%
Children Living Away from Home	-.10	-.10 **	12%

N = 1136 p = .00001   R SQUARE x 100 = 12%
```
-------------------------------------------------------------------------------
```

Ethnic Identity + Demographic

	r	beta	R SQUARE x 100
Self Description			
Zoroastrian #	.24	.21 ***	6%
Marriage Partner	.22	.18 ***	9%
Children Living Away from Home	-.10	-.11 **	10%

**Parents in Country
of Residence**   -.10   -.09 *   11%

N = 1136 p = .00001   R SQUARE x 100 = 11%

Continued_____

Table 10: Combination of the Groups of Variables that had a Weak Explained
Variance in the Scale **Zoroastrian "New" Symbolic Boundaries**

	Pearson's Correlation	Independent Action of Variables	Percentage Explained Variance
Variables Entered into Equation	r	beta	R SQUARE x 100

Other Aspects of Symbolic Boundaries + Education

**Behdin Boys
Undertaking Navar #**   -.22   -.24 ***   5%
**Place of Post-Graduate
Education**   .19   .21 **   9%
Religious Authority   .15   .14 **   11%

N = 1136 p = .00001   R SQUARE x 100 = 11%

Other Aspects of Symbolic Boundaries + Community Relations

**Behdin Boys
Undertaking Navar #**   -.22   -.24 ***   5%
**Relations Between
Zoroastrians and
Hindus in Country
of Origin**   .13   .14 **   7%
Religious Authority   .15   .14 **   9%
Discrimination Dueto Politics .07   .10 **   10%
**Discrimination Due
to Colour**   .07   -.09 **   11%
**Keep Contact with
non-Zoroastrian
Friends**   -.09   -.07 **   11%

N = 1136 p = .00001   R SQUARE x 100 = 11%

Continued_____

Table 10: Combination of the Groups of Variables that had a Weak Explained
Variance in the Scale **Zoroastrian "New" Symbolic Boundaries**

Variables Entered into Equation	-Pearson's Correlation	Independent Action of Variables	Percentage Explained Variance
	r	beta	R SQUARE x 100

Other Aspects of Symbolic Boundaries + Secular Practices of Zoroastrianism

Behdin Boys

Undertaking Navar #	-.22	-.22 ***	5%
Indo/ Pakistan Arts			
Worth Saving	-.15	-.15 **	7%
Religious Authority	.15	.12 **	9%
Wear Traditional Dress	.11	.09 **	10%
Indo/ Pakistan Religions			
Worth Saving	.08	.08 *	11%

N = 1136 p = .00001   R SQUARE x 100 = 11%

Demographic + Community Relations

Marriage Partner #	.22	.21 ***	5%
Fear for Future of Zoroastrian Community/ Declining Numbers	-.20	-.18 ***	8%
Children Living Away from Home	-.10	-.12 **	9%
Parents in Country of Residence.	-.10	-.09 **	10%

N = 1136 p = .00001   R SQUARE x 100 = 10%

Other Aspects of Symbolic Boundaries + Future of Community

Behdin Boys

Undertaking Navar #	-.22	-.21 ***	5%

Fear for Future of
Zoroastrian Community/
Declining Numbers   -.20   -.18 ***   8%
 Religious Authority   .15   .13 **   10%

-N = 1136 p = .00001   R SQUARE x 100 = 10%

Continued_____

Table 10: Combination of the Groups of Variables that
had a Weak Explained Variance in the Scale
Zoroastrian "New" Symbolic Boundaries

---Pearson's

Independent Correlation Variables Entered into Equation	Percentage Action of ariables r	Explained Variance beta	R SQUARE x 100

Demographic + Community Relations

	r	beta	R SQUARE x 100
Marriage Partner #	.22	.21 ***	5%
Relations Between Zoroastrians and Hindus in Country of Origin	.13	.09 **	6%
Children Living Away from Home	-.10	-.11 *	7%
Parents in Country of Residence	-.10	-.08 *	8%
Discrimination Due to Colour	-.07	-.09 *	9%
Discrimination Due to Politics	.08	.08 *	9%
Keep Contact with Non -Zoroastrian Friends	-.09	-.07 *	10%

N = 1136 p = .00001   R SQUARE x 100 = 10%

Ethnic Identity + Future of Community

Self Description Zoroastrian #	.24	.24 ***	6%
Fear for Future of Zoroastrian Community/ Declining Numbers	-.20	-.20 ***	10%

```
----------------------------------------------------------
```
-N = 1136 p = .00001   R SQUARE x 100 = 10%

_____

\# best predictor *** p= .001 ** p= .01 * p= .05

There were ten groups of variables that had explained variances of ten percent or over. They were different combinations of various secular aspects of Zoroastrianism together with two variables that dealt with other aspects of the symbolic boundaries, those of religious authority and Behdin boys being permitted to take the first steps towards priesthood.

The best predictors from these groups of variables with regard to attitudes to the symbolic boundaries are given in Table 10. See Appendix E section m(2). It can be seen that the best predictors within their own groups of variables, and the ones that occur in more than one group, would appear to be self description as Zoroastrian; Behdin boys being allowed to take the first steps towards the priesthood; and the type of marriage partner. As well, fear for the future of the community due to declining numbers appeared to have a strong relationship with the scale. These are the major specific characteristics of Zoroastrians from the "new" sample.

The statistical analyses in section c demonstrated the role of the major and minor specific characteristics of the "new" sample of Zoroastrians with regard to attitudes to the symbolic boundaries by this group of Zoroastrians. They also indicated the areas where further research could be conducted to look for the major and minor specific characteristics of the "old" Zoroastrians with regard to their attitudes to the symbolic boundaries.

d. I wanted to see if there was a statistical relationship between the best predictors from each group of variables and the scale, **Zoroastrians "New" Symbolic Boundaries**, which had a strong explained variance in the secondary analyses. They were **Self Description Zoroastrian, Behdin Boys Undertaking Navar, Marriage Partner.** See Table 10. Was there a statistical relationship between the dominant specific characteristics of the "new" Zoroastrians and their attitudes to the symbolic boundaries?

It was found that the combination of these variables explained fourteen percent of the variance in the scale. See Appendix E section m(3) Tables 7 and 8. When working in combination with each other the best predictor of attitudes to the symbolic boundaries was ethnic identity, and it was still the best predictor when the independent action of the variables was investigated. See Table 11.

Table 11: The Best Predictors from the all the Groups of Variables with Strong Explained Variance in the Scale **Zoroastrians "New" Symbolic Boundaries,** in the Secondary Analyses.

	Pearson's Correlation Variables Entered into Equation	Independent Action of Variables	Percentage Explained Variance	
		r	beta	R SQUARE x 100
Self Description Zoroastrian #		.24	.22 ***	6%
Behdin Boys Undertaking Navar #		-.22	-.22 ***	11%
Marriage Partner		.22	.17 ***	14%

N = 1136 p = .00001   R SQUARE x 100 = 14%

\# best predictor *** p= .001

Since the combination of the three variables only produced an explained variance of fourteen percent I also wanted, for this sample of Zoroastrians, to look at the combination of all the major specific characteristics of the "new" Zoroastrians in a statistical explanation of attitudes to the symbolic boundaries. Further statistical analyses were executed on the variables **Self Description Zoroastrian, Behdin Boys Undertaking Navar, Marriage Partner**, **Preferred Funeral Practices** and **Fear for the Future of the Community Due to Declining Numbers.** For an explanation of the choice of the latter two variables see Appendix E section m(3).

It was found that the combination of these five variables explained twenty five percent of the variance in the scale, **Zoroastrians "New" Symbolic Boundaries.** See Table 12 and Appendix E section m(3) Tables 9 and 10. When working in combination with each other the best predictors is preferred funeral practices and when the independent action of the variables are considered the best predictor is, again, preferred funeral practices.

Table 12: The Best Predictors from ALL Groups of Variables of the Scale
Zoroastrians "New" Symbolic Boundaries

| | Pearson's Correlation Variables Entered into Equation | Independent Action of Variables | Percentage Explained Variance |
		r	beta	R SQUARE x 100
Preferred Funeral Practices #	.33	.28 ***	11%
Self Description Zoroastrian	.24	.19 ***	16%
Behdin Boys Undertaking Navar	-.22	-.19 ***	20%
Fear for Future of Zoroastrian Community/ Declining Numbers	-.20	-.16 ***	23%
Marriage Partner	.22	.14 **	25%

N = 1136 p = .00001   R SQUARE x 100 = 25%

 # best predictor *** p= .001 ** p= .01

The specific characteristics that were associated with the sample of "new" Zoroastrians and attitudes to the symbolic boundaries were concerned with stated preferred funeral practices, ethnic identity as Zoroastrian, not wanting Behdin boys to undertake Navar, not having fear for the future of the community due to declining numbers and being married to a Zoroastrian being indicative of support for the maintaining the symbolic boundaries as they stood. On the other hand the characteristics of this sample of Zoroastrians who wanted to change the symbolic boundaries were concerned with not having a preference with regard to funeral practices, not having an ethnic identity as Zoroastrian, wanting Behdin boys to undertake Navar, having a fear for the future of the community due to declining numbers, and being married to a non-Zoroastrian.

To sum up the **Secondary Analyses** the evidence points to the importance of the relationships between attitudes to the symbolic boundaries and other specific characteristics of the "old" and "new" Zoroastrians. Of these the most important are the respondents' answers to questions regarding their preferred funeral practices, Behdin boys undertaking Navar, and as well for the "new" sample, ethnic identity, the fear for the future of the community due to declining numbers and the type of marriage partner.

Summary of the Statistical Analyses of the Data Sets "Old" and "New" Communities

Statistical tools to measure the symbolic boundaries of the "old" communities and "new" communities were developed. They were built in exactly the same way as the statistical tool that measured the symbolic boundaries of the UK community. The central finding of the statistical analyses, of the data sets "old" and "new" communities, demonstrated the importance of certain religious practices and their relationship with Zoroastrian attitudes to the symbolic boundaries. Of these religious practices, the preferred funeral practices were the best predictor of attitudes to the symbolic boundaries.

There were indications that there were other characteristics of the sample "old" Zoroastrians that had relationships with attitudes to the symbolic boundaries. However, there were problems with statistical analyses and these were probably related to the size of sample and the fact that it was drawn from three communities that were located in very different cultural environments. The tentative research findings should be borne in mind when any further research is contemplated with regard to the Zoroastrian communities in Pakistan, Hong Kong and Kenya. Obviously there are relationships between characteristics specific to these communities and their symbolic boundaries which need further investigation. The analyses indicated that there were major and minor characteristics of the sample "new" Zoroastrians that had relationships with attitudes to the symbolic boundaries that had to be taken into consideration. Of these the most important were attitudes towards ethnic identity as a Zoroastrian, Behdin boys being allowed to under take the process of initiation into the priesthood, the type of marriage partner, fear for the future of the community due to declining numbers and preferred funeral practices.

Characteristics of the Samples of "old" and "new" Zoroastrians

Again composite "pictures" of Zoroastrians from the "old" and "new" samples who support or who want to change the symbolic boundaries, can be drawn.

It would appear that the Zoroastrians from the "old" communities of the Diaspora, who support the status quo with regard to the symbolic boundaries, tended to be traditional in their outlook. They took part in specific religious practices and their stated preferences for burial practices would give a good idea of where they stood

with regard to their attitudes to the symbolic boundaries. There were indications that the traditional Zoroastrians from this sample said that religious authority lies with the priesthood and that Behdin boys should not be allowed to undertake the first step to the priesthood. Also, they tended not to write in English, as well having received instruction in Zoroastrianism at school.

The Zoroastrians who wanted to change the symbolic boundaries tend to be far less traditional in their outlook and respond with the converse of the opinions expressed by the traditional Zoroastrians. The prime concern of these less traditional Zoroastrians is that Behdin boys should be permitted to take the first step to the priesthood.

In addition there were other characteristics of this group of "old" Zoroastrians that might be of relevance, and they were concerned with the country of origin, discrimination due to colour and the wearing of traditional clothes.

It would appear that the characteristics of the "new" Zoroastrians, in this sample, who supported the status quo with regard to symbolic boundaries tended to be traditional in their outlook. They say they took part in specific religious practices and that they had very definite preferred funeral practices which meant that they wanted to be buried with due regard to the religious traditions of Zoroastrianism. For them religious authority was lodged with the priests and not in the individual's conscience. They tended to describe themselves in ethnic terms as Zoroastrians, wore traditional clothes and did not see the need to allow Behdin boys to train for the priesthood in spite of problems with the declining numbers of priests, and they did not see danger to the community due to declining numbers. They maintained contact with other Zoroastrians and they also perceived that there were good relationships between Parsis and Hindus in their country of origin. They tended to report discrimination due to politics but not due to colour. They married within the community and had children living at home but their parents did not live in the country where they now reside, and they tended not to keep contact with non-Zoroastrian friends. They supported maintaining Indo/ Pakistani religions but not arts. Those who had received post-graduate training had done so abroad.

Those "new" Zoroastrians who wanted to change the symbolic boundaries seemed to be less traditional. They said that they did not take part in certain religious activities and did not state a preferred type of burial practice generally they said that they did not mind about burial practices. They did not give their ethnic identity as Zoroastrian, did not wear traditional clothes and reported poor relationships between Parsis and Hindus in their country of origin. They also reported discrimination on the grounds of colour but not on the grounds of politics. They kept contact with non-Zoroastrians and married outside the community. They might have had their parents in the country where they reside and their children might have left home. However, they were concerned with fear for the future of the community due to declining numbers which they perceive to be associated with not changing the symbolic boundaries, and also, the need to increase the numbers of boys who are eligible to enter the priesthood. They thought that Indo/ Pakistani arts

were worth saving but not Indo/ Pakistani religions. They tended to have received post-graduate education in the country in which they now reside.

These are the characteristics for the sample as a whole and not every ""old" or new" Zoroastrian who either supports the symbolic boundaries or who wants to change them will exhibit all these characteristics. Individual Zoroastrians will only tend to exhibit some of the characteristics associated with support for, or changes to the symbolic boundaries.

The description of the characteristics of the samples of "old" and "new" Zoroastrians completes the sections of statistical analyses of the communities of the Zoroastrian Diaspora. They were the UK community, the "old" communities which dealt with Hong Kong, Pakistan and Kenya, and the "new" communities which dealt with the USA, Canada, Australia and New Zealand.

The remainder of the chapter will deal with a comparison of the results of the statistical analyses, and the conclusions drawn from these results. The comparison will focus on the UK sample of Zoroastrians.

Comparison of the Statistical Analyses of the Three Samples of Zoroastrians: UK Community, "Old" Communities, "New" Communities

In each of the data analyses for the three Zoroastrian samples there were two groups of results, those that were designated **Primary Findings** and those that were designated **Secondary Findings**. In Table 13 I have compared the **Primary** and **Secondary Findings** from the three samples. They are listed in the order that they occur in the time chart in Table 1, "Old" Communities, UK Community, "New" Communities. It can be seen that the UK sample is similar to both the "old" sample and the "new" sample, with certain specific religious practices as the central result in the **Primary Findings**. These are **Universal Characteristics** because they are consistent throughout the three statistical analyses and they are the results that appear first in all the analyses. They were the most salient of the relationships, for all three samples, between the symbolic boundaries and other community characteristics.

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Table 13: Comparison of the Statistical Results from the Three Samples, Zoroastrians "Old", UK and "New" Communities

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	PRIMARY FINDINGS	SECONDARY FINDINGS
UNIVERSAL	CHARACTERISTICS	
Type of	+	
Zoroastrian	COMMUNITY SPECIFIC	COMMUNITY SPECIFIC
Community	CHARACTERISTICS	CHARACTERISTICS

| "OLD" COMMUNITIES | **Religious Practices** + Indication where further research might be focused on Community specific Characteristics. | Indications where further research might be focused on Community Specific characteristics |

Table 13: Comparison of the Statistical Results from the Three Samples, Zoroastrians "Old", UK and "New" Communities

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	PRIMARY FINDINGS	**SECONDARY FINDINGS**
UNIVERSAL	CHARACTERISTICS	
Type of Zoroastrian Community	+ COMMUNITY SPECIFIC CHARACTERISTICS	COMMUNITY SPECIFIC CHARACTERISTICS
UK COMMUNITY	**Religious Practices** + **Community specific Characteristics**	**Community Specific Characteristics**
"NEW" COMMUNITIES	**Religious Practices**	**Community Specific Characteristics**

The Universal Characteristics of the Three Samples of Zoroastrians:

In table 14 I have compared the Universal Characteristics from the three samples of Zoroastrians.

Table 14: Comparison of Explained Variance in the Three Zoroastrian Symbolic Boundary Scales:
UNIVERSAL CHARACTERISTICS

Variables Entered into Equation	Pearson's Correlation	Independent Action of Variables	Percentage Explained Variance
	r	beta	R SQUARE x 100

"OLD" COMMUNITIES
Observe Zoroastrian

		Pearson's Correlation	Independent Action of Variables	Percentage Explained Variance
Calendar		.36	.21 **	21%
Preferred Funeral				
Practices #		.35	.25 ***	20%
Wear Sudre/ Kusti		.34	.16 ***	22%

N = 169 p = .00001   R SQUARE x 100 = 22%

Continued _____

Table 14: Comparison of Explained Variance in the Three Zoroastrian Symbolic Boundary Scales:
UNIVERSAL CHARACTERISTICS

Variables Entered into Equation	Pearson's Correlation	Independent Action of Variables	Percentage Explained Variance
	r	beta	R SQUARE x 100

UK COMMUNITY
Observe Zoroastrian

	Pearson's Correlation r	beta	R SQUARE x 100
Calendar	.32	.19 **	10%
Preferred Funeral			
Practices #	.26	.20 **	14%
Wear Sudre/ Kusti	.30	.17 ***	17%
Observe Zoroastrian			
Religious Traditions	.19	.10 *	18%

N = 467 p = .00001   R SQUARE x 100 = 18%

"NEW" COMMUNITIES
Preferred Funeral

	r	beta	R SQUARE x 100
Practices #	.33	.27 ***	11%
Wear Sudre/ Kusti	.32	.22 ***	18%
Prayers for Dead	.20	.08 **	19%
Observe Zoroastrian			
Calendar	.21	.08 **	19%

N = 1009 p = .00001   R SQUARE x 100 = 19%

_____

best predictor *** p= .001 ** p= .01 * p= .05

 When the results of the statistical tests on the three samples are compared it can be seen that there was a strong relationship between certain religious practices of Zoroastrianism and attitudes towards the symbolic boundaries for all three samples. In each sample, those respondents who said that they took part in these particular

religious practices supported keeping the symbolic boundaries as they existed. The respondents who said that they did not practice, or were less likely to take part in these particular religious practices of Zoroastrianism were more likely to have supported changes in the symbolic boundaries of Zoroastrianism.

Although the levels of explanation of variance in attitudes to the symbolic boundaries only range from eighteen to twenty-two percent, there is a consistency between the three groups of Zoroastrians in the levels of statistical explanation. Similarly, the best predictors of attitudes to the symbolic boundaries are in the same range. There were no wild fluctuations and there was consistency through the three groups of Zoroastrians for these results too. The best predictors of attitudes to the symbolic boundaries, for each sample, is given in Table 14. It is very clear that for each sample of Zoroastrians, the type of funeral practices the respondent prefers is the best predictor of their attitudes to the symbolic boundaries.

The Universal Characteristics are Exciting Results

The scale measuring the attitudes to the symbolic boundaries looked at the demarcation between insiders and outsiders. It ran from no one being eligible to be a Zoroastrian unless both parents were initiated Zoroastrians, exclusion, to actively seeking converts, inclusion. Thus, it covered the wide spectrum of opinions within the Zoroastrian community with regard to eligibility for membership of the community. The majority of the Zoroastrian attitudes to the question of the nature of the symbolic boundaries fell between the two extremes, exclusion and inclusion.

These are very exciting results because they are consistent across the three samples of Zoroastrians. At the beginning of my research into Zoroastrian symbolic boundaries I had a good idea that religious beliefs, practices and values would be associated with them. However, I did not know which of the three most important religious practices, funeral practices, wearing the Sudre/ Kusti and observing a Zoroastrian calendar, would be closely identified with the boundaries, or indeed that any one of them would be the "key" to assessing attitudes to the symbolic boundaries.

It must be remembered that the samples "old" and "new" are aggregates of groups of Zoroastrians from communities of the Diaspora. The aggregates were put together on the basis of the time chart, Table 1, with the respondents from the long established communities being allocated to the "old" communities and respondents from the recently established communities being placed in the "new" sample. Even though these are not random samples, the **Universal Characteristics** of the relationship between specific religious practices and attitudes to the symbolic boundaries would clearly hold across all the communities of the Diaspora. If I were to draw different samples from these groups of Zoroastrians, or other communities of the Diaspora, I would find the same relationship between these religious practices and attitudes to the symbolic boundaries. This is the central conclusion of the statistical analyses with regard to these three groups of Zoroastrians.

Apart from the **Universal Characteristics** each sample had characteristics that were specific to that sample of Zoroastrians. There were the major community specific characteristics that had significant relationships with attitudes to the symbolic boundaries, and there were minor community specific characteristics that had limited relationships with the statistical measure of attitudes to the symbolic boundaries.

The Community Specific Characteristics of the Three Samples of Zoroastrians

Table 15: The Major Community Specific Characteristics of the Three Samples "Old", UK, "New" Zoroastrian Communities

"OLD" COMMUNITIES	UK COMMUNITY	"NEW" COMMUNITIES
Behdin boys Undertaking Navar		Behdin boys Undertaking Navar
Preferred Funeral practices	Preferred Funeral practices	Preferred Funeral practices
Language write in	Self description Zoroastrian	Self description Zoroastrian
(indications only for "OLD" sample)	Marriage Partner	Marriage Partner
	Fear for Future of Zoroastrian Community/ Declining numbers	Fear for Future of Zoroastrian Community/ Declining numbers
	Attending Zoroastrian House for religious reasons	

In Table 15 a list of the major community specific characteristics of each sample is given, and it can be seen that although the three samples differ from each other, they do have one major characteristic in common and that is preferred funeral practices. For the "old" communities and the UK community, there is no other common major characteristic, but the "old" communities and the "new" communities have one characteristic in common, which is the question of Behdin boys undertaking Navar. Also, the "new" communities and the UK community have major characteristics in common. It would appear that as far as major

community specific characteristics are concerned, the UK is nearer to the "new" communities than it is to the "old" communities. The "new" communities have major community specific characteristics in common with both the UK community and "old" communities.

Turning to Table 16, I have listed minor community specific characteristics of each of the samples of Zoroastrians.

Table 16: The Minor Community Specific Characteristics of the Three Samples "Old", UK, "New" Zoroastrian Communities

SIMILARITIES

"OLD" COMMUNITIES	UK COMMUNITY	"NEW" COMMUNITIES
Discrimination Due to **Colour.**		**Discrimination to Due to Colour.**
Wear Traditional Clothes		**Wear** Traditional **Clothes**
	Place of Professional Education.	**Place of Post-Graduate Education.**
	Indo/ Pakistani Arts Worth Saving.	**Indo/ Pakistani Arts Worth Saving.**

Table 16: The Minor Community Specific Characteristics of the Three Samples "Old", UK, "New" Zoroastrian Communities

DIFFERENCES

"OLD" COMMUNITIES	UK COMMUNITY	"NEW" COMMUNITIES
Year of Entry into Country of Present Residence.		
	Individual Opinion on Conversion.	

Religious Authority.

Self Description Citizen

Table 16: The Minor Community Specific Characteristics of the Three Samples "Old", UK, "New" Zoroastrian Communities

DIFFERENCES

"OLD" COMMUNITIES	UK COMMUNITY	"NEW" COMMUNITIES
	Need to Give an Explanation of Zoroastrian.	
	Relations Between Parsis.	
		Relations between Zoroastrians and Hindus in Country of Origin.
	Eating Traditional Food.	
		Children Living away from Home.
	Changes in Religious Beliefs and Practices	
		Discrimination Due to Politics.
	Keep Contact Zoroastrian Friends.	
		Parents Living in Country of Residence.

There are no similarities between the "old" communities and the UK community, and only two with the "new" communities. The only similarities between the UK community and the "new" communities are in the place of professional or post-graduate education and the question of Indo/ Pakistani arts being worth saving. The UK community differs from the "new" communities and the "old" communities with regard to minor community specific characteristics and they only have a few related minor characteristics in common with each other. As the analyses move further and further away from the core findings, the Zoroastrian communities begin to differ from one another in the relationships between the attitudes to the symbolic boundaries and other community characteristics. With the minor community specific characteristics, there are more differences between the three samples than there are similarities. The characteristics are listed for the three samples in the order of their importance, with the most important coming first. It was through these minor community specific characteristics that I was able to describe the broad characteristics of each of the groups of Zoroastrians, UK Zoroastrians, "old" Zoroastrians and "new" Zoroastrians. These descriptions can be found at the end of the statistical analyses for each group of Zoroastrians. They helped to make the transition from numbers to the actual people themselves.

Summary of the Comparison of the Statistical Analyses of the Three Data Sets UK Community "Old" and "New"Communities

The comparison of the statistical analyses of the three samples of Zoroastrians demonstrated the central importance of certain religious practices and attitudes to the symbolic boundaries. This finding held for all three samples in the results of the statistical analyses. The UK community was similar to the other communities of the Diaspora with regard the factors that have been shown to be of paramount importance in the analyses of Zoroastrian attitudes to their communities' symbolic boundaries. These were called the **Universal Characteristics** of Zoroastrian attitudes to their symbolic boundaries. As far as the other characteristics which were called the **Community Specific Characteristics** of Zoroastrian attitudes to their symbolic boundaries, are concerned, the UK community seemed to be nearer the communities of North America and Australasia than to the communities in Hong Kong, Pakistan and Kenya. However, the communities of North America and Australasia and the communities of Hong Kong, Pakistan and Kenya had one major specific characteristic in common, and that was with reference to Behdin boys taking the first steps to the priesthood. This is an important finding because permitting these boys to go forward to the priesthood would be a significant break

with tradition. The religious division into two classes Athornan and Behdin, is the major internal symbolic boundary in the Zoroastrian community; it is an inherited status with only Athornan males being allowed to become priests.

The Implications from the Comparison of the Three Communities for Analyses of the UK Zoroastrian Community

The conclusions from the above analyses suggest that at the core of UK Zoroastrian attitudes to the symbolic boundaries are their attitudes to specific religious practices. Any further research into the symbolic boundaries of Zoroastrianism in the UK should begin at this point and move out to the major community specific characteristics and then the minor characteristics. The minor community specific characteristics may indicate elements of the symbolic boundaries which were not measured by the statistical tool developed in this work. These elements may cover the social aspects of the symbolic boundaries of Zoroastrianism which were only touched upon by the statistical tool, the scale **UK Zoroastrian Boundaries**, or they may be a separate issue altogether. In chapter ten, **Symbolic Boundaries and British Zoroastrians**, the results of statistical analyses are given which indicate that the social aspects of Zoroastrianism need to be investigated.

Support for the Theoretical Propositions of Symbolic Boundary Theory

As a social scientist it was exciting to watch the quantitative results unfolding and to think about the implications for Symbolic Boundary theory. It is exciting, from a theoretical point of view, because I have demonstrated that symbolic boundaries can cross North/ South, East/West, national, state and regional boundaries, as well as the more individual boundaries of gender, age, occupation, education: These are the most salient boundaries of the modern world. Also the foremost characteristics that predict Zoroastrian attitudes to their symbolic boundaries are the same throughout the Diaspora whether supporting the status quo or change in the boundaries. They hold across the world Zoroastrian Diaspora in the Asia Pacific Region, North America, Africa and Europe, in first generation immigrant groups as well as those groups that have been established for several generations.

The comparison of the three samples of Zoroastrians lends support for the theoretical propositions with regard to ethnicity and symbolic boundaries, and especially for the last three propositions, (1). These were stated at the beginning of chapter eight, **Zoroastrian Symbolic Boundaries: A Statistical Analysis**, and they relate to ethnicity being ascribed both by the members of community and by outsiders, ethnicity not being fixed, but situationally defined, and the environment that the community lives in affecting the defining of ethnic identity. The major and minor specific characteristics of the three groups of Zoroastrians were related to aspects of these propositions, and they will be discussed in the final chapter, **The Implications of the Work.**

Conclusion

In this chapter I described a comparative statistical analysis dealing with the Zoroastrian Diaspora communities throughout the world. I was able to build scales that were basically the same as the scale that measured the symbolic boundaries of the UK sample, which measured the attitudes to the symbolic boundaries for each of the two samples of Zoroastrians, "old" and "new". The detailed analyses of each scale and its appropriate set of variables, led to similar results in terms of the relationships between the practice of certain aspects of the religion and the symbolic boundaries. There were also community specific results for the "old" and "new" samples. The results for these two samples were then compared with those for the UK sample.

The central core concept of the relationship between the symbolic boundaries and specific religious practices for all the communities of the Diaspora was demonstrated. Different communities of the Diaspora also have community specific characteristics that have relationships with attitudes to the symbolic boundaries. The comparison with the UK community demonstrated that it is nearer to the communities of North America and Australasia than to Hong Kong, Pakistan and Kenya as far as the community specific characteristics were concerned, but it was close to all the communities of the Diaspora with regard to the central relationship between specific religious practices and attitudes to the symbolic boundaries.

I also commented upon the exciting implications for symbolic boundary theory, as well as the support for the propositions of symbolic boundary theory, given by the statistical analyses and the conclusions drawn from the research.

In chapter ten I will look at all the research material in this work with regard to the UK Zoroastrian community, and with especial reference to chapters eight and nine, in order to discuss the implications of an analysis based on the parameters of symbolic boundary theory for the understanding of Zoroastrians as a religious group in the UK.

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10. SYMBOLIC BOUNDARIES AND BRITISH ZOROASTRIANS

Comparing Different Approaches to Studying Zoroastrians in Britain

At the beginning of the work I discussed the reasons for my continuing interest in Zoroastrians in Britain. Initially I was intrigued because of family connections with the community, and then stimulated by the questions that arose as the result of my first academic piece of research into the community. I found that Zoroastrians did not want to be designated as "Indians" by the indigenous population in the UK, but wanted to be recognized as Zoroastrians, as they were in the sub-continent of Indian, the Asia Pacific region and Africa. Perceived discrimination was openly discussed by the Zoroastrians that I interviewed, although the reasons given for the discrimination differed for each individual Zoroastrian. I came to the general conclusion that Zoroastrianism in Britain was a phenomenon closely tied up with race and ethnicity even though I did not have quantitative evidence to support the qualitative evidence.

The more specific conclusions from this piece of research were that Zoroastrianism in the UK, was a phenomenon of first generation immigrants and their young children. However, I found that for this particular sample of Zoroastrians, in 1976 in the UK, certain characteristics relating to their demographic profile, which predicted liberal attitudes towards the practice of their religion did not do so for the "controversial" aspects of Zoroastrianism. What was it about the so called "controversial" aspects of Zoroastrianism that produced these apparent anomalies? If the Zoroastrians were being assimilated into British cultures, why would they evince these attitudes of resistance to change to their religious community when they were "liberal" in other aspects of their attitudes to Zoroastrianism. The questions that arose from my academic work were based, in part, on research work that developed from interviews with several Zoroastrian families.

Family Interviews

I undertook a series of interviews with members of Zoroastrian families living in

the UK with the objective of looking at how individual Zoroastrians affiliated to their religious community; was it along religious lines, social lines, or a combination of both these attitudes? What was their socio-economic position in Britain and what effect, if any, did this position have on these attitudes of ties of affiliation to their religious community?

The families that I interviewed "represented" different types of affiliation to the Zoroastrian community whether they retained both religious and social values, or one set or the other, or part of the values, or none at all. They included a very devout Zoroastrian family who were very involved with the community at a religious level and at a social level. Here the husband was especially bitter about his experiences of racism in the UK although other members of the family did not speak about it. Another family where the parents were the same age as the previous family but where the husband had married out of the community seemed to use Zoroastrianism for its social values and not for its religious values at all. They kept close contact with their Zoroastrian relations and there was tremendous rivalry between the different families to see who was the most successful in terms of financial success. There was another family where the parents were extremely devout Zoroastrians but they restricted their Zoroastrianism to their home and had little contact with the centre in London. Their daughter was angry about racism in Britain and was trying to stay within the community although she had married a non-Zoroastrian. In another Zoroastrian family, the husband had left the community and had little time for its members. He was also marginal to mainstream society had become involved in writing about ethical issues that took their ideas from both India and Europe: A quintessential Stonequist "marginal" man. His family had no contact or knowledge of the community or the fact that the man had suffered from racism in the UK.

These families encompassed different aspects of the socio-economic system, in the UK from the skilled working class, through white collar to professional occupations. They included people who were educated in the UK, educated abroad, or in several different places, and who had worked abroad as well as in the UK. It was a cosmopolitan group of people.

It appeared to me from the discussions that although all the interviewees mentioned problems with settling in the UK, especially with racism, that this had not affected their attitudes to Zoroastrianism. It was just one aspect of their complex life in the UK. In the event, I found it difficult to get the Zoroastrians to talk about being Zoroastrians they wanted to talk about the problems they had encountered as immigrants to the UK: Their experiences of prejudice and discrimination and the effects of the socio-economic system on their lives. I wonder, with the wisdom of hind-sight gained from my research, if these Zoroastrians considered that I was infringing upon the symbolic boundaries of their community, because I was a non-Zoroastrian asking questions about something that they considered to be part of their "private" group experiences and not to be discussed in "public". I tried to let my interviewees talk about whatever they felt comfortable discussing with me at the time. These interviews definitely coloured my perceptions of the Zoroastrian

community in the UK and told me that their main pre-occupations were with the racist and class aspects of British society. Although there were comments about the dissensions and splits within the community in the UK, I was not permitted to ask too many questions about the internal problems of the community. The few British Iranis that I met made it quite clear that they were not Parsis and never wanted to be mistaken for one. At the time I thought that this might relate to problems in wider British society but, again, with the illumination of hind-sight from my research I think these comments were a reflection on the internal relations of the community and I was being told about them in a very direct way.

When I got near the subject of religion and Zoroastrianism the interviewees behaved as if the subject was "taboo". Even with the man who had "left" the community and had little good to say about Zoroastrians would not discuss the religion with me. He considered that this was a private matter and only concerned him, not even his family was privy to his thoughts about his religion which he continued to practice though he never attended the fire temple in London nor kept in contact with Zoroastrians in the UK. I alienated one very religious man when I asked him about Zoroastrianism, women and the purity laws. He said that girls were educated as well as boys and had been for nearly two hundred years and that women, understood their place in Zoroastrianism. I asked about women ever becoming priests in Zoroastrianism. To all intents and purposes, this was the end of the interview because I had totally alienated my interviewee with a very clumsily addressed question. He wanted nothing to do with a non-Zoroastrian, Western "liberated" woman asking questions that touched the heart of Zoroastrianism. In an earlier chapter, I mention the problems that I encountered when I went to talk about my work to a priest in Bombay. The interaction between the interviewer and interviewee is one of the factors to be taken into account when conducting personal interviews.

In the next sections I look at research that was conducted through questionnaires that have their own kind of bias but not the problems of gender and ethnic status that I met in the above interviews.

The Zoroastrian Experience in Britain

The Zoroastrian experience in Britain is that of a community settling into a society having a variety of cultures. The political and economic centre, London, has a cosmopolitan nature these days which rivals New York in terms of the variety of ethnic groups and cultures that can be found there. The groups of people of non-European origin form a very small part of the total UK population, but their impact has been far greater that actual numbers would warrant. They find themselves in a society that is complex, not only in identities and cultural values but also in terms of its class and racial/ethnic systems. There is pressure to assimilate into this complexity of values, cultures and structures, but at the same time the groups are in conflict with the indigenous populations. There appears to be mounting evidence to suggest that non-White ethnic groups in the UK are maintaining a distinct ethnic identity based on their group's religious and social values. The second generation does not appear to be moving away from the ethnic group in the manner of the

earlier waves of immigrants to the UK.

Although I found that Zoroastrians were very willing to discuss the problems of being an emigrant to the UK, and the process of adaptation, I did not find discussions useful in understanding the internal workings of the community. The discussions demonstrated individual responses to adaptation and any problems associated with racism and perceived discrimination. As I noted earlier in the work, I think these responses are part of a way of coping with living in a very complex industrial society.

The little bit of quantitative analysis that I have conducted with regard to Zoroastrian responses to questions about perceived discrimination and prejudice, demonstrated patterns in terms of country of origin, place of education, level of education, and occupation, but the analysis was not useful in developing an understanding of the internal mechanisms of the community. These particular quantitative analyses have not been presented or discussed in the text because they did not relate directly to the main issue of the work. Also, they were not part of a research paper and as a consequence lacking in any formal theoretical structure. I executed a simple statistical analysis of the available quantitative data to see if there were patterns in Zoroastrian responses to questions about perceived discrimination and racism. The paucity of quantitative data with regard to Zoroastrian attitudes to these matters has prevented any in depth statistical analysis of this aspect of the UK community.

Zoroastrians Studied from One Aspect of Assimilation Theory.

I began to look at the Zoroastrian attitudes to their community. Using just one aspect of one assimilation theory I looked at the British Zoroastrian attitudes to religious and social values of Zoroastrianism. H.Gans put forward the hypothesis that immigrants lose their secular values before their religious values when they adapt and begin to accommodate to a new society. Certainly, for some ethnic groups in the US, this would appear to be the case, and for some ethnic groups in the UK too. I wanted to use Gans' ideas to look at the position of Zoroastrian attitudes to their religious and social values at one point in time. I wanted to "map" out where each individual respondent was with regard to a sum total of their positive and negative attitudes to their community values. The original piece of research work was not to my satisfaction because of the tools I had to use to conduct the data analysis. I repeated the research exercise using data from **The World Zoroastrian Survey 1986**. The data was organized so that I could plot Zoroastrian attitudes to religious values against their attitudes to social values of Zoroastrianism. I found that Zoroastrian attitudes to their social and religious values were closely inter-connected. On the whole, the higher the score on the religious values scale, the higher the score on the social values scale. However, there were several sub-sets of Zoroastrians for whom this was not true. There were those who had married out of the community, those who had no family members in the UK, and those who did not keep in contact with other Zoroastrians. For these sub-sets of Zoroastrians there seemed to be little correspondence between the two sets of values. These seemed to be people who were at the margins of the

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community although they may have retained one or other set of the values. As far as inter-group and intra-group relations were concerned there did not appear to be difference in attitudes to religious and social values when these factors were controlled. Perceived prejudice did not have an impact on the Zoroastrian attitudes to the social and religious values.

For the main group of people from the sample of British Zoroastrians in this particular survey, there was no evidence of loss of social values before religious values the two sets of values were inter-connected. The statistical results that measure the explanatory powers of one variable with regard to another, was never more than twenty five percent explained variance for either the set of religious values or the set of social values. There were other intervening factors that I did not locate. However, later in this chapter I look at an analysis that investigates symbolic boundaries to see if they are an intervening factor between Zoroastrian attitudes to religious and social values.

When I looked the sub-sets of Zoroastrians who were born in the UK, or wholly educated in the UK, there was a marked decline in the respondents falling in the quadrant representing positive attitudes to both sets of values. For those respondents who were born in the UK, there were twenty three percent who fell in the quadrant reflecting positive attitudes to the religious values and negative attitudes to the social values. Since the data contained such a small number of second generation Zoroastrians, I do not know if Gans' hypothesis might be proved to be relevant to them in a way that it does not appear to be for the first generation Zoroastrians. Certainly this particular research finding suggests that this might be the case. For the UK, the question must be asked about why the surveys were not picking up second generation Zoroastrians. Is it the way the surveys were conducted, or the institutions through which the questionnaires were initially distributed? Perhaps there is something about being a Zoroastrian in the UK that allows the second generation to retain their religious values, but to keep away from the communities formal organizations or even informal, organizations.

Zoroastrians Investigated Through Perspectives of The Sociology of Religion.

I investigated Zoroastrianism through some of the perspectives of the sociology of religion. In the chapter on **Zoroastrianism as a Religion in Britain**, I commented on the fact that non-White religious communities, both Christian and non-Christian, are thriving in the UK. There was the suggestion that for some of these religious groups, the people came together to withdraw from the racial discrimination that they suffered in the UK. Other religious groups use their religious symbols as a means of ethnic identity in the UK. For the Zoroastrians in India and Iran, religion is part of the fabric of everyday life. However, in the UK they have to make changes because of the inaccessibility of the Fire Temple, and the dispersed nature of the tiny community. Religion begins to be separated from the fabric of everyday life, even though Zoroastrianism lends itself to practice in the home and does not demand ritual attendance at the Fire Temple.

In my research into Zoroastrian attitudes towards religious observances, beliefs and practices, I noticed that certain demographic and socio-economic characteristics of the Zoroastrians were associated with certain attitudes regarding the Zoroastrian religion. An investigation of the characteristics demonstrated a relationship between them, especially with regard to out-marriage. The Zoroastrian attitudes to their religious practices, values and beliefs, were analyzed. It was found that those respondents who were married to non-Zoroastrians tended to be less supportive of the religion than those who had married within the community. Similarly, this was true for those respondents who were born in the UK or who had received their education in the UK. When I looked at the attitudes to "controversial" aspects of Zoroastrianism, I found that Zoroastrians who describe themselves as "orthodox", or who were not highly educated, do not, on the whole, support changes in these aspects. Those respondents who were married to Zoroastrians did not necessarily support the orthodox interpretation of the "controversial" aspects of Zoroastrianism. Also those respondents who were educated abroad were more likely to support the orthodox interpretation, but those respondents who were high on the occupational scale were likely to support the controversial interpretation of these aspects. A closer analysis of the data revealed that marriage to a Zoroastrian was not as "neutral" in its action as it first appeared to be, and although the relationship was somewhat stronger than originally measured it was not statistically significant. However, the action of occupation appeared to be more neutral in the more rigorous analyses than it had originally appeared to be, and again, it was not statistically significant.

The results of these statistical analyses produced interesting "facts" about Zoroastrians and their religion and suggested that the religious aspects of Zoroastrianism are connected with other aspects of Zoroastrianism: although it was noted that there was an apparent lack of a relationship between Zoroastrian social attitudes and the "controversial" aspects of Zoroastrianism.

The results of the statistical analyses, whether from the stand point of inter-group relations or from the sociology of religion, indicated that Zoroastrian religious and social factors were inter-connected. Could there be something about the social identities of Zoroastrians that predisposed them to present such inter-connected sets of social and religious values. In the next section I will summarize the results of my statistical analyses approaching the study of the Zoroastrian community from the perspective of social identities.

Ethnic Identity and Symbolic Boundaries Research

This section is based on the analysis of **The Face to Face Survey of Zoroastrians in Britain 1987**. This is not a random sample of Zoroastrians living in the UK. There is no means of knowing how representative it was of the community as a whole, but it is very interesting when taken as an exercise in looking at the identities of a particular group of people in the UK. Ethnic identity, religious identity and religious knowledge increased with age and tended to be associated with not being single, married to a Zoroastrian, educated abroad, a member of

Zoroastrian House, a self description of social identity solely as Zoroastrian, a practicing Zoroastrian and in favour of retaining the race and religion demarcation in the symbolic boundaries of the community. On the other hand, those respondents who thought in English were more likely to have a negative response to ethnic identity, religious identity and not have much religious knowledge. Religious identity was also negatively associated with high educational achievements, and high occupational status.

Zoroastrian attitudes to "other" people, cultural conflict and their responses to perceived racial prejudice, and increased racism in the UK was investigated. Perceptions of differences between insiders in the UK community, was associated with being born outside the UK, or being a member of the formal Zoroastrian organization, or being highly educated. However, those respondents who thought in English showed a positive response to "different" insiders. In terms of attitudes to outsiders, there were no significant relationships except that the lower the religious identity of the respondent the more likely the positive response to outsiders. Cultural conflict tended to be reported by the women in the sample, but not by those Zoroastrians who were educated abroad. Single people and respondents who were educated in the UK said that they recognized cultural conflict in their lives.

Zoroastrians who were educated abroad tended not to report that they been subject to racial prejudice. Also, those respondents who were older were less likely to report perceived racial prejudice, as were those Zoroastrians who wanted to retain the race and religion demarcation. Attitudes to the group withdrawing behind community boundaries if the racial situation deteriorated in the UK were measured. Those respondents who were members of the official Zoroastrian organization, or who said they were practicing Zoroastrians, or who were married to Zoroastrian partners, or who supported maintaining the race and religion demarcation, or who had emigrated permanently to the UK, or who identified themselves solely as Zoroastrians, were not likely to support keeping the group boundaries open under increased racism in the UK. Again, those respondents who thought in English, or those the respondents who were older, tended to be in favour of keeping the group boundaries open if there was increased racism in the UK.

There is a recurring pattern of characteristics for this group of Zoroastrians. Those who exhibited ethnic identity, or religious identity, or who had religious knowledge, had negative attitudes to "other insiders", did not report "cultural conflict" or perceived prejudice and wanted to keep the group boundaries closed during increased racism in UK. They tended not to be single, to be married to Zoroastrians, educated abroad, practicing Zoroastrians, members of the official Zoroastrian organization, to have self identities solely as Zoroastrian and in favour of maintaining the race and religion demarcation in the group boundaries. On the other hand the Zoroastrians who exhibited the converse of the attitudes delineated above tended to think in English, to be educated in the UK, and not to have ethnic or religious identities or much religious knowledge. Also, support for no change to the traditional symbolic boundaries of Zoroastrianism came from those

Zoroastrians, who were married to Zoroastrians, or said that they were practicing Zoroastrians, or supported the race and religion demarcation, or who were members of Zoroastrian House. However, those respondents who were married indicated that they were in favour of changing the symbolic boundaries of the community, reflecting the worries of those Zoroastrians who had married out themselves or who thought that their children might marry out.

The survey was set up to investigate Zoroastrians' ethnic identity. Ethnic identity is always to some degree a product of forces operating from within the individual and those impinging from without. At the positive pole, ethnic identity depends more upon inner resources of exclusiveness, and at the negative pole of minimal definition imposed from without. The results from the data analyses would support the above statement. Those respondents who had social identities based upon their affiliation to Zoroastrianism showed a tendency towards exclusiveness. There were few significant relationships with perceived racial prejudice or any with attitudes to outsiders. However, there were strong relationships between ethnicity and keeping the group boundaries closed if racism increased in the UK these respondents are not un-aware of the pressures being imposed from without. The relationship between social identities and group boundaries was strong.

Symbolic Boundary Research

In chapter eight, **Zoroastrian Symbolic Boundaries: A Statistical Analysis**, I gave a detailed account of quantitative research, into the attitudes of UK Zoroastrians, towards the symbolic boundaries of their community in Britain. The results of the detailed study were very interesting, and demonstrated that certain factors were important in statistically explaining and predicting UK Zoroastrian attitudes to the symbolic boundaries. Zoroastrian attitudes to particular religious practices were good at statistically explaining the attitudes to the symbolic boundaries. Thus, those Zoroastrians who said that they practiced these aspects of their religion supported the maintenance of the symbolic boundaries as they were accepted by the world community, whereas those Zoroastrians, who reported that they were less involved in these religious practices, were more likely to want to alter the existing symbolic boundaries. The characteristics of this sample of British Zoroastrians that were the best predictors of their attitudes towards support for keeping the existing boundaries, were attending Zoroastrian House for religious reasons, ethnic identity as Zoroastrian, no fear for the future of the Zoroastrian community due to declining numbers, a marital partner who was Zoroastrian and orthodox observation of funeral practices. On the other hand some of the characteristics of UK Zoroastrians, who wanted changes in the symbolic boundaries, were individual opinions about the question of conversion and fear for the future of the community because of declining numbers. Thus fear for the future of the community due to declining numbers, together with other characteristics, appeared to focus the attitudes of some of the UK Zoroastrians on the ascriptive nature of the boundaries and the need to change them.

The UK Zoroastrian research material was compared with the results of similar

analyses of other communities from the Diaspora. I was able to build the same type of scales for measuring Zoroastrian attitudes to the symbolic boundaries for each of the three groups of communities of the Diaspora, the "old" communities, the UK community and the "new" communities. For all three groups there was a relationship between the practice of certain specific religious aspects of Zoroastrianism and attitudes towards the symbolic boundaries. Again, those Zoroastrians who said they took part in certain religious practices supported keeping the symbolic boundaries as they existed. The less the respondents said they took part in these religious practices the more likely they were to support changes in the symbolic boundaries of Zoroastrianism. The relevant religious practices, for all three groups of Zoroastrians, were observing a Zoroastrian calendar, preferred funeral practices, and wearing the religious garments the Sudre and Kusti. The UK community and the "new" communities each had one other significant religious practice. This was observing Zoroastrian religious traditions for the UK Community, and prayers for the dead for the "new" communities. The best predictor of attitudes to the symbolic boundaries for all three groups of Zoroastrians was the attitude towards preferred funeral practices. If the Zoroastrians from any of the three groups preferred the traditional funeral practices, then they tended to support the symbolic boundaries as they existed. However, if Zoroastrians from any of the three groups did not have a preference for the traditional funeral practices, then they were more likely to support changing the symbolic boundaries.

Different communities of the Diaspora had other community specific characteristics that had statistical relationships with the scales measuring Zoroastrian attitudes to the symbolic boundaries. Some of these characteristics were good predictors of attitudes to the symbolic boundaries. The major community specific characteristics for the UK community and the "new" communities were ethnic identity as measured by self description as Zoroastrian, fear for the future of the community due to declining numbers, and the type of marital partner. The UK community and the "new" communities had one extra major community specific characteristic that was different and they were, respectively, attending Zoroastrian House for religious reasons and Behdin boys undertaking Navar.

The UK community and the "new" communities had minor community specific characteristics that were, on the whole, concerned with the social aspects of Zoroastrianism: Some of these characteristics such as the place of certain types of education, Indo/ Pakistani arts being worth saving were held in common by the two groups of Zoroastrians. There were other characteristics that were not held in common. For the UK Zoroastrians these were individual opinions about the question of conversion, social identity, the need to give an explanation of Zoroastrian to outsiders, relations between Parsis, eating traditional food, changes in religious beliefs and keeping contact with Zoroastrian friends. For the "new" communities these were the characteristics related to the seat of religious authority, relations between Zoroastrians and Hindus in country of origin, children living away from home, discrimination due to colour and politics, Indo/ Pakistani religions being worth saving as well as parents residing in the same country and

keeping contact with non-Zoroastrian friends.

As far as the "old" communities were concerned, there were indications where future research might be focused in terms of the major and minor community specific characteristics. The major characteristics for this group of Zoroastrians appeared to be attitudes to the question of Behdin boys taking the first steps to the priesthood, where religious authority lies, and the language that was used to read in. The former, but not the latter characteristic, were held in common with the "new" communities. There were indications of minor community specific characteristics and these seemed to be related to the year of entry into the country of residence, discrimination due to colour, and the wearing of traditional clothes. Again as with the other two groups of Zoroastrians, these minor characteristics seemed to related to the social aspects of Zoroastrianism.

These points should be borne in mind when any further research is contemplated regarding the symbolic boundaries of the Zoroastrian communities labelled "old", as should all the detailed research that has been described in this data analysis for all the three groups of Zoroastrians. These were not random samples of Zoroastrians, and the results and conclusions of the data analysis cannot be projected to the parameters of the Zoroastrian population. They can only be used as "pointers" for further research into the communities. The data analyses do give a lot of information about some of the members of Zoroastrian communities of the Diaspora at a specific point in time. Despite these limitations, I think that the **Universal Findings** regarding Zoroastrians' attitudes to certain religious practices explain their attitudes to the symbolic boundaries, and that their attitudes to preferred burial practices being the best predictor of these attitudes would be replicated in further research. Perhaps some of the community specific characteristics which occur in more than one of the three groups of Zoroastrians might also be replicated. Further research might clarify the role of the minor community specific characteristics with regard to the symbolic boundaries of Zoroastrianism. This would be an interesting avenue to pursue because it is connected to the social aspects of Zoroastrianism.

The Comparison of Different Approaches to the Study of Zoroastrians in the UK

When I started my research on the Zoroastrian community in the UK, my intention was to investigate the proposition: Could the Zoroastrian community survive as a racial/ religious minority group in the UK.

My initial interviews pointed me in the direction of using a race and class parameter as a theoretical basis for my research work. I found that I did not reach any satisfactory conclusions with regard to the original proposition through this particular perspective. However, from a research the point of view, Zoroastrian attitudes to perceived racial prejudice and their attitudes to different insiders were interesting. It should be noted that, it was not until I read the comments of the Zoroastrian interviewers on the transcripts of a survey that I was asked to collate

and code for transfer to a computer ready for statistical analysis, that I fully realized that Zoroastrians in the UK have a different perspective on race, class and status than I had perceived them to have. The secondary survey material that I used did not have the data to tap these phenomena.

The Face-to-Face Survey of Zoroastrians in Britain 1987 had a better bank of data to look at the community from this theoretical perspective, and there were some fairly interesting results in this regard. There were strong feelings about outsiders, but this did not translate into a statistically significant relationship except that the lower the religious identity of the Zoroastrian the more positive the attitudes to outsiders. Attitudes to "different" insiders as well as the response of the community to Britain becoming a more racist society had a range of responses. I think this particular analysis pointed to the conflicts within the community, and it also suggested that Zoroastrians operated their ethnic identity from both ends of the continuum; from a positive position of strength in terms of inner concepts of exclusiveness and inner strength and resources and from a negative position due to pressures from without the community. However, on the whole, race, ethnicity, status and class are aspects of Zoroastrianism that remain to be thoroughly investigated.

When I looked at the UK Zoroastrian community from one particular aspect of assimilation theory, which suggested that immigrants lose their social values before their religious values in their new environment, I found that for the main group of people from the sample of British Zoroastrians in this particular survey there was no evidence of loss of social values before religious values, the two sets of values were inter-connected. Since the data set contained mostly first generation immigrants this was not a totally surprising result. However, sub-sets of Zoroastrians who were on the border lines of the community, and this included most of the second generation immigrants, tended to exhibit positive attitudes to only one set of values. This did not imply a loss of social values before religious values because some of these Zoroastrians had positive attitudes to the social values and not the religious values. This suggested that the relationship between the religious and social values of Zoroastrianism needed further investigation.

When I investigated Zoroastrianism through some of the perspectives of the sociology of religion, again, I obtained some very interesting results, especially with regard to attitudes to "controversial" aspects of Zoroastrianism. I found that ethnic identity and education was important in understanding Zoroastrian attitudes to these aspects of Zoroastrianism. The results of the statistical analyses indicated that religious and social issues were inter-connected. I seemed to be at a point where I needed to change my theoretical focus so that I could consider social and religious values simultaneously. It was the "controversial" aspects of Zoroastrianism which focused my attention on symbolic boundary theory. They translated into the symbolic boundaries of the community because they represented the demarcation between outsiders "them" and insiders "us".

It was my experiences of living in different cultures that alerted me to looking at the nature of the symbolic boundaries of Zoroastrianism in the UK. Also the results of my work on **The Face-to-Face Survey of Zoroastrians in Britain 1987** sensitized me to concentrating on the symbolic boundaries of the community. These results reinforced my much earlier work on the "controversial" aspects of Zoroastrianism, as well as complimenting my work on the relationship between Zoroastrian religious and social values.

This perspective, based on Symbolic Boundary theory, allowed me to combine both the religious and social aspects of Zoroastrianism in my research material, from a different perspective. I was able to build a scale to measure UK Zoroastrian attitudes to their communities' symbolic boundaries, and this scale was replicated for the other two groups of Zoroastrians in the research. There were some interesting and exciting results in terms of statistical explanation of attitudes of the UK Zoroastrian community to their symbolic boundaries. This was enhanced by a comparison with research into other Zoroastrian communities of the Diaspora, and again the research produced some interesting and exciting results. The attitudes of the Zoroastrians in all three groups, to the symbolic boundaries, could be partially explained, statistically, by their responses to the practice of certain religious aspects of Zoroastrianism. The religious aspects were the same for all three groups, although the UK group and the "new" group had one additional religious aspect each. The levels of statistical explanation were not high for any of the three groups, but they were consistent and in the same range of eighteen to twenty percent. Similarly, the results for the best predictors were in a range that was consistent for all three groups: Attitudes to funeral practices were the best predictors of attitudes to the symbolic boundaries. It was very exciting when the statistical results were compared because although I knew that religious practices would probably be associated with the symbolic boundaries, I had not assumed that they would be the same for each of the three samples, including the best predictor of attitudes to the symbolic boundaries. When the other patterns of the statistical analyses were unfolded they were interesting in their similarities and differences.

There were major community specific characteristics for two of the groups and hints at community specific characteristics for the third group of Zoroastrians which were associated with attitudes to the symbolic boundaries. There were also minor community specific characteristics which were associated with the symbolic boundaries, and for the UK community they included social factors as well as religious factors.

There were characteristics of all three groups of Zoroastrians that did not appear to have any relationship with the symbolic boundaries. From my earlier research into the Zoroastrian community in the UK I knew they were associated with other facets of Zoroastrianism. None of the main socio-economic and demographic characteristics such as country of origin, year of entry into country of residence (except implications of this characteristic for the "old" communities), gender, marital status, children, type of family, level of education, place of education (except place of professional or post-graduate education) and occupation appeared

to have relationships with the symbolic boundaries. Zoroastrian attitudes to their community's symbolic boundaries seem to cut across the usual group divisions.

Symbolic Boundaries and Zoroastrian Religious and Social Values

In order to round off this comparison of different theoretical and practical approaches to the study of Zoroastrianism in the Britain, I wanted to combine two theoretical stand points in a practical way, that is I wanted to see if attitudes to the symbolic boundaries of Zoroastrianism was one of the factors that contributed to the relationship between Zoroastrian attitudes to their religious and social values. In Appendix F the statistical analyses that were used to look at relationships between the symbolic boundary scale and the religious and social values of Zoroastrians in the UK are discussed.

The scale, **UK Zoroastrian Boundaries**, was the same scale as the one that was used for the statistical analyses described in chapter eight, **Zoroastrian Symbolic Boundaries: A Statistical Analysis**. The scales **Attitudes to Religious Values** and **Attitudes to Social Values** were built using the variables listed below in Table 1. A positive score on either scale indicated that the respondent had positive attitudes to those values, whereas a negative score indicated that the respondent had negative responses to those values. These are slightly different scales from those used in chapter six, **The Zoroastrian Experience in Britain**, and an explanation is given in Appendix F section b.

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Table 1: Variables in the Scales **Attitudes to Religious Values** and **Attitudes to Social Values**

VARIABLES IN **ATTITUDES TO RELIGIOUS VALUES SCALE**

1. **Read Zoroastrian Literature**. 2. **Pray at Home**.
3. **Wear Sudre/ Kusti**.
4. **Keep Zoroastrian Traditions**.
5. **Teach Your Children to Pray**.
6. **Will You Teach Your Children to Pray**.
7. **Describe Yourself in Religious Terms**.
8. **Observe a Zoroastrian Calendar**.
9. **Believe in Immortality of the Soul**.
10. **Believe in Saying Payers for the Dead**.
11. **Membership of Zoroastrian Organization**.
12. **Attend Zoroastrian House for Religious Reasons**.
13. **Religious Authority**.
14. **Changes in Your Religious Beliefs Since Coming To UK**.
15. **Changes in Your Religious Practices Since Coming To UK**.

VARIABLES IN **ATTITUDES TO SOCIAL VALUES SCALE**

1. **Mother Tongue**.
2. **Language Read In**.
3. **Language Write In**.
4. **Read Non-Zoroastrian Literature**.
5. **Eat Indian/ Iranian Food**.
6. **Wear Indian/ Iranian Dress**.
7. **Belong to Non-Zoroastrian Organizations**.
8. **Attend Zoroastrian Centre for Social Occasions**.
9. **Attend Zoroastrian Centre for Community Matters**.
10. **Want to Establish New Zoroastrian Centres**.
11. **Future of Community Due to Declining Numbers**.
12. **Future of Community Due to Persecution**.
13. **Future of Community Due to Youth of Community**.
14. **Future of Community Due to World Wide Movement**.
15. **Future of Community Due to Past Record of Survival**.
16. **Future of Community Due to Ethical Values**.
17. **Describe Yourself as Zoroastrian**.
18. **Mother Country**.
19. **Aspects of Old Country Worth Preserving, Food**.
20. **Aspects of Old Country Worth Preserving, Music**.
21. **Aspects of Old Country Worth Preserving, Dress**.
22. **Relations Between Parsis and Iranis**.
23. **Relations Between Parsis**.
24. **Relations Between New Immigrants and Old Immigrants**.

I divided the UK sample of Zoroastrians into two sub-samples; those who want to maintain the status quo with regard to the symbolic boundaries and those who want to change them. In order to look at the relationship between attitudes to Zoroastrian religious values and attitudes to Zoroastrian social values, I plotted two graphs based on the sub-samples. The former group had a much closer relationship between their religious and social values than the latter group. Also most of the former group had maintained both sets of values together, whereas the latter group had people who had both sets, or one set, or the other, or they maintained neither of the sets of values. Tables 1 to 3 illustrate these relationships in diagrammatic form, the actual graphs are contained in Appendix F Tables 14 to 16.

Table 1: Total Sample of Zoroastrians.

RELIGIOUS/ SOCIAL VALUES SCALES

Social Values Scale-   Social Values Scale +

Religious Values Scale +	11%	68%	Religious Values Scale +
Religious Values Scale -	5%	9%	Religious Values Scale -

Social Values Scale -   Social Values Scale +

N   497
Correlation   .33
Significance .00001
R Square   .11

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Table 1 looks at the total sample of UK Zoroastrians, and it can be seen that sixty eight percent of the respondents fall in the quadrant which represents those Zoroastrians who maintained positive attitudes to both religious and social values. Eleven percent of the sample had positive attitudes to religious values but negative attitudes to the social values. Conversely nine percent of the respondents had positive attitudes to the social values and negative attitudes to the religious values. Only five percent of the respondents had negative attitudes to both sets of values. Eleven percent of the variance in the attitudes to religious values could be explained by attitudes to the social values of Zoroastrianism.

Table 2: Support for Not Changing the
Symbolic Boundaries

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RELIGIOUS/ SOCIAL VALUES SCALES

Social Values Scale-   Social Values Scale +

Religious Values Scale +	8%	84%	Religious Values Scale +
Religious Values Scale -	2%	2%	Religious Values Scale -

Social Values Scale -   Social Values Scale +

N   202
Correlatio   .32
Significance .00001
R Square   .10

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In Table 2, the Zoroastrians who did not want change to the symbolic boundaries showed a high percentage who had positive attitudes to both religious and social values, (84%), and they have much lower representation in the other quadrants compared with the total sample, Table 1, and with the Zoroastrians who wanted to change the symbolic boundaries, (58%), in Table 3. For these Zoroastrians who wanted to maintain the symbolic boundaries as they existed, their attitudes to their religious values had an explained variance of ten percent by their attitudes to the social values of Zoroastrianism.

Table 3: Support for Changing Symbolic Boundaries

RELIGIOUS/ SOCIAL VALUES SCALES

Social Values Scale-   Social Values Scale +

Religious Values Scale +	13%	58%	Religious Values Scale +
Religious Values Scale -	7%	13%	Religious Values Scale -

Social Values Scale -   Social Values Scale +

N   290
Correlation   .26
Significance   .00001
R Square   .07

Looking at Table 3 it can be seen that for those Zoroastrians who wanted change in the symbolic boundaries there was an increase in those respondents, (13%), who fell in the quadrant representing positive attitudes to religious values and negative attitudes to the social values compared with the total sample, (11%), and the sub-sample who wanted to keep the symbolic boundaries, (8%). Also, there was a increase in the percentage of Zoroastrians falling in the quadrant representing negative attitudes to religious values and positive attitudes to social values, (13%), compared with the total sample, (9%), and the sub-sample who wanted to maintain the symbolic boundaries, (2%). There was an increase in the respondents falling in the quadrant representing negative attitudes to both sets of values, (7%) compared with the total sample, (5%), and the sub-sample who wanted to maintain the boundaries, (2%). Seven percent of the variance in their attitudes to religious values could be explained by their attitudes to the social values of Zoroastrianism.

Although the respondents in the two sub-samples were differentiated in terms of where they fell in the quadrants representing attitudes to the religious and social values of Zoroastrianism, neither sample had a higher explained variance than the total sample. Thus the sub-sample of Zoroastrians who did not want to change the symbolic boundaries had a higher concentration of respondents who said that they had positive attitudes to both religious and social values, but this did not translate into a higher explained variance for religious values by social values. Conversely, for the sub-sample of Zoroastrians who wanted to change the symbolic boundaries, the increase of respondents in the quadrants representing negative attitudes to the values, the explained variance of the attitudes to religious values was less but not substantially so. Also, it should be noted, that it was at the seven percent level for both sequences of statistical analyses that were conducted and are described in Appendix F. Removal of some crucial variables from the religious and social values scales did not alter this statistical relationship. I wanted to look more closely at the relationship between these three scales, **UK Zoroastrian Boundaries, Attitudes to Religious Values,** and **Attitudes to Social Values** using more rigorous analytical techniques. The results are detailed in Tables 20 to 24 in Appendix F and summarized below.

Table 4: The Explained Variance in the Scale **UK Zoroastrian Boundaries** by the Scales **Attitudes to Religious Values** and **Attitudes to Social Values**

Entered into Equation	Pearson's Correlation Variables	Independent Action of Variables	Percentage Explained Variance
	r	beta	R SQUARE x 100
Social Values	.17		
Religious Values #	.49	.49 ***	24%
N = 492 p = .00001		R SQUARE x 100 = 24%	

best predictor   *** p= .001

Looking at Table 4, it can be seen that the scale, **Attitudes to Religious Values** explains a very high percentage of the variance in the scale, **UK Zoroastrian Boundaries**. It should be noted that the scale, **Attitudes to Social Values** was dropped from the analysis, although when working in combination with the scale, **Attitudes to Religious Values** it had a relationship with the symbolic boundaries scale, (r = .17). It appeared to have a relationship with the symbolic boundaries, but it was not supported by the type of statistical analysis that was used for this particular analysis.

When the scale, **Attitudes to Religious Values** was analysed to see how much explained variance was accounted for by the scales, **UK Zoroastrian Boundaries** and **Attitudes to Social Values**, it was found to be thirty percent. See Table 5. The independent action of each scale on the scale, **Attitudes to Religious Values**, is also given in Table 5.

Table 5: The Explained Variance in the Scale **Attitudes to Religious Values** by the Scales **UK Zoroastrian Boundaries** and **Attitudes to Social Values**

Variables Entered into Equation	Pearson's Correlation r	Independent Action of Variables beta	Percentage Explained Variance R SQUARE x 100
UK Zoroastrian Boundaries #	.49	.40 ***	24%
Social Values	.33	.26 ***	30%
-N = 492 p = .00001	R SQUARE x 100 = 30%		

 # best predictor *** p= .001

Compared with the scale, **UK Zoroastrian Boundaries**, the scale, **Attitudes to Social Values**, only added a little to the explained variance in the scale, **Attitudes to Religious Values**. The best predictor of Zoroastrian attitudes to the religious values of Zoroastrianism was their attitude to the symbolic boundaries. However, the independent action of the scale, **Attitudes to Social Values**, was not negligible. Both scales seemed to be important when analysing the religious values of UK Zoroastrians.

An analysis of the scale, **Attitudes to Social Values**, was conducted, and the results are given below. As was expected, the scale, **UK Zoroastrian Boundaries**, was dropped from the analysis. See Table 6.

Table 6: The Explained Variance in the Scale Attitudes **to Social Values** by the Scales **Attitudes to Religious Values** and **UK Zoroastrian Boundaries**

Variables Entered into Equation	Pearson's Correlation r	Independent Action of Variables beta	Percentage Explained Variance R SQUARE x 100

UK Zoroastrian			
Boundaries	.17		
Religious Values #	.33	.33 ***	11%
N = 492 p = .00001		R SQUARE x 100 = 11%	

best predictor *** p= .001

Religious values share eleven percent of the explained variance in social values of Zoroastrians. The social values of Zoroastrianism were not connected with the symbolic boundaries in the same way as the religious values. I think this points to the fact that a much more careful approach to these values must be adopted. In the data that I have used, the religious aspects of the community were dealt with at an acceptable level, but this was not the case for the social aspects of Zoroastrianism. More research into the social aspects of Zoroastrianism might lead to a greater understanding of the symbolic boundaries and a much higher statistical explanation of the attitudes to, and the prediction of attitudes, to these boundaries. The research delineated above does appear to suggest that those Zoroastrians who want change in the symbolic boundaries are adapting and changing in their new environment in a way that is different from those Zoroastrians who want to maintain the status quo.

Zoroastrian attitudes to social values can be partially explained by their attitudes to religious values and not by their attitudes to the symbolic boundaries of the community, whereas attitudes to symbolic boundaries can be explained by attitudes to religious values and not by attitudes to social values. On the other hand, their attitudes to religious values can be explained by their attitudes to social values and their attitudes to the symbolic boundaries. Thus, I think that a model could be developed whereby Zoroastrian Social Identities come in between Zoroastrian social values and attitudes to the symbolic boundaries.

Religious Values   Symbolic Boundaries

Social Values

Zoroastrian
Social Identities
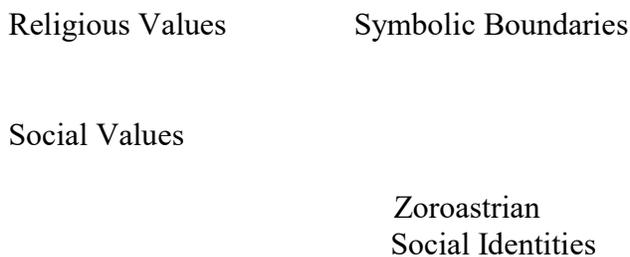
I base this reasoning on some of the quantitative results from chapter four, **Symbolic Boundaries and Ethnic Identity**, and the qualitative descriptions in chapter five, **Zoroastrians in Iran, India and the Rest of the World**, where Zoroastrian attitudes to race and ethnicity were described and discussed. There is

no doubt that they form part of being a "Zoroastrian" but these attitudes were not picked up in **The World Zoroastrian Survey 1986**. Also the statistical research that I have conducted with the data set, **The World Zoroastrian Survey 1986**, with regard to looking at the relationships between all the various parts of the model suggests, tentatively, that there is a relationship between social identities and the symbolic boundaries, social and religious values. It looked as if depending upon the type of measured social identity, the relationships in the model changed. One social identity, **Self Description Zoroastrian**, had a relationship with religious values and the symbolic boundaries but not with social values. However, **Self Description Citizen**, had a relationship with social values and the symbolic boundaries but not with religious values. Perceived discrimination did not appear to have any relationships with the religious and social values of Zoroastrianism or with attitudes to the symbolic boundaries.

I think that the apparent lack of connection or the very loose connection, between Zoroastrian social values and their attitudes to the symbolic boundaries might mean that Zoroastrians, operating as cultural communities, are very flexible and able to adapt to many different cultural environments. This could turn out to be the most important feature of their cultural repertoire and, for social scientists, gaining an understanding of their ability to survive as distinct cultural groups may depend upon understanding the mechanisms of their cultural flexibility. This should be regarded as an area to be explored in the future.

In evaluating the different approaches that I have used to studying the Zoroastrian community in the UK, each one seems to have been better than the last, but that is because I have been adding to my total knowledge and expertise on the community and, as the "blank sheet of paper" that I started with becomes a "book" every additional chapter appears to be more exciting than the last. It has been a long term exercise in adding to a fund of knowledge, both on a personal level and to the shared fund of every one else who is interested in this field of research. There is no doubt that the results of the research work within the parameters of symbolic boundary theory, have moved the study of the Zoroastrian community ahead, both in terms of actual data and conclusions produced, and also in terms of having different focal points from which to consider further research on the community. The sum total knowledge of the community has been increased in a qualitative as well as quantitative way.

Conclusion

This chapter summarized all the research material in the work, pertaining to the UK Zoroastrians, and made a comparison between the different approaches I utilized in studying the community in Britain. I came to the conclusion that each part of my research added to the sum total of understanding the community. My latest piece of research, within the parameters of symbolic boundary theory, added to it at both quantitative and qualitative levels. The focal points for future study of the community have been refined, but at the same time broadened, to give a more comprehensive sociological understanding of the community in the UK.

The obvious theoretical approach in researching a group such as the Zoroastrians in Britain would be either through class and race orientation, or through sociology of religion orientation. Symbolic Boundary theory approaches the problem from a different angle, and the analogy could be between "lateral" versus "vertical" thinking approach, with symbolic boundary theory being the "lateral" thinking approach. Symbolic Boundary theory uses aspects of the concept of ethnicity, as well as encompassing ethnic groups' members' attitudes to both religious and social values.

Symbolic Boundary theory is a useful analytical tool and has a very practical and specific application with a group such as the Zoroastrians, where there are such clearly defined boundaries. I think it could be used as a much more sensitive tool if an in-depth research project was conceived to look at the detailed and intricate relationships between the Zoroastrian attitudes to their community's symbolic boundaries and their attitudes to other aspects of Zoroastrianism. The continuing development of Symbolic Boundary theory as an analytical tool could enable it to be used to look at communities where there is not such a clear cut set of rules about the symbolic boundaries. As in the classic scientific approach to the scientific method, which was delineated in chapter three, **Symbolic Boundary Theory**, further development of symbolic boundary as an analytical tool, would lead to detailed feed back to Symbolic Boundary theory, so that it, in its turn, could become an even more reliable and valid body of theory.

In chapter eleven, **The Implications of the Work**, I will look at the implications of my latest research for Symbolic Boundary theory, and also for the Zoroastrian communities of the Diaspora.

11. THE IMPLICATIONS OF THE WORK.

The Implications for the Communities of the Diaspora

Through the perspective of symbolic boundary theory I was able to discern a way in which Zoroastrian attitudes, not just in the UK but throughout the communities of the Diaspora, to the symbolic boundaries was reflected in their attitudes to certain religious practices. The best predictor in all the communities of the Diaspora, to Zoroastrian attitudes to the symbolic boundaries was the type of funeral practices they said that they preferred. Support for or against changing the symbolic boundaries was fairly evenly balanced within the Zoroastrian populations of the three samples. However, my latest research on the communities of the Diaspora suggest that Zoroastrians who supported the symbolic boundaries as they existed had positive attitudes to the religious and social values of Zoroastrianism, and as far as the UK sample was concerned this was associated with attending the Zoroastrian association, as a consequence their views on maintaining the symbolic boundaries probably dominated the official Zoroastrian association in their community. The UK Zoroastrians who supported changes to the symbolic boundaries had a variety of attitudes to the religious and social values of Zoroastrianism and they did not attend the Zoroastrian association. Thus, their opinions probably were not articulated through the official community association. Although a statistical relationship was not found between attending the Zoroastrian association and attitudes to the symbolic boundaries for the other communities of the Diaspora it is not unreasonable to assume that orthodox opinions might tend dominate at the Zoroastrian communities' official associations. However, it should be noted that the Zoroastrian community in Delhi, India has just, in May 1992, changed its rules to allow daughters who have married out of the community to stay in the religion together with their children. The voices of the supporters of changes to the symbolic boundaries are being heard and some action is being taken in the communities away from the two main communities in India and Iran. There are other forums, such as the World Zoroastrian Organization, where Zoroastrians can voice their opinions about the symbolic boundaries and how they should or should not be changed.

The conclusions delineated above, together with the other conclusions of the work, are useful for both the Zoroastrians themselves and those people who conduct research into the Zoroastrian community. It alerts both groups where to look within the community for those Zoroastrians who are likely to support change and those who are not likely to support change. Support for and against changing the symbolic boundaries does not lie within the usual divisions of a community in terms of gender, age, socio-economic status, or origin. It depends primarily on attitudes to religious values. My research indicates that it could be ascertained by, quite simply looking at attitudes to certain religious practices, especially with reference to the type of funeral practices Zoroastrians say they prefer. Also, there is a need to sample both those Zoroastrians who attend the association on a regular basis and take part in religious meetings, and those Zoroastrians who attend infrequently or who are active in other Zoroastrians organizations apart from the official organization. It is not the case that those Zoroastrians who say that they do not take part in certain religious activities are not interested in the community and what holds it together. Rather, they are very interested in seeing that it continues to stay together, and they would achieve this through changing the rules for admittance to the community.

This difference between UK Zoroastrians was reflected in the analyses of their religious and social values when they were divided into two groups, those who want to maintain the status quo with regard to the symbolic boundaries and those who want to change them. The former group had a much closer relationship between their religious and social values than the latter group. Also, most of the former group had maintained both sets of values together, whereas the latter group had people who had both sets, or one set or the other, or they maintained neither of the sets of values. These results suggest that those Zoroastrians who want change in the symbolic boundaries are adapting and changing in their new environment in a way that is different from those Zoroastrians who want to maintain the status quo. Furthermore, these results were supplemented by another set of analyses which suggested that for Zoroastrians as a group, attitudes to social values can be partially explained by their attitudes to religious values and not by their attitudes to the symbolic boundaries of the community. On the other hand, their attitudes to their religious values can be explained by their attitudes to social values and their attitudes to the symbolic boundaries, whereas their attitudes to the symbolic boundaries can be explained only by attitudes to religious values and not by attitudes to social values.

As I suggested in chapter ten, **Symbolic Boundaries and British Zoroastrians**, Zoroastrian social values may be connected to attitudes to the symbolic boundaries through other values such as racial and ethnic attitudes. However, because of this apparent lack of connection between Zoroastrian social values and attitudes to the symbolic boundaries that Zoroastrians, as cultural communities, are so flexible and able to adapt to so many different environments. This may be the most important feature of their cultural repertoire, and gaining an understanding of their ability to survive as distinct cultural groups may depend upon understanding the mechanisms of their cultural flexibility. Again, I should like to re-iterate that this is an area that

would be useful and interesting to explore, for Zoroastrians and researchers alike.

When I started my research into the UK Zoroastrian community, my original proposition was concerned with whether Zoroastrianism in the UK could survive as a distinct minority group. The present analyses enabled me to approach that proposition in a way that I was not able to do with my other research. Re-focusing, re-fining and re-formulating the proposition has enabled me to look at Zoroastrians as a distinct cultural group with unique sets of religious and social values. I have demonstrated how to measure the symbolic boundaries, and which characteristics of members of the community predict support for and against change in these boundaries. A judgment has to made as to whether the group will survive without changes to its present rules for membership, or whether it will only survive with changes to the group boundaries. At the present time, in the groups of the Diaspora, those Zoroastrians who do not want changes in the symbolic boundaries seem to be in the ascendent, but with
a. The initiation of an American, with no biological connections to the community, in New York;
b. The most tenacious in-fighting that I witnessed amongst a group of Zoroastrians in New Jersey who wanted change in the symbolic boundaries. They were not about to give in and, in their opinion, lose their community;
c. The changes in the rules about the membership of daughters who have married out, and their children, in the Delhi community. This is a community that is only a "stones throw" from Bombay, compared with, say, the communities in the USA. it would appear that this may not necessarily be the case for much longer. As my research points out, if Zoroastrians say they do not take part in certain religious practices, it does not mean that they are indifferent to the fate of their community. At this point, I think more qualitative research work is needed to make a judgment on what is happening in the communities of the Diaspora: Which group is in the ascendent and whose views are likely to be accepted by the community? Also, as I have stated, a judgment would need to be made as to which line of action would be best suited for the community to survive. It may be that my analyses are pointing the way to Zoroastrianism surviving as a distinct cultural group, but in a different form from that which obtains today.

The Implications for Symbolic Boundary Theory

I stated in chapter nine, **Zoroastrian Symbolic Boundaries: A Comparative Statistical Analysis**, that the implications of the statistical analyses for Symbolic Boundary theory are very exciting. They suggest that symbolic boundaries can cross the most salient boundaries of the modern world at both the macro and micro levels: At the group level and at the level of the individual members of the group.

The work demonstrated that Symbolic Boundary theory can be applied in a very practical and precise way as an exploratory and as an explanatory analytical tool. In its simplest form a **Symbolic Boundary** can be seen as a definition of "us" and "them". The Zoroastrian community has a very well defined set of rules for making the "us"/ "them" demarcation. Using the statistical process called Factor Analysis, I

demonstrated that the theoretical concept could be used at a very practical level, and this application could be used to look at the symbolic boundaries of groups of people across the world; it was not environmentally specific. The scales for measuring Zoroastrian attitudes to their community's symbolic boundaries were the same for each community of the Diaspora. The **Primary Findings** of the research on measuring the attitudes indicated that the best predictors to these attitudes were the same for each community of the Diaspora. The **Secondary Findings** indicated that there were specific characteristics of each group of communities that also predicted their attitudes the symbolic boundaries. As an analytical tool Symbolic Boundary theory was useful for explaining the maintenance of certain features of a community such as the Zoroastrians. It also explains part of the reasons for the ferocious in-fighting in the Zoroastrian community, over such matters as who is eligible to be a Zoroastrian, in a way that could not be obtained by using Inter-Group Relations theories or Sociology of Religion theories.

The five propositions of symbolic boundary theory were supported by the results of my research work. The comparison of the three samples of Zoroastrians lends support for the five theoretical propositions with regard to ethnicity and symbolic boundaries, (1).

Proposition 1. The analysis of ethnicity starts from a definition of the situation held by the actors themselves.
The Zoroastrians in the **The World Zoroastrian Survey 1986** define themselves in terms of Zoroastrianism. Only twenty-one percent of the respondents from the survey did not do so. The data analyses demonstrated that ethnic identity as measured by a self definition as a Zoroastrian or not, was important in explaining and predicting attitudes to the symbolic boundaries, for the "new" sample of Zoroastrians and especially for the UK Zoroastrians. It was not a relevant factor for the sample "old" Zoroastrians.

Proposition 2. The focus of attention becomes the maintenance of ethnic boundaries and the social interaction, between them and us, which takes place across the ethnic boundary.
The considerable private discord within the world wide Zoroastrian community is focused upon this point: What characteristics constitute a Zoroastrian, ascribed or achieved or both. The scale for measuring Zoroastrian attitudes to their symbolic boundaries contained elements of responses to outsiders in terms of them entering Zoroastrian Temples. It was not just concerned with attributes for eligibility for membership. The data analyses have shown that those Zoroastrians who say that they take part in certain religious practices, support the symbolic boundaries which clearly define who is a Zoroastrian and who is not a Zoroastrian, and want to maintain them as they now exist. On the other hand, those Zoroastrians who say that they do not, or are less likely, to take part in certain religious activities, want to change the symbolic boundaries and thus the social interaction that takes place across the boundaries. It was noted for all the samples of Zoroastrians, that those who do not want change to the boundaries could be considered traditional in their outlook on life whereas those Zoroastrians who supported change were less

traditional in their outlook. The latter group of Zoroastrians seemed to be adapting to their environment in a way that was different from the former group.

Proposition 3. Ethnic identity depends upon ascription, both by the members of the ethnic group and outsiders.

One of the problems for Zoroastrians in the UK, and probably the other communities in the Diaspora, is to be defined as Zoroastrians by outsiders and not as "Indians". As noted above, Zoroastrians are divided on the issue of whether Zoroastrians are born or made. In **The World Zoroastrian Survey 1986** the respondents were fairly evenly divided on the question of initiation of non-Zoroastrians into the religion. Slightly more than fifty percent were in favour of initiation of non-Zoroastrians. The data analyses did not demonstrate any specific connection between attitudes to outsiders and the symbolic boundaries of Zoroastrianism. Perceived pressures from the outside were not significant in explaining or predicting Zoroastrian attitudes to the symbolic boundaries of their community. On the whole, the data analyses focused on analysing the pressures within the community. In the analyses, the pressures within the community were seen as being concerned with Zoroastrians who did not want to change the "rules" for who is eligible to be a Zoroastrian and who is not eligible, as well as with Zoroastrians who supported changing the "rules" for eligibility. The characteristics of these two "types" of Zoroastrians were delineated, and it was suggested that one of the characteristics which related to the symbolic boundaries was that the former tended to define themselves as Zoroastrian, whereas the latter did not do so.

Proposition 4. Ethnicity is not fixed; it is situationally defined.
In India, Iran and the "old" Zoroastrian communities of the Diaspora, the boundaries of the community were fixed geographically, physically and socially. The "new" Zoroastrian communities find themselves in a much more fluid social situation. This leads to considerable tension between the "new" communities and the "old" communities and the "Mother" communities in India and Iran. I think that the evidence points to the fact that ethnicity is situationally defined because of the different characteristics of the three samples, apart from religious practices, that explain and predict attitudes to the symbolic boundaries. Each sample of Zoroastrians exhibited slightly different community specific characteristics. The further away from religious values and the nearer to social values, that the analyses moved, the bigger the differences between the three samples of Zoroastrians. The different environments had had an impact on the social values of the Zoroastrians.

Proposition 5. Ecological issues are particularly influential in determining ethnic identity especially with regard to economic niches within the society in question. Zoroastrians in Indian, Irani and the "Old" communities had definite economic niches, and in the eras of the British Raj in India, and the Shah in Iran, they were powerful and wealthy economic niches. The "new" communities are in quite a different economic situation, with most of the communities' members in professional, salaried work. In this respect, the UK community is nearer to the "new" communities than to the "old" communities. Though, on the whole, the

factor of occupation was not relevant in explaining Zoroastrian attitudes to the symbolic boundaries, there was evidence of a minor relationship with the symbolic boundaries for the "new" sample of Zoroastrians. The effects of the different ecological niches of the various Zoroastrian groups, is hinted at through the different community specific characteristics. Further work is needed on the

differences within the two sample labelled "old" and "new". However, for this particular piece of research, the focal point is the UK community, and the research into other communities of the Diaspora was used to highlight and put it into a general context, and not a particular context.

Barth suggested that the bases of boundedness can be visible or invisible, symbolic or real, and there is no logical limit to the number of bases, (2). The results of the research conducted and analyzed in this paper would suggest that as far as Zoroastrians are concerned, the boundaries are very real in their effects on the community, especially for the members who want to marry outside the group, or who have family members who have married out. For the Zoroastrians the bases of boundedness are in fact numerically small. They concern the access to the religion that would limit it to those people whose parents were born and initiated into Zoroastrianism, though in reality the point is stretched for the children of men who marry out. The characteristics of the Zoroastrian communities that related to their attitudes to the symbolic boundaries are attitudes to three or four religious practices, the most important being their attitudes to preferred burial practices. Although ethnic identity was important for two of the groups of Zoroastrians of the Diaspora, it was not the primary finding of the research material, which related to the specific religious practices.

The public face that the Zoroastrian community presents to the world has very simple rules of eligibility for membership of the group, but the analyses have demonstrated that the private face of the community with regard to these rules is very complex, (3). The Zoroastrians who support the symbolic boundaries, or rules for membership, as they now stand, appear to have positive attitudes to Zoroastrian religious and social values, whereas the Zoroastrians who want to change the symbolic boundaries have a much more complex set of attitudes to Zoroastrian religious and social values. Symbolic boundary theory suggests that individuals can be attached to their ethnic group not in observable traits that can be measured in terms of practices, but in terms of affect for the community. Personal identities touch the core of the self and are likely to be bound by a powerful affect, (4). As JR.Hinnells has commented, Parsis may appear to be indifferent to the practice of their religion but when the question of breaching the symbolic boundaries arises they are not indifferent in their reactions, (5). An analysis of Zoroastrian ethnic identity found that affect came into play with regard to the symbolic boundaries when the concept of "race and religion demarcation" was added to questions about the symbolic boundaries. At times of increased racial hostility in the UK, Zoroastrians who described themselves as Zoroastrians were more likely to want to close group boundaries than those Zoroastrians who did not describe themselves as Zoroastrians. The Zoroastrians who had high scores on the religious identity and

ethnic identity scales wanted to keep the race and religion demarcation as a part of Zoroastrianism. Also, the Zoroastrians who wanted to keep the race and religion demarcation said that they had not experienced racial prejudice in the UK. As I suggested in chapter ten, **Symbolic Boundaries and British Zoroastrians,** it may be that Zoroastrian social identities intercede between Zoroastrian social values and the symbolic boundaries, and that Zoroastrian attitudes to race and ethnicity, including the race and the religious demarcation of Zoroastrianism may interact with these social identities producing a very powerful affect.

Symbolic boundary theory was not only used for quantitative and qualitative analyses, but was used also for the experiential analyses. It enabled me to make sense, in an objective sociological way, of incidents that had occurred during my sojourns in the USA, Brasil and Japan. I was unable to explain those incidents using the theoretical parameters of the other social theories. It has also enabled me to explain aspects of my life in my country of origin. Utilization of symbolic boundary theory is not confined to a condition of "outsider" or "stranger", although I was sensitized to its explanatory powers when subjected to those conditions in the USA, Brasil and especially Japan. Experiential evidence introduced and illustrated the theoretical parameters of symbolic boundary theory. The black and white nature of my experiences of symbolic boundaries in Japan, suggested the possibility of working from this theoretical perspective in my research on the Zoroastrian community in the UK. Also, my new awareness of the possibility of multiple solutions to problems, indicated that the new research parameters could be combined with all the other research material. It was not an "either/ or" situation with one group of theories being rejected in preference for the greater explanatory power of another. Symbolic boundary theory could illuminate and explain aspects of the Zoroastrian community in the UK that remained untouched by either theories of inter-group relations or theories of the sociology of religion. All three groups offer explanations of the community that complement and balance each other.

The Implications for Methods and Theories in Sociology

The work demonstrated that experiential evidence can be used in conjunction with theoretical, qualitative and quantitative analyses. It illuminates the analytical material and shows the intellectual biases of the researcher in choosing the parameters of their research. Experiential evidence can be used in the same way as I described the symbolic boundary approach to studying Zoroastrians: That is in a "lateral" way, coming at the problem from a completely different perspective and using the material in a different way to illuminate the problem. In a way, that helps with the "vertical", or orthodox way of approaching the research problems. It can be used to illuminate the research problem, and as a means of "kick starting" the research work, or giving impetus to ideas. Being outside my culture of origin has had the effect of enabling me to see my native cultures in a different light; in a sense coming at them obliquely without losing the ability to see the cultures in the original light. This enabled me to contemplate using different theoretical approaches to my research problems. Experiential evidence does not interfere with the logic of the analytical research processes: It complements and balances the

analytical research processes.

The results of the research into the Zoroastrian community in the UK and the communities of the Diaspora have implications for sociological theories of Inter-Group Relations, as well as for the Sociology of Religion. Symbolic boundary theory used in conjunction with theories of Inter-Group Relations, might be able to explain if those Zoroastrians who appear to be moving away from the Zoroastrian community, are moving into mainstream society or towards other ethnic communities, or evolving another cultural variety of Zoroastrianism. Zoroastrians who seem to maintain their Zoroastrian social values and not their religious values are interesting in this context. They are part of the UK Zoroastrians who want changes in the symbolic boundaries. What about the Zoroastrians who do not appear to maintain either Zoroastrian social or religious values, but who want to see changes in the symbolic boundaries? Where do they stand vis-a-vis mainstream society and other ethnic groups in the UK? These two groups of UK Zoroastrians seem to be less traditional in their attitudes and changing in a way that is different from the UK Zoroastrians with more traditional attitudes.

The fact that the **Primary Findings** of the research indicated that attitudes to certain religious practices are most important in explaining attitudes to the symbolic boundaries, and that ethnic identity was important as only one of several community specific characteristics in explaining attitudes to the boundaries, as well as the fact that ethnic identity was not relevant for all the communities of the Diaspora, is of importance for theories of Inter-Group Relations which deal with immigrants. In the research presented in this paper, there was no evidence of Zoroastrian perceived prejudice or discrimination due to ethnic origin, or any specific attitudes to outsiders, having any impact on attitudes to the symbolic boundaries of the community. They only came into play in a hypothetical situation of future increased racism in the UK, when certain groups of Zoroastrians would close the boundaries of the community. However, this fact emerged from the data analyses on **The Face-to-Face Survey of Zoroastrians in Britain 1987** and was not a finding of the main analyses of the work. It is an area of Zoroastrian studies that needs careful research in the future.

From the research, it would appear that for ethnic groups such as the UK Zoroastrians, attitudes to certain religious practices are the core of being able to understand what holds the community together, because they are the best predictors of Zoroastrian attitudes to symbolic boundary maintenance. The usual divisions of gender, age, socio-economic status, or origin within a community, that predict attitudes to other aspects of community life and values, were not found to be relevant with regard to predicting Zoroastrian attitudes to the symbolic boundaries. This is an important finding and relevant for theories of Inter-Group Relations. For two of the groups of communities of the Diaspora a couple of the demographic and socio-economic divisions were found to be relevant, but they were minor community specific characteristics and may only have been relevant for that particular sample in that particular time. At the beginning of the work, I noted that one of my original pieces of research on UK Zoroastrians found that out-marriage

did not seem to indicate "liberal" attitudes to the controversial or symbolic boundaries of Zoroastrianism; it did not have a measure of association with these attitudes. Later, more rigorous analyses, refuted this particular finding. However, education abroad rather than in the UK, was associated with orthodox attitudes to the controversial aspects of Zoroastrianism, and this was not refuted in the later more rigorous analyses. These research findings, of the relationship between outmarriage and education and the controversial aspects of Zoroastrianism, were based on a sample of Zoroastrians tested in 1976. In 1986 the research into the sample of Zoroastrians produced results that indicated type of marriage partner was a predictor of attitudes to the symbolic boundaries, but the place of education had little if no relationship with attitudes to the symbolic boundaries. Therefore, community specific characteristics that predict attitudes to the symbolic boundaries may only be relevant for that particular group at that particular time.

The results of the work have implications for Sociology of Religion theories, suggesting what the classical theorists took for granted, that attitudes to religion are central in explaining group maintenance. They are not something to be studied in isolation from the rest of Sociology. Zoroastrians are not members of a sect, or church, or enclosed order, or congregation, but they are members of a distinct cultural group with unique religious and social values. Zoroastrian attitudes to certain religious activities have an impact far beyond an area of their lives, that can be parcelled off and labelled Religion. The attitudes to the religion appear to work in conjunction with attitudes to other aspects of their lives and should be studied thus and not in isolation.

The central connection between Zoroastrian attitudes to religious values and their attitudes to the symbolic boundaries of the community (as well as the important connection between attitudes to religious values and social values but not between social values and the symbolic boundaries of the community) have theoretical implications far beyond the Zoroastrian Diaspora.

Although I have suggested that the lack of apparent connection or the very loose connection, between social values and symbolic boundaries might permit the group to be flexible in its cultural adaptation to new environments, what happens when the group has to adapt to change within the old environment, or has to adapt to change in a hostile environment? I am thinking of the upsurge of ethnic conflict around the world as some of the old social systems fall apart, especially Eastern Europe and the Balkans. Does pressure to adapt to change in the old environment or a hostile environment, forge a direct connection between social values and the symbolic boundaries of the group? If this connection is forged is it inflexible with regard to responding to change? Or do the connections between religious values, social values, social identities and symbolic boundaries just get stronger and stronger as the old environment changes, or gets more hostile? The group reinforces its symbolic boundaries against the intrusion of non-members?

The research on the UK Zoroastrians demonstrated that those Zoroastrians who wanted to keep the symbolic boundaries unchanged tended to have positive

attitudes to both religious and social values, whereas the UK Zoroastrians who wanted the change the symbolic boundaries had a range of attitudes to social and religious values. Also the former Zoroastrians wanted to keep the group boundaries closed if racism increased in the UK, but the latter Zoroastrians did not. Zoroastrians who wanted change the symbolic boundaries had a social identity as Citizen, whereas Zoroastrians who wanted to keep the symbolic boundaries unchanged had a social identity solely as a Zoroastrian. It was the social identity as Citizen that seemed to have a relationship with social values and the symbolic boundaries, a social identity as Zoroastrian seemed to have a relationship, only, with religious values and the symbolic boundaries.

I think that it is very important to gain an understanding of the central connection between religious values and symbolic boundaries and how they interact with social values, as well as with social identities for a range of different groups of people, and under a range of different social environments, in the modern world. Understanding attitudes to religious values are of primary importance, but these must be studied in conjunction with attitudes to other cultural values.

Conclusion

The main aim of this piece of work was to advance the sociological understanding of a religious minority group in the UK. A variety of methodological approaches were used to achieve this end and included theory, qualitative analyses, experiential evidence and quantitative analyses. It was a piece of work that was both analytical and experiential.

Initially, I looked at the problems and interesting anomalies I encountered during the research work for my MA Thesis. They were discussed, as was the realization of the fact that I needed other explanatory parameters to account for some of my findings, (6). My approach to the methodologies that can be used in research work, and the value of experiential evidence in sociological work, were discussed. The intellectual effect of my own experiences as an outsider in other societies and as a member of closed social group in these societies, were delineated. The experiences of the operation of symbolic boundaries for me on an individual level were described. How these experiences affected my work and intellectual development, as a sociologist in particular, and more widely as a social scientist, were discussed. The experiences of the intricate and subtle racial and ethnic systems in the USA and Brasil not only sensitized me to the complexities of such systems, but also to the limitations of working within theoretical parameters designed to explain such systems. The Japanese experience focused my attention upon social anthropological theories of how groups form and maintain their cohesiveness through their symbolic boundaries. The concept of symbolic boundaries was introduced and illustrated by a discussion about my experiences in Japan and descriptions of Zoroastrian symbolic boundaries. Symbolic Boundary theories were presented and discussed in detail, as well as the close connection between symbolic boundaries and ethnic identity. The central sociological concept of Culture was commented on, as well as other classical sociological theories. To complete the analysis of social

theories that related to a community such as the Zoroastrians,
types of methodologies were discussed, with especial reference to the ones used in
the work. The philosophical under-pinning of these methodologies was also
touched upon.

The next stage of the work dealt with the relationship between symbolic boundaries
and ethnic identity at a practical level, and was illustrated by experiential evidence
from Japan. There was a short introduction to an elaboration of the theory behind
measuring any type of social identity, and this theory was utilized only to give
pointers in building up social identity variables, and the type of questions to be
asked of the statistical data. There was a presentation of a statistical research
project on the social identities of Zoroastrians in the UK, (7). The results of this
analysis lent support to the results of the main statistical analysis of the work with
regard to the symbolic boundaries of Zoroastrianism. The relationship between
social identities and group boundaries was strong. Also, social identities were
found to be closely inter-connected, and tended to be associated with Zoroastrians
who were members of Zoroastrian Associations, or educated abroad, or married to
Zoroastrians, or practicing Zoroastrians, or in favour of retaining the race and
religion demarcation in the symbolic boundaries. Low religious identity was
associated with Zoroastrians who thought in English, or who had graduate level
education, or high occupational status. Low ethnic identity was associated with
Zoroastrians whose thought in English.

After the quantitative analyses of the social identities of UK Zoroastrians were
given, the history of Zoroastrians in Iran and India and the Diaspora was set out in
detail. The relevance of their history to the present day communities in Iran and
India was discussed: Boundary maintenance through religious values to prevent the
community being swamped by Islam or Hinduism. The status of those communities
today, the Zoroastrian Diaspora and types of community that evolved outside Iran
and India were discussed. The differences between Iranis and Parsis were
commented on. Although there are few Iranis in Britain, and therefore in the
research material, they have had an impact on the UK Zoroastrian community. Also
the differences between the Zoroastrians in the UK were discussed. The later waves
of Zoroastrian immigrants, the political immigrants, were more orthodox in
community matters than earlier waves of Zoroastrian immigrants, who were
economic immigrants.

Personal interviews with individual Zoroastrians and their families, in Britain, were
described and commented upon, (8). It was noted that during the interviews the
Zoroastrians were very comfortable talking about their experiences in adapting to
British cultures, but they were not very keen to talk about their attitudes to
Zoroastrianism especially with regard to the religious aspects. A synopsis of the
interviews was used as an introduction to looking at Zoroastrians in Britain.

The history of immigration into the UK and the position of immigrant groups in the
UK at the present time, was delineated. The heterogeneous, rather than a
homogeneous, nature of cultures in the British Isles was commented on. It was

noted that, although there has always been a diversity of cultures in Britain, today it is somewhat different because of introduction of cultures from societies that are geographically distant from the UK, and that the immigrants have brought cultural values with them that are not based on the Christian-Judaic tradition.

Sociological theories of Inter-Group Relations relating to conflict between different groups within a society were discussed, as well as how they help in understanding what is happening in the UK today, and how they relate to the position of the Zoroastrians as an ethnic group. The potential for the UK Zoroastrians to form two distinct ethnic groups based on the countries of origin, Iran and India, was noted, but considered unlikely because of the numbers of people involved are so small.

Another set of sociological theories of Inter-Group Relations relating to the absorption and assimilation patterns of immigrant groups into urban industrial societies were described. The loss of secular values before sacred values was discussed, as well as the persistent nature of the sacred values that immigrants bring with them to their new place of residence. Statistical research relating to the Zoroastrians from this theoretical perspective was described, analyzed and discussed, (9). I concluded that the relationship between the sacred and secular values of immigrants was very complex, much more complex than just a simple loss of secular values by the immigrants in their new society. It was a relationship that needed further investigation, especially with regard to looking for intervening factors between sacred and secular values.

The theoretical discussions did not try to encompass the full range of theoretical material of the sociological field of inter-group relations available at the time of the data analyses, nor did it reflect the state of play as regards the field of theory today: Similarly with regard to my approach to the theoretical parameters that I utilized from the field of the Sociology of Religion. The parameters that I used reflected what I considered then to be the most appropriate theoretical parameters for my research.

The place of religion in modern British society, and the current UK Zoroastrian religious beliefs and practices there, was discussed. The array of different religious groups in the UK ,were enumerated. The problems associated with the position of the Sociology of Religion with regard to mainstream Sociology were addressed, and as well, the implications for research conducted under this rubric were touched upon. Theoretical aspects of the Sociology of Religion relevant to the study of this community were introduced and illustrated with reference to the UK Zoroastrians. My own research material pertaining to the Zoroastrians in the UK from these theoretical perspectives was presented and analyzed, (10) (11). The analyses produced "interesting" facts about Zoroastrians and their religion but these did not lend themselves to a comprehensive analysis of Zoroastrians as a group. The religious aspects of Zoroastrianism are tied up with the other aspects of Zoroastrianism and should not be studied in isolation. Although, the apparent lack of a relationship between attitudes to social aspects of Zoroastrianism and the "controversial" aspects of Zoroastrianism was noted.

I concluded that neither research focused entirely within the parameters of theories from the Sociology of Religion, nor from within the parameters of theories of Inter-Group Relations, was satisfactory in explaining the survival of the Zoroastrian community in the UK. I turned to a theoretical perspective, Symbolic Boundary Theory, which enabled me to investigate individual UK Zoroastrian attitudes to their religious and social values and at the same time investigate them as a group. I undertook a detailed statistical analysis of the data set that I was involved in from its inception. Although it was designed as a descriptive data set, it lent itself to an explanatory analysis of the data. A scale was built to measure Zoroastrian attitudes to their community's symbolic boundaries. My **Primary Findings** suggested that UK Zoroastrian attitudes to certain religious practices explained some of the variance in the attitudes to the symbolic boundaries and the best predictor of attitudes to the boundaries, was the UK Zoroastrians attitudes to preferred burial practices.

I carried out the same detailed, full statistical analysis of the data set relating to the symbolic boundaries of Zoroastrian communities in other societies, USA, Canada, Australia, New Zealand, Pakistan, Kenya and Hong Kong, and analyzed the results. The scales for measuring the symbolic boundaries were the same for each community, as were the **Primary Findings**. I called these **Primary Findings** the **Universal Characteristics** of Zoroastrian attitudes to their symbolic boundaries. Attitudes to certain religious practices explained the most variance in attitudes to the symbolic boundaries, and the best predictor of these attitudes, was the Zoroastrians' preferred burial practices. There were differences between the communities in the **Secondary Findings**, but these related to environmentally specific characteristics of the communities and were called **Community Specific Characteristics** of Zoroastrian attitudes to their symbolic boundaries**.**

The relationship between the symbolic boundaries of the community and attitudes to Zoroastrian religious and social values were investigated. There was a strong direct connection between religious values and the symbolic boundaries but there was no direct connection between social values and the symbolic boundaries of the community. I concluded that this would be an interesting new field of investigation not only for the Zoroastrian communities of the world, but also for other groups of people across the world.

The implications of the research material in the work for Symbolic Boundary Theory were considered to be exciting because they demonstrated that symbolic boundaries can cross the most salient of modern boundaries at the macro as well as at the micro level. The propositions of Symbolic Boundary theory were lent support by analyses in the work. The implications of the work for the Zoroastrian communities of the world, was discussed, as well as the implications for methods and theories in Sociology.

A synopsis of all the material in the work relating to the UK Zoroastrian community, with especial reference to all the statistical material, concluded that the

sum total of knowledge of Zoroastrians in Britain had been added to by the latest research contained in this paper. Also another level of understanding of this British community had been developed, and interesting new avenues for research in the future had been opened up, both within the Zoroastrian Diaspora and within other communities in the world.

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GLOSSARY OF WORDS RELATING TO ZOROASTRIANISM

Angra Mainyu: Ahriman; The Hostile Spirit who is wicked by
nature and by choice. Co-exists
independently from all eternity with Ohrmazd, but below in
darkness.

Athornan: The priestly class whose sons have to under
go the first religious ritual, Navar, before they can become priests. If
the sons do not undergo Navar for two generations then the family
loses its priestly class status. On the whole priests tend
to marry the daughters of priests.

Avesta: The Zoroastrian Holy texts in the Avestan language which are divided
up according to ritual. They contain the most ancient elements of
Zoroastrian and   these can be compared with oldest
religious works of India, the Rigveda.

Avestan: The Zoroastrian language of prayer and worship. The origins of this
language is not known and is named after the Avesta or Holy Texts of
Zoroastrianism.

Behdin: The non-priestly class whose sons cannot undergo Navar and become
priests.

Fire Temples: These are the buildings that house the different types of Holy Fire.
They are the Atash Bahram, similar to a Christian Cathedral, and the
Agiari, similar to a Christian parish church. The priests perform the
religious rituals and ceremonies on behalf of the lay Zoroastrians.
There is no set time for the lay Zoroastrian to attend the Fire Temple,
they go when they feel moved to do so. Purity is of paramount
importance before entrance to the Temple, or any sacred activity.
Non-Zoroasatrians do not observe the laws of purity and they are not
allowed into the Fire Temples or the Towers of Silence.

Gathas: Zoroaster's words which have been recorded
in the form of hymns and form part of the Avesta. The language
of the Gathas has close parallels with Sanskrit.

Holy Fire: All fire is sacred in Zoroastrian belief, especially the perpetually
burning fire in the Temple because it is maintained in purity, and is the
focus of devotion. A fire is present at all Zoroastrian rites. There are
different grades of fire in the Temples from the Atash Bahram, the
Adaran found in Agiaris, to the Dadgan found in homes and Temples.

Ilm-i Kshnoom: The path of knowledge says that the goal of man's spiritual quest is
the attainment of spiritual purity through successive rebirths to
enable the soul to be released from matter. Kshnoomist
Zoroastrians believe they are experiencing the final rebirth.

Kusti: The sacred cord is made up of seventy-two threads of lamb's wool woven
by the wife of a priest. The Kusti is tied and untied several times each day
to the accompaniment of the Kusti prayers as the Zoroastrian faces the light.

Mazda Ahura: Ohrmazd; Lord of Wisdom or the Wise Lord. The one uncreated God. Co-exists independently from all eternity with Ahriman, on high in light.

Naujote: The initiation rites of Zoroastrianism. They take place before sunset in the home of the child, when the child has reached at least eight years old but not older than fifteen years. The child receives the sacred shirt, the Sudre, and the sacred cord, the Kusti from the initiating priests. The ceremony takes place in the presence of the sacred fire.

Navar/ Maratab: The first religious ritual on the route, to becoming a Zoroastrian priest.

Sudre: The sacred shirt which is made of thin white, to symbolize purity, cotton and worn at all times. The "v" of the neck is a little purse to be filled with the wearer's Good Deeds.

Theosophy: A religious movement whose importance to Parsis lies in its emphasis on, preserving age-old traditions because of their occult significance, especially, the use of the Avestan prayers. Towers of Silence: The Dohkmas, where the dead are laid out to be eaten by vultures. It is said to take about half and hour and then the bones are left to bleach in the sun. They are eventually buried in a central pit. In this way the decaying body does not defile the sacred elements of earth, water and fire. In places such as London cremation, by electrical means, is used. The growth of the city of Bombay has led to a decrease in the number of vultures, which might cause problems in the future for the Bombay community.

Zoroaster: This is the name the Greeks gave to the Persian prophet, Zarathustra. He transformed ancient beliefs, on the dualism of order and chaos, into a moral conflict of good and evil. He substituted the worship of one God without equal, Ahura Mazda, for the placating of malevolent powers, and that heaven was for all the righteous, conversely hell was for all the wicked. Man's religious quest being the defeat of evil and the establishment of righteousness by good thoughts, words and deeds. There is considerable controversy about the time that

he actually lived, 1500 BC to 6000 BC.

Zoroastrian Calendars: Shahenshai; This calendar is the one that was used by Parsi Zoroastrians since their arrival in India. It differs from the Kadmi calendar. The use of these two calendars caused a rift in the Indian Zoroastrian community and led to the founding of separate Temples for adherents to the different calendars.

Kadmi; The Zoroastrian calendar based on the Iranian calendar which was found, in the eighteenth century to be a month different from the Parsi Zoroastrian calendar.

Fasli; The calendar founded in 1906 which was to end the rift between the Shahenshai and Kadmi supporters. It had a fixed Spring Festival, No Ruz, and a leap day every four years.

Zoroastrian Quest: It can be stated in three phrases which are mentioned frequently, in the Gathas;
Good Thoughts; The right faith
Zoroastrianism makes a man whole and it embodies reason and wisdom.
Good Words; Faith is not something to be observed silently it must be declared openly. Prayers are spoken out loud.
Good Deeds; Deeds are what men are judged by, including ritual religious actions, ethics and the daily Zoroastrian quest.

Zoroastrian Traditions: Pateli/ No Ruz; New Year Celebrations. The time of these celebrations depends on which of the Zoroastrian calendars the Zoroastrian follows, Shahenshai, Kadmi, Fasli.

Gahambars;   Seasonal festivals.

Small Fire/ Oil Lamp;
This burns in the home and is used for the saying of prayers.

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