

Migration of Iranian Women to the UK

Overview of Two Generations

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Abstract

This research investigates the migration of Iranian women on two different periods of migration post Islamic Revolution of 1979. This research centres on two periods: the post revolution migrants second phase, who migrated after the Islamic Revolution and the post revolution migrants third phase, which are those who have migrated from Iran within the last ten years. This research focuses on the migration of fifteen Iranian women from these phases into the UK while exploring their motivations along with their working experiences narrated in their migration stories.

This research seeks to understand and reveal the differences or similarities between both phases of post revolution migration. To achieve this aim, qualitative methodology is applied where semi-structured interviews were conducted to collect data to identify different factors that explain the motivations to emigrate to the UK of fifteen Iranian women, who took part in this study.

Research findings reveal that Iranian women migrated to the UK due to various factors such as to enjoy better opportunities in education and free political affiliation; to escape of anti-women laws in the home country; diverse economic reasons and marriage. All of these motives were directly or indirectly linked to the effects of Islamic Revolution of 1979 in Iran and the consequent changes in the socio-political context of the Iranian State, which has contributed to their decision to emigrate to the UK.

In terms of the working experiences, the narrative experience of the women that emigrate to the UK during the second phase, it showed that they struggled more than the second group in their adaptation to the new environment. The experience of women of the second group that emigrated during the third period was completely different, because they adapted to the British working context easily as their testimony of their experiences showed it.

This study will be comparing these two very different generations in their motivations to emigrate, their different expectations, and ways of adaptation in two very different historical periods.

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Chapter One: Introduction

This chapter discusses the purpose of undertaking this study by examining the background and research gap in current studies, a concise explanation of the methodology used as well as an overall outline of the dissertation.

The aim of this research is to explore the motivations for the migration of skilled ethnic minorities of Iranian women to the UK during the two stages of migration, in the post revolution era of 1979. The objective of this investigation is to highlight the experiences of these women in the working environment within the UK, as well as exploring their motivation behind taking up the decision to migrate. An important factor to take into account is the effect of Islamic Revolution of Iran in 1979 on women. The consequent changes in the socio-political configuration of the Iranian state that contributed to women's decision to leave the country and in this case to emigrate to the UK. This research will investigate the main motivations of this group of women through the narrative of fifteen Iranian women migrants from both migration periods.

This research focuses on migration of women, the values and experiences of migration which according to Burrell (2003:1) '*can be both a monumental upheaval and an ordinary activity*'. In other words, process of migration can be a necessary life changing experience such as those of refugees who are forced to live their homeland, while for some it is a temporary act of relocation to complete a task from their employing organisation. Burrell (2003) argues that most papers predominantly deal with migrants as a homogenous group or focus on the economic motives for migration whereas the aim of this research is investigate the political and social motivation behind migration as well as the economic factors. Others such as Kindler et al., (2010) and Zlotnik, (1995), by contrast, emphasize that female migration is under-researched and that there is not enough information on the mechanisms that led women to migrate. This is the reason that this dissertation highlights the relevance in the study about women in the Iranian context with very specific reasons and motivations to emigrate to the UK. The question here becomes whether or not women migrate to escape the patriarchy state and the social-political conditions of Iran or alternatively, is it the experience of seeking out new opportunities that can bring a new culture, which motivates the women of Iran to emigrate. Is this the drive of Iranian women to travel to a host country? Has the motives of Iranian women for migration and their experience upon arrival changed through the years? These are the questions this study aims to find the answers to, through the conducted interviews.

The research literature on skilled Iranian migrants in the UK and in particular women is limited and has rarely received any academic attention. A common focus of migration literature is on working class/poorer women from countries such as Bangladesh or Africa who often migrate illegally to work in the informal sectors, in a desperate attempt to support their families (Buijss, 1993). The current literature does not provide perception as why these women left their homeland in the first place. Therefore, this research aims to discover the

underlying reasons behind the migration of skilled middle-class Iranian women. The challenges they experience and their achievements through migration from a government ruled by an Islamic state.

Moreover, demographic material on the Iranian population in the UK is limited (Sadeghi, 2006). The lack of information could be due to a number of reasons, which includes the relatively small number of Iranians in Britain; this could be because Iranians do not live in a concentrated area and that many do not appear in census records because they are not in the public eye (Sepehrrad, 2001). According to Sadeghi, (2006) the huge majority of research on Iranian immigrants is based on the Iranians living in the USA, particularly in Los Angeles which makes up approximately half of the Iranian population living outside Iran (Sadeghi, 2006). In contrast to literature on Iranian immigrants in the USA, there is little literature for Iranians in other host countries such as the United Kingdom (Sadeghi, 2006). In addition, most of the research that has been done were written in Persian language and were mainly conducted in Iran. Therefore, the studies mostly described the migrants' intention rather than the theoretical reasons for migration (Mahdi, 2003). This study aims to add to the research gap found on skilled Iranian women and their migration.

This research will attempt to explore the migration and work experiences of the Iranian migrant women in the UK during the last two phases of migration. This is mainly because for the first stage, the time and circumstances is not relevant to the specific aims of this study and the access to the people from this time frame is very limited. Due to this reason, all emphasis was focused on the second and third stages.

The experiences of individual Iranian migrant women are captured in this study through the narrated migration stories of fifteen migrant women who relocated to the UK. Explored through the migrant stories are the work experiences and meanings of migration, but also migrants' emotions, perceptions, views and opinions of migration (Burrell, 2003). By exploring individual experiences, this research asks the questions on how the process of migration and mobility come into play in the everyday activities of these migrant women in the UK through their lived experience.

To explore women migrants' experiences, this research used a qualitative approach. Through semi-structured interview, it was possible to explain the experience of migration in all its reality and complexity within a phenomenological perspective, which influenced the design of the study as well as the collection and analysis of the data. This involved women speaking of their journeys rather than just migration and the empirical data created here was based on the lived experiences of these women through their own account. This study allowed these women to describe their perception, and encounters upon migration at their work place in the host country (UK). Listening to their migration journey and work experiences provided an opportunity to have access to first-hand data about Iranian migrant women's beliefs, opinions, and values regarding their migratory movement. More specifically this research aims to understand the motives behind the migration of these women while exploring the incidents they faced upon arrival, how these structures enabled or restrained their relocation. It is

expected that the stories of these Iranian migrant women will expose the diversity and dynamic perspectives of migration of women to the UK post revolution of 1979.

Moreover, this research would benefit from a comparative analysis of Iranian women migrants, after the Islamic revolution and at the recent phase of migrant women in the UK (migration within the last 10 years). I interviewed two separate phases of Iranian women migrants in the UK. Data was collected through digital recording, which were then analysed to obtain research findings.

This research seeks to gather information behind what motivated Iranian women to migration from Iran after the revolution of 1979, in comparison to what currently motivates Iranian women to migrate from Iran to the UK. This study aims to observe and investigate whether a change can be seen in the migratory pattern of Iranian women over the last 36 years from the collected data, while exploring the experiences of all these women upon arrival to the host country of UK and by investigating the challenges and achievements of each individual from migration.

This research aims to contribute to the research of highly skilled women from an Islamic state country like Iran to a developed democratic country such as the UK. This research was firstly inspired from my own migration experiences particularly my immigration to the UK. As an Iranian woman, I have faced many challenges in my process of migration therefore, through stages of immigration, assimilation of new culture and adaptation to the new environment. Therefore, there is some empathy with Iranian women who have experienced and tackled various issues, and limitations during their process of migration as I would, to some extent have shared these experiences with the interviewees. Secondly, The lack of research done in the Middle East, has motivated me to study in this area; to investigate the motivations behind making a massive migratory movement and experiences obtained from this decision, as well as the work experience of these women in the UK.

Moreover, according to Esfandiari (2004), Myers and Pringle (2005), Dickmann and Baruch (2011) and Özbilgin, Groutsis and Harvey (2014) the International human resources management has not given much attention to women migrant worker in the developing countries in particular to those who are active decision makers; and the researches undertaken were mainly focused on male migrants. This creates a research gap within women migrant workers from developing countries such as Iran, which this study is aiming to fill. I believe this research is unique on its own right, as it is the first primary study of Iranian women migrated in two different phases to the UK and my aim as a researcher is to expand this research as part of PhD.

1.0. Overview of the Dissertation:

This research study consists of six chapters where each covers an area related to the process of migration of Iranian females, reasons behind making such decision in regards to political social aspects of home country, as well as gender restrictions.

Chapter one delivers information about the reasons behind undertaking such study as well as the aims of this research in order to understand the research gap which has influenced the objective of this research. Chapter two briefly describes the history of Iran and change of role of women in society before and after revolution in an attempt to provide a context of status of women in Iran and the possible motivations of migration created through such restrictions. Chapter three provides an analysis of the literature on migration theories in general and migration of women from Iran to explore the literature on the reasons behind migration from previous studies. Chapter four discusses the methodology and framework used for this research and the reasons behind selecting such methods to describe the underlying reasons behind designing such research methodology best suitable for the purpose of this study. Chapter five describes the research findings through the narratives of the respondents and their lived experience and how these have changed through the years, whether any similarities or major differences can be spotted.

Finally, chapter six provides an overall conclusion from the findings of this research, based on the motivations of Iranian females for migration, their challenges through the process of migration and their experience within the host country of United Kingdom.

The overall aim of the chapters within this research is to represent the lived experience of female migrants of Iran through their eyes in an attempt to better understand their migration and to contribute to an area, which has previously been overlooked.

Chapter Two: Context

In order to justify my inspiration for this research and to create a foundation for this investigation, I have provided a historical background to the changes in role of women in society during the three-migration stages taken place in Iran, which will be explained in more detail in this chapter.

The involvement of women in the development of social and economic conditions of Iran are discussed in this section to create a more defined image of their roles in society and how the consequences of political changes in the country from the revolution has affected their positions In society and consequently their lives. This section focuses on the influence of political and social factors towards migratory decision of Iranian women and therefore their contribution towards the global migration from Iran.

Global Iranian migration has three main stages that provide the framework for the conceptualization of Iranian immigration (Hakimzadeh, 2006). The first significant stage of emigration from Iran began in the year 1950 and lasted until 1979 the year of the Islamic revolution (Sadeghi, 2006). Migration of the first stage was mainly due to Iran's economic recovery and resumption of oil production after the Second World War (Mohammadi, 2013; Tohidi, 1991). Financial resources gained from oil exports permitted a relatively rapid change in Iranian society from the traditional customs to more contemporary and westernised way of life. This motivated the middle and upper class Iranian families to send their children abroad for higher education as a means of ensuring socio-economic security and political access to governmental and key roles in society for their children upon their return to Iran, due to their high level of education from the west (Mahdi, 2003). Most of these young adults were sent to study in universities of the U.S, United Kingdom, West Germany, France, Austria, and Italy (Mahdi, 2003).

Table 2.0.1: Representing the Development Stages of Iran

Phases of Migration	Time Period	Type of Employment
First phase	1950 - 1979	Trade & Governmental
Second phase	1979 - 2000	Retail, Health & Domestic
Thirds phase	2000-present	Academia, Retail & Trade

Second stage of emigration happened after the Islamic Revolution in 1979 (Hakimzadeh, 2006). According to Milani (1994), socialist and liberal supporters of Shah (the king of Iran before the revolution) were the first to leave the country followed by young military deserters from the Iran and Iraq war, then women and families, who were escaping the overly confined gender restriction created by the new post-war Islamic government.

The Islamic morals have always had a role in the Iranian culture and society at various levels for the last thirteen to fourteen hundred years (Osanloo, 2009). The Islamic revolution of

1979 however created a new government who set up new rules and instituted total control over the public in particular women. Laws were put in place in regards to the appearance of women in society, their conduct and mobility and limitations in terms of movements outside of their homes (Osanloo, 2009).

During the revolution, women were involved in different ways, for example, they participated in handing out leaflets, sheltering wanted activist, demonstrating on the streets, organising consciousness-raising campaigns, with few taking up arms to fight (Mohanty, Russo and Torres, 1991). Mohammadi (2013) argued that Iranian women played a crucial role in the victory of the revolution. He continued to say that there were no gender differences and expectations in the participations of women during the revolution (Mohammadi, 2013). During the months leading up to the revolution, the clergies promised that people will get more freedom most particularly women and that Iran will be different to the neighbouring countries governed by a Islamic republic. However shortly after the revolution, when the new government obtained the power they desired, all those promises vanished (Mohammadi, 2013).

In the early years after the revolution, it was not compulsory for women to wear hijab; no rules were set to control the appearance of women. As time went on more laws were set up, women were not allowed in their place of work if they did not follow the new laws and if an organisation refused to conduct the new rules, they would face severe fines and punishment (Mir-Hosseini, 2007). This was applicable and observed in schools and public areas and followed by other changes in laws; women were not given equal rights to men in marriages or in divorce situations, the women were denied custody to their children after a certain age (Mohammadi, 2013). The age of criminal responsibility was also changed from the age of 18 to the new age of nine for girls (Mohammadi, 2013). Inheritance laws favour men as their inheritance is twice or triple that for women, which were not usually the case in the past (Povey, 2001).

According to Rahnema and Behdad (1995), following the revolution Iranian universities became the home of political activities. Students with various views formed groups and battled each other through discussion and arguments, in an attempt to obtain supporters (Rahnema and Behdad, 1995). The Iranian government was not pleased about this and the supreme leader ordered the government police to shut down these activities and demanded the closure of all universities in the country. The supreme leader alleged '*Our university students are Westoxicated. Many of our professors are at the service of the west. They brainwash our youth*' (Rahnema and Behdad, 1995: 193). The authors continued to express, those who tend to oppose the Islamic government could get high punishment such as 15-20 years imprisonment, restriction to leave the country at any time without the permission of the government and even the death penalty. Students involved in political campaigns at universities were sometimes forbidden from being administrated into any other universities in Iran. The people who are being arrested because of their political involvement with other parties or movement upon their release tend to find it more difficult to fit into the society as harsher laws are placed on them (Rahnema and Behdad, 1995).

The final wave of migration, which is the third wave, has taken place over the last decade from around year 2000 to the present day. According to M.P.I (Migration Policy Institute, 2004), this wave consists of two distinct populations:

- Highly skilled individuals
- Working class labour migrants and refugees.

According to Mohammadi (2013), the post revolution era forced reduced educational possibilities for women and enforced women obedience to men. The vast majority of women led narrow, restricted, and powerless lives. Many professionals and skilled personnel left the country all out of the desire for better lives elsewhere, to escape poverty and the changes taking place in the social conditions of Iran after the revolution. These factors often were different from men to women; gender roles, relations, inequalities may affect why they migrated, how the decision was made and the impact on migrants themselves as well as on home and host countries (Mohammadi, 2013).

Although some progress has been made in terms of women rights movement in Iran and there are still women activists who are fighting for their rights. However, women still face oppression and repression on a daily basis at the hands of some religious groups, to the extent that has led to some well-educated women to leave the country after the Islamic revolution (Mohammadi, 2013).

In this current study, skilled individuals are referred to as a group of people who are regarded as been educated, and from the same social group such as university lecturers, engineers and teachers just to name a few (Mohammadi, 2013). The focus of this research is on skilled individuals of the two distinct populations of Iranian women from the second phase and third phase of migration, due to lack of research literature for well-educated and skilled Iranian migrants. Most recent literature and previous research studies focused on Asylum seekers, refugees, and the reasons behind forced migrations (Kamalkhani, 1988; Koser, 1997; Koser, 2001; Koser Akcapar, 2006; Aidani, 2010). However the majority of the last waves of migrants, leaving Iran are scientific scholars and university graduates, which in turn accelerated the rate of brain drain in Iran (Chaichian, 2011), this concept will be explained in more detail in the literature review of this study.

Conclusion:

The purpose of this chapter was to introduce the context of this study while shading light onto possible reasons behind the migration of Iranian women through historical events taken place in Iran from the revolution of democratic government to the Islamic state of Iran. The new Islamic confinements placed on women and the effect these has had on the roles of women in society was explored in this chapter.

The next chapter explore the current literature on migration of ethnic minorities such as Iranian women to highlight the research gap in this area and demonstrate the underlying reasons behind conducting this research. The concept of expatriate and self-initiated expatriate is explained in detail as well as the term migration and the distinguishable characteristic between these three. The chapter also explain the theories behind migration presented through various literatures.

Chapter Three: Literature Review

3.0. Introduction:

This chapter represents the theoretical literature and themes related to the migration of skilled migrants, as well as exploration into what defines an individual as an ethnic minority, an expatriate, self-initiated expatriate and migrant while exploring underlying reasons behind migration of women. The effect of these migrations on the economic status of the home country known as brain drain is discussed within this chapter.

3.1. Migration

According to Povey (2001), the ideal solution for migration and development is for people to remain in their home country where they have equal opportunity of growth as any other place and migration should be a voluntary phenomenon from both migrants and host countries or societies (Povey, 2001). Migration should not be forced by economic and political reasons in the home society. Similarly, migrants should be able to return to their home country or society that is economically and socially stable as well as being safe (Martin, 2007), an unavailable privilege to women migrants who fled Iran to escape the economic and social down growth of the country. The motivation of Iranian women will be investigated in this study to investigate the presence of equal opportunities of growth in society for women as well as identify migration as a voluntary or involuntary act for the participants of this study.

The literature of migration has proven the current movement of migrants from developing countries to developed countries to be high (Al Ariss, 2010). Iran being one of the home countries of migrants has experienced this high rate of movement where in 2009, the International Monetary Fund (IMF) reported of an emigration of 180,000 educated skilled individuals from Iran (Hakimzadeh, 2006; Zdanowski, 2014). This high rate of emigration is believed to be related to the changing socio-economic status of the Islamic society, and the aim of this study is to clarify the effects of such changes on the rate of emigration of women.

The immigration policies influence the institutional and organisational administrative procedures such as work permit and visa authorisations (Al Ariss et al., 2013) and the way they are implemented can be very effective in relocation of the these migrants and blending into the European job market. The skilled migrants considered in this study are the engineers, professors, scientists etc., and are considered as human resources who play an essential role in maintaining high performance in organisations. In a developed country, when an organisation wants to hire individuals, they do their best to ensure meritocracy principles are followed by state institution in their national labour markets (Al Ariss and Syed, 2011). In other words, individuals are considered based on their merit, both educational and experimental in the field, rather than their gender. Thus, the theories of migration and challenges of skilled Iranian women upon arrival to the UK, in finding occupational position

is one of the key investigation points of this research, to investigate whether or not migrants are treated with the same ethics.

In order to achieve success in their international career relocation, migrants require several independent capital resources to act as their agency to confront the structural barriers they face upon relocation (Al Ariss and Syed, 2011). Labour migrants, who are hired for a role within a developed country, are in need of institutional (e.g. qualifications) and socio-cultural support (e.g. cross border networks) (Al Ariss and Syed, 2011). As revealed by Al Ariss and Syed (2011) on a report from Lebanon, these supports can be in various forms of capital used by the migrants to leave Lebanon such as family and rational network, academic qualification and education, professional experience, power and money which are all valuable factors in their migration (Al Ariss and Syed, 2011). This will be explained in more detail through Bourdieu's theory below.

A theory created by Bourdieu (1986) takes factors such as social, cultural, economic and symbolic forms of capital into consideration to investigate reasons behind a migration (Al Ariss and Syed, 2011). Cultural capital consists of culture, academic education, and language of an individual whereas economic capital is the capital, which can be converted directly to money, while social capital is the personal network and relationships created. Lastly, symbolic capital represents the power created through the ability of an individual to obtain other sources of capital. These factors are explained below, in order to understand the migration of skilled individuals from a developing country and their attempt to assemble various types of capital in order to undertake migration (Al Ariss and Syed, 2011).

Bourdieu's theory demonstrates the experience of skilled migrants through mobilizing their resources, to give them power to alter their social truth in an attempt to deal with structural barriers. In this concept micro-individual, the meso-organizational and macro-contextual level are utilised for this purpose. The micro-individual level is the personal experience of skilled migrants while using their career capital upon relocation. The meso-organisational level is the impact of social organisations, such as academic and workplace establishments in their decision of migration. The macro-contextual levels are the all relevant events, which shape the social setting, which can consequently create a restriction or conversely aid the individual in their international relocation (Al Ariss and Syed, 2011).

Bourdieu aims to connect various types of capital explained above, in order to create a rational argument to understand the accumulation and deployment of capital through the use of agency. As an example, economic capital can grant access to universities and various sources of education resulting in improved chances to accumulate cultural capital while social capital can allow easier integration into the job market. Considering these factors can help for a better understanding of the experience of skilled migrants (Al Ariss and Syed, 2011). Al Ariss and Syed (2011) argued, '*A multilevel, relational perspective on capital mobilization, offers a better alternative that takes into account the agency of skilled migrants as well as the structural and institutional influences that shape their reality*' (Al Ariss and Syed, 2011, p.289).

It is essential to understand the dynamic theories behind the migration of skilled minorities who chose to move from a developing country such as Iran to a more developed country like the UK. It is up to these migrants who establish the available pool of human resources for various bodies and organisation in their home or host countries (Al Ariss and Syed, 2010) which can result in brain drain, which will be discussed later in this chapter.

3.2. Theories of Migration

In order to understand the concept of migration it is important to explore the theories behind relocation. Migration and mobility are complex phenomena. There is no one consistent theory that explains all motivations for migration. According to Tassinopoulos and Werner (1998), the lack of clear literature showing the difference between the terms mobility, and migration means that they are sometimes used interchangeably. Nonetheless, the authors go on to suggest that, migration is the movement of humans with a change of settlement whereas mobility is generally known as any movement of people from one location to another for economic purposes. Therefore, the nature of migration indicates its permanent character, while mobility is seen as a temporary act (Tassinopoulos and Werner, 1998). The focus of this research is on the migration of individuals from developing country and the reasons behind their aspiration to migrate to a more economically developed country.

It is essential to differentiate between a forced migration and purely economically based motivated migration when looking into migration theories in order to understand ones aspiration behind migration and the goals they set to achieve upon relocation. Economically motivated migration refers to the migrants who decided to relocate in search of better economic standard of living, which according to Castles (2000); it refers to the voluntary movement of individuals. While on the other hand forced migration refers to asylum seekers and refugees who migrate to escape discrimination, persecution, existing political conflicts, and environmental disasters in their country of origin. Although it is perceived that straightforward differences between forced and voluntary relocation may not be able to clarify current migration patterns, the migration-asylum nexus provides a considerable explanation (Castles and Van Hear, 2005). The migration-asylum nexus is defined by Castles and Van Hear (2005) as the current difficulties faced when differentiating forced and economic migration. It demonstrates similarities between the reasons for both types of movement and argues that the boundaries between the two have become unclear and hard to recognize.

According to Castles and Van Hear (2005) in developing countries primary migration is undertaken by those who wish to escape violence and war and therefore chooses to relocate from their country of asylum in search for protection, safety, and opportunities present to reconstruct their livelihood. Mixed motivations are associated with secondary migration, making it difficult to distinguish between asylum seekers and economic migrants. The blurring of boundaries between these two is tackled through the migration asylum nexus. This concept is observed at various phases of migration. Underdevelopment, weak states, abuse of human rights, impoverishment, and conflict are recognised as being the closely related cause of both economic and force migration. While the force and economic migration from

countries of origin is closely related. On the other hand, the similarities raised in the migratory process for both groups due to restriction on the legal migration, which forces both categories to use agent such as smugglers to cross borders. Host countries tend to claim asylum seekers to be those economic migrants who were forced to become asylum seekers due to suspicion and exclusion, which drove them to illegal residence and occupation (Castles and Van Hear, 2005).

According to Bakewell (2010), fundamental distinction can be observed between the legal status of forced migrant and the way they are treated. He continues to suggest those with status of a refugee are given rights according to international laws which are considered to be stronger than those obtained by those migrant who relocate on voluntary basis (Bakewell, 2010). The individuals studied in this research are skilled women who have decided to migrate abroad where their skills and experiences would emerge as agency to overcome the structural barriers faced by many upon relocation, in particular refugees.

According to Bakewell (2010), those who cross the border illegally can be divided to two groups, one recognised as people who are controlled by human traffickers, who attract public sympathy and a measure of protection from society. Whereas the other group of migrants entering borders illegally are treated as criminals who threat societies. *Therefore, the extent to which agency or structure prevails remains a question of crucial importance in the analysis of migration processes* (Bakewell, 2010, p.2).

According to Morokvasic (2004), mobility can, as a strategy used for empowering, a resource, a means for social innovation and agency. Agency is a one of important aspects of social capital. However, migration can also increase the dependency and proliferation of jobs and in case of women and trafficking lack of mobility and freedom can be reflected (Morokvasic, 2004). It is important to recognise all aspects of migration whether forced or voluntary; however, in regards to this research individuals controlled by human traffickers and illegal migrants are not under investigation.

According to Castles and Miller (2003), there are five global trends, which dominate the international population movement. First is the growth in the number of origin and destination countries. Second is the rise in migrating individuals from and to major regions. Thirdly, it can be said that each country does not only experience one type of immigration (i.e. labour, refugee, expatriates etc.) but rather several types simultaneously. Fourth, Castles and Miller (2003) concluded since the 1960 migration has become increasingly feminised, which in cases has been related to human trafficking. Lastly, *'migration has become much more politicized, affecting increasingly domestic politics, bilateral and regional relationships, and national security policies of states around the world'* (Castles and Miller, 2003).

The underlying reason behind undertaking migration are discussed in this part of the literature review in order to provide a better understanding of the theories of migration and to be able to identify which of these theories have impacted the migration of participants of this study.

Morokvasic (2004) expresses that the classic accounts of migration may be inadequate for the understanding of the contemporary worldwide migration. While Massey et al., (1993) argued that there is no single steady theory of global migration but rather a set of theories, which are developed separately from each other (Massey, et al., 1993). The majority of movement theories, which will be explained below, focus on economic goals as the predominant purposes for migration. Nevertheless, it could be the age of migration (Castles and Miller, 2003) which influences individuals to migrate, out of curiosity or simply because they can migrate (Kindler, et al., 2010; Scullion and Pemberton, 2010). An important aspect of this study is the identification behind the accounts of migration of Iranian women.

The migration approaches connected to the economic goals as influenced by the pull (i.e. economic opportunities, demand for labour, political freedoms, unemployment in country of origin) and push (political repression, demographic pressure and lack of economic opportunities, higher wage) factors (Castles and Miller, 2003; Castles and Miller, 2009). This has been classified as the neo-classical theory and one of the main classical theories of migration and explained the movement of people from low-income countries to high-income countries as affected by push and pull factors (Castles and Miller, 2009). The economic models of migration like neoclassical theory have been criticized for being individualist and ahistorical, but Castles and Miller (2003) argued the combination of these theories with other approaches could offer enlightening insights to migratory movement of a population.

The neo-classical theory was rejected by the new economics of labour migration model, as it was evaluated to be overly individualistic to accurately consider the complicated and diverse realities of migration (Castles and Miller, 2003). According to Massey et al., (1993) this theory takes into consideration the migration decisions made by the whole families, or even local communities not by individuals. It emphasises migration cannot be completely understood in economic terms (Castles and Miller, 2009). It was Stark (1991) who associated the behaviour of migrants in a social context while taking the family or the household into consideration rather than the individuals for the most applicable decision making units. Stark (1991) continued to suggest that the fundamental assumption that migrants act in a family unit in an attempt to maximise their household income while trying to minimize and spread the risks.

The historical-institutional theory of Marxist was another economic concept of migration, which exploits immigration in the peripheries for the core regions' benefit. The main capitalist nations control the world economy and keep the poorer peripheries' continuously on them (Castles and Miller, 2003). It is a relationship built on unequal resources dissemination between the two regions. According to Castles and Miller (2003), the main problem with this model is that the interest of capital is the all-determining factor of the model while the motivation and the consequent actions of the individuals and groups are ignored.

Economic conditions differ globally. The availability of economic opportunities and advantages are the factors, which separate a wealthy country from a poor country. The industrialised and wealthy countries are identified as core regions, while the poorer countries are referred to as the peripheral regions of the globe (Berglee, 2012).

The peripheral countries are known to be providers of raw materials and agricultural products as higher number of the population earn their living through harvesting forest products, mining, and farming (Berglee, 2012). The profits made in these regions are considered to be marginal and opportunities to be limited for advancement. As condition known as brain drain, which will be explained below, is higher in peripheral regions, due to the loss of educated or professional individuals. Young people migrate to core regions to gain further education and explore advantageous employment (Berglee, 2012).

Another approach to the study of relocations is the migration systems theory, which studies both the receiving and sending country for prior links based on trade, political influence, colonisation, cultural ties and investments (De Haas, 2010).

Transnationalism is a theory derived from the migration systems theory, which investigates the transitional societies, created from the established connection between that of a host and home countries due to the act of migration (Basch et al., 1994; De Haas, 2010). This theory also justifies the difference between migrants and emigrants in order to define the different connections of migrants with the social orders of the home and host country. Research recommended that migrants should be viewed as '*a component of two or more inter-connected parts and transnational movement*' (Basch et al, 1994, p.6). Transitional theory investigates '*a means by which migrants produced and manage multi-stranded social relations that link their current society to their place of origin*' (Basch et al, 1994, p.6). Subsequent promotion of the transitional perspective argued the practices of migrants helps the development of transitional communities within these states (Faist, 2000; Levitt, 2001).

Morokvasic (1983) highlighted that although women play an important role in contemporary migrations, in the past they have been '*sociologically invisible, numerically and socially present*' (p. 13) and the importance of women has finally been acknowledged since they were put in the waged labour market.

For some females, the change from casual home duties to paid work in the labour market came through the act of migration (Phizacklea, 1983). The assumptions of a male breadwinner family model and traditional gender roles have dominated classic migration theories (Ackers, 1998). As pointed by Zlotnik (2003), up until the 1970s, most research work and publications on international migration focused mostly on male migrants. Female migrants were not considered in literatures until the mid-1970s. In the past, they were defined as '*followers, dependents, unproductive persons, isolated, illiterate, and ignorant*' (Morokvasic, 1983, p. 16). Whereas recent studies describe women to be active decision makers, which in case of Iran cannot be practiced due to the Islamic state, which nominates men as the dominant decision makers of any family (Kindler, *et al.*, 2010). Furthermore, Anthias and Yuval-Davis (1992) states that the existing literature or research work considers

women migrants to be incorporated in an ill-defined category where their work experience upon migration mostly affected by their ethnicity and other characteristics (Anthias and Yuval-Davis, 1992).

From the above arguments, it is evident that many migrants travel abroad in search of a new career. Women have been observed, to reject the traditional career models in order to achieve better positions in their occupation (Cabrera, 2009). This decline has resulted in an emergence of two career perspective particularly useful for understanding women's careers known as protean and boundaryless career which have become popular in the organisational literature (Briscoe, Hall and Frautschy DeMuth, 2006; Cabrera, 2009; Javadein, Ebrahimi and Fathi, 2014).

The protean and boundaryless career theories are important migration theories, which explore the concept of migration based on career developments. The boundaryless career theory supports the notion that individual's careers are not restricted by professional boundaries, which opens up the opportunity to explore other career possibilities (Arthur & Rousseau, 1996; DeFillippi & Arthur, 1996). In the international setup, people's careers are not restricted by geographical locations of their respective jobs (Banai & Harry, 2004; Stahl, Miller, & Tung, 2002). In fact, individuals can move from one profession to the other and from one country to another without any restrictions. This is done solely by the individual relying on their capabilities, which can be transferred and are exchangeable between different companies and organizations and with the power to control their careers. This suggests that people have complete control (agency) over their careers.

Boundaryless career theory defines career as a concept not bound to a particular organizations but rather revolved around the present possibilities of movement across organisation's boundaries (Briscoe and Hall, 2006). While protean career focuses on the individuals' values, drive, attitude, flexibility, and self-direction in the process of their career development and management (Sullivan, 1999; Hall and Harrington, 2004).

According to Carr, Inkson and Thorn (2005) the boundaryless career world is centred on proactive and internationally oriented attitudes of professionals, known as expatriates (Carr, Inkson and Thorn, 2005). It is the need of an individual, which can be better satisfied abroad, as well as the technical and professional skills they can gain through migration and for many the experience of new cultures as an expatriate, along with the networks they create, which pushes them towards migration (DeFillippi & Arthur, 1994).

On the other hand, Hall (1976) used the term protean to describe careers, which deals with people's personal information abilities, skills to match the ever-changing working environment to make individuals more marketable to companies. Different characteristics are associated with protean career, these include; flexibility, freedom, believe in continuous learning, seeking fundamental rewards or basic rewards (Hall, 2002; Hall and Moss, 1998). Crowley-Henry (2007) states that people who peruse protean career are those who are supportive of international careers and can be recognised as expatriates. While Cerdin and Le

Pargneux (2010) confirmed this by demonstrating the popularity of becoming a self-initiated women expatriates and non-self-initiated expatriates, signifying that expatriation can be seen as a method for achieving work balance in life.

Hall, Moss and Mirvis (1996) characterized the protean career concept as being driven by the individual based on their goals and individual quest for psychological success rather than physical success such as pay rise, promotion or power (Hall, 2002). The protean career concept can be regarded as a mind-set or ideas about career, more specifically an attitude towards a career that reflects self-direction, the individual's freedom and career choices based on personal standards and values (Hall, 2002), an absent privilege in Iran for skilled individuals, in particularly women. This career concept is not initiated by an organizations or firms' therefore protean career is mostly undertaken by self-initiated expatriates. According to Hall and Chandler (2004), the extreme form of a protean career concept occurs when an individual's attitude towards their career reflects a sense of commitment and calling in their profession, this shows an awareness of a purpose that gives a much deeper meaning to their career and their commitment to be successful.

The protean career and boundaryless career concepts can be seen as an overlapping but distinct concepts. They have shared substantial overlap in academics' empirical and theoretical efforts (Sullivan and Arthur, 2006). Briscoe and DeMuth (2003) discovered that managers in certain organizations were perceived to exhibit characteristics of the protean career (for example, paying greater attention to personal values at work) while at the same time not exhibiting mobility (i.e. movement within organisations) which is usually a characteristics that is usually associated with the boundaryless career. Further research by Briscoe, Hall, and DeMuth, (2006) has shown that individuals can exhibit boundaryless and protean career attitudes without having any inclination towards physical mobility. However, the focus of this research is on the physical mobility of individuals and their motivation for such movements.

According to Briscoe, Hall, and DeMuth, (2006) these theories may lose their efficiency and relevance to researcher if they cannot be used to understand the comparative details from the reality of people and organizations that are being studied. In this, regards there seem to be evidence of the inability of researchers in literature to explain their empirical findings with the protean and boundaryless career orientation, which tends to show a backlash towards these career paradigms. For example, drawing on the research by Craig and Kimberly (2002), they challenged whether careers can be classified as boundaryless based upon the interchange between agency and structure. While on the other hand Gratton, Zaleska, and De Menezes (2002) concluded that there has been no increase in boundaryless orientation in different companies they have studied over 10 years. Their study suggests only the less privilege employees in companies tend to be boundaryless as they search for greater opportunities and developments. Looking deeper, this conclusion tends to only rest upon a one sided view on boundaryless concept, which only views boundaryless as employment mobility, whereas according to Sullivan and Arthur (2006) this is not entirely true as mobility is not the only factor of boundaryless career but the psychological aspects also need to be considered.

Therefore, in order to confirm or reject this statement within this research, it is essential to consider the motivation of migration of Iran and to know the background of each participants and their aim for this migration to identify distinguish the ones with boundariless attitude form those of protean mind-sets.

It is important to be able to accurately distinguish between the boundaryless career and the protean career concepts in order to be able to associate the aims of each participant in this research behind migration.

First, we consider the boundaryless career. Sullivan and Arthur (2006) categorises the boundaryless into four quadrants represented in figure 3.2.1. First quadrants are careers that are considered low in both psychological mobility and in physical mobility. Second quadrants are considered to have the characteristics of high physical mobility but low psychological mobility; the third quadrants demonstrate psychological career but no physical mobility and the fourth quadrant careers have characteristics of both physical and psychological mobility which is considered to be the most relevant and important one to this study. The aim of this study is to understand the motivational reasons behind the migration of the participants to the UK, which portrays physical mobility, and the psychological mobility is to be identified through their interviews. However, psychological mobility is expected for these individuals, as it is believe the restriction by the Islamic laws and the resulting inequality in finding work is a major influencing factor in their migration. Therefore, psychological factors of achieving better positions, working in place where they are treated equality as their male encounter, etc., are the expected to be seen in this research.

I now turn attention to the protean career concept in the same way. Following in line with recent literatures on protean career theory, Briscoe and Hall, (2002) define the protean career as a career in which the individual's internal values provide the guidance and measure of success for the individual's career and is self-directed by personal career management. This is when the individual has the ability to adapt in terms of their performance and learning demands. The protean career concept focuses more on the stance or orientation the individual takes towards their career.

Based on this, people can be value driven or self-directed in career management. According to Briscoe and Hall (2006) the combination of attitudes and behaviours towards achieving a successful career, results in an individual being considered as demonstrating the full characteristics of a protean career orientation. There are four main categories of careers as can be seen through the protean career, the dependent, reactive, rigid, and protean (Briscoe and Hall, 2006). An individual who neither values self-driven values nor is self-directed in terms of career management would be classified as being dependent as they are unable to define priorities or manage their careers on their own. An individual who does not value self-driven values but is self-directed in their career management will be classified as being reactive, as they will possess the ability to guide their own career management. An individual who has self-driven values but is not self-directed will not be able to adapt to the performance and learning requirements of their career, as a result they cannot be in full control of their

career such an individual will be classified as being rigid (Briscoe and Hall, 2006). People with protean careers are self-driven which help in defining their career priorities and identity, as well as been self-directed in adapting to the performance and learning demands of the career (Briscoe and Hall, 2006; De Vos and Soens, 2008). These individuals are able to lead themselves and other people, they are more capable of adapting and learning, and thus they are transformational (De Vos and Soens, 2008). The material collected in this study can identify which sector the Iranian women migrants belong to, whether they develop from one form to another or whether they are experienced and skilled individuals with set goals before they begin their migration process (Sullivan and Baruch, 2009).

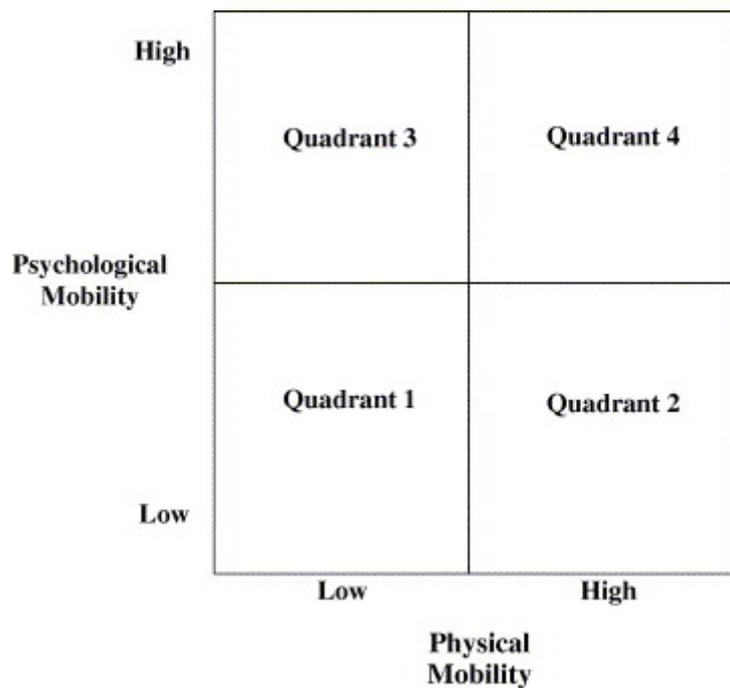


Figure 3.2.1: Representing the Four Quadrants of Boundaryless Career (Sullivan and Arthur, 2006).

The theories explained above are important as they provide different perspectives on possible reasons for migration of individuals in particular of women. For the purpose of this research, only theories considering women migration was studied but it was apparent to explore all possible theories just to gain general insight into different reasons of migration. The research emphasizes the experience of the women migrants. The reason for the emphasis on the physical mobility may be two sided. This is because most recent studies pay more attention to the physical side of mobility rather than the psychological viewpoint of mobility.

The next section discusses the reasons influencing the migration of Iranian women to developed countries such as the UK based on the historic background of Iran and Middle East.

3.3. Migration of Iranian Women

In order to understand the nature of Iranian migration of women to the UK one needs to understand the historic revolutions in the country.

The Middle East represents a series of countries, which all consist of different languages, historical colonisation, and religion, identity, and culture (Al Ariss, 2010). The Arab region of Middle East as well as Iran, are ruled by '*authoritarian regimes and are saturated with patriarchal values and religious ideologies*' (Al Ariss, 2010). Ideology is '*defined as a set of beliefs that are used to justify or challenge a given social-political order that are used to interpret the political world*' (Poulson, 2005, p17).

It is essential to take the history of each country into consideration in order to understand the contemporary issues of problems. In this case, it is essential to understand the position of women in the history of Iran to comprehend the changes in their role due to the transformations in the social and economic conditions of the country. It is these historical arguments, which the government uses to enforce its social ideology. Iran has used the sharia laws to justify the restrictions and inequality of women. In the Middle East, these ideologies have been used to stress the inferiority of women, which comes with their power of deceitfulness and demonic lust, creating the isolation of women from taking dominant key roles and giving men the domination and control (Al Ariss, 2010).

According to Al Ariss (2010), women in the Middle East are fighting or escaping their countries in search of what is given to women in the west as their basic human rights, such as freedom, equality to their male counterpart and equivalent opportunities for educational and occupational purposes, a privilege easily overlooked by the women of the west.

The Islamic revolution of 1979 in Iran created a real ambition and contribution to the migration of Iranians to countries such as United Kingdom, Germany, Australia, United States, Canada, Italy (Bozorgmehr et al., 1996). According to Al Ariss (2010) in such patriarchal societies, religious ideologies have led to isolation of women from taking dominant roles and allowing women to be controlled by their male encounters in society. Women may choose to escape such restriction and relocate to countries where they are considered to play an equally important role in society, where they can grow and gain self-esteem and obtain a higher social status than their homeland. This is the main pattern expected to be seen from this investigation

In-equality in gender can be powerful tools in advancing migration, predominantly when women have economic, political, and social prospects that cannot be met simply by staying at home (Mellish, 2001) migration may be the only option out of such circumstances for these women. Globalization as a concept, with particular focus on communications, trade, and investment, has created options within and outside of people's home countries. This has created a variety of new opportunities for women to consider outside their homes. Moreover, globalization as a concept has failed to meet up to its expectations (such as job opportunities, improved standard of living), leaving women around the world without social, economic, and

political rights (Boyd, 2003). Migration may be the only option out of such circumstances for these women.

Highly skilled women of Iran who are considered successful are mostly in traditional professions identified as suitable for women such as nursing, physical therapy and teaching (Mahdi, 2003). These females along with those who study to obtain qualifications for roles which are considered to be male dominated, migrate to different countries to provide their expertise to companies and academic institutions abroad (Mahdi, 2003) for personal growth and development. In order to compete with their male counterpart for better opportunities, larger numbers of female migrants are obtaining higher qualifications. A study conducted by Lowell et al., (2007) on Mexican migration revealed that around 38% of Mexican women who have a doctorate degree are migrants when compared to those 32% of men who have obtained a doctorate degree. The study also showed that 29% of Mexican women who have a master degree are migrants when compared to the 19% of men (Lowell et al., 2007). This illustrates women's greater selectivity towards education, while men's migration seems to decline with education, a positive relationship is observed for women (Kanaiaupuni, 2000), which shows the willingness and hunger of these women for success, who are willing to migrate. This migration could be due to limited opportunities for women in their home countries therefore a higher proportion of the females are choosing to migrate in comparison to the males in an attempt to find suitable roles to their qualifications where they are respected and have equal opportunities to find work within an organisation.

According to Escobar Latapí and Martin, (2008) women migrants tend to seek employment in whatever country they migrate. Women labour force varies considerably from country to country. As stated by Kalvir (2011), generally women labour force by migrants is lower than the labour force of the natives of the host country. He states unemployment ratings among the women migrants in the host country labour force is mostly higher among the non-indigenous women, which can vary in different countries (Kalvir, 2011). For example, in Norway women unemployment ratings among migrants was reported to be as low as 4.5% compared to a higher rating of 29.9% in Finland (Moghadam, 2004), indicating the possibility of higher rate of migration from Finland in comparison to Norway in an attempt to find employment and success in a host country.

Migrants usually relocate to regions of better development as opposed to regions of underdevelopment. This is in agreement with Ansari's research (1988), where he stated that more Iranian students tend to migrate to UK, Ukraine, India, and Malaysia, as the educational standards in this country are much higher than that in Iran. This can be considered by an economically motivated migration described by Castles (2000); Kindler et al., (2010); Scullion and Pemberton (2010), the voluntary movement of individuals to improve their economic or standard of living or simply the migration of individuals because they can. This can be considered as a neo-classical migration theory (Castles and Miller, 2009), since the women participants migrated from a low-income country of Iran to a high-income country such as the UK for better education, which will open the opportunity to obtain a professional job in the host country.

The closure of universities from 1980-1983 (Mashayekhi, 2001) meant education has been seen as a mutual goal of both second and third phase migrants. These migrations resulted in loss of elites in particular women, due to the harsh laws of the Islamic state. These included highly promising students as well as highly skilled professor, deteriorating the economy of Iran due to this drain of approximately 15 % of highly educated individuals 1990s' (IMF 1999). According to the International Monetary Fund over 150,000 Iranians migrated to more developed OECD countries of which 25% obtained post-secondary education (IMF 2007) before migration. The brain drain of Iran to pursuit of a better life without social strict codes has developed the biggest economic and social problems of Iran (Collymore, 2004) which has led to the migration of many young skilled individuals in particular women from the third phase of migration.

Migration experience can be an empowering phenomenon for women (Martin, 2007). Women from underdeveloped countries can move to developed countries to acquaint themselves with the rights and privileges open to women, which was not initially available to them in their home country. They can also seek roles of higher authority in companies where they can become financially stable and capable of being more autonomous over their own lives, which might not have been the case in their home country (Oishi, 2002).

Women may be limited to the willingness of their partners to support their immigration views, as many reinforce traditional gender roles, where women are expected to preserve religious and social cultural characteristics and obey their husband (Mohammadi, 2013). According to Massey et al., (1993) this can be explained by the new economics of labour migration model which takes into consideration the migration decisions made by the whole families, rather than a individual. However it is important to note that these migrant can become victims of spousal abuse, but yet reluctant to divorce their spouse if he controls the rights to their immigration status (Yang, 1994).

On the other hand, the impact of migration on women can also be seen in gender related violence experienced in the host country (Sadeghi, 2006). Women migrants vary, from those who have been victims of human trafficking victims, to refugees who are escaping their home countries (Committee on Feminism and International Law, 2002). As explained earlier this act is identified as migration rather than mobility due to the permanent nature of the relocation. These individuals are forced to migrate to escape discrimination, persecution, existing political conflicts, and environmental disasters in their country of origin (United Nations, 2015). While others are trying escape from peripheral regions of low-income countries to core regions, which benefit from higher income due to better wage and opportunities to support their family and escape poverty as explained by the neo-classical theory of migration. On the other hand, economic labour of migration considers migration to be a family dependent decision and not purely based on economic terms but rather what is best for the family in terms of opportunity, wage, and risks. However it is important to note all these theories are interconnected and an act of migration is described through a set of theories rather than just one (De Haas, 2010).

Other theories such as boundaryless and protean theories, which are major concepts, used to explain the migration of individuals; deal with people relocating due to careers based aspiration, as explained in the previous section. Since this study is focused on women according to Moghadam (2004), women who escape poverty and human trafficking encounter twice the problems of being female and immigrant in the host country as they find it hard to adapt and face their own struggles concurrently. In addition, it is important to note that gender does not operate on its own from ethnicity, religion, or race (Afshar, 1999). This is essential as most migrant women differ from the populations of the host nation. In this regards, women migrant may face additional discrimination (Sadeghi, 2006) which needs to be investigated when studying the migration pattern of women. However, it is also important to note even though Iranian women are considered as ethnic minorities in their host country, which in this example is the UK, the focus of this research is on their location of skilled migrants. Individuals who aim to use their professional and educational qualifications upon arrival to the UK, rather than females who come from a poverty line and looking to escape for example through human trafficking.

The aim of this investigation is to study the migration of Iranian to the UK, who are labelled as ethnic minorities of Britain. The concept of ethnic minorities are explained in more detail in the following section, to provide a better understanding of the concept in order to comprehend how this factor has affected the migration experience of women.

3.4. Ethnic Minorities

This study looks into the migration of Iranian women into the UK. Participants of this research are referred to as skilled ethnic migrants, who are considered as ethnic minority and identified as those workers who have acquired high levels of education. Study conducted by Al Ariss et al., (2013) reports of the constraints in obtaining visas and work permits creating administrative barriers for skilled ethnic minorities of France and Germany (Al Ariss et al., 2013).

There is a higher cultural demand on ethnic minorities (Al Ariss et al., 2013) and countries such as Germany have been criticised by trade unions and NGOs on their anti-discrimination policies being under-developed towards ethnic groups in particularly Turks and Muslims, in comparison to other European countries such as the UK (Al Ariss et al., 2013). An interesting aspect of this research is to conclude the position of these Iranian Muslim women in the UK in regards to the obstructions they have faced upon arrival to the UK over the years.

Al Ariss and Syed (2011) explained, as a migrant there are many issues individuals face in a host country, which is related to contextual settings, such examples include visa issues. The administrative struggles and difficulties in obtaining visas and how the ethnic minorities cope are under investigated. Such struggles can prevent migrants' in particular self-initiated expatriates from international mobility and can therefore cause negative effects on their career (Al Ariss and Syed, 2011). However many such as Iranian women still chose to migrate regardless of these challenges and encounters to escape the Islamic restriction placed

by the government and the inequality they would face on both academic and occupational grounds. The experience of a migrant upon arrival to the host country is a key area of research. It is important to investigate their struggles as well as their achievements through this migration process. A study conducted by Al Ariss and Özbilgin (2010) revealed the relocation of skilled self-initiated expatriates from Lebanon to France who experienced structural barriers for career development. A major problem was in finding an employer who would recognise the validity of their professional qualification, giving them the ability to pursue or carry on with a career in their field of profession from back home without the presence of support of an organisation and institution (Al Ariss and Özbilgin, 2010).

Facing discrimination while searching employment was a normal reaction migrants faced by emigrants. Even when they found employers willing to take them on, the long procedure they had to go through for work authorisation, was very complicated and could potentially take a few months, which became a discouraging factor for employers in hiring them (Al Ariss and Özbilgin, 2010; Al Ariss and Syed, 2011).

Research conducted by Richardson (2009) confirms that many countries and organisation are in fact eager to take on new forces from international workforce however; they are sometimes reluctant to alter their policies in order to use their human capital to hire new forces. Thus, tougher career constraints are created through these administrative obstacles for migrant, which have resulted in career change of these individuals (Syed, 2008; Al Ariss and Özbilgin, 2010) upon their migration. Joshua-Gojer and Allen, (2013) support such notion, as companies are unwilling to provide residence permit for most foreign migrants because of the strict government policies on recruiting foreign workers at the expense of native workers. Due to government policies even when a company is willing to sponsor migrants and offer them a job, the long procedure they had to go through for work authorisation, was very complicated and could potentially take a few months, which became a discouraging factor for employers in hiring them (Al Ariss and Özbilgin, 2010 ; Al Ariss and Syed, 2011).

Interviews conducted by Inkson and Myers (2003) revealed the self-initiated expatriates of New Zealand to have been forced to work in jobs unsuitable to their qualification when they were unable to obtain appropriate visas and work permits (Inkson and Myers, 2003), resulting in the involuntary

The aim of this research is to investigate the motivations of Iranians to undertake migration, and therefore it is important to research their migration process in an attempt to categorise them as expatriate or self-initiated expatriates. The following section focuses on the concepts of expatriate and self-initiated expatriates, to provide an understanding of both ideas and how to differentiate between the two.

3.5. Expatriates and Self-Initiated Expatriates

The status of an individual upon migration is identified through their motivations of relocation. Current research into migration uses the terms migrant, expatriate, and a self-initiated expatriate interchangeably therefore it is important to understand these concepts

(Andresen, Al Ariss and Walther, 2012). Expatriates are those who take on international work through their company whereas self-initiated expatriate are those who move from one country to another in an attempt to explore the opportunities present across international boundaries on their own intuitive (Al Ariss, 2010). On the other hand, a migrant is defined as an individual who relocates from his or her country of residence, from one geographical point to another (Andresen, Al Ariss, and Walther, 2012). Migrants and self-initiated expatriate can be mutually exclusive and hard to distinguish, for example self-initiated expatriates in many cases end up staying permanently after relocation, and therefore are considered as permanent immigrants (Al Ariss, 2010; Al Ariss and Özbilgin, 2010).

As explained earlier many factors influence an individual to take on roles as expatriate or self-initiated and expatriate. The penetrable boundaries of organisations across borders in search of better organizational position, work environment, flexibility, and the opportunity to work within a better developed economy in an attempt to increase their earning while de-emphasizing their dependence on organizational promotions and career paths represents what is known as boundaryless career migration (Stahl, Miller and Tung, 2002) for self-initiated expatriates. While on the other hand many might migrate to achieve subjective career success through self-directed vocational behaviour (De Vos and Soens, 2008), in an attempt for both expatriate and self-initiated expatriate to begin a protean career (De Vos and Soens, 2008) in a developed country where based on neo-classical theory of migration better opportunities and wages are offered in host countries (Castles and Miller, 2009).

These can then lead to transitional theory of migration where knowledge and multi-stranded social relations are created between that of a host society to their place of origin. It is important to note this theory is related to those who chose migration as an act of voluntary movement rather than being forced to permanently relocate (De Haas, 2010).

In most cases, migrants are referred to as those who have been forced to relocate (Al Ariss, 2010). When an individual from a developing country is forced to move to a developed country for a long term period or permanently due to various reasons, such as war, political instability and feel deprived when it comes to career and life opportunities the label of a migrant is given to these individuals based on these characteristics (Al Ariss, 2010). Once the word migrant is used, it is automatically cross-linked with a feeling of necessity rather than choice (Al Ariss, 2010). Whereas self-initiated expatriates chose to relocate to a country of their choice for example for better career opportunities in a boundaryless manner or to achieve self-reflected goals in a protean career focus in a country with greater opportunities. However in reality this is not always true, a migrant might have also made a choice to stay abroad for career, economy, marriage or cultural experiences (Carr, 2010), as will be discussed in this research.

According to Al Ariss (2010), expatriation is another term used to explain a migrant; is associated with international assignment otherwise known as corporate expatriation, which is usually a temporarily international relocation of a professional, by their employee's organisation. This is when an individual is willing to relocate to achieve certain goals,

whether it is higher authority, experience of a working in a new environment and career through a protean mind-set, or to achieve higher salary and other physical achievements through a boundaryless attitude. Various motives can be the reason behind an expatriate; these can also include learning about new cultures, creating professional relationships and social contact across international borders through a transitional aim in a migration. The desire for an adventure and obtaining new experiences in new environment and culture determines the motivation of an expatriate (Al Ariss, 2010).

The aim of many migrants is to find a suitable and permanent job abroad in order to create a stable living environment in a more developed economy achieved through attitude based derive which is defined as a protean career theory. Whereas self-initiated expatriates are recognised as free agents who cross borders without being limited to barrier obstruction (Al Ariss and Syed, 2011) by their careers therefore they are not necessarily after a permanent position but rather have a more temporariness feelings towards their jobs described by a boundaryless career attitude(Al Ariss, 2010). Taking these into consideration, as mentioned earlier in many cases the self-initiated expatriates choose to remain in the country of their choice permanently and therefore can be considered as a permanent migrant worker (Al Ariss and Özbilgin, 2010 ; Al Ariss, 2010).

A career of a self-initiated expatriate can be classified as uncertain, as they risk going beyond organisational and national boundaries, associating higher risks and uncertainty with their relocation however, they are more in control of their careers rather than by their organisation as expatriate would do. This presumes that individuals can undertake international careers independently of organizational and macro-contextual settings (Al Ariss and Syed, 2011). The risk associated with this type migration for the Iranian women who chose to migrate without the presence of organisational support is studied in this research and the experience of individuals are compared to one and another to investigate the benefits and challenge of self-initiated expatriates.

A British study conducted by Richardson and McKenna (2003) proved the professional experience gained by 30 British self-initiated expatriates to have been beneficial for their career progression. The desire of both expatriates and self-initiated expatriates has been career motivation in pursuit of a better personal and career position in life by becoming more marketable through the upward mobility gained by experiences achieved abroad through personal growth and cross-cultural involvement (Richardson and McKenna, 2003). As explained earlier by boundaryless and protean migration theories, which linked in an interconnected manner in regards to migration motivations of both expatriate and self-initiated expatriate.

However the experience of self-initiated expatriate from ethnic minority from a developing country was different, Inkson and Myers (2003) concluded that self-initiated expatriate who could not obtain the required visas or permits to work within the country had no choice but to work in jobs unrelated to their qualifications and previous experience, if they were to remain in the country. This is due to discrimination from organisation and institution, which discredit

or undervalue the education and professional experience of skilled ethnic minorities. This force these individuals to work in jobs unrelated to their qualification which can also be done by those with no skills and qualifications (Al Ariss et al., 2013) preventing them from a boost in their career towards better opportunities and growth (Al Ariss and Özbilgin, 2010).

This study considers the migration of Iranian women to Britain and it is important to note Britain is a nation, which has accepted the categorisation of ethnic minorities while in other countries such as France this is known to be against the law (Al Ariss, 2010). Thus it is expected the participants of this research to report the aid of their education and experience from their home country in their occupational research and development upon arrival to the UK.

3.6. Brain Drain

The migration of Iranians overseas has created a significant phenomenon known as brain drain (Sohrabian and Sohrabian, 2014). This term specifies the departure of professionals, experts, higher skilled individuals and owners of technologies which are identified as the brains and therefore the capital of the country (Baruch, Budhwar and Khatri, 2007; Sohrabian and Sohrabian, 2014).

According to Docquier and Rapoport (2012), a major factor in the economic and social development of any country is due to its human capital. The migration of skilled individuals means the transfer of manpower from the host country of Iran to the more developed country of the UK. It is the developing countries, which are in need of these professional experiences. Various models were introduced to create a focus on the negative consequences of brain drain. This suggests the loss created for home countries, as the emigration of high skilled individuals is aiding the already rich in developed countries to become richer at the expense of the poorer countries losing their skilled labour, highly increasing the economic inequality at an international level (Docquier and Rapoport, 2012).

As well as loss of human capital, over time cultural affliction is created resulting in cultural backwarding, which is then followed by political, social, and economic affliction (Panahi, 2012). This dependency is becoming more severe day by day in particular for Iranians, which as mentioned earlier have a high migration rate of 180,000 educated and skilled individuals (Hakimzadeh, 2006; Zdanowski, 2014).

In case of Iran, an evidence of brain drain was recorded by the ministry of culture and higher education, who stated that just before the revolution and closure of all higher institutions in 1980, there were 16,222 professors who were teaching in Iran's advanced educational institutions (Kalvir, 2011). When the higher institutions re-opened in 1982, this figure had dropped to 9,042 (Milani, 1994). Similarly, the Iran Times reported that one out of every three (5,000) doctors and dental specialists left after the revolution, this was also accompanied by a decrease in manpower (Esfandiari, 2010). According to Mahdi (2003), most part of both the first and second migration waves did not consider their departure permanent. Many migrants locked up their homes, packed up a few bags, and saw leaving as

a provisional stay from their lives back in Iran, which would continue when the revolutionary government collapsed (Mahdi, 2003).

It has been said that, after the revolution, it was the political factors, which contributed greatly to brain drain (Torbat, 2002). The political structure of the country leads to restriction on general freedom, in particular of the Iranian women, eliminating the civil society from free debates, which encouraged professional to leave. The restriction placed on women, the compulsory wear of hijab, inequality at work place and inferiority of females in society in comparison to their male counterparts, influenced many skilled women of Iran to migrate out of the country (Panahi, 2012).

In brain drain, the countries sending migrants are losing human capital if a migrant chooses to relocate permanently as the cost of training and educating manpower is not utilized in the development of the source country (Al Ariss and Syed, 2010). This then leads to technological gap growth, which can become irreparable, through lack of scientific development and as a result lack of economic growth (Sohrabian and Sohrabian, 2014). On the other hand, brain gains studies purpose that these countries are benefited by this move from the reduction in rate of unemployment them (Al Ariss and Syed, 2010).

According to Sohrabian and Sohrabian (2014) when an ideological structure takes over a country's society, this can lead to creation of corruption, both at social and financial levels resulting in accelerated migration of skilled individuals and the youth (Sohrabian and Sohrabian, 2014). The majority of the last waves of migrants, leaving the country are scientific scholars and university graduates. Hakimzadeh (2006) reported '*four out of five of those Iranian who recently won awards in various international science Olympiads have chosen to emigrate to the United States, Canada, and Western Europe*'.

Following this trend, the population of those residents who were born abroad has tripled and doubled in high-income countries since 1960 and 1985 respectively. These immigrants are highly skilled, their migration from developing to developed countries, otherwise known as brain drain grew at a faster rate in comparison to the increase of migration to the OECD area, which increases at a similar rate to the trade, these factors had a helping hand in the creation of globalisation (Docquier and Rapoport, 2012).

According to Bohme and Glaser (2014), the primary reasons behind poverty and prevention of growth in developing countries was due to brain drain (Bohme and Glaser, 2014). Whereas several studies such as Mountford (1997), Beine et al. (2001) and Stark (2004) have raised the point that migration to a richer country could mean a growth in potential of higher earnings considering the individual has obtained the appropriate skills, which would mean investment in education could act as an incentive. Therefore suggesting the possible increase in the average skill level of the remaining population through emigration (Bohme and Glaser, 2014). Individuals who decide to return to their home country also transfer the knowledge and skills they obtained abroad. This can help their home country to create new methods and techniques, as well as developing and using social network on a profession level which can

result in exchange of cultural and economic sources between the host and source country them (Al Ariss and Syed, 2010).

The gender composition of brain drain studies revealed the over presentation of highly skilled women amid international migrants (Docquier et al., 2008). The quantity of women who underwent international migration, from 1960 to 2005 increased from 46.8 to 49.6 (United Nations, 2005). A study conducted by Docquier and Rapoport (2012) used independent regression for males and females to demonstrate that highly skilled women showed to be more migratory than highly skilled men. This study also exposed the interdependencies between male and female migration based on joint decisions of a family or programs such as family reunion, which is not appropriately taken into consideration for gender gap in the international high skill migration (Docquier and Rapoport, 2012).

According to Docquier and Rapoport, (2012) it is the increase in an individual's earning based on the skills they have earned through their education in a host country which encourages individuals to undertake migration (Docquier and Rapoport, 2012). This theory was confirmed by Belot and Hatton (2008) who revealed that stronger positive selection of immigrants is seen when greater return is given considering the workers skills in the destination country in comparison to their source country. Their study also revealed factors such as culture, language, geographical proximity, return on skill and migration policies to have a stronger persuasion on the selection of a destination country (Belot and Hatton, 2008). When an individual's skilled are appreciated and therefore have higher value within a host country, an inspiration for migration is created. A factor considered by many Iranian women before the selection of a destination.

3.7. Migration from Iran:

Iran has experienced a hit to its economy due to several reasons such as the revolution, US sanctions, and the eight years of war with neighbouring Iraq. '*The rate of unemployment has not dropped below 10 per cent since 1968*' (Valadkhani, 2003, p.4) resulting in an economic uncertainty and inflation, which has created the current unemployment of 10.4% according to the data released by the Iranian government (World Bank, 2014). The high rate of unemployment and favouritism of the society to men means opportunities for women are limited, influencing many women to migrate in search of opportunities for work as well as equality to access dominant roles within industries.

When considering Iranian women, many did not choose to migrate out of choice but rather felt suffocated by the government to leave in order to exploit their basic human rights (Hakimzadeh, 2006). This migration according to Castles and Miller (2003) follows the historical institutional theory and contributes to the economy growth of the host country such as UK, while it deteriorates the economy of the home country.

Many of Iranian women in particular those from the second phase of migration who chose to migrate did so with their children and husband who were supportive of their decision of

migration (Mobasher, 2012) to escape these strict rules and inequality taking place in the country. While on the other hand those who chose to migrate in the third migratory phase are mainly those who benefit from social capital in terms of financial stability and may choose migration to explore new cultures and uncover new experience in regards to living in what can be defined as a democrat society. Many migrate simply because they can (Kindler, et al., 2010; Scullion and Pemberton, 2010) and they never aim to remain in a host country but rather to taste a different life and eventually end their mobility to return home to their friends and family. It is important to note that in this research both second and third phase migrants benefit from cultural capital as all the participants of this study are highly skilled and educated.

This research focuses on Iranian migrants, not as passive followers who depend on the men but active decision makers. Morokvasic (1983) stated that female migration is not fully understood, but rather that the existing body of academic literature on migration has persisted with its male bias which this still remain true to this day. It is expected that the invisibility of Iranian women in the labour market could be a main contributor to their migration, an aspect to be explored through the respondents of this research (Morokvasic, 1983).

The aim of this research is to understand the motivations and career goals of Iranian women, to comprehend what has encouraged them to relocate on their own. This is reportedly linked to economic, cultural, family, and career factors in order to understand the time frame in mind for their relocation (Al Ariss, 2010) to be able to distinguish the migrant from the self-initiated expatriates. Therefore, it is those with boundaryless and protean career attitude who are interviewed to reveal their migratory experience and motivation. The material collected in this study can identify which sector the Iranian women migrants belong to, whether they develop from one form to another or whether they are experienced and skilled individuals with set goals before they begin their migration process.

Different characteristics are associated with protean career, these include; flexibility, freedom, believe in continuous learning, seeking fundamental rewards or basic rewards (Hall, 2002; Hall and Moss, 1998), all of which have become hard to portray for women in Iran, after the revolution which could in fact influence these females for migration. On the other hand, the boundaryless career represents both the physical migratory movement through organisations to achieve higher salary and managerial positions known as the psychological benefits of boundaryless career (De Vos and Soens, 2008). The aim of this investigation is to distinguish the career attitudes of the participants towards their migration from Iran.

The risk associated with this type migration for the Iranian women who chose to migrate without the presence of organisational support is studied in this research and the experience of individuals are compared to one and another to investigate the benefits and challenge of self-initiated expatriates.

3.8. Conclusion:

Theories of migration are discussed in depth in this chapter to reveal various motivations behind the migration of individuals in particular women. Boundaryless and Protean migrations theories are recognised as the main motivation of taking on roles as expatriate and self-initiated expatriates for skilled ethnic minorities in this chapter. This section discovers career to be the main motivational factor in voluntary migration, for individuals who undertake relocation in an attempt to obtain better position within organisations, higher pay rise, and therefore stability for themselves and their family. This is mostly related to self-initiated expatriate with a boundaryless attitude while those of protean career mind-set aim to migrate to achieve self-reflected goals. This chapter emphasized the need for various types of capital such as social, cultural, economic and symbolic create power for the migrants to alter their social truth in an attempt to deal with structural barriers they face upon relocations.

It can be conclude from this chapter that the departure of professionals, higher skilled individuals and owners of technologies which are identified as the brains of any society create brain drain in their country of origin upon migration into a host society and therefore lead to loss of human capital for their home country. This then leads to technological gap growth, which can become irreparable and create lack of scientific development lack of economic growth, deteriorating the economic condition of an already economically underdeveloped country.

In conclusion, it can be said that many women migrate in order to discover and explore new opportunities for growth while at the same time many other such as Iranian women are escaping not out of choice but rather from restriction imposed on them by the government. The role the government plays in the migration of women through the inequalities it has created between genders and their control over Iranian women, forces many of them to migrate.

The following chapter creates a methodology for conduction of this research in order to create an investigation to explore the extend of accuracy of the literature discussed in this chapter and to enhance and fill the research gap on the experience and process of female migration.

Chapter Four: Methodology

4.0. Introduction:

This chapter aims to investigate the complexities of methodologies and the range of choices available for interpretive framework and method.

This research employs a qualitative approach to investigate the experiences of Iranian women migrants in the UK workplace. The purpose of this research is to explore the experiences of Iranian women migrants who live and work in the UK in an attempt to obtain a better understanding of what caused females to undertake international migration, their work experiences and struggles and how these influenced the nature of career undertaken.

The first part is a discussion of choice of methodology and the second part debates the ethical considerations followed within this research, as well as the limitations faced in this study.

4.1. Theoretical and Methodological Framework

Selection of an appropriate approach for a research project is often a difficult job. As argued by Snape and Spencer (2003) 'Deciding *how to study a social world has always raised a number of key philosophical debates*' (p.11). As Grix (2004), mentioned people who intend to conduct precise investigation need to be able to understand the philosophical foundations that influence their selections of methodology and choices of questions for the purpose of the research. Therefore, how someone views structure of social reality affects how they go on about understanding and revealing the knowledge of the relationship among occurrences and social attitude. This also affects how they assess their own research literature and the literature work of other people (Ignatowicz, 2012).

In the context of this research, two main types of research approach were considered referred to as the qualitative research and quantitative research, which are described below.

The qualitative research approach relies on a non-numeric data or any data that has not been quantified and can be a product of the research strategies (Robson, 2011). This approach of data collection involves the use of specific set of research methods, such as in-depth interviews, open-ended questions, focus group discussions, observations, visual methods, content analysis and life histories (Hennink, Hutter, and Bailey, 2011). This includes an inductive approach, which requires the researcher to create theory(s) in order to analyse the data, obtained from the interviews (Yin, 2003).

Quantitative research refers to research based on meaning derived from numbers, the collection of results in numerical and standardised form, also on analysis conducted through the use of diagrams and statistical results obtained (Robson,2011) through a deductive approach where existing theories and hypothesis are tested (Teddlie and Tashakkori, 2009).

Within this research, the qualitative research method was adopted because it allows the researcher to gain an insight into the topic or research phenomenon as the aim of this research is to gain a better understanding to the underlying desired behind women choosing to become an expatriate. Therefore, it is important to explore the social and political aspects of their home society, which based on the literature discussed in previous chapter for Middle Eastern countries such as Iran, may have been responsible for applying pressure on these skilled women to leave their homeland due to social restrictions on women. As a result, the method of research is the key to the findings of the study.

The research conducted was about migration of women, the stories behind their relocation, their history, their perspectives, and experiences. Qualitative research is believed to be the best method to investigate this area in order to obtain the best possible results, as rich data collection is associated with appropriate qualitative approach, which can create a strong background for further research into this area. The use of this approach permits the true expression of female candidates in regards to their migration and obstacles they had to face on their way, expressed in their own words. The values of each participant along with their attitude and beliefs were investigated in this research (Becker and Bryman, 2004) shading light onto a new area of migration of Iranian women in the UK using qualitative approach to allow more substantive areas to be explored for this ethnic minority group in the UK (Strauss and Corbin, 1998). As a result, I chose to conduct in-depth qualitative interviews with Iranian migrant women who were resident in the UK, in order to obtain a detailed perspective on the migration of these women. The use of open questions in these interviews led to development of new questions, which could not have been anticipated prior to the interview, and this is what leads to the rich data collection offered by qualitative research.

The following section clarifies the methods used to analyse the collected data in this research methodology and their benefits for the purpose of this research study.

4.2. Phenomenological/ Interpretative Analysis Approach

Keeping the qualitative research approach as the focus of the study, two specific interpretive perspectives are considered, known as interpretative paradigm and phenomenology, both of which are explained below. The interpretation of this research was done through the use of principles of methodological engagement and philosophical values. The interpretative paradigm aspect of the research '*means that the approach seeks to understand people's lived experience from the perspective of the people themselves*'(p.14), (Hennink, Hutter and Bailey, 2011) this is often denoted as an inside perspective. Rather than concentrating on the fact, this method involves examining the subjective meaning that participants associate to their experiences. According to Hennink, Hutter, and Bailey (2011) '*qualitative researchers seek to understand subjective meaningful experiences and the meaning of social actions within the context in which people live*' (p.14).

These fundamental philosophical values and principles of methodological outlining were considered for this project. These centre philosophical qualities and standards of

methodological engagement will guide the translation of this study. In order to bring attention onto this area of under researched migration of Iranian women, it is important to collect information from those who have experienced it directly, based on their migration. This data will then be used to investigate the motivation and experiences associated with the migration process of participants in this study.

Various researchers have claimed the purpose of the philosophy and interpretive studies to aid the understanding of the revelations through people's perspective and the meanings, which they assign to them (Guba 1990). Through Wolcott's (1992) eyes, purpose of an interpretive research is to go beyond what can be explained with the level of understanding in order to reach out for new levels of understanding or explanations. Easterby-Smith, Thorpe, and Jackson (2008) represent interpretative (constructionism) as a concept, which focuses on how individuals understand and conceive the world through their encounters with others by means of the medium of language. In other words, *'constructivist is more frequently adopted by those who focus on the active manner in which individuals construct knowledge'* (Kinsella, 2006, p.278). The constructivist perspective's focus is on the human behaviour, which based on the individual's own beliefs and representations of the world create their personal realities (Kinsella, 2006). Schön (1987) observed that in the constructivist view, our recognitions, appreciations, and convictions are established in worlds of implying that we come to acknowledge as reality. Amaratunga (2002), states that the interpretative theory refers to the subjective parts of human encounter by concentrating on the importance instead of the account of a social phenomenon. The interpretative expresses that parts of social reality have no presence separated from the implications that people develop for them (Cohen, Manion and Morrison, 2007). Following this, it can be said when an interpretative paradigm is used; it is the role of the researcher to *'understand, explain, and demystify social reality through the eyes of different participants'* and create a comparison between experiences of these participants (Cohen, Manion and Morrison, 2007, p.19).

In this study, the interpretive approach was taken to gain a deeper understanding of the context of migration of Iranian women to the UK, and how this context influences and is influenced by Iranian migrant women. My own lived experience of migration has influenced the adaptation of this interpretive research through the reflective assessment related and associated with the individual participant's stories.

On the other hand, a researcher using phenomenology is seeking to find out more about the lived involvement of people and their experiences in regards to the subject being researched (Greene, 1997; Holloway, 1997). The main reason behind using a phenomenological research is its ability to use the individuals own perspective to bring their experiences and perceptions to life, through challenging structure or regulating presumptions (Greene 1997; Holloway, 1997). As stated by Groenewald (2004) *'phenomenologists are concerned with understanding social and psychological phenomena from the perspectives of people'*(p.189). Groenewald (2004) argued that phenomenology is not a static school, but phenomenological thought is interpreted through the structure of phenomenological movement (Cope, 2008). A phenomenon could be referred as an event or experience that involves someone. Therefore,

the purpose of a phenomenology is to underpin the purpose of an experience and the reasons for the experience (Pivcevic, 1970).

Phenomenology approach was utilised in this study to explore and understand the live experiences of Iranian women migrants in the UK, by trying to understand the reasons behind migration, the obstacles they faced to obtain work and their experiences since arriving in the UK, and career paths.

The following sections describe the process of finding Iranian women who have taken international migration and were willing to discuss their migration.

4.3. Selection of the Participants

In any research, the initial attempt to collect data is to gain access to official demographic information of Iranian women migrants in the UK. The records provided to the public by the Home Office only represents the total population of Iranians in the UK, rather than the gender, where they live and any further details on their life, on their level of education, economic or social status. The life of migrants can be that of a difficult life with many traumatic experiences which results in distrust to strangers and inability to talk freely (Hunt, 2008) in regards to their private issues with anyone, making it hard to find people to participate in this research. Thus in order to find participants who are willing to discuss their experiences of migration and settlement in England, I decided to use an extensive network of Iranian friends and relatives who live in the UK, as the absence of valid statistic on Iranian women in the UK made it difficult to find participants through national data. As stated by Blumer (1969) the researcher '*seeks the participants in the sphere of life who are acute observers and the well informed*' (p.41).

Iranian migrants are very cautious of who they speak to in particularly other Iranians as they fear from feedback of their discussion to the authorities of Iran. As the authority and regime might be the reasons many left Iran, this concept will be discussed in more detail later on. Many of these migrants have their close families living in Iran and therefore they fear having an interview and making a remark in regards to the government can lead back to them or their families and create problems for them politically as well as socially. Due to this reason, I decided to find participants through a link close to both the potential interviewees and me. Using this method allowed me to find participants in a shorter time frame, and with the suitable characteristics for my research, this being Iranian females who migrated in second and third phase of migration who are now residing in the UK.

The power of personal human network was important here, I described the purpose of the study, the kind of information I was after and characteristics I was after in a participant. However, even then many potential respondents refused to have a face-to-face interview with me and answer the allocated questions, as they remained suspicious of my intentions.

Using this method to gain access to participants, allowed me to find respondents who lived relatively close to me, reducing my traveling costs, and allowing me to find participants in a short space of time, which then allowed the initiation of the research process.

4.4. The Research Process

Following the appropriate selection of participants from second and third phase generations of Iranian migrants, the viewpoints of these migrants, the obstacles they had to face in discovering work and difficulties of administration and obtaining the appropriate visa and their environment at work and relationships with colleagues were explored through the conduction of semi-structure, open questions interviews.

Interviews were conducted with 15 second and third phase Iranian migrant women between ages of twenty-two and fifty-nine currently residing in London and Cambridge. Tables 4.5.1 and 4.5.2 summarize the participants' details. These phases were selected to be explored for this research because it was easier to find respondent within this phase also because I am a migrant from this migration phase. Please note the names used in this research are only used for the purpose of data analysis and are not the names of the actual participants that were interviewed in order to protect the participants' identity.

The interviews took place on July 2014, at the participants' work place or neutral place based on the participant preference. The interviews were conducted without the presence of any third party, in an attempt to prevent the influence of others on the participant's response to the questions. It is worth mentioning that at the beginning of each interview the participants were informed and reassured that the collected information will be treated with confidentiality. The conducted interviews were recorded using a digital recorder with participant's permission and all were completed in one session, with each interview lasting between 45 minutes to a maximum of an hour in length.

The use of a digital recorder allowed eye contact and uninterrupted attention to the interviewee, a more detailed record is made considering the body language of the participant would permit the creation of a more coherent image of the participant. The ability to replay and listen to the interview repeatedly would mean vital information would not be overlooked and would allow me to accurately translate the interview from Persian to English to be used in this research. It is worth noting the interviews were conducted in Persian language in order to allow a more elaborative expression of participants experience and feelings in regards to their migration, as English was their second language and using their mother language allowed me to create a better and more trusting relationship with each respondent. The interviews were then translated into English and converted in a transcript for each participant, in order to create a more accessible data to allow me to review and refer back to each interview for analysis.

However, as like any research, this study also faced some practical problems and limitations, which will be explained in the following sections.

4.5. Practical Problems

The political status of Iran has proven to be a real problem in this research. Even though the participants were selected for an interview on a voluntary basis, completely on their own free will, they were still hesitant to talk freely and express all their emotions on various aspect of their migration. The real difficulty was to gain their trust, even though I had assured them several times the research was completely confidential and they would remain unidentified, however they were still tentative towards me. There are many informants who collect information on political activists of Iran from outside the county, and would pass on their names and details back to the government. This was the reason behind having difficulties in obtaining respondents, as they become apprehensive to talk to others in regards to their experience in case a remark is made concerning the current regime or the supreme leader, which can be misinterpreted as a statement against the government. This is an important matter to those who visit Iran regularly and may wish to come back to their homeland one day and those who have families in the country. The punishment for such actions can lead to loss of socioeconomic positions, imprisonment, and torture.

I believed using informal interview techniques would allow me to get closer to the interview to create a friendly and comfortable environment and allowed me to build a close relationship with the participants in order to obtain more information. At times the participants felt uneasy due to this informal structure of the interview as they felt a conversation could not be a valid method for a research. However, the best way to explore their experience of migration as a female was through an informal friendly conversation.

It is essential to note, that the first three interviews I conducted were not useful, as I influenced the responses of the participants in order to get their own opinions on the research topic. This was due to my inability to control the interview process, which was later corrected as the interview process went on.

Table 4.5.1: Participants' Profile from Second Migration Phase

Name	Age	Marital Status	Education	Place of Birth	Occupation	Year of Arrival
Pari	55	Married	B.A	Tehran	Nurse	1988
Atena	59	Divorced	M.A	Mashhad	Dentist	1985
Nahal	49	Married	B.A	Tehran	Teacher	1987
Roya	51	Married	B.A	Yazd	Entrepreneur	1986
Helen	47	Single	B.A	Tehran	Business Owner	1988
Nuna	50	Married	Ph.D.	Ahvaz	Lecturer	1989

Table 4.5.2: Participants' Profile from Third Migration Phase

Name	Age	Marital Status	Education	Place of Birth	Occupation	Year of Arrival
Sara	29	Single	Ph.D.	Tehran	Researcher	2005
Elnaz	32	Single	M.A	Tehran	Radiographer	2009
Mona	26	Single	B.A	Tehran	Student	2010
Nazi	28	Married	MSc	Tabriz	I.T Engineer	2007
Aki	34	Single	Ph.D.	Tehran	Student	2011
Poneh	35	Divorced	B.A	Shiraz	Bank Manager	2004
Mina	25	Single	MSc	Tehran	Psychologist	2008
Marina	28	Single	MSc	Tehran	Aerospace Engineer	2006
Maryam	22	Single	BSc	Tehran	Student	2011

4.6. Research Limitation

This research consists of few limitations, which can be improved on for further research. Time was a major constraint of this research, since this study is a primary research and a new area in literature it was not easy to collect all the essential data in just under a year. For future research, having more time would mean the ability to interview a larger group of the population in order to solidify my findings from this study.

Being from the same country as the interviewees, meant I had some empathy with the experience of these women however at the same time having lived through similar conditions and limitations, I was biased at some point towards the answers I was expecting to get. This meant the answers I received were influenced by my actions, as the interviewees would try to give the answers they felt the interviewer is expecting to hear. This occurred with first three participants but was corrected to obtain answers purely based on the lived experience of these migrant women.

Being from Iran created few limitations for me, as I travel back regularly therefore, I was very cautious of the questions asked involving the government as this may create some political issues in the future, which are not taken lightly by the Iranian government.

Another concern was language, as English is not my first language, and I wanted to develop a closer relationship to my interviewees, the interviews were conducted in Farsi, which was then translated to English. However, there is a possibility of answers losing their significance and meaning through interpretation, as this could also be influenced by the thoughts and perceptions of the translator, i.e. the researcher.

In this research even though a set of questions shown in appendix A, was prepared, the interview was conducted using open questions which meant in all interviews the process was often ambiguous due to the occurrence of unanticipated questions following individual answers.

In order to create a trusting relationship with the participants, it was important to create a friendly atmosphere rather than a superiority feeling, in order to make the participant comfortable to take part, but this meant no real structure and control was engaged within the interview process. It was challenging for me to take such a passive position, as I was looking for answers to certain questions in order to create a valuable research, and a worthy contribution to the phenomenon of migration of Iranian women.

A major limitation of this research was the fact that my interests and questions had to be restricted to certain aspects of the migration experiences of the participants. This was due to time issues, and the fact that these women were donating their time for my research for nothing in return therefore the time I had with these women had to be spent wisely to seek the essential answers to the issues being researched in this investigation.

4.7. Ethical Consideration

Informed consent, privacy, and confidentiality are basic ethical tenets of scientific research on people (Eysenbach and Till, 2001). Conducting research involving human behaviour, it is important to consider ethical principles of privacy, confidentiality and informed consent (Eysenbach and Till, 2001). This is as due to the fact the social researcher is in need of personal information from the participants, therefore reassuring the volunteers their trust is valued by confidentiality throughout the study (Babbie, 2007).

It is also important to inform each participant of the nature of the research and if the researcher *'requires people to change their routines or donate time, doing so must be voluntary for them'* (Marshall and Rossman, 2011).

Therefore, I fully explained the underlying reasons behind this research to each participant, as well as clarifying my objectives and my individuality as a social researcher. I also explained the research was conducted for my MSc dissertation, and was not in any way connected and sponsored by an organisation from Iran. I provided a sheet of information to them to be able to read thoroughly as well.

As mentioned earlier one of the aspects of ethical consideration is informed consent. In this research, participants were given a consent form and asked to sign them, which informed and reassured them that all the data and information collected from each individual will remain anonymous and confidential, and would be kept in a safe and secure place. The interviews were also conducted on a one to one basis in a place of the participant's choice to protect their confidentiality at all times.

Permission request was made to use a digital recorder, in the case of this research all participants allowed the use of recorders, however if this request was declined, notes would have been taken instead. Following the collection of data, pseudonyms and number codes were utilised to prevent the identification of any of the participants, by using their real names.

I also offered to inform them of the research findings and conclusions to show my appreciation of their participation.

4.8. Data Analysis

The section of the report will discuss the method in which the data is analysed. In this research, the integration of existing theory with the developing interpretative data of the study is used to analyse the finding of the study. This research will analyse the findings of the participants and compare findings with the research literature that has been carried out by other researchers on women migrants in and outside the UK.

Firstly, I started with the technique that was used for the data analyses by emulating the work of Killick (2011), the information investigated were categorised in two stages:

- The introductory phase of phenomenological description of the migration and work experience of each participant and analysing it with the theme of the research.
- The second phase of discussion in which the participants' experiences as depicted by them is investigated against the hypothetical positioning of this research and compared to the research on women migrants by other researchers.

The initial stage can be seen as a true phenomenological approach; however, the last stage reflects even more a phenomenological point of view (Patton, 2002).

The first stage involved accessing each participant's migration experience. In this stage, the migration experience of each participant was reviewed where a theme was allocated to the collected data and as a researcher I differentiated the relevant to this research from what I believed to be assumptions and realistic. The exploration was structured around the aims of this research, which was to understand the migration experience of Iranian women migrants who live in the UK, what caused their migration and looking to explore their work experiences in the UK. This was a very interactive process, which enabled me to gain light into the topic. It enabled me to explore the theme of the study; this process involved me reading thoroughly each participant's script to fully understand in order to select the points regarding their migration, migration experience, their experiences at work and current career path.

The second stage involved the incorporation of information, included instinctive intelligent coordination of information and narratives to create a more bigger picture and position it against what is as of now known in the field of study. In this stage, I recognized the distinctive routes in which subjects were discussed and utilized these to create hypothetical records.

It is also important to note that this research focused on the motivation of migration and working experience of Iranian women in the UK, in an attempt to create a multilevel data

from creating a correlation or comparison between the second and third phase migrants. In a multilevel data analysis the motivation and working experience of women are considered by examining the individual-level covariates such as the educational qualification, work experience and even the contextual setting of Iran, (i.e. the socio-political conditions of Iran) to see how these have affected the migrants of both second and third phase migrant.

4.9. Reflection:

It is essential for a research to provide a reflection concerning the process of collection and analysis of the data.

It is important to note, the underlying idea of interpretative concept is that one's ideal of the reality is not always the same as the true reality. Rather, it is the experiences of the individual and the interpretation of that reality and experiences that form the base of their ideals (Law, 1999). Being a female with similar experiences of gender restrictions in Iran and a migrant as the participants in this study my agenda was to utilise a qualitative approach to give voice to those Iranian women migrants in the migrations process. However, it was important for me to be able to distinguish the assumptions and fiction section of the interviews from the reality and perception of each individual.

It was important to ensure the data is not over generalised, therefore in order to achieve this goal, a diary was used to note my own impact on the design and analysis of the data (Al Ariss and Özbilgin, 2010). To keep a record of how each participant was dealt with during each interview. After each interview, the notes were reviewed to ensure of mistakes if any were made in order to avoid repeating them for the following participant, and to assure I remain unbiased and prevent influencing their responses.

This investigation has been my first major research study within the UK and due to lack of experience during the first few interviews, I was biased. My emotions and perceptions guided the answers of the participant, as they wanted to provide me with what they felt I wanted to hear through my actions.

Being from the same country as the interviewees and having experience the process of migration to the UK, meant I was familiar with many of the experiences and obstacles discussed with each participants as I had also lived through them. This meant the analysis of the data and the collection of the data may at some points be subjective, where my own lived experiences and perceptions of the events may have influence my analysis.

While conducting the interview my aim was to be open, honest, and deeply interested in the questions I was asking and the experiences they each gained through migration. I was committed to represent their experience as accurately and adequately as possible. This meant when in doubt I would ask for clarification. Throughout the interviews I ensured them, their details will remain confidential and my aim was to only conduct an interview to obtain data for my dissertation.

Conclusion

The purpose of this chapter is to express the methodology of the research in more detail. Initially a comparison is made between qualitative and quantitative research is made, which is followed by the selection and justification of qualitative approach for this study.

The key areas of investigations along with the reasons behind undertaking this research were presented. This chapter demonstrates the reasons behind using a phenomenological and Interpretative analysis approach, in an attempt to lives of Iranian women migrants.

The chapter continues to represent the research process, gaining access to participants and the limitations and ethical considerations followed in this study.

The next chapter analyses the research findings through the discussion of motivations of these females for migrations and the difficulties they faced seeking news roles in a new environment.

Chapter Five: Research Findings

5.0. Introduction

The aim of this section is to explore the motivations for the migration of skilled ethnic minorities of Iranian women to the UK after the revolution in 1979. This chapter will highlight their experiences in the working environment within the UK as well as exploring the motivation of these women to take on migration while discussing the effects of Islamic revolution of 1979 in Iran on women due to the changes in socio-political state of Iran, which contributed to their decision on migration.

The conducted interviews revealed various migration motivations such as further studies, better job opportunities, higher pay, and better life style, migration due to marriage and political reasons, which will all be discussed in details in this section of the study through the analysis of participant's responses.

As noted in chapter two, the migration of Iranian women can take two forms, the first one is represented by the people who migrated immediately after the Islamic Revolution of 1979, and it is characterised by the form of involuntary relocation commonly associated to migration of asylum seekers and refugees (Castles and Van Hear, 2005). The second one is characterised when the decision to relocate is a choice rather than a necessity to survive. This form is referred to expatriate and self-imitated expatriates in the literature (Al Ariss, 2010). In the first form, political pressure forces people to leave their homeland in order to obtain a better life in a better economy (Castles 2004). According to Lammervo (2005) and Toolo & Shakibae (2000), involuntary migration can be categorised into this group. This includes family pressure, social restraints, and political persecution. In the second form, represented by those who migrated within the last decade, it is characterised by voluntary migration due to pursuit a better life and educational opportunities to develop individual capabilities.

In this section, the link between these migration movements will be explained in accordance to the two types of migration phases in Iran that has occurred during the 20th century until present day.

This chapter will initially explore the motivations behind the migration of these Iranian women to the UK, and then it will highlight the reasons behind their decisions to stay in the UK, their experiences of working and studying in the UK.

One of the main reasons behind migration of Iranian women is the harsh Islamic laws placed in Iran and the following section will explore through the stories and experiences of my interviewees who were by these changes in Iran in order to create a more in depth image of their motivations behind migration as well as their experiences.

5.1. Motivation

Exploring the motivations behind the relocation of these Iranian women allowed the researcher to identify the participants as either a migrant or self-initiated expatriate and categorises them into groups in an attempt to classify the structural barriers faced by each group and the agency the participants used to navigate the structural barriers to their international career mobility. As a result, the first sets of questions were dedicated to the motivation of participants behind migration. The participant's answers to these varied drastically from anti-women laws post revolution to political repression and limited opportunity for growth, social and religious constraints and freedom, as well as desire for success and further education and work opportunities. According to Al Ariss and Özbilgin (2010) it is the lack of these opportunities of development in migrants home country which has prevented them from a professional growth (Al Ariss and Özbilgin, 2010) influencing them to look overseas.

The key underlying reason of migration highlighted through the narrative of respondents was identified, as the suffering individuals had to endure due to being recognised as the inferior gender in Iran. Women are considered second-class citizens to men and were treated as such by both the government and the public. According to Al Ariss (2010) in such patriarchal societies, religious ideologies have led to isolation of women from taking dominant roles and have allowed females to be controlled by their male encounters in society. Women may choose to escape such restriction and relocate to countries where they are considered to play an equally important role in society, where they can grow and gain self-esteem and obtain a higher social status than their homeland. This was reflected on Pari's story, a 55 years old woman who migrated to the UK in 1988 and is currently a nurse working in the NHS. She explained that her reason for migration to the UK was due to the harsh laws placed by the Islamic state on women in Iran post-revolution:

One of the reasons that made me choose to migrate to the UK was because of the social restriction that was placed on women in Iran after the establishment of the Islamic state. Prior to my migration, I had a job in Iran where I was working in a hospital, and there was no respect for women as it was only the opinion of men, which was taken into consideration in meetings. On buses, seats for men and women were separated where the men were seated at the front and had larger division of the bus and if there were free space in the men's area no women would be allowed to enter that area, regardless of their age and health condition. Men's decision in the family was unanimous. I did not like these changes that were taking place in Iran due to the Islamic state after the revolution, I felt powerless in my own country. When I heard about the autonomy of women in England and its supportive laws for equality of women in, I thought it was time to move and relocate in hope of a better future for myself and my family (Pari, aged 55).

It was the harsh laws set by the government which pushed Pari to take on a role as self-

initiate expatriate in a hope to gain equality at her work place, to have more control over her career and to have the ability to develop as a professional in an aim to obtain dominant roles in society regardless of her gender. The movement of participants such as Pari from one location to another gives them the label of a migrant which can be mutually exclusive to a self-initiated expatriate. In case of Pari, she can be identified as a self-initiated expatriate who ended up staying permanently after her relocation and is now considered as permanent immigrant (Al Ariss, 2010; Al Ariss and Özbilgin, 2010), a fate shared by many migrants of Iran who have migrated due to the restriction set by the new regime.

Placing these rules of inequality on women instigated more women to leave the country in search for their place of solace where they were respected and valued and a better life would have been possible for their children (Mohammadi, 2013). Places where the rights of women were respected and equal rights for men and women were practiced.

According to Jolly and Reeves (2005) major factors contributing to migration of women from their home country, are the social pressure and restrictions as well as the lack of freedom they experience. These issues were raised by most women taking part in this research who mentioned that their migration decision was somewhat related to the social problems in the society which would result in pressure from their families. Nuna, a lecturer who also chose to initiate a career as an expatriate abroad, emphasised:

I was married and had a good job back in Iran, but as the years went by and the restrictions and pressure of the government on the public were becoming more severe than before. I realised I was very unhappy, and everyday a little bit of our freedom was taken away from us, and there did not seem to be a stopping point for them. Laws were set for women to wear hijab; we were not being treated equally at the University and inequality in the society in general after the revolution, made all women feel unwanted and unappreciated. During my time at University, I also had some political issues, as I was involved in a campaign to help free a young woman who was arrested for speaking out for her rights, and this made me feel anxious and worried about being punished for trying and help a woman who had the courage to speak out (Nuna, aged 50).

As mentioned earlier according to Rahnema and Behdad (1995) following the revolution Iranian universities became the home of political activities conducted by students. Similarly, to Nuna many individuals had a political conflict with the government, feared their faith, and migrated because of their affiliation with political groups in Iran. This process was influenced by the governments attack on political opponents who did not support their ideologies which resulted in many of their oppositions been jailed for public protesting against these ideologies in particular on inequality of women.

A Dentist in her early 50s said she migrated due to political repression during the 1980s. She narrated the following:

I did not choose to migrate from Iran out of my own will. My family forced me to

migrate because of the political party, which I was supporting back in Iran. During my university days, I was part of the student union and we campaigned against the laws placed on women at the time. Some of my colleagues were arrested because of this and I only managed to escape from the scene. My parents were very keen that I leave the country as the government at the time had acquired special manpower to tackle down and punish any political opposition to their laws and legislations, which was dealt with upmost punishment; some of my friends were imprisoned and severely punished. As a result, my parents contacted my uncle in the UK for support and help in my migration to the UK so that I could start up again (Nuna aged 50).

It is important to note that for individuals like Nuna the experience of becoming a self-initiated expatriate becomes an easier process through the use of capital resources explained by Bourdieu's theory such as social and cultural capital, which can be used as an individual's agency for international mobility. As explored in chapter three according to Al Ariss and Syed (2011) in order to confront the structural barriers migrants face upon relocation, several independent capital resources can be used to act as their agency. This means for somebody like Nuna, who has an advantage of social capital through personal relationship with her uncle in the host country who can support and guide her, as well as her own professional experience and qualification, which equips her with the necessary cultural capital the process of migration becomes easier. Individuals who became expatriates rather than refugees and asylum seekers are those who have economic capital in form of financial resources to fund their migration to a new country. Nuna's agency emerged through the use of her social and cultural capital in order to undertake international mobility which aided her international relocation through the creation of macro-contextual and micro-individual level, by shaping her social setting and using her career capital upon migration, this concept was discussed earlier in chapter three (Al Ariss and Syed, 2011). Nuna used her agency to combat some of the structures however her agency is limited, as she would like to stay with her family in Iran while benefiting from equality. Being forced out of their home country for seeking basic human rights for their gender is a hard phenomenon to deal with. However, having these factors furnish individuals with power and confidence to seek opportunities in the host country in an aim to improve their living conditions and obtaining the equality they fought so hard for in their homeland (Al Ariss et al., 2013). *'Factors such as a desire for exploration and excitement or a positive predisposition to the experience prompted by family and social connections or to escape from a current way of life or job were confirmed as key stimuli'* for self-initiate expatriates by Inkson and Myers (2003).

Nuna carried on to explain, it was highly likely that she was going to be arrested after they had arrested her colleagues and friends at the university and she feared what the government would have convicted her of if she had been caught. Her experiences present her as an individual who migrated to prevent what would have been rather than what had happened to her. It is quite possible that she had other aspiration such as settling down in her homeland with her family and friends but as her family feared for her life, they pressured her on making a decision, which played a key role in her life. It is no surprise that people with political

involvement are advised to leave the country for their own safety. It can be considered that the psychological effects of being oppressed for becoming a target for the Islamic government of Iran due to taking part in an opposing political group which is dealt with in violence and imprisonment is enough of a reason to force an individual to relocate (Rahnema and Behdad, 1995).

The political-social situation of Iran and enforced Islamic rules portrayed on women means, they have to work within the rules set by the government with limited rights, freedom and support, which obliges them to consider migration. The prospect of a better career path with more job opportunities played a major role in the decision made by the participants to migrate to the UK. Most second phase women and third phase women participant mentioned that one of the major reasons for migrating and remaining in the UK was to obtain better occupational position. This was emphasized through Nahal's case, a 49-year-old woman who came to the UK in 1987. As a teacher who works in a secondary school, she found it difficult to obtain a job in Iran after completing her degree. She explained that one of the factors that motivate her move to the UK and becoming an expatriate was better pay, job opportunities and equal job perspective and value given to females within the UK. This identifies her aim to start a protean career through achieving more through career development and management in order to accomplish further in life management (Sullivan, 1999; Hall and Harrington, 2004) than was possible in Iran through her migration reflecting her attitude and willingness to start a boundaryless career (Gratton, Zaleska and De Menezes, 2004). She explained:

I migrated to the UK in search of better job opportunities to provide a better life for my family, to support them and put a roof over their heads. In the 1980s, the UK seemed a more promising location to find a job in comparison to Iran as the revolution left the country in shambles with people looking for jobs everywhere. When I found a job in Iran the pay was not significant enough for me to do the things that I wanted to do financially, they also did not treat me with respect. I was working in a company for about 5 years with no pay rise and when they wanted to cut down staffs I was ask to vacate my position along with a few other female employees. It was a biased decision to kick me out of my position when I worked very hard to get that job had made real progress. If I had been working at the same position in the same manner in the UK, I believe I would have been given a promotion after so much hard work (Nahal, aged 49).

Nahal case shows that the lack of respect and support towards women in their place of work which left her feeling unappreciated and undervalued, the managers did not acknowledge the effort she was putting into her work, making her feel insignificant due to her gender. pay Nahal was very politically aware in respect to the position of women in the new Islamic state after the revolution of 1979. She knew of the consequences such situations will have on her children if they grew up in the country and she was aware of the economic development and opportunities available in other countries. Therefore as explained in chapter three according to Castles (2000) Nahal's migration was economically motivated as she decided to relocate in search of better economic standard of living through voluntary relocation. This combined

with the aspects of work for women of Iran, where pay is not significant enough for them to live the life they aspire and working in positions with no future, with very slim chances of promotion or pay rise, is itself enough of a driving force for women such Nahal towards a more promising life abroad. Similarly Nahal saw the opportunity and she decided to migrate in order to utilize her expertise to obtain a job overseas as an expatriate which will pay her better, offer security in a country where her rights at work will be respected and her hard work rewarded. Although she was aware of the consequences of migrating to a new country, she decided to leave Iran due to social hardship placed on women in the country by the new Islamic government, which consequently affected the number of opportunities present to women as well as their possibilities of growth both financially and professionally. Similar experiences were mostly common with other participants from the second and third phase Iranian migration.

It is important to pay special attention to the attitude of these women towards migratory movements associated to expatriate as an attempt to search for greater opportunities and development as described by Sullivan and Arthur (2006).

In order to attain better occupational positions abroad, many of the participants migrated to initially, further their education in an effort to widen the ranges of opportunities available to them. This attempt creates agency by cultural capital through obtaining higher education and by means of becoming familiar to the culture and language of the host society, which would then result in emergence of agency through social capital through networks and connections made in university. This meant university admission was an important deciding factor upon choosing a destination for a migrant. By furthering their educations, the Iranian women migrant would gain the ability of becoming a more desirable expatriate as the educational qualifications obtained from the UK are more recognised in the western world than ones obtained in Iran. This was demonstrated through Aki's case; a 34 year old woman who came to the UK in 2014 to obtain her PhD.;

I came to the UK mainly for further education in order to obtain better qualifications, which would enable me to work abroad. I initially tried applying for my Ph.D. in Iran but found it very difficult to obtain an admission into the University without a strong connection and opportunities were limited in particular for me as a woman. After researching various openings and facilities, I found out the UK provides a wider range of choices for PhD studies as well as excellent facilities of research. My future aim was to obtain work in Europe or America, therefore a British qualification that is highly recognised and accepted by the companies and organizations was ideal for me. I heard about the standard of research in the UK from one of my friend who is studying for her Ph.D. in Portsmouth University and decided I wanted to build a successful career for myself; and in order to do so, it was time for me to explore other opportunities abroad (Aki, aged 34).

Aki's narrative portrays the fact that Iranian women perceive or are aware that they can

obtain better work opportunities in Western countries such as UK. Women in such civilizations have achieved more equal right in the society and their work place; this is verified by their presence in the parliament, government, and key managerial positions within international companies. This demonstrates the chance of growth in such civilisations, where women are socially accepted and their equal rights are recognised in the labour regulation laws. As stated by Al Ariss and Syed (2011), in a developed country, when an organisation wants to hire individuals, they do their best to ensure meritocracy principles are followed by state institution in their national labour markets, so individuals are ranked based on their experience and qualifications rather than gender. This makes the thrive of equal rights of women both at academic and professional level the major derive of migration for women of Iran from Iran to more developed countries.

Similarly, to Aki Another participant, Elnaz also emphasised her motivations of further education, which would allow her to secure a job with better prospective abroad as being the reason behind her migration to the UK. She clarified:

We did not have financial problems back in Iran as I come from a wealthy family. It was easy for me to obtain a job through family connections, and the job I had in Iran was well paid, but I wanted to obtain another degree in the UK and find a job within the country in order to develop further in life. I believe there are better job opportunities abroad in comparison to Iran. Therefore, this desire played a major role in my motivation for migration to the UK (Elnaz, aged 32).

Elnaz's story confirmed the desire of individuals who tend to migrate to regions of better development as opposed to region of underdevelopment as stated by (Vargas-Silva, 2011). This is in agreement with Ansari's research (1988), where he stated that more students tend to migrate to UK, Ukraine, India, and Malaysia, as the educational standards in this country are much higher than that in Iran. This can be considered by an economically motivated migration described by Castles (2000); Kindler et al., (2010); Scullion and Pemberton (2010), the voluntary movement of individuals to improve their economic or standard of living or simply the migration of individuals because they can. This can be considered as a neo-classical migration theory (Castles and Miller, 2009), since the women participants migrated from a low-income country of Iran to a high-income country such as the UK for better education, which will open the opportunity to obtain a professional job in the host country. When considering Iranian women like Elnaz, the historical-institutional theory of Marxist is another economic concept of migration, which can be considered, this theory exploits immigration in the peripheries for the core regions' benefit (Castles and Miller, 2003). Economic capital is fundamentally associated to financial resources such as money (Bourdieu, 1986). The agency of partisans like Elnaz emerged by using financial resources as essential tools in undertaking international mobility and eventually an international career through the agency from cultural capital as mentioned earlier by obtaining further education.

Gaining further education will equip women like Elnaz, Aki, and Nahal with right set of professional skills to commence a protean career through the psychological success achieving personal goals. This can be a step towards individual career management resulting in an

improvement in their performance and learning demands and as a result '*strives towards a developmental progression and self-fulfilment*' (Volmer and Spurk, 2010). This will give these individuals the ability to undertake a boundaryless career attitude through high mobility and physical and psychological movements across various organisations (Volmer and Spurk, 2010).

Education is a mutual goal of both second and third phase migrants. As mentioned in chapter three, many of the second phase migrants who migrated right after the revolution were planning on return back to Iran upon collapse of the Islamic regime. However, with the Islamic regime in place, these women remained in their host countries. As it can be reflected from this research, many achieved high authorities and rankings within organisations and in fact because of this movement managed to achieve both physical and psychological goals in their relocations, leading to what can be identified as a boundaryless career. Boundaryless career understood as the notion of unrestricted careers that open new and diverse opportunities as explained by Arthur & Rousseau (1996); DeFillippi & Arthur (1996) and explored in the chapter 3 of this study.

The high number of migration of Iranian individuals to escape patriarchy ideologies of the government has identified Iran as a country with highest brain drain leading to loss of human capital of the country (Al Ariss and Syed, 2010). This has resulted in culture back warding which has caused corruption both at political and social levels leading to the down growth of economic development forcing the young population to look overseas for opportunities of growth (Panahi, 2012), as the rate of unemployment increases in Iran (World Bank, 2014).

As mentioned by several participants of both second and third phase migrants, the educational system of Iran and the social pressure on children to act a certain way created behavioural conflict in children as cultural values in their family and the outside world were significantly different. From the interviews, it was revealed that many women felt raising children and a family in these, conditions were unfair on their children and wanted to provide them with opportunities they never had.

Among the participants were Mona, Atena, Mina, and Nazi who spoke of their childhood in Iran motivating them to migrate in hope of a better upbringing for their future children. Mina emphasized:

Growing up in Iran, we were told what we were supposed to believe according to the sharia laws. We were dictated what was good and what was bad and that if we let ourselves be guided by Satan and follow his lead through bad deeds such as lying, revealing our hair and having relationship before marriage this would result in us going to hell and being severely punished by god. As a child, I was unable to tell the difference from what I was told at school and the rules we were

living by at home and I was not able to distinguish which is correct. They had developed a constant fear in our mind about going to hell and being punished. I did not want this for my children. I wanted to raise a family in a free environment where I can be the one to teach them what to believe in, where I can teach them to practice, learn and research about various beliefs to choose their own, and where I can teach them the beauty of our culture and religion, not the school and its members who are ruled by the governments belief who forces their ideologies on its public from a young age (Mina, aged 25).

Through the narrative of several participants, it was revealed that children became object of questioning to find out how families were living away from the eyes of the government, at their own homes. They were questioned on whether parents were drinking alcohol, or had a satellite TV to watch shows from around the world, which is not legally allowed in Iran, due to exposure of relations between unmarried men and women, and show of alcohol and substance abuse for leisure. If a child were to be honest and expose the parents by telling the truth in regards to their drinking or other socially unaccepted habits, the parent would be punished and can be arrested. While on the other hand if a child was to hide the truth, a trait of deceiving and dishonestly was forced upon them from a young age due to social status of the government. Mothers saw this as an unfair punishment and pressure on children by the authority and wanted to get their children away from such conditions. They wanted to have the opportunity to show their children the beauty of their culture rather than brainwashing them on what is right and wrong based on the regime's beliefs as expressed by Mina and several others.

This study highlights work as the main aspiration of migration for Iranian women, as equal career opportunities are represented to women in the western world, as well as equal chances of growth, promotion and pay rise in organisations abroad. However, this study also shines light onto importance of a hopeful future for the children of women from second and third phase migration phases. The aim of many women for migration can be identified as the exposure of their children to the right kind of education, to teach them the equal rights of men and women. Therefore, to provide them with equal opportunities and rights to education and more senior and dominant role in society and government based on meritocracy principles followed by state institution in their national labour markets (Al Ariss and Syed, 2011).

Educational purposes for second phase migrations are mainly associated with opportunities and growth for their children through obtaining appropriate learning, whereas for the third phase migrants' education is the main motivation behind their own migration while the prospect of their future family and children has also had its influence on their decision. This could be because participants of this era were born into the restricted patriarchal societies. Without a previous taste of equality and freedom of expression, the Islamic restrictions were up to a certain level accepted by these women however their main aim and ambition was growth and higher socially accepted status in society through education and career development rather to just escape the restrictions in placed for women. While on the other hand it can be argued that for most Iranian women of the third phase, being born to such

restricted environment their ambition from a young age is to leave their homeland. This means many are willing to do this in any way and at any cost to escape and achieved their freedom for women they see in the western world and achieve the freedom their parents once had prior to revolution. Marina from the third phase of migration stated:

For me personally wearing hijab and dressing modestly was not that big of an issue to leave my homeland and within my family and friends, everyone was treated equally, if anything my mother was the driving force behind most decision in the house. However, what I was suffering from was the lack of opportunities. I was raised to believe I can achieve anything I set my mind on; however with the social economic status of Iran and high rate of unemployment within educated youth, I knew to achieve my dreams of success I had to relocate(Mariana , aged 25).

While on the other hand participants like Poneh, Atena, Aynaz, and Roya where individuals from third phase migration who wanted to escape the restricted patriarchal society of Iran at any cost. Therefore, they chose the popular way of migration through marriage to an Iranian who lived in the UK. As explained by the following accounts:

I migrated to the UK because of my marriage to an Iranian man who had a British citizenship. I have since a young age wanted to get away for the social political conflict in Iran. In my eyes, everyday life was a struggle for women, and I for one refused to accept that life. Wearing hijab everywhere, being anxious if the revolutionary guards or the police will catch me if my ankle was showing or if my scarf accidentally slipped off my head for a split second, these issues seemed insignificant to me but yet it was dictating a my life. I was never a person to listen to what I was told and my parents always wanted me to get away from the country because they were scared that I might get into trouble with people or with an activist. I was never really a big supporter of the new Islamic laws so once the opportunity came for me to leave the country I knew I had to take it. Migration to the UK was hard as I had to leave my family behind but I had no other choice but to leave for my own sake and for the future of any children I wish to have (Poneh, aged 35).

Similarly, when I asked about the motives for her migration Roya made the following response:

I got married to a man who was a citizen of Britain and Sweden and through him; I was able to migrate to the UK. I love my homeland and I often get homesick but I was never a fan of the government so I was very happy to leave in pursuit of a better and happier life. I was tired of all the restrictions placed on women and was longing to leave Iran. I always dreamt of living freely and raising my children abroad and when a family friend proposed I did not hesitate. At first, my parents were not very happy due to the distance but as they see my happiness and

the life I have managed to build here, they praise me for leaving (Roya, aged 51).

Even though this was not observed from, the narrative of individuals in this research but it is also worth mentioning that those who marry to escape from being controlled can become subject to spousal abuse, as their immigration status is solely dependent on the decisions and status of their spouse in the host country. They may find it difficult to leave abusive situations from their spouse since their immigration status is dependent on husband in the host country.

The human rights within the socio-political atmosphere of Iran, meant happiness associated with freedom have not really existed since the revolution period after 1979. In the last 30 years, wearing hijab has always been and is still an issue for women in Iran as mentioned by several of the participants. Women who are not wearing hijab properly are warned and on many occasions arrested. Fun leisure such as shopping, going to restaurants, parks etc., has become an issue, as police will always be around to observe women on the way they dress and cover up to ensure it is appropriate according to them.

The above accounts suggest that Iran is not considered, as the most favourable and peaceful place for women. Women face many challenges, which have led some of them as described above to leave their beloved home country. Those who managed to migrate have paid a huge penalty emotionally for leaving their families and loved ones behind.

Destination is an important factor once a decision has been made to undertake migration. An important matter of consideration for Iranians as migrants is obtaining visas, and admission to universities. UK universities seem to have an easier process of admission as well as the geographical closeness of the country to Iran, which played a major role in the decision and motives for most of the women participants. This was mostly observed with the third generation migrants. The narrative of one highly educated and successful woman indicated that one of the reasons to leave Iran and migrate to the UK and not the U.S.A, which has been the destination with the highest Iranian population outside of Iran, was the geographical closeness of Iran to the UK. She also emphasised the fact that obtaining visa from the UK was a much easier process in comparison to the US due to fairly better relations between the two countries in comparison to the US and Iran. She stated:

It was easier to obtain visa to enter the UK when compared to other countries such as U.S and Germany. The UK is also closer to Iran and since I have almost all my family and friends in Iran, I will be travelling back and forth on regular basis, therefore being closer was an important factor for me. Obtaining visa to enter the UK is much easier. I had previously filed an application to travel to California for a holiday. It took about 6 months to process my visa and that was just a holiday, I can imagine requesting to stay in the country for a longer period based on educational purposes would take a much longer time, a time I would like to spend working towards my education, rather than just waiting. My application for visa to the UK took only 4 weeks (Sara, aged 29).

From her account, it was clear that most of the participants preferred to migrate to a country closer to their homeland. This is important for many as migrating to a distant country might result in problems such as depression, due to breaking ties with familiar environment and families as stated by Jalali (2005) which has been noted to be a major challenge faced by Iranian migrants worldwide. The reason behind choosing UK other than geographical closeness was the ease of obtaining visa and University admission. The UK is more lenient when it comes to granting visas and work permits unlike countries such as Germany and France which as reported by Al Ariss et al., (2013) severe constraints are placed in obtaining visas and work permits for ethnic minorities resulting in an increasing administrative barriers for this population. For individuals such as Sarah obtaining visa to the UK allows the development of meso-organisational setting, as discussed in chapter three, which according to Al Ariss and Syed (2011) is the impact, created on their migration experiences based on the academic establishment they have managed to obtain through attaining a visa student upon applying to universities within the UK.

The aim of this study was to investigate the challenges faced by Iranians as well as the motivations, which influenced their migration to the UK. These struggles are explored in the following section.

5.2. Challenges Faced by Iranian Women Migrants

As well as administrative hurdles for ethnic minorities, language barriers, difficulty in obtaining residence, visa, adaptation to new work environment and cultural difference are common challenges that have affected the migrants upon relocation. The participants in this study explained the communication with home citizens of the UK was difficult at first because of the difference in language and in cultural background and it took them some time to adjust to the new society and the culture. This is quite understandable as it is always difficult to adapt to a new environment especially when one has to learn a new language. For most of these women, they had migrated from Iran at Mid 20s or late 30s having already lived most or all of their lives in Iran with their families and friends, often loneliness were a challenge they had to face upon arrival.

As mentioned earlier distance away from their loved ones has been a problem, mentioned by almost all participants. This is could be in form of missing their friends and families, who they left behind in Iran prior to migrating to the UK. Some migrants have been known to exhibit characteristics such as depression and emotional roller coasters because of the distance from their families and loved ones (Jalali, 2005), as well as social vulnerability and cultural shock exhibited upon migration (Bhugra, 2003). This was expressed by almost all participants of from both phases, as emphasized by Helen:

Once the opportunity came for me to migrate I knew I had to leave, and even though upon my migration, I have been successful in obtaining a degree and consequently a job, I never felt like this was my home, and I never stopped missing Iran. Due to the social and economic conditions of Iran I was forced to

leave if I wanted to be independent and successful as a female, however struggles of loneliness and deprivation and depression were the costs I had to pay, which was shared by many of my friends (Helen, 47).

The matter of obtaining a resident visa has been another issue raised by participants. This could be due to the political issues between the Iranian leaders and the western governments, which has constrained migrants in their international mobility and thus can have some consequences in their career outcomes. For example, Richardson, (2009) provides an insightful study, which shows that companies and organizations are willing to recruit international workforce but are unwilling to change their policies to fully support international workforce concerning resident visas. As mentioned in the literature ‘*Migrants who face such barriers tend to have stronger career constraint*’ (Syed, 2008). Joshua-Gojer and Allen (2013) supports such notion, as companies are unwilling to provide residence permit for most foreign migrants because of the strict government policies on recruiting foreign workers at the expense of native workers. Due to government policies even when a company is willing to sponsor migrants and offer them a job, the long procedure they had to go through for work authorisation, was very complicated and could potentially take a few months, which became a discouraging factor for employers in hiring them (Al Ariss and Özbilgin, 2010 ; Al Ariss and Syed, 2011).

This is a major issue for migrants as they miss out in job opportunities, which would have been tailored, made for them. It is understandable that obtaining a working visa or resident permit visa is the key to their residence status in the UK as they will not be able to continue to stay in the UK without these papers, which will result in them returning to Iran where they had initially migrated from due for the reasons and motives discussed previously. As an alternative in many cases reported by (Inkson and Myers, 2003) when unable to obtain the appropriate visas many self-initiated expatriates resulted into taking jobs unsuitable to their qualification which then lead to involuntary career changes for these individuals in an attempt to remain in the host country (Al Ariss and Özbilgin, 2010). Participants like Pari and Nuna, initially took on roles unrelated to their qualification in an attempt to support their family, their experiences are shared below.

The issue of segregation was one of the experiences that were mentioned during the interviewing process by three of the participants. One of the victims was Pari a 50-year-old woman who experienced some form of racism at work from her colleague. When asked about her working experience in the UK, she narrated the following:

I found it very difficult to relate with my colleagues at work, as I always felt segregated. When I first started working, it was exciting for me, as I had just recently moved the UK after escaping all the problems and things that were going on in Iran. It was a good change and a new environment, new people and new culture. My first job was at a retail shop where many people with various ethnic backgrounds were working. The people at work most of whom were indigenous did not really want to speak with me, I never understood why I was treated as an

outcaste, but I believe the language barrier was a key to this issue. At first, I felt rejected, as they would go off in little groups and not really get me involved in things. They probably did so because I was new not only to the job but also in the country and maybe to them I acted strange coming from a completely different culture. However since then many things have changed, I have grown and adapted socially and I am currently working in a hospital as a Nurse which is much better than what I used to do and I feel respected, appreciated and more importantly treated as equal to my male colleagues (Pari, aged 55).

From Pari's story, it can be seen that she felt neglected in her work place; the actual reasons for this could be due to many factors such as language barrier and cultural differences. People tend to relate more with individuals of the same ethnic group or cultural background. Therefore, her experience would probably be common encounter of migrants of different ethnic background and none English speaking country. Pari's language barrier and lack of cultural familiarity led to her employment in an unskilled job where she was overqualified, and unhappy. In order to avoid such structural factors which were applying restraints on Pari's progression she decided to develop her social and cultural capital through studying further. Becoming familiar with the English culture and language through interaction with classmates and teachers developed her social capital while achieving higher education improved her cultural capital, both of which emerged as her agency in improving the outcome of her migration. Therefore, after training and social adaptation she got a better suited job for her qualifications and professional skills. This experience tends to be common among the participants of second migratory phase, Nuna; a 50-year-old woman explained her experience as she first moved to the UK:

I was unhappy at my previous workplace because of prejudice at work from one of my colleagues and senior manager within the company. At the time, he did not seem to like or acknowledge me. It was hard to fit into the company when the manager was unwelcoming. He did not seem to have the patience with me when I asked him for help. I felt this could be due to my English and language difficulties; however, I worked hard to prove myself but was never praised. Not only did things never improve but they actually got worse, to a point that I felt, I had to start looking for a new job. It was important for me to get something that paid very well and was lucrative enough for me to support my husband and children, so I decided to study at further at university and obtain more qualifications, which enabled me to work as a lecturer. I would say things are much better now in terms of pay, promotion, opportunities, people, work ethics, and the way they I am treated and accepted at work. This on the contrast was very different from the way I was treated at my job in Iran (Nuna aged 50).

Through obtaining a degree to further her education, Nuna adapted a protean career attitude, to achieve her personal goals, which in this case would have been more involvement in society through attending university, and therefore eliminate her feeling of segregation as well as allowing her to find a more rewarding. As mentioned earlier further education would

have developed Nuna's cultural capital while resolving her language and communication barrier through further education would have aid her social capital, both of which would have deployed as her agency to face such segregation barriers in her migration process.

Nuna seem to have had a similar experience to Pari in her first UK workplaces, both who are now working in very different highly skilled and experienced areas. In a boundaryless orientation, people tend to move jobs physically from one organization to another until they are completely able to control their career development. They tend to follow trends that meet their own personal values and goals. These could be seen in the stories of Nuna and Pari both second phase migrants who moved jobs because of the way in which they were treated at their old jobs. Furthermore, they changed jobs for better pay rise and promotion opportunities in order to be able to support their families. For most of these participants, one of the main motives for migration was for better opportunities in the UK as opposed to staying back in Iran. At first, they seem to follow a particular trend of working as a casual workers for a company then obtaining qualifications to develop their cultural capital and as a result move to a highly skilled job which has a better pay to be able to control their career development and progression choices. This allowed individuals like Nuna and Pari to alter their status from a migrant to that of self-initiated expatriates. Developing their cultural capital through education led to deployment of their agency to overcome the structural barriers faced at work through the emerging networks and thus social capitals created. This in aided the development of economical capital, which deals with higher, pays and financial resources. Other participants, most noticeably from the third migration phase tend to have found it easier to settle into their communities after migration. This is evident in the narrative experience of one of the third phase women migrant Mona, a 26 year old woman. She narrated:

I am currently happy at my workplace, as it has given me the opportunity to publish my research work, which would not have been possible if I was back in Iran. I am also happy with the fact that my career progression is based solely on merit rather than my personal ideologies (Mona, aged 26).

She carried on to say:

I am happy at work because it gives me the freedom to move in between institutions. The rights of women are much respected at my work place and they are many progression opportunities (Mona, aged 26).

This shows that not all participants had similar experiences and definitely not all participants had such hard time settling into the system. Roya and Aynaz all third phase migrants also mentioned similar reasons for been satisfied at their respective professions and the progressions they have made so far. These women particularly noted that office promotions are based on intellectual competence, ability, and merit in contrast to some progression barriers such as office prejudice as stated by Collings, Scullion, and Morley, (2007) as one of the major problems encountered by women migrants at foreign organizations.

The contrast between the experiences of both set of people can be because most of the third phase respondents studied in the UK prior to employment as opposed to being educated in Iran and moving to the UK because of family reunifications as in the case of most of the second phase migrants. It could also be due to cultural adaptation as the respondents from the third migration phase had more time to adapt to the culture before taking employment when compared to the respondents from the second migration phase. It is also essential to comprehend the massive growth of social media over the years. This means the younger third phase migrants of Iran who often follow the life in the western society and socialise with people around the world, away from the prying eyes of the government, had the opportunity to become familiarise with the western culture. This would develop their cultural capital through familiarity with culture and language before they even migrated while the third phase migrants had to face the new culture upon entering their host country.

Segregation at work place is a serious issue that needs to be addressed by organizations even though policies are put in place to avoid such issues, many organisations fail to follow therefore stricter rules, and regulations needs to be placed to ensure such problems are addressed (Acker, 2006).

As well as segregation, bullying was a surprising issue brought up by a respondent, Sara, a 29-year-old woman who is currently working as a researcher:

I was bullied at work by two of my colleagues. One who was a senior member of the organisation and wanted to show his authority. While another senior member in the office also took advantage of her authority by giving all the work to me while she took most of the credit (Sara aged 29).

She also mentioned that this occurrence was reported to the managers who did nothing about the situation. As mentioned in the literature this is termed as the raffle effect where the denial of bullying benefits the managers and trade union officials. This impacts Sara by creating structural restrains on her progression within her career. Having the benefit of cultural capital through her education, Sara's attempt at work was to develop her social and economic capital through networking with colleagues. Her aim was to complete her research in an attempt to achieve advanced positions in her field and increase her cultural capital further as well as aiding her to develop her economical capital through obtaining better positions and higher salaries as a result.

5.3. Conclusion

The section above has revealed the drivers behind the motivation of Iranian women through the narratives of fifteen participants, which is represented on the figure 5.4.1. From the interviews and literature it can be concluded that the revolution of 1979 has played a major role in the migratory movement of women, drawing upon the interviewees narratives experiences of dissatisfaction from the new gender based laws and restrictions placed in Iran

were explored. The inability of females to have equal opportunities for education with limited prospects for university admission and unequal rights and capabilities to their desired occupation in their homeland led to their migration to the UK. The experiences' of Iranian women in the Islamic state of Iran also reflects on the current social and political climate in the country. The migration stories of these women provide examples of numbers of the major factors often shared by the participants as encouraging factors for migration, such as anti-women laws, political affiliation with political parties and campaign groups, education, economically based opportunities for career growth and advancement, location, visa and finally marriage were among the topics discussed in this chapter.

Looking back at the data collected in this research it can be concluded that the migration movements of almost all participants was somehow related to the socio-political change created in Iran since the revolution which has led to Iran having the higher brain drain in the world which created a lack of economic growth as explained in chapter three.

It can be said the difficulty in obtaining jobs in Iran and limited opportunity due to favouritism of organisations towards men, stereotype beliefs that men can deliver better work than women, which, resulted in depreciation of women at work place. Similar rules apply to academic environment and therefore limiting the opportunity for women to carry on with their education. This forced many Iranian women to migrate in search of professional development and growth which was the pattern observed in the third phase migration. This change in the working and academic environment is the result of the socio-political condition of Iran. These findings reflecting the similarity of these conclusions to other studies which have revealed most migrants relocated either because of hardship in their home country (Ignatowicz , 2012) or in search of better job opportunities in the UK (Al Ariss and Ozbilgin, 2010).

Many of the participants, in particular those from second phase migration mentioned anti-women laws in Iran as the main motivation behind migration. As they found the increasing restrictions placed on women in Iran unbearable and crooked, and their only option of a better life was migration. Migration for some of these women who battled political affiliation was the only way to safety and freedom as a means to secure a better and brighter future for their children.

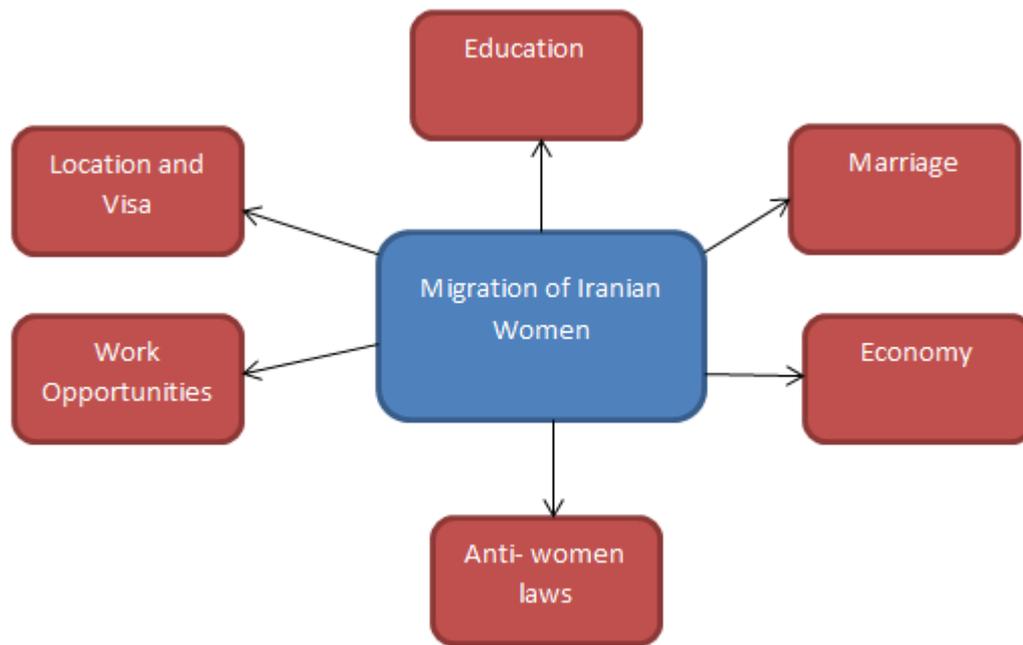


Figure 5.4.1: Motivations for Iranian Women Migration to the UK.

Most of the third phase participants said they migrated for economic and educational purposes, some because of difficulties to obtain admission to universities for further education and limited access to dominant roles within organisations. While others wanted to obtain a recognisable degree by the western society in order to pursue a career outside of Iran, in an attempt to seize better opportunities abroad as an expatriates.

The majority of participants from the third phase migration category explained that they migrated for economic and educational purposes, some because of being unable to obtain qualification or work in Iran while others wanted to obtain a degree in the UK as they found it more accredit able and recognisable by the western industry. Obtaining a British qualification would allow them to start their journey towards a protean career through the fulfilments of their goals prior to migration. More recently, migration of Iranian women has become more of a voluntarily act which is evident from the participants in the third migration phase category. Their migration experience has given these women the opportunity to become sole principal earners, in an attempt to explore their individuality and capability in meeting their personal needs. It has also given them the opportunity to move between jobs whether physically or mentally as boundaryless careers or protean careers respectively.

The third phase category participants have all obtained a PhD, or a Master degree or a second degree from UK Universities as evident in their narrative experiences and profile in the tables provided in pervious chapter. Their motives for migration and development since migrating can be directly compared to the results obtained from the research that was carried out on Mexican women migrants by Lowell, Pederzini and Passel (2007) where they concluded that a high percentage of Mexican women who had higher educational qualifications such as PhD,

Masters Degrees were migrants. These demonstrate that women migrants tend to follow the part of education as a means to get jobs in the host country undertaking a boundaryless career to boost their professional progression.

The collected data from this research suggests that women who live in Iran were constantly concerned about themselves or their daughters' future life, due to the existence of a patriarchal system where men's value and opinions are considered more valid. While women are labelled as second-class citizens whose role is to take a more traditional responsibilities of housewives to keep their husband content and look after the children. Their departure was filled with extent of uncertainty and fear but one they were willing to risk in a hope to escape their nightmare and build a better future for themselves and their children. They were said to have left their home country, forced to leave their family and friends behind but on the other hand, they managed to grasp happiness from availability of potential opportunities of work as self-initiated expatriate and potential of further education and a chance of equality for their children.

In terms of the working experiences of participants, the structural constraints and enabler faced through the experiences of the participants at work and further education; include segregation, bullying, prejudice, promotional opportunities, and equal right for women and chances to develop social and cultural capital in an attempt to achieve economic capital. In this case was the aim of most participants for undertaking either protean or boundaryless careers. This is represented on figure 5.4.2.

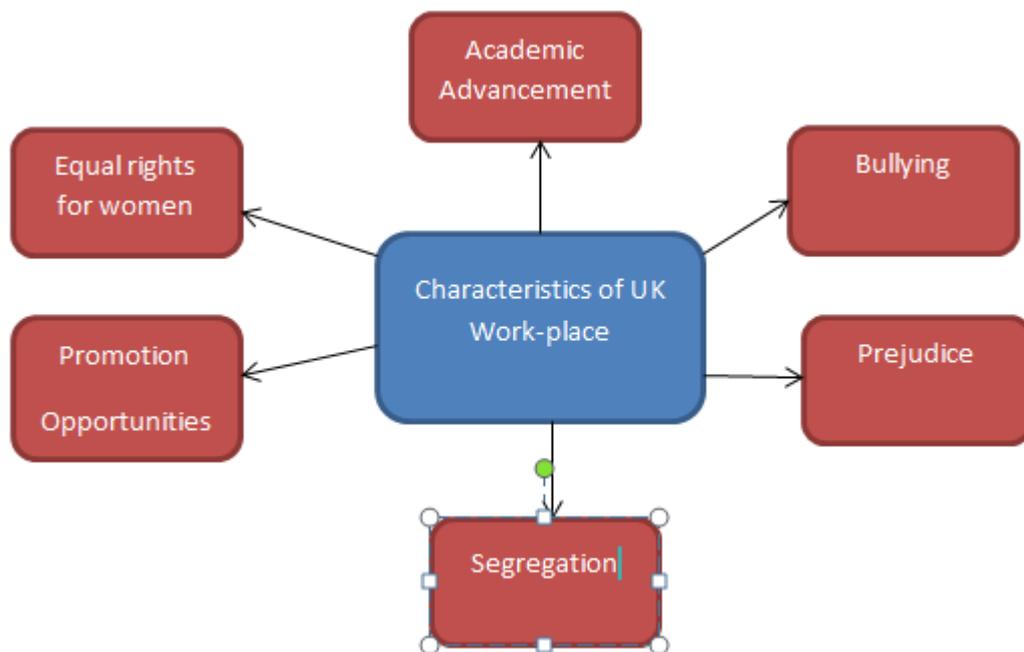


Figure 5.4.2: Experience of Iranian Women at Work, Upon Arrival.

In terms of the working experiences of participants, the second phase migrant women had a more difficult time adapting to their new environment. As opposed to the working

experiences of the third phase participants who found the workplace in the UK a bit more welcoming as they had more time to get used to the system through education before obtaining jobs. Due to social media and Internet, the Western culture is now very well understood and even incorporated into the Eastern culture of Iran. Therefore, those from the third phase migration phase are already very familiar with the environment. Many, who benefit from social economic capital in Iran, can speak several other languages and regularly trip to the west for vacation. This means they find it easier to adapt to the western culture, and therefore face fewer language and cultural challenge in their migration in oppose to the second phase migrants who were mainly forced to leave the country and never had any experience with the western culture previously to their migration. The issues at work, mentioned in the narratives of these women have mainly been due to cultural differences in between the home and host country of these individuals.

Chapter three discussed the fact that self-initiated expatriate and migrants who could not obtain the required visas or permits to work within the country had no choice but to work in jobs unrelated to their qualifications and previous experience. From the narrative of respondents, this was an issue faced by few Iranian migrants when they moved to the UK, who then chose further their education and get a better job through British approved qualifications. The reason behind third phase migrants choosing to obtain their degrees in the UK is to avoid the pressure of having to obtain a job unrelated to their qualification.

The following chapter draws an overall conclusion of the collected empirical data for this research study.

Chapter Six: Conclusion

Focusing on the narrative of the second and third generations of Iranian migrant, draws attention to the aim of this research, which is to explore the motivations for the migration of skilled ethnic minorities of Iranian women to the UK during the two stages of migration, in the post revolution era of 1979, which was discussed in chapter 1. The objective of this investigation was to highlight the experiences of these women in the working environment within the UK as well as exploring their migration experiences.

Chapter two focused on creating a foundation for this investigation, through providing a historical background to the changes in role of women in society of Iran in the three migration stages taken place in Iran.

Chapter three demonstrated the fact that the existing literature has not provided much insight as to the motivations of Iranian women for migration from Iran to the UK and how they have settled into the new environment and the culture of the host country in the past 30-40 years. Most migration literatures have focused on women who migrate illegally to work in informal sectors for example migrants from Bangladesh or Africa (Buijis, 1993). The experiences of Iranian women studied here was socio-cultural migration in the sense that these women whether married or single decided to move from Iran because they could not accept and adhere to the new roles that was placed by the Islamic state of Iran after the revolution (Sadeghi, 2006), as well as the economic and educational reasons. I strongly believe most of these women would still be in Iran if it were not for the socio-cultural and political changes that has taken place in Iran since the Islamic revolution of 1979.

Through demonstrating the methodology of this research, chapter four explains the use of qualitative data collection from two phases of Iranian migrants in the UK, through semi-structured interview in an attempt to identify different factors that can describe the motives for the migration of the 15 Iranian women who took part in this study.

Chapter five discusses the findings of this empirical research. Finally, the research sought to explain the differences/similarities in the migration experiences and work place experiences of the women from the second and third migration phase category. The motives were categorised as anti-women laws, political affiliation, education, and marriage. I also explored the experiences of these women in their current and previous working environment in the UK, to assess how well they have settled into the country and adapted and how the culture and their cultural and social capital emergence of agency has helped the structural barriers they have faced.

The literatures have focused on stories of the male migrants, a very few focused on women, in particular Iranian women, as it can be argued that women's chance of being selected for international migration is lower than that of men.

This research therefore adds significantly to the very limited research literature on the well-

educated Iranian migrant women and middle-class women from both second and third phase category, by investigating the various reasons influencing their migrations. Focusing on the narrative of the second and third generations of Iranian migrant, draws attention to the severity of the socio-political conditions of Iran on women, and the harshness of the Islamic laws which is limiting the opportunity of growth for women and forcing them to leave their homeland in a search of better life in the host society.

From my observations, it can be concluded that the political pressure, socio-cultural restrictions, anti-women laws and behaviours, Cultural Revolution and political oppression are interwoven. They may be classed together broadly, as socio-political persecution and this should be acknowledged as an important factor in the participants' decisions to migrate from Iran to the UK. These Iranian women migrated in order to have a chance of achieving their aspirations and multiple restrictions thwarted these ambitious women, increasing their desire to migrate from Iran. This investigation dealt with group of Iranian women migrants from a well-educated middle-class background enjoying a comfortable standard of living in the UK.

In terms of the working experiences, the narrative experience of the second phase migrant showed them to have a more difficult time adapting to the new environment as opposed to the working experiences of the third phase category participants. These individuals found the work place in the UK a bit more welcoming because they had more time to get used to the system before obtaining jobs. The issues with prejudice, segregation, and bullying at work were individually based, as this was not a problem faced by majority of participants.

As time has passed the number of immigrants in the UK has increased resulting in a more multicultural society, this could also be the reason behind why the thirds phase migrants face fewer discriminations and segregation at work in comparison to the second phase migrants who may have come to the UK just after the revolution in 1979.

It is worth noting as mentioned in the literature the third phase migrant are the ones who have independent economic capital sources to provide institutional and socio-cultural support. The way participants mobilized their economical capital strongly supports the notion that they were aware of how they were deploying their agency to achieve success in their international relocation from a developing to developed country. This provided them with the opportunities, to gradually attend college and universities before they work, which means more interaction with the British people outside home, facilitating the development of their social capital, which helped them adjust to the new culture better. While on the other hand many of the second phase migrants mentioned migrating with family which they had to support and many who escaped the country and are not privilege to individual capital resource and as a result were force to take any jobs initially to survive.

There is no one strategy can tackle the political and economic crisis that affects modern day international migration. A trend of effort in terms of investment and humanitarian aid is needed to combat these issues. More attention should be paid the rights and security of women, gender inequalities should be addressed as this is a barrier to the development of a

better economic, social, cultural, social, and political society (Mahdi, 2003). Until the issues of security and human and civil right of women is completely addressed, migration will never be a complete voluntary act on the part of the migrant especially women migrant (Martin, 2007).

Most women interviewed have been able to achieve the liberal lifestyle with freedom in choices, decision, and way of life. This has provided them with power, happiness, self-esteem, confidence at the price of uprooting their loved ones in order to move away into what can be identified as an isolated native culture.

Further work will be required to discuss the impact of migration on women from the Middle East; also further research work should look to explore the migration experiences of these women in relation to factors that influenced their decision to migrate from their home country.

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Appendixes:

Interview Questions

- When did you move to the UK?
- What was the main reason that influenced you to migrate to the UK?
- What was your goal for migration? What did you hope to achieve from relocation?
- How did you feel about the revolution of Iran in 1979?
- What are your views on position of women in society of Iran? Both academic and work related?
- Could you tell me about your current job? (tell me about your qualification, and your field of occupation, are you using your qualifications in this field?)
- Are you happy with your job? (why /why not)
- Could you describe an incident/situation when you felt particularly happy/unhappy in work?
- As a woman how do you compare working in Iran and UK? (main differences and similarities)
- Describe in detail your experiences in the UK work place (somehow refers to the previous questions)
- What are your expectations as an Iranian woman in the UK work place? (Do you think there are different from British women) why/why not
- What do you expect to be doing in the future (are you planning to stay in the UK) why/why not?