

**INTIMATE MOBILITIES AND
ACCULTURATION IN TRANSNATIONAL
SPACE: AN ANALYSIS OF SELECTED
WESTERN WOMEN'S MEMOIRS OF
MARRIAGE AND MIGRATION**

BY

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NATIONAL UNIVERSITY OF MODERN LANGUAGES

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Candidate of **Master of Philosophy** at the National University of Modern Languages do hereby declare that the thesis **Intimate Mobilities and Acculturation in Transnational Space: An Analysis of Selected Western Women's Memoirs of Marriage and Migration** submitted by me in partial fulfillment of MPhil degree, is my original work, and has not been submitted or published earlier. I also solemnly declare that it shall not, in future, be submitted by me for obtaining any other degree from this or any other university or institution.

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ABSTRACT

Title: Intimate Mobilities and Acculturation in Transnational Space: An Analysis of Selected Western Women's Memoirs of Marriage and Migration

Defining features of the contemporary world are the mobility/movement of the bodies from one location to the other and the intercultural interactions among people from different locals, nations, races, and ethnicities, which have transpired inter-faith, inter-race, inter-cultural and transnational marriages. Among these are Western women who are marrying Eastern men, migrating to Eastern spaces and interacting with Eastern cultures, which is why this study aims to understand the female Western immigrant's migration and acculturation experiences that go unregistered and affords insight into this growing phenomenon of Western women's migrations into Eastern countries and marriages with Eastern men. Substantiated by the concepts of Intimate Mobilities and Mobile Intimacies by Christian Groes and Nadine T. Fernandez, and Acculturation Strategies by John W. Berry, this study analyzes three Western women's memoirs of marriage and migration, Phyllis Chesler's *An American Bride in Kabul* (2013), Marguerite van Geldermalsen's *Married to a Bedouin* (2006), and Betty Mahmoody's *Not Without My Daughter* (1987), to determine the factors that influence their mobilities to Eastern locations and the strategies they use to interact with Eastern cultures. The study concludes that Western women's mobilities/migrations to Eastern countries are motivated by their intimacies/emotions, and these mobilities generate transnational spaces wherein they negotiate their Western and Eastern cultures and identities through different Acculturation Strategies. All three women are assimilated into Eastern cultures to a varying degree, with Chesler partially assimilated, Mahmoody between partially and completely assimilated, and Geldermalsen completely assimilated. As a consequence of their intimate mobilities, the transnational spaces and Eastern spaces transform their Western identities into Eastern identities as Afghan wife, Iranian wife, and a Bedouin woman.

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DEDICATION

I dedicate this thesis to myself because, well, I can, and not to seem as Narcissus incarnate, I would also like to dedicate this thesis to my beloved mother who always threatens to never let me get married unless I get a PhD, my sister who, not always, but mostly, tolerates my incessant whining, and my father who perhaps believes that the completion of this MPhil degree is taking so long because his daughter is failing classes.

CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

Contemporary modern world of globality is characterized by mobility and movement. It is all about the “growing mobility across frontiers – mobility of goods and commodities, mobility of information and communications, products and services, and mobility of people” (Robins 239). One significant type of mobility is transnational mobility, which is a movement from one country to another or in other words migration. Transnational movement is not a recent phenomenon and human history is filled with instances of mass migrations, though in recent decades, it has accelerated in intensity at such a staggering speed that it is considered to be one of the defining features of this century. Stephen Castles and Mark J. Miller even called late 20th century and predicted early 21st century to be an “age of migration” (3). Migration is carried out with the intentions of permanently or temporarily settling to another location and there is plethora of reasons that can precipitate people into uprooting their lives to move to a different country than they are born into. People can be motivated by the reasons of economic, socio-political, religious and environmental nature to voluntarily leave their home country to establish a new life at a foreign place. Sometimes migrations can be forced by man-made and natural disasters: displacement can occur due to wars, territorial disputes, military invasions, civil wars, famines, over population, apartheid, extremism, religious persecutions, exile, political oppression and deteriorating conditions of the country.

Conventionally, migration is examined in terms of “push-pull factors” while sparing “little room for desire, aspiration, anxiety or other states of soul” (Agustin 17-18). The intimate reasons for transnational mobility are not taken into account but in the contemporary world of “globalization and transnational encounters, people’s mobility often intersects with intimate issues” (Groes and Fernandez 1). The resultant globalization of the world due to the high-speed and high-volume transportation and improved superior communication technology has phenomenally diminished the spatial distances, thus encouraging transnational encounters. Shattered national, ethnic, racial and cultural barriers have provided people the opportunities to interact with other people belonging to diverse backgrounds and establish intimate

connections with them. In this way, intimate factors perform an influential role in relation to mobility/migration decisions in this interconnected contemporary world.

Intimate means very close, personal, or private; Intimate reasons are of private, emotional, personal, or desirous nature. Registering the potential of intimate perspective on mobilities/migrations, Christian Groes and Nadine T. Fernandez conceptualized the mobility/migration transpired by intimate, emotional or irrational reasoning to be Intimate Mobility (1). Intimate Mobility is any transnational movement that is dictated by anything related to intimacy such as love, desires, pleasure, sex, marriage, familial bonds, relationships, emotions, or reproduction.

Marriage migration has become one of the most common forms of intimate mobility as the interaction among people has encouraged inter-racial, inter-cultural, inter-faith and transnational marriages. Something that was considered a taboo around the world less than a century ago with strict anti-miscegenation laws in place to prevent it is now common as people are increasingly engaging in inter-racial unions because of the shift in societal norms (Kitch 1; Shields; Livingston and Brown). However, sometimes such unions demand spatial relocation of one party that more often than not is a woman; one of the reasons being the traditional practice of patrilocality. Women's migration/mobility through marriage is an old phenomenon but the globalization popularized the trend of marriage migration (Hélène Le Bail; "Marriage Migration"). Increase in the feminization of mobility through marriage warrants attention, especially among the Western women who seek Eastern husbands and relocate to Eastern spaces for them. Since Olivia Espín believes the medium of personal narratives to be the most credible source for understanding of women's migration experiences, three Western women's memoirs of marriage and migration are selected for this study wherein Western women's unions (inter-racial, inter-cultural, inter-faith and transnational) with Eastern men trigger their mobilities to the Eastern countries (Jordan, Afghanistan, and Iran) (10, 13, 37). *Married to a Bedouin* (2006) is an account of New Zealand born Marguerite van Geldermalsen's life in Petra, Jordan, among the Bedouin community after her marriage to a Bedouin named Mohammad Abdallah in 1978; *An American Bride in Kabul* (2013) is about Phyllis Chesler's romantic relationship and eventual marriage to an Afghan man in 1961 and her involuntary migration to Afghanistan and her experience in the Muslim country as a Jewish American woman; and lastly, *Not Without My Daughter* (1987) is the

narrative of an American woman, Betty Mahmoody's marriage to an Iranian man, Sayeed Bozorg Mahmoody, and her successive entrapment in Iran with their daughter in 1984. The reasons behind Western women's mobilities to Eastern spaces can be best explained through intimate perspective because their reasons for migration from first world countries to third world countries are not similar to the reasons of economic or socio-political nature that trigger Eastern immigrants' mobilities. Therefore, through the aid of Groes and Fernandez's concept of Intimate Mobilities, this study explores the function of intimate reasons in Western women's decision of transnational mobility in their memoirs.

Besides mobility being an important aspect of globalization, a significant dimension of globalization that is relational to mobility is Cultural globalization, which is the "intensification and expansion of cultural flows across the globe" (Steger 69). Because of increased mobility rendering physical borders and boundaries obsolete, people from different corners of the world and diverse backgrounds are rubbing shoulders, acting like what Margaret S. Archer has called "global agents" and spreading their cultures around (1). Transnational spaces emerge as a result of people's bi-national and multi-cultural engagements. Peter Jackson et al. define the term Transnational spaces as something that "encompasses all of those engaged in transnational cultures...It includes not just the material geographies but also the symbolic and imaginary geographies through which we attempt to make sense of our increasingly transnational world" (3). Transnational space is more of a "metaphorical idea" of space than an actual defined material location where activities of transnational nature are practiced (Collyer and King 7, 10). It is people who create immaterial spaces of cultural interactions by creating links between geographical locations through their movements.

People interact with other cultures in these imaginary spaces and engage in intercultural transmission. Intercultural transmission is aided by acculturation that is a process in which people internalize the behaviours, traditions, values, and beliefs of another culture they come into contact with. Margaret A. Gibson has defined it as a process of "cultural change and adaptation that occurs when individuals with different cultures come into contact" (19). This process is mostly initiated among immigrants who move to another country and in order to adjust and feel accepted by the people of that country, they begin to internalize its culture and customs. Change in cultural

patterns comes as a consequence of international mobility for immigrants. Groes and Fernandez also insist that while intimacy affects mobility, in return, mobility and newly emerged transnational spaces also shape the personal choices and life afterwards, making the intimacies Mobile (1). This study's focus is on three Western women, Marguerite van Geldermalsen, Phyllis Chesler and Betty Mahmoody, who undergo acculturation as a consequence of their decision to migrate. When they move from West to East, they create non-physical fluid transnational spaces in physical Eastern spaces where their Western and Eastern cultures encounter each other and their two national identities negotiate.

Negotiation among different cultures and identities happens through acculturation. According to John W. Berry, there are four ways to partake in the acculturation process, which he calls Acculturation Strategies. These strategies, which are namely, Assimilation, Separation, Integration, and Marginalization, can be determined by analyzing acculturating subject's attitude towards the home and host cultures. In Assimilation, the original cultural identity is abandoned to adopt the new culture; in Separation, the connection with original culture is maintained and the interaction with new culture is suspended; in Integration, both cultures are maintained and accepted; and in Marginalization, connection to both cultures is severed (Berry, "Immigration, Acculturation, and Adaptation" 9). Using Berry's theory on the selected memoirs can help to determine how these Western women acculturate in Eastern countries.

It is important to understand how immigrant women acculturate because according to an article "Gender and Migration" on Migration Data Portal, as of 2020 women constitute 48.1 percent of global immigrants; and Oliva Espin, in her book *Women Crossing Boundaries* (1999), shares her opinion that consideration of gender is profoundly important when it comes to women's experience of migration and the inevitable process of acculturation that follows after migration because women's experiences are tremendously different than men's as migration impacts their gender roles and sexuality (2, 4). Moreover, their prerogative to make independent decisions in regard to relocation is taken away due to their gender (Espin 20). Women's migration and acculturation are different from men because more often than not their right to decide to migrate and how to acculturate are dictated or controlled by someone else, mostly the opposite gender, meaning they are involuntarily pushed into

migration and forced to acculturate with no regards to their autonomy. Furthermore, among immigrant women, Western women's acculturation experience is generally disregarded but now that Western women are settling in Eastern countries, their experiences need to be acknowledged. Western women moving to Muslim countries has become a common occurrence now because Western people can research through internet to acquire knowledge and gain comprehension of other cultures instead of simply accepting the established stereotypes as inarguable facts and truths. Miscegenation used to be very rare due to the enraged reactions of disapproval from people but now people are very accepting of it and even actively seek out partners that are from different race, ethnicity, or country. Challenges may be encountered in conventional marriages but such challenges grow bigger or magnify in cross-cultural and bi-national marriages as cultural barrier can cause a lot of problems because comprehension, tolerance and acceptance of other's culture, faith, traditions, and customs are quite exigent. Dr. Racine Henry attests that such marriages are difficult to maintain because they are "multilayered. There come into play a lot more barriers than what a non-interracial couple will have to face" (McFadden). With conflicting cultural values, views, believes and ideologies, middle ground can be achieved through acculturation.

Myriad of interactions are taking place due to the contraction of space and time owing to revolutionary scientific innovations that have radically metamorphosed the world and how people experience life in the culturally intermingled world. It is nearly impossible for people and cultures to remain isolated and untouched, and intermingling of people has led to hybridization of cultures and identities. "Transnational contact zones", as Hermans and Kempen call, are emerging as local and global infiltrate into each other or collapse in on each other (1117). In this global world, all the people are linked together and interconnectedness has become a defining social condition of this age. People are creating intimate connections within and beyond the national boundaries that can lead to marriages to foreigners and migrations to those spouses' countries. This study determines the role of intimacy in the decision of Marguerite van Geldermalsen, Phyllis Chesler, and Betty Mahmoody to marry a foreigner and migrating to another country using the concept of Intimate Mobilities by Groes and Fernandez because motivations behind marriage migrations can be best explained through intimate reasons, and the subsequent affect of this life

changing decision on their personal life and choices is analyzed through the other half of the concept, Mobile Intimacies. Furthermore, transnational mobility and acculturation intersect as people carry their cultures across national boundaries when they migrate or internalize cultures of the lands they settle into, creating transnational spaces. Therefore, the employment of John W. Berry's four-fold model of Acculturation Strategies aids in determining what strategies were used by these Western women in an attempt to acculturate into East, and the factors that contributed to their success or failure to navigate in the new land.

While the tales of marriage and migration in the memoirs, *An American Bride in Kabul* (2013), *Married to a Bedouin* (2006), and *Not Without My Daughter* (1987), are from the 60s, 70s, and 80s respectively, and those times are incomparable to the degree of interconnectedness and intercultural contact this recent decade has achieved, they still offer invaluable insight into the intercultural marriages and migrations impelled by intimacy and help to understand Western women's experiences of migration and acculturation in the East. In this age of globalization that is marked with transnational connections and intercultural interactions, it is imperative to probe into the intimate reasons behind migration phenomenon, and acculturation as these are relevant to the contemporary world.

1.1 Thesis Statement

Western women's transnational marriages to Eastern men are leading to their mobilities across Eastern spaces which are resulting in the production of memoirs about their sojourns to and settlements in the Muslim ethnic milieus. The critical intervention of the memoirs *Married to a Bedouin* (2006), *An American Bride in Kabul* (2013), and *Not Without My Daughter* (1987) reveals the ways in which Western women's mobility/migration experiences are marked by intimacies and the various acculturation strategies they employ while negotiating between Eastern and Western cultures and identities in the transnational spaces.

1.2 Research Objectives

The objectives of this study are:

1. To understand the incentives behind Western women's transnational mobilities and settlements in Eastern spaces, Muslim countries to be specific,

and to examine the consequences of mobility/migration decisions on their lives afterwards in the place of settlement.

2. To identify the preferred acculturation strategies of Western women for adjustment or survival in Eastern spaces and the changes they go through during the process of Acculturation.

1.3 Research Questions

1. How does intimacy influence Western women's decisions for traveling to, and settling in the Eastern spaces?
2. How do the mobilities and the transnational spaces influence or affect the lives of these Western immigrant women?
3. What are the strategies utilized by the Western women in order to acculturate into East in the selected works?

1.4 Significance of the Study

Since the theorization of the exilic experiences is markedly tilted towards the Eastern émigrés, the memoirs of the Western women narrating their sojourns to, and settlement in, the Muslim ethnic milieus demand critical intervention; therefore, this study is significant as it aims to develop the understanding of female Western immigrants' experiences of mobility and acculturation in Eastern spaces by analyzing their memoirs of marriage and migration which are quite under-researched but now that Western women are entering Eastern locations and documenting their experiences, it is imperative that attention be paid to their narratives. There has been previously no research conducted on the memoirs *Married to Bedouin* (2006) and *An American Bride in Kabul* (2013), and although various studies have been conducted on the memoir *Not Without My Daughter* (1987) proving it to be an Orientalist narrative, narrative of maternal melodrama, traditional American captivity narrative, narrative of domestic terrorism and contraceptive nationalism, and the cultural difference have also been examined, it has not been explored through the perspectives this study is focused on. Owing to the acclaim of Post-colonialism, literary studies are devoted to the exploration of colonial and post-colonial literature to comprehend the experiences of the people of East migrating to the West and assimilating into it, meanwhile the narratives of Westerners coming to East and acculturating into the Eastern culture is entirely overlooked. Therefore, this study has the potential to shift

academia's focus onto Western immigrants and their narratives, which is important because the migratory and acculturating experiences of Easterners cannot be translated into the experiences of Westerners due to the inherent disparity of their cultures and ideologies and by extension the research studies about the experiences of Eastern women cannot be assumed to be true for Western women. Addition to bringing Western side of reality and experience into attention, this study's commitment to unravel gender specific experience of migration and acculturation, reinforces the value of consideration of gender in the exploration of any experience as men and women experience reality differently.

This study helps to understand Western women's motivations for migration to Eastern countries, Muslim countries to be specific, which is a source of wonder for people equally in West and East. Recognizing those variables are important now that Westerners are also migrating in the Eastern countries, unlike before when the migratory flow was heavily one sided, from East to West. Moreover, by revealing the manipulation of intimacy in mobility/migration decisions, this study not only answers the question of mobility's triggers but also brings forth the realization of how important it is to take intimacy and emotions into account when migratory experiences are being observed. In the contemporary world where people are closely connected with each other regardless of spatial distances, intimacy pulls the strings of mobility, especially in the cases of marriage migrations. Furthermore, Intimate mobility is a fairly new concept even in Migration studies; hence, there is no other literary research study that has explored this area. Through this study, a new outlook to perceive migration will be introduced to the readers and future researchers.

This study contributes in the comprehension of the acculturation process Western women undergo after their arrival in Eastern spaces. It also lends insight into the formation of transnational spaces that emerge as a result of mobilities, wherein Western women negotiate home and host cultures through different Acculturation Strategies. While this study is limited to Western women's acculturation in East, it still affords help in discerning the acculturation phenomenon among other immigrants as well as non-immigrants because in the contemporary world of Cyber era, acculturation is occurring on a global scale, affecting millions of people even without physical interaction. This study has the potential to develop deeper understanding of how people manage multiple cultures they come into contact with and how their

transnational spaces of cultural interactions are maintained by different ways or strategies of acculturation.

This study serves benefits not only on academic level by filling the existing gaps in the current body of knowledge and introducing new perspectives through the investigation of neglected migration narratives of Western women, revelation of intimate reasons of mobility, and analyzation of the various ways these women acculturate, but also on social level. This study answers questions that are relevant to the contemporary world that is characterized by mobility of people and cultures, and in doing so it brings social awareness about these experiences in general. It has a particular impact in regards to female Western immigrants as they are marrying Eastern men and relocating to Eastern countries. Relevance of this study is evident even in Pakistani context as social media posts and mass-broadcasting news channels are exceedingly reporting on bi-national couples and marriage migrations. Pakistani men are marrying Western women they meet online and when those women migrate to Pakistan they are expected to acculturate into the Pakistani society. Study like this that is devoted to bringing Western women's experiences to limelight becomes meaningful in that it can potentially create understanding among host societies about the difficulties Western women have to face during their acclimation to the new culture, and develop empathy among them to be more accommodating and tolerant of their home cultures. While this study only focuses on three Western women, their experiences can serve as a case study for all the Western women in general who marry Eastern men and migrate to East.

1.5 Delimitation

This study is centered on Western women's experience of acculturation in the East and therefore, the focus is strictly upon the authors (Marguerite van Geldermalsen, Phyllis Chesler and Betty Mahmoody) of the memoirs *Married to a Bedouin* (2006), *An American Bride in Kabul* (2013), and *Not Without My Daughter* (1987), who are all Western women that travelled to the East and encountered its culture, excluding the other Western women briefly mentioned in the narratives who nonetheless had similar experiences as the authors. This study's secondary focus is on transnational mobility of these Western women, however, the transnational mobility to Western countries and Eastern countries these women encountered briefly are

excluded from the study and solely the transnational mobility to the Eastern spaces of settlement are taken into account.

CHAPTER 2

LITERATURE REVIEW

Comprehension of the current body of knowledge in the specific areas of interest is indispensable for any research endeavor; therefore, this chapter aims to survey the literature in relation to this study with the intent to contextualize it and to identify the existing gaps in the present literature and to understand how this study may fill those gaps, and in the process establish the importance of this research study. This chapter is divided thematically and the areas explored in this chapter are related to the theoretical framework of the study, the genre of the primary texts, and lastly, the authors and the texts. The first part contains general knowledge about acculturation in order to provide the background necessary for the understanding of the theory of Acculturation Strategies. Departing from general towards the specific, it foregrounds acculturation in post-colonial context and then provides the summation of acculturation studies conducted on the Eastern immigrants in West and Western immigrants in East to identify the gaps and confirm the originality of this study. The second part introduces Mobility turn and different perspectives on Intimate Mobilities in scholarly works. The third part introduces the genre of the memoirs, investigates the relation of memoirs with gender (women), and foregrounds the chosen memoirs in post-colonial context. The last part contains the introductions of the authors, the controversies regarding their works, the book reviews and articles, and current research studies on the texts.

2.1 Acculturation

Acculturation is a process in which people belonging to one culture try to adopt the values, and traditions of the other culture, usually the dominant culture. John Wesley Powell is known to be the first one to use the term 'acculturation' to mean "culture-borrowing" in 1880 (Herskovits 523). Robert Redfield, Ralph Linton, and Melville J. Herskovits, commissioned by the Social Science Research Council, presented the first definition of the term 'acculturation' in "Memorandum for the Study of Acculturation" in 1936: "Acculturation comprehends those phenomena which result when groups of individuals having different cultures come into continuous first-hand contact, with subsequent changes in the original cultural

patterns of either or both groups” (149). A simple compendious definition of acculturation is introduced by Melville J. Herskovits that it is the study of “cultural transmission in process” (525). David L. Sam and John W. Berry describe it as a process of “cultural and psychological change that results following meeting between cultures” (472). Majority of definitions of acculturation contain the expression ‘meeting of cultures’ and Bernard J. Siegel et al. have made a great point that cultures cannot meet, it is people who function as carriers and spread it around (980). Extending on that, he says that no individual has a complete grasp of their own culture to be able to impart it in its entirety, resulting in only partial transfer (980-981). Transmission of an entire culture is unattainable because people have only selective knowledge and understanding of their cultures.

In “Acculturation: Conceptual Background and Core Components”, David L. Sam has indentified three steps or building blocks as he calls them, in the process of acculturation: Contact, Reciprocal influence, and Change (14). Contact is the first step in the commencement of acculturation process in which the meeting of two individuals or groups belonging to different cultures happens. After that begins the second step, Reciprocal influence, in which both cultural groups exert influence or impact each other and start to change after being exposed to each other’s cultures. Lastly comes the Change that is the outcome and result of acculturation, meaning the groups or individuals have changed or adopted.

Sam’s described second step ‘Reciprocal influence’ makes it clear that acculturation entails reciprocity of change. As opposed to the general belief, the cultures of dominant societies are also susceptible to change through the influence of minority groups. Floyd W. Rudmin has attested to the reciprocity of acculturation by defining it as a “two-way process of cultural change” (5). By making the minority group the nucleus of cross-cultural studies, and neglecting to acknowledge and investigate the acculturation of dominant group, adds into the growing misconception that acculturation is only a one-way process that solely affects the minority.

While it is undeniable that acculturation can occur in both dominant and minority groups, the extent to which the both groups adopt from each other is asymmetrical, generally minority group being influenced the most and the dominant group being influenced so vaguely that in most cases the change is undetectable. Berry says that while in principle or theory both could exert equal influence, in

practice one is likely to dominate the other (Berry, "Psychology of Acculturation" 206). Marisol Navas et al. also agree that both groups change following the contact; however, the group that holds more power in a society has to make less changes and compromises, whereas, the less powerful groups have to make much more effort to adjust and adopt, and make greater changes and compromises (31). Power dynamic (political, social, and economic) among the groups dictate which group would acculturate and the degree of acculturation that would happen. This process is mostly initiated in those who are ethnically distinct or a cultural minority in the new place where they have migrated to. Acculturation can be observed in immigrants, aboriginals, refugees, sojourns, expatriates, asylum seekers, cultural minorities, indigenous people, and foreign students or employees.

Phenomenon of acculturation encompasses all the changes that transpire as a reaction from being exposed to a different culture. Association of the word 'acculturation' with the word 'culture' does not implicate it entailing only cultural changes: the changes include psychological, cognitive, biological, physical, economic, political, social, behavioral, identity, familial, religious, and several more. In "Managing the Process of Acculturation for Problem Prevention", Berry has discussed all kind of changes that are instigated by acculturation: physical changes may involve new geographical location, new place to live, unknown environment, urbanization etc; biological changes may involve interbreeding, exposure to new diseases, receptivity or resistance to those diseases, nutritional status, and new food; political changes may involve the immigrant policies, loss of political autonomy, shift in power dynamic, and government control etc; economic changes involve reduction or increase in the economic situation or status and new employment opportunities; cultural changes entail replacement of religion, customs, culture, traditions, language and much more; social changes include mobility of social status, affect on social relationships either intergroup or interpersonal, social dominance by the host society and other similar changes; and psychological changes imply changes in believes, morals, thought pattern, values, motives, behaviour, attitude, identities (personal and ethnic), preferences, opinions, cognitive, and affective and it may also involve mental health issues (190). Progression of acculturation is gradual, starting from little changes in life style, language, clothing, or food, to bigger changes in culture, values,

traditions, or religion, to incorporeal or impalpable psychological and behavioral changes.

S. Alexander Weinstock believes that, to a larger degree, acculturation is not a conscious process (5). Typically, the process of acculturation is dormant or latent in the beginning stages and a person begins to change subconsciously until the change grows significantly is when acculturation manifests itself; even those who make the conscious decision to acculturate do not realize the unconscious internalization of the other culture or shedding of their own until it has already happened. Peter J. Guarnaccia and Carolina Hausmann-Stabile say that:

Acculturation is a complex process in a multicultural context that comprises both enculturation and assimilation. Acculturation is the broadest process that can take multiple forms and directions depending on the changing social contexts of different cultural groups in contact. Acculturation involves a range of forms of cultural learning and practice. (122)

Acculturation is not a straightforward process of change; it involves other process within, such as maintaining one's own culture (enculturation), and learning the new culture and adapting to it (assimilation). Furthermore, acculturation is not uni-directional or liner in a sense that acculturation factor fluctuates according to the demands of the situation. For example, a person may remain loyal to his own culture within the walls of his house but outside of it, practice the norms of the other culture due to societal pressure, thus creating a form of acculturation specific to his own needs. Moreover, this process is perpetual because a person continuously evolves through shedding and adopting due to which the acculturation result is never lasting. Similar to Guarnaccia and Hausmann-Stabile's opinion, A. Irving Hallowell also maintains that acculturation requires learning: "All acculturation involves psychological readjustments in the sense that new habits must be learned or new attitudes and goal acquired" (309). Acculturation requires learning and practicing skills. All the skills that aid acquisition of first culture are needed during the acculturation process in order to acquire new culture. One has to dismantle his/her personality, belief system, and ideologies, and rearrange it in a perfect accepted model of the other culture.

Perception of how diverse both cultures are; whether acculturation is forced or voluntary; time period of stay in a foreign country; acculturating individual's age, gender, personality, education, status, religion, and values; the degree of socio-political power both groups (dominant and non-dominant) hold; discrimination, stigmatization, racism and coercion faced by the minority group; and correlation of acculturation and social mobility, are indispensable to the comprehension of this complex process.

2.1.1 Acculturation in Literary Studies

In literary studies, a lot of research has been conducted using acculturation perspective to observe the cultural changes among the immigrants but before discussing those research studies, it is important to address the position of this concept in relation to the Post-colonial studies and Diaspora studies. Post-colonial studies and Diaspora studies overlap with Acculturation studies because they are committed to the comprehension of the migration experiences, the changes resulting from it and negotiation of home-land and host-land, and the identities. However, Post-colonial studies focus on the changes transpired by colonialism, imperialism and slavery, and the changes among the ex-colonial subjects when they migrate to Western countries, specifically to the lands of their former colonizers; Diaspora studies focus on the immigrant communities, their attempts to maintain connection to homeland, and navigate their culture; and Acculturation studies document cultural changes among emigrants regardless of their associations and contexts. Sunil Bhatia and Anjali Ram have mentioned in their article "Rethinking 'Acculturation' in Relation to Diasporic Cultures and Postcolonial Identities" that "culture...is conflated with nation" in the acculturation studies (10). The acculturation studies focus on cultural changes pertaining to nationality without the consideration of the history and politics like Postcolonial studies.

Acculturation is an independent sub-discipline in Cross-cultural studies but in Literature, it is entangled with Post-colonialism and Diaspora studies. In fact, it can be considered a part of them. Numerous postcolonial concepts are closely related to or very similar to the concepts of acculturation; for example, Mimicry involves behaving like the 'whites', which in acculturation would be behaving like or mirroring the dominant society in order to be accepted or fit in, and Hybridity is the amalgamation of two identities and acculturation's Integration strategy is also the amalgamation of

two cultures. Basically, acculturation process explains the same phenomena that are analyzed under the umbrella of Post-colonialism and Diasporic studies in literary studies.

Additionally, in literary studies often the terms such as ‘assimilation’ and ‘acculturation’ are used interchangeably being considered synonymous to each other. In many of the literary articles discussed below, the terms have been used interchangeably, indicating authors’ confusion; while this confusion was eradicated decades ago in other fields such as anthropology, sociology and psychology, it is looming in literary studies. ‘Acculturation’ is the process of cultural change, of which ‘Assimilation’ is only one of the many outcomes or results, as is clarified by John W. Berry in his four fold model of Acculturation Strategies. Moreover, some terms like ‘assimilation’, ‘enculturation’ and ‘acculturation’ are also used to mean something entirely different than what they are defined as in few of the literary articles discussed below.

Now that acculturation’s position in relation to Post-colonialism and inaccurate use of acculturation terms in literary studies have been clarified, the rest of the section will contain the summation of all the acculturation related scholarship in literary studies. First, the studies enumerated are about Eastern immigrants’ acculturation experiences in Western spaces and then Female Eastern immigrants’ acculturation experiences in Western spaces, after which a study conducted on Western immigrants’ experiences in the Eastern space is mentioned. The reasoning behind including the studies on both Eastern and Western immigrants is to present the current literature on immigrants to identify the gaps and demonstrate the importance of this study.

2.1.1.1 Eastern Immigrants in West

Substantial amount of research is available on acculturation phenomenon but due to academia’s focus on Post-colonialism and enormous interest in Eastern immigrants, mainly the experiences of Eastern immigrants are being explored. Following is the condensed overview of all the acculturation studies conducted on Postcolonial literature that are focused on Eastern immigrants like Chinese, Indian, Bengali, Lebanese, and Pakistani in the Western countries.

Katarzyna Kacprowska has analyzed the aspects of assimilation among Indian characters and the differences in assimilation between the first and second generation immigrants in Lahiri's *The Namesake* (2003), using Milton M. Gordon's concept of assimilation from the sixties in which acculturation is considered as one of the seven phases of assimilation, as opposed to the now established fact that assimilation is one of the outcomes of the process of acculturation. Regardless, the research article deduced that the first generation immigrants Ashoke and Ashima resist assimilation by keeping their Indian culture, values, traditions and identities intact, but the second generation immigrants Gogol and Sonia are Americanized, harboring no affinity for their Indian ethnicity, which shows different adaptation approaches of both generations.

Louis J. Parascandolal and Rajul Punjabi have discussed the financial, lingual, marital and familial issues encountered during acculturation by the Chinese immigrant characters in the short stories *An English Professor*, *A Pension Plan*, and *Temporary Love* of Ha Jin. Not having a command in English language brings trouble for the characters: Jufen Nia who barely knows few sentences of English, has gravely limited employment opportunities, leaving her stuck at a horrible job where she is harassed and treated horribly; and another character Tang, despite being a Harvard graduate and an English professor, suffers from crippling paranoia, anxiety, and insecurity because he feels that his colleagues and students question his language proficiency, and that his errors in language would never be tolerated, and decrease his position in American academia. Immigrants are also left financially vulnerable in new land, evident from Jufen's inability to earn enough for herself, and Lina and Panbin's contract to live together for financial reasons, and Zuming forgiving Lina's affair in order to guilt her into talking care of him financially. Leaving behind their families, immigrants suffer from pain of separation and loneliness, and tensions in relationships; for example, Panbin and his wife back in China both have affairs, leading to disintegration of their marriage. Ha Jin's Chinese immigrant characters remain outsiders, suspended between both cultures, unable to assimilate into the mainstream American society which causes them financial, lingual, marital and familial issues.

Contra acculturation is identified among the Indian immigrants in Jhumpa Lahiri's *The Namesake* (2003) by Jacob and David. Contra acculturation is a reaction

to the loss of one's culture in which one attempts to return to pre-acculturation culture and refuses the other culture, which is quite similar to the Separation strategy. Jacob and David conclude that the characters Ashima and Gogol are able to achieve peace and consolation through contra acculturation: Ashima rigidly follows her Bengali culture to establish a sense of familiarity in the foreign land and maintains a distance from American culture, and while Gogol tries to assimilate into the American society in the beginning, he is only able to find spiritual solace in the end by embracing his Indian identity through contra acculturation.

Zahoor Hussain and Abdul Rashid have employed John Berry's acculturalist model to discover the causes that resulted in the failure of acculturation in Pakistan, mainly among Bengalis, in their article "South Asian Acculturalist Study of Ethnic Minorities in Shamsie's *Kartography*". Post partition, many migrated to Pakistan in the name of religious nationalism, but they were socially rejected by the dominant society based on linguistic, cultural and ethnic differences. Kamila Shamsie's *Kartography* (2001) presents Muhajir and Bengali characters like Maheen being victimized, marginalized, and discriminated against by the society. They are considered to be social pariahs. Their loyalty to Pakistan is questioned despite them spending their whole lives in the country, and derogatory terms like 'Bingo' are used to refer to them, which attaches an element of inferiority to their ethnic identity. Pakistan failed to establish a unified national culture, owing to internal regional conflicts that became the reason for the collapse of the process of acculturation for the Bengali community.

Mikaeli and Bakhtvar have observed cultural assimilation and resistance against it in the contrasting characters of Shahid and Riaz respectively, in Hanif Kureishi's play *The Black Album* through Homi K. Bhabha's postcolonial notions of hybridity, ambivalence, mimicry, and assimilation. As explained earlier, postcolonial notions are interrelated to acculturation and assimilation which are used synonymously. Furthermore, in postcolonialism, they are endowed with the same meaning as hybridity, which in anthropology and cross-cultural psychology's jargon would be integration. In Mikaeli and Bakhtvar's article the term assimilation has the same meaning as the term intergartion. The character of Shahid embodies the cultural 'assimilation' by striking the balance between the two extremes, Islamic doctrine and Western philosophy, whereas, Riaz embodies resistance to cultural assimilation

through his fundamentalist, fanatic, and extremist tendencies. Shahid's approach is more effective at challenging the host culture than Riaz's fanatascism and resistance, thus establishing the importance of hybridity, mimicry and assimilation to challenge colonial power.

2.1.1.1.1 Eastern Women in Western Spaces

Among these studies on Eastern immigrants, a significant amount of studies are concentrated on understanding the cultural change or acculturation among the female Eastern immigrants occupying Western spaces. Evelyn Shakir's female protagonist Nadia's ethnic identity crisis and attempt at acculturation in *Let's Dance* has been observed by Hassan Ali Abdulla Al-Momani. Born to an American mother and Arabic father, Nadia's ethnic identity is unstable, and living in America where Arabs are stigmatized prevents her from exploring her Arabic ethnicity, leading to detachment from both cultures and identities. She struggles to acculturate to her Lebanese culture. Not knowing the language, customs and traditions, leaves her feeling out of place, but at the end she finally comes to feel attachment to her Arabic ethnicity.

Mona A. M. Ahmed has explored Pluralism (cultural and structural), and assimilation (cultural and structural) among four pairs of mother-daughter in Amy Tan's *The Joy Luck Club* (1989). Pluralism is similar to integration, an acculturation strategy, in which original ethnic identity is maintained while interacting with new host society. The Chinese immigrant mothers, Suyua Woo, Lindo Jong, An-mei Hsu, and Ying-Ying St.Clair, adopt pluralist approach by keeping their Chinese cultural values intact, while living the American way of life, whereas, their second generation American born daughters, Jing-mei Woo, Waverly Jong, Rose Hsu Jordan, and Lena St. Clair, reject Chinese culture altogether. Ashamed of their Chinese ethnicity, they assimilate completely into the mainstream American society, until the end when they grow up and go through life changing experiences, to finally realize the hollowness of American culture and the worth of Chinese culture that they incorporate Chinese culture into their lives, thus adopting pluralism like their mothers.

By analyzing *The Mistress of Spices* (1997) in the light of acculturation, Manreet Dhaliwal has explored the condition of Indian Immigrants, especially women, in America who have to deal with the nuances of new culture and at the same

time the orthodox setup of their home culture. He has employed John Berry's concept of integration to describe that the ultimate solution for these immigrants is to take the positive aspects of both cultures. Characters of the novel such as Lalita, Daksha, and Hameeda find foothold through integration by abandoning the orthodox aspects of the Indian culture and adopting the progressive ideals of American society, indicating Divakaruni favor acculturation through integration, not assimilation.

While Dhaliwal has analyzed Chitra Banerjee Divakaruni's *The Mistress of Spices* only, Kavitha and Rajkumar have explored the theme of acculturation and assimilation in four of her novels. Divakaruni's characters navigate between American culture and Indian culture, dealing with cultural dilemmas, clashes due to generational differences, and identity conflicts. In the *Mistress of Spices* (1997), Geeta, a second generation immigrant being more exposed to the acculturation than the first generation immigrants, engages in cultural conflict with the older generation as she resists the image of a typical dutiful daughter by refusing the Indian traditions such as refusal to have arranged marriage as she is the product of American culture. *Sister of my Heart* (1999) and its sequel *The Vine of Desire* (2002), show Sudha and Anju migrating from India to America to start a life in a new culture that offers them the freedom to do what their own culture restricts them to do. In *Queen of Dreams* (2004), Rakhi, a second generation immigrant, has identity crisis and wishes to connect to her Indian roots, and learns to acculturate in the American culture while still holding on to her Indian identity. The article deduces that Divakaruni's take on ethnic identity mimics the views of South Asian Diaspora to integrate both identities to create a bi-cultural identity.

Rohtash Kumar has attempted to observe the resistance of the women in Bharati Mukherjee's novels to acculturate. The female protagonists Tara from *The Tiger's Daughter* (1971), Jasmine from *Jasmine* (1989), Dimple Das Gupta from *Wife* (1975), and Debby from *Leave It To Me* (1997), are confronted with acculturation, and from what Kumar has analyzed, it seems that he has used the term to be meant 'assimilation', because the protagonists do engage in acculturation. Tara holds the desire to become part of the American society but she is unable to do so due to her attachment to Indian ways, traditions, manners and values; Jasmine voluntarily and consciously makes attempts to acculturate in America because this open society accepts her widowhood and succeeds in assimilation; Dimple Das Gupta makes

superficial attempts to assimilate into society, because her religion, prevents her from assimilation; and Debby refuses to follow the American culture even though her adopted family is American and, instead, goes on an identity searching quest to find her real mother and true culture.

Mukherjee's novel *Jasmine* (1989) is studied again in the light of enculturation and acculturation by N. Kaushi Reddy. The female protagonist acculturates from a naïve village girl to become Jasmine, the wife of an Indian American man thrown in the midst of new American culture, to Jane who learns to abandon her past in order to fit into the American culture, to finally become Jazz who succeeds in assimilating into American mainstream culture.

Berry's concepts of psychological acculturation are applied by Rista Luhtfi Rahmadyatri on Jean Kwok's *Girl In Translation* (2010) to understand Kimberly Chang's acculturation, the acculturation strategies used by her after her migration to America, and the psychological outcomes. Kimberly alternates between three strategies, one after another, keeping in with the requirement of the situation and her goals: she adopts separation strategy at first when she moves from Hong Kong to America; then she switches to integration strategy as she begins to settle into the American society; and lastly, she uses assimilation to entirely adopt the American culture to become part of the mainstream American society.

2.1.1.2 Western Immigrants in East

The vast literature on the Eastern immigrants and female immigrants' gendered cultural experiences in the West has been discussed previously, and it is imperative for the study to examine the Western immigrants' cultural experiences in the East now. However, to the researcher's knowledge there is only one study available that explores Westerners' acculturation in the East and that study is by Dyah Kristyowati in which he has examined 'cultural acculturation' among the white British men along with Indian characters in William Dalrymple's novel *White Mughals* (2002). Four cultural acculturations are concluded to be of local traditions, architecture, traditional clothing, and mixed marriages: British characters in the novel, Ochterlony and James, adopt Mughal traditions such as, they are fond of *hookah*, burp after meal, have Mughal titles and use *henna* to dye their fingers; home structures of British are amalgamation of Mughal and European architecture, for example, separate

zenana wings for Indian women; British wear Indian clothing like *choga*, *pagri*, shawls, and Mughal fur hat; and mixed marriages between British men and Indian women take place, such as, James marries Khair-un-Nisa, and William marries Jemdane. Economic and political factors are at play behind their cultural assimilation. Under-class British gain economic advantage through cultural assimilation as they are able to increase their economic status in India, and strengthen their political position in India by learning the local language, customs, and marrying noble Indian women.

2.1.1.3 Conclusion

The above discussed review of the scholarship on acculturation in literary studies reveals that the acculturation among Eastern immigrants has been thoroughly explored in post-colonial literature. The reason behind the undivided concentration on documenting the experience of immigrants from East or previously colonized countries in the West is because of academia's fixation on Post-colonialism and Post-colonial Literature. Not only cultural changes among them have been generally examined, gender specific research on Eastern women has also been conducted. Meanwhile, experiences of the Western immigrants remain unexplored. Though Kristyowati's study sheds some light on the acculturation of white men, the acculturation among white women needs to be explored because the experience of white men cannot be assumed to be true for the white women as gender is vital in dictating whether the acculturation would be positive or negative. Furthermore, white British men had the privilege and power as the colonizers to control their acculturation process, unlike the vulnerable Western women in the memoirs chosen for the thesis. Similar to how the experience of white men cannot be considered for white women, the acculturation experience of women of other ethnicities and races like the ones discussed before also cannot be translated into the experience for white women because of the obvious disparity of cultures. This thesis fills the gap by analyzing the acculturation experiences of Western women in Muslim countries that has remained unregistered until now and the strategies they use for their survival in East.

2.2 (Intimate) Mobilities

Mobilities is a broad term that examines movement of people, messages, ideas, knowledge, information, images, objects, and money, within and beyond borders, and implications of movement on other people and society at large. Mobility studies emerged as a critique of contradictory inclinations towards the notions of ‘Sedentism’ or ‘Sedentarism’ or ‘Sedentary metaphysics’ that saw humans as static beings attached to one place, and ‘Deterritorialization’ and ‘Nomadism’ or ‘Nomadic metaphysics’ that saw humans as nomadic beings having no ties to a one specific place (Groes and Fernandez 5; Adey 69). Rejecting the limiting view of human beings as static or mobility being exclusive to nomads, mobility’s broad spectrum allows it to see the importance of even the slightest of mobility in impacting society, culture, work, institutes, politics and much more. By providing a new perspective for the comprehension of society, politics, community, and culture, it re-imagines how people make sense of the world around them (Adey 7). Acknowledging that mobilities are not mere meaningless movements of people, and prescribing them meaning through their placement in social, political, economic and cultural contexts, shows how they significantly impact human lives and experiences.

The world is changing in a “complex, subtle, and powerful ways” through mobilities, which is evident in the way mobilities influence societies, economies, governments, and policies, and potentially cause security risks, illicit migrations, transmission of diseases, weapon trades, population flux, and uprootedness (Adey et al. 2). Besides the changes of bigger magnitude, it also transpires changes of smaller nature, as Adey et al. observe that mobility changes the very way people live, affecting their desires, relations, practices, and senses (2). Without mobility one cannot perform even the minutest of tasks; without it, the world can come to a halt. Simplest of tasks such as commuting to work, or hospital, to sustenance of relationships by meeting people, to escaping persecution, travelling or migration, all require mobility. Besides the mobile subjects, objects and ideas are also dependent on mobility: from water and electricity supply, to the flow of money and information, to the exchange of messages and letters, everything is contingent on mobility. These small and big mobilities are responsible for the creation and expansion of society, and these very mobilities are the mediums through which people, societies, nations, and cultures meet. Furthermore, mobilities do not occur in isolation, as its relational

approach indicates, it is “almost always born in relation-to something or someone” (Adey xv). It means that mobilities have a connection to their surroundings and are produced through these, and creating a ripple effect, regulate even more mobilities of other people and objects.

There are countless kinds of mobilities such as occupational mobility, social mobility, income mobility, food mobility, educational mobility, virtual mobility, travel mobility, global mobility, physical mobility, tourism mobility, ethnographic mobility, colonial mobility, post-colonial mobility, and gendered mobility; however, this study is only concerned with intimate mobility. Emergence of intimate mobilities is quite recent and therefore, limited literature is available on it.

Clare Holdsworth, in her book *Family and Intimate Mobilities* (2013), has tackled the stigma that individual mobility is the reason for isolation and detachment from family in modern life. She is of the view that mobility (moving away) does not necessarily mean that social and emotional bonds among people are damaged instead “bonds between people are created, transformed, and retained through movement and mobility” (Holdsworth 4). Intimate mobility can unravel how “relationships are formed, sustained and broken through mobility and how individual movement is both influenced by and impacts on others” (Holdsworth 5). Holdsworth’s use of the term ‘intimate mobility’ means the impact mobility or movement has on intimate relationships. Mobility does not only affect the person who is moving but also people close to him and his relationship with them. Mobility and intimacy are inclusive; mobility creates and regulates emotions and intimacy, and intimacy shapes mobility decisions.

While Holdsworth investigates mobility from Sociological stand point to examine the change in the familial structure and intimate relations brought about by mobility, Christian Groes and Nadine T. Fernandez explore it within the confines of Migration Studies and Anthropology. In *Intimate Mobilities: Sexual Economies, Marriage, and Migration in a Disparate World* (2018), Groes and Fernandez have criticized the failure of Migration Studies to take into consideration emotions and intimacy for reasons of mobility. Migration studies used to only consider the rational reasons for mobility such as economic, socio-political, marital, and educational, failing to acknowledge reasons that are considered irrational for mobility such as emotional, which they have termed Intimate Mobilities. Intimate Mobilities unearth

how “intimacy enables people’s movement” (Groes and Fernandez 2). Intimacy intersects with mobility and influences people’s movement, and mobility, in turn, manipulates intimate decisions.

Holdsworth’s term ‘Intimate mobility’ is limited to intimate relations but Groes and Fernandez’s definition of Intimate Mobilities environ hopes, dreams, aspirations, desires, emotions, sexuality and love, not just intimate relations. However, the interplay between intimacy and mobility is agreed upon by both.

2.3 Memoirs and Orientalist Narratives

2.3.1 Introduction to the Genre

Memoirs have been written since the antiquity, though it only surfaced as a distinct genre in the eighteenth century as a new medium of story-telling in which a person imparts a particular experience that is usually a highly defining movement of his life. The word memoir is originated from the French word ‘mémoire’ which means memory (“Memoir”). Memoir is a non-fictional work about the particular significant incident or period in the life of a person or collection of certain memories. Patti Miller defines memoir as an “impression of being, a record of memory” (4). The author or the writer of the memoir is called memorialist or memoirist (“Difference Between Autobiography and Memoir”).

Primary source for memoirs are the memories of the memoirist, journals, pictures, interviews and other things being the secondary source, and therefore a work that is solely constructed out of memory may considered to be a bit dubious because memories tend to change or distort with time, blurring the past. Due to the faulty memories, memoirist may remember events differently from what they actually were but it does not make him a liar because for him his emotional truth is his reality even if it may not be the actual reality. Thomas Couser believes that since memoirs are basically reliant on the memory of the person, an unreliable faculty, it makes the narrative subjective and impressionistic (19). Larson also agrees that what is presented or written in the memoir is only a ‘version’ or ‘variation’ of the actual event (19). Besides memory one’s own personality, ideologies, and opinions dictate how one perceives something, which is why what a memoirist writes is only their version of the truth according to their own individual perspective.

Thomas Couser considers it to be an age of memoir and says that they have saturated into our contemporary culture (3, 8). Jane Danielewicz believes that the recent remarkable fame of the memoir can be linked to the “diversification and expansion of the public sphere” and memoir is an “avenue of participation in the public sphere” (3, 1). People are invested in sharing their experiences and opinions with public and are just as curious about the experiences and opinions of others and memoir is among one of the mediums that can be used for the purpose of sharing personal experiences. Cynthia G. Franklin sees memoir as an outlet that provides “voice to [the] experiences and identities that are in some way extraordinary or underrepresented” (4). Memoirs present the unique unheard stories of people that would otherwise just disappear or give voice to those who are not given a chance to speak. Memoirs talk about unconventional things that are rarely ever talked about. Through memoirs people can find other people they can relate to instead of living with the feeling of utter isolation.

Memoir’s purpose is not limited to narration of the experience; it is also to unburden oneself of it. The very act of writing a memoir can be very therapeutic. Contemplating on the past reveals new perspectives to them and helps them resolve the conflicts within themselves. Patricia Hampl says that the memoir is the “intersection of narration and reflection” and it helps to give form or shape to all the confusion and chaos of “broken,...incomplete images” and “half-recollected fragments”(33). Memoirists do not simply tell their story; they reflect on it and try to understand it in accordance to their current knowledge. Retrospection provides them the needed clarity to understand their past, their past selves, and the past events to come to terms with them and heal.

Memoirs are not simply about memoirists and their peculiar experiences; in the process of telling their own stories they also make comments about certain issues, subjects, cultures and society, as Sue William Silverman says that writing memoir is like “layering the self onto the world—the self onto family, culture, society, history—onto issues larger than just yourself” (76). There is a relational link of the memoirist to the culture, other people, ideas, religion, politics, and society established in the memoir.

2.3.2 Gendered Genre (Relation Between Memoirs and Women)

Memoirs are considered to be a passive form of writing for passive writers, and a form that is believed to be for the less-skilled writers (Rak 310). Passivity has been associated with women throughout the history and in the past women were considered to be inferior writers due to the lack of education that was denied to them. The passive relation of the memoir to world is seen as “descriptive of the lives that women led” (Rak 310). In 18th century, women proliferated into the genre with scandalous memoirs in which women labeled as ‘fallen’ women by the society described their stories, defended their actions, and questioned the society that wronged them with their constricting ideologies and limited opportunities for women in hopes that society may consider their pain and let them rejoin the community (Buss 11-13). In the past and even now, memoirs are dominantly written by women. Helen M. Buss offers the reason behind women’s preference for this genre that memoir is a marginalized form of a marginalized genre of life writing, always being labeled as an inferior literature, which is why she prefers this form of life writing for women who have been marginalized because of their gender (xv). She finds it to be suitable for women because it is reliant on personal memory, allowing women to share their version of reality that is often neglected and sidelined, and by weaving public with the private they are able to reposes their multiple selves, both ‘public self’ and private self’ (xiv-xxi). Women want to share their experiences and their reality that is shaped by their gender that is different from male gendered experiences. For women laying bare their personal experiences is a way of “rebellion against the expected role” (Barrington 12). Women have always struggled to free themselves of the implacable constraining roles and images that society has imposed on them. Women in the past were not allowed to show many emotions as they were expected to remain silent and obedient but now women are sharing their emotions with public through the medium of memoirs. It allows them the freedom to share their experiences and emotions that the society has always pressured them to keep hidden.

Buss says that for contemporary women memoirs are “a site of trauma recovery”, and by writing their traumatic or unresolved experiences through recollection in the memoirs functions as a “therapeutic process that reshapes the self through language” (21-22). By writing memoir, “experience is metabolize[d] in the writer’s body through the process of writing” (D’Onofrio 106). Writing works like a

metabolism process that helps the female writers digest their experiences and make peace with the past or accept it. Not only the writing helps the female writers understand and come to terms with the past, it also helps people understand their side of the story or perspective. Buss states that most of the contemporary memoirs written by women are feminist in their impulse even if they do not explicitly advocate feminist philosophy (185). By sharing experiences exclusive to their gender, women memoirists create awareness. Moreover, these memoirs, albeit focus on an individual, still make comments on the nature of community life, thus, establishing a connection between private and public, and personal and political (Buss 186). Memoirs are not only about personal rhetoric but they also encompass socio-political issues and that is how the connection of personal tale with that of public is established. By establishing such a connection in memoirs, women attempt to make space for themselves in public.

2.3.3 Modern Captivity Narratives in Post Colonial Context

Just like memoirs provided an outlet for women in the past to share their narratives, another genre called Captivity narratives also afforded women the outlet to share their tales of captivity with the world, as Derounian-Stodola claims it is the “first American literary form dominated by women’s experiences as captives, storytellers, writers, and readers” (xi). Written in the forms of memoirs, biographies and auto-biographies, captivity narratives became popular centuries ago when the Native American Indians or other indigenous groups held Whites captive either for ransom, or to enslave them, or to adopt them and assimilate them. Mainly, women were the ones who were abducted and held captive the most, so a sub genre of Female captivity narratives emerged in the American captivity literature, wherein women related tales of their captivity by the uncivilized natives.

This tradition of American captivity narratives has a strong connection with Orientalism, which was a scholarly discipline that emerged in the 18th century and focused on learning about East. The obvious reason for interest in the East was for the benefit and expansion of Imperialism and colonialism and another reason was the curious minds of Westerners for whom East seemed like a wondrous ancient past, far removed from the present, full of mysteries that they needed to unravel, and thus, came plethora of texts and paintings produced by the Western historians, scholars, philosophers, politicians, writers, and artists about the Orient. Included among these

were women who recorded not only their journeys to the East, their interactions (romantic or otherwise) with Easterners, but also their abductions by the Eastern savages and their interactions with their culture in their memoirs. In this way, the Orientalist narratives and Female captivity narratives had this similarity that they both related the stories of white women being shockingly held captive by the Orient or forced into harems. Another factor is the propagation of agenda against the Others as both texts, while they tell different stories, have the same racist underpinnings. Derounian-Stodola affirms this fact that the captivity narratives were used as a “convenient vehicle for propaganda and as a catalytic text in reinforcing other institutionalized beliefs...against certain [ethnic] groups...[and also included] ethnocentric commentary praising whites” (xiv). Similarly, Edward Said also exposed West’s inaccurate depiction of East by examining their Oriental texts and called out West’s fantasized, demeaning, stereotyped and barbaric representation of the East to be the product of their imagination: “the Orient was almost a European invention, and had been since antiquity a place of romance, exotic beings, haunting memories and landscapes, remarkable experiences” (1). West considers East and its people strange, mysterious, and exotic, and tries to project its own fantasies onto Easterners, which is not a reality but the expression of their repressed inner desires. Furthermore, Easterners are regarded as degenerate brutes, immoral, sexually promiscuous, violent, irrational and effeminate, and their culture, literature, language, society and customs, as inferior and uncivilized, an image that is explicitly reflected through their depiction of the East, previously in their art and books, and now in media, news and films. Through this very image of the East, they define themselves, creating their own image against the East as a superior civilized West. The antithetical representation in Oriental literature resonates in Said’s definition of Orientalism as “a style of thought based upon an ontological and epistemological distinction made between ‘the Orient’ and...‘the Occident’” (2). Rationality behind the vitiating of East is deciphered by Said: by making false statements and assertions, filtering its view to produce a desired image, and learning and teaching about it, West desires to dominate it completely and gain authority over it, and at the same time strengthen its own image against East’s distorted image (3). The reason to provide these details is to reveal the fact that both types of narratives serve to carry out the propaganda against the Orient or the Natives by warning against the primitive East and romantic dalliance with its inhabitants that

they portrayed as dangerous, savage and uncivilized, and in doing so establish West's superiority as civilized and enlightened.

That same connection between oriental texts and captivity narratives has followed into the modern times as well by molding these forms to fit the modern contexts, which is evident from the production of memoirs by the Western women sharing their experiences of the East, in which they travel to East, marry an Easterner, are held captive by their Eastern husbands, and are forced to assimilate into their cultures. Such stories erase the line between Orientalist narratives and Captivity narratives by carrying out both purposes at once: keeping alive the tradition of White women's captivity narrative by relating the tales of captivity at the hands of Eastern husbands and fulfilling the Orientalist agenda by presenting them and their culture as primitive and barbaric. Globalization has encouraged transnational marriages among Westerners and Easterners and such narratives work to warn off Western women against the union with Eastern men that only brings abuse and destruction. Besides warning off women, they also legitimize East's generally established view as primitive. The stories of Western women's marriage to Orient men, the abuse suffered at the hands of the Oriental husbands, the imposed patriarchy and religion, and threat to their lives, solidify the fact that Oriental man is a threat to a Western woman and extending beyond that, a threat to the West. Their tales of the Orient are undisputedly received to be true because they afford insight into the internal world of the Orient not permitted to the outsiders.

Two memoirs out of the three chosen for the study, namely *An American Bride in Kabul* (2013) and *Not Without My Daughter* (1987), can be regarded as memoirs of Captivity because they describe the tales of their entrapment in the Muslim countries by their Eastern spouses and Orientalist memoirs because of their portrayal of East being similar to the degenerated stereotypical image of the Orient established by the West. Mahmoody's *Not Without My Daughter* (1987) has been proven to be an Oriental text in quite a few studies (for details, see Literature Review, pp. 42-44) and criticized for perpetuating the Orientalist views of Iran, Iranians, and its religion. Besides that, a study has been conducted by Hossein Nazari (for details, see Literature Review, pp. 44) in which he has proved this memoir to be a captivity narrative following the same structure as a traditional American captivity narrative, but not only that, he has also pointed out that by following this structure, the memoir

successfully creates an Oriental image of the Iran. In this way, this memoir serves the purposes of both narratives.

The other memoir, *An American Bride in Kabul* (2013), has not been subjected to any such studies to prove its Oriental potential, but it has been criticized for its stereotyped, primitive, and backward portrayal of Afghanistan, its people, culture, religion and traditions, making it an Oriental text. There is also no study to prove its link to captivity narratives but if we consider it in the light of Captivity narrative's definitions like Derounian-Stodola's definition according to which such tale involves a captor and a captive and that it is all about the power exertion of one on the powerless other, and Vanderbeets' definition in which he has described the three essential elements that make up a captivity narrative, which are "Separation (abduction), Transformation (ordeal, accommodation, and adaptation), and Return (escape, release, or redemption)", it becomes clear that this memoir is following that same structure as well (xi-xii; 562). Chesler's memoir narrates the story of her being held a captive in Afghanistan by her Eastern husband where she has to adapt to the Eastern culture in order to survive and her eventual escape from this captivity and return to the civilized West, so by the standard of both definitions, it is a Captivity narrative. Chesler herself alludes to this reference in the very first page of her memoir:

I came [to Afghanistan] as the young bride of the son of one of the country's wealthiest men. To my astonishment, I was held captive—but it's not as if I had been kidnapped by wild savages and ravished. This is not a tale of a white and helpless maiden taken by Barbary pirates and sold into an imperial harem. I was not sold into captivity. I walked into it of my own free will. (Chesler, *An American Bride in Kabul* vii)

Here, she is referencing to the original or traditional captivity narratives in which women were abducted by the natives to be raped, sold, enslaved or admitted into harems. Hers is not a captivity narrative in a traditional sense but is in accordance to modern captivity narratives wherein a Western woman is taken to an Eastern land by her Oriental husband who tricks her and holds her captive in the strange, primitive, and fundamentalist land and forces her to conform or succumb to its culture.

These Western women, Chesler and Mahmmody, use a medium of memoir that allows them full authority to voice their experiences without the refrains other mediums would have imposed, and the genre of Captivity narrative through which they can describe the tales of their captivities in Afghanistan and Iran, and in doing so their memoirs become Orientalist in nature because of the way their captors, Afghan husband and Iranian husband, and their cultures are presented. Despite the third memoir *Married to a Bedouin* (2009) being authored by a Western woman, does not employ any Oriental tropes and positively represents Jordan, and respectfully talks about its people, customs and religion and neither is it a captivity narrative as she migrated to Jordan of her own volition.

2.4 Authors' Introduction and Related Research

2.4.1 Marguerite Van Geldermalsen

The author of *Married to a Bedouin* (2006) Marguerite van Geldermalsen was born and raised in New Zealand. She qualified as a Nurse in 1976. At the age of twenty-two, she went backpacking through Middle East in 1978, when she met a Bedouin named Mohammad Abdallah in Petra, Jordan, and fell in love with him. Soon afterwards, she married him and became a member of Manajah tribe, and gave birth to their three children. She has been quite a sensation among the tourists for her choice as an educated Western woman to marry a Bedouin and live in caves, and even garnering attention of many media outlets that have written news articles about her and her life. Moreover, she is often briefly mentioned in articles about Petra and its archeological sites. The encouragement from the tourists motivated her to pen down her life in Petra living as Bedouin (Geldermalsen, "Reflections on *Married to a Bedouin*"). The slow decay of the Bedouin way of life also urged her to document her experience that provides a glimpse into the ancient world and its lost traditions. She currently lives in Petra where she runs a little shop with her son, selling her book and jewelry (Geldermalsen, "Petra Pieces; The Jewellery").

2.4.1.1 *Married to a Bedouin* (2006)

In "A Barren Legacy? The Arabian Desert as Trope in English Travel Writing", *Married to a Bedouin* (2006) has been categorized as a modern Arabian Desert text by Owen. She states that texts such as *Married to a Bedouin* (2006) that are authored by women are important because female voice is always sidelined in

travel literature that is dominated by male authors, and it also offers female representation from a female's perspective instead of a man's. Moreover, this text is very unique from other Arabian Desert texts in that it does not follow the Oriental tropes, and thus, it is able to reveal a "richer complexity of encounter with Arab women" (Owen 140). This true representation of Bedouin women helps to challenge the assumed stereotypes about the Muslim world and Muslim women.

Dr. Pound has noticed that this book raises the issue that in the most simplest kind of existence, one's urge to accumulate material things or more things is still there, and it can be seen through their desire to live in a bigger cave, decorate or renovate it, or fill it with modern conveniences. He thinks that this book is very insightful in regards to the negotiation and understanding of an inter-cultural marriage. He has also shared his doubts about the authenticity of the account as it only presents the positive perspective. The writer has conveniently left out or glossed over pertinent topics, the problems she faced, and her frustrations such as her slow conversion to Islam, her cultural identity, and the hurdles or painful events she may have had to face, thus presenting only one side of the coin. Lastly, he has talked about the subject of belongingness and the sense of community: Geldermalsen was accepted and embraced not only by her husband, but his extended family and the whole community.

There are also few reviews available. Publishing News has described it as a sparkling and refreshing account that reveals the "legendary hospitality and mysterious customs of the Bedouin Arabs" ("Book Reviews"). It depicts the life of a "western wife and mother immersed... in a cave-dwelling community without modern conveniences" ("Book Reviews"). Along the similar lines, Mary S. Lovell's review on the cover of the book *Married to a Bedouin* (2006) calls it a "fascinating account of life as a Bedouin in the late twentieth century written by a Western woman". Geoff Pound believes that the selling point of the memoir is the words 'Bedouin' and 'Petra' that are laced with mystery and romance, invoking curiosity of the readers. They are indeed right because the detailed presentation of the life style of Bedouins, people of Petra and the local customs makes it an extraordinary book.

2.4.2 Phyllis Chesler

Dr. Phyllis Chesler, born in 1940, is a Jewish-American author, renowned radical feminist, human rights activist, psychotherapist and Emerita professor of Psychology and Women's Studies. She graduated from Bard College in 1962 and received PhD in Psychology from New School for Social Research in 1969. She participated in feminist movement, civil rights movement, Northern Student movement, and anti-Vietnam war movement. She has devoted her entire life for the feminist cause and is considered to be the pioneer of Second-wave of feminism. She pioneered Women's Studies classes in 1969 at Richmond College that she later introduced as a major at a University level. She faced accusations of igniting "man-hating", encouraging "Lesbianism" and teaching "witchcraft" because of her feminist beliefs and teachings but it did not affect her resolution to educate women about their rights (Love and Cott 81). Kate Millett calls Chesler "a voice crying out for women". She has actively fought for Muslim women, victims of honor killings, against domestic violence on women, rapes, abused female psychiatric patients, mistreatment of women in jails, women asylum seekers, lost custody battles of women, women's freedom of press, surrogacy issues, awareness about prostitution and much more.

What inspired her to become an avid feminist was her failed marriage to Ali (in the book named as Abdul-Kareem), an Afghan, with whom she visited Afghanistan where she was held captive, in her words "a polite form of house arrest" and ill-treated ("How Afghan Captivity Shaped my Feminism"). He is a "muse" for her memoir *An American Bride in Kabul* (2013) that recounts her traumatizing experience that shaped her feminism, as she recalls "my Western feminism was forged in that most beautiful and treacherous of countries [Afghanistan]" ("An American Jewish 'Bride' Remembers Her Escape"; "How Afghan Captivity Shaped my Feminism"). She sought annulment after her escape to America, and remarried again, and has a son from this second marriage that later ended in divorce.

Published by Huffpost is a letter written by Chesler in which she optimistically states that she was able to use her dangerous experience in the lands of Afghanistan to her feminist advantage as it afforded her insight into gender apartheid ("An American Bride in Kabul Speaks to Lilith"). Chesler's own experience in Afghan's culture along with witnessing women's dreadful condition under the tyranny of patriarchy in Afghanistan at the hands of Muslim men has developed a profound understanding and

compassion within her to motivate her to fight for the rights of Muslim women and highlight their plight that is ignored by the Western feminists and liberals who “eschew her style of passionate criticism of Islamic sexism with moral relativism” (Tuttle). She observed Afghan women being “subjected to domestic and psychological misery in the form of arranged marriages, polygamy, forced pregnancies, the *chadari*, domestic slavery and...*purdah* (seclusion of women)” and therefore, criticizes the Western feminists for keeping quiet about the issues of Third World women because their issues are no less important than the issues Western women face and persists that same standard of human rights should be applied everywhere instead of tailoring it to accommodate a particular culture (“How Afghan Captivity Shaped my Feminism”). She has been awarded and applauded by Muslim and ex-Muslim feminists for her efforts to protect women from honor killings, helping them seek asylum, exposing the issues of child marriages, female genital mutilations, domestic violence and much more.

Besides being critical of treatment of Muslim women, she is highly critical of Islam and has sternly spoken against Islamic fundamentalism, Jihad, and terrorism. She considers Muslims a threat to the world: “We’re up against an enemy now that is dying to kill us, that lives to kill, and that at best merely wishes to impose on the rest of us its laws and strictures” (Sidman). Holding an opinion that Islamic culture is responsible for inflicting violence against women and producing terrorists, she further adds that “they are part of a culture that empowers them to unleash lethal hatred against the Other – the woman, the Jew, the modern Western outsider” (Sidman).

She has authored twenty incredible books such as *Women and Madness* (1972), *Letters to a Young Feminist* (1997), *Woman’s Inhumanity to Woman* (2002), *The Death of Feminism* (2005), *Islamic Gender Apartheid* (2017), *A Politically Incorrect Feminist* (2018), and *A Family Conspiracy: Honor Killing* (2018); and numerous articles on diverse subjects such as gender issues, feminism, honour killing, mental illness, violence inflicted on women, divorce, prostitution, pornography, child custody, incest, psychology, Judaism, anti-Semitism, Islam, Muslims and the condition of women in East, just to name few.

2.4.2.1 *An American Bride in Kabul (2013)*

The account of Chesler's marriage to a Muslim-Afghan and her life altering traumatic experience in the captivity of her in-laws in Afghanistan, is penned by her in her memoir *An American Bride in Kabul* (2013) five decades after the events took place, and she answers to or perhaps justifies what prompted her dust to off her old journals, letters, and recorded conversations to stir the old memories:

The material is so rich, so irresistible...The 9/11 plot was hatched in a country that I once lived in- how surreal, how destined is that! How could I remain silent? Wasn't I obligated to share what I had seen and now know?...The Afghan burqa seems to have followed me to America and into the future. I needed to provide an accounting of what I experienced, witnessed, and the lessons learned. (Sylvetsky)

Besides being motivated by 9/11 and Muslim terrorist activities rampant at the time, she wanted to expose the barbarity Muslim women are subjected to by narrating her own witness account in order to "bring Americans closer to the suffering of Muslim women" and "Muslim women closer to an American feminism" (Chesler, *An American Bride in Kabul* xi). Furthermore, this memoir accentuates the ideological and cultural disparity that exists between America and Afghanistan through the dysfunctional relationship of Chesler and her husband.

Due to it being only a few years since the publication of memoir, presently there are no research articles available except the adequate amount of online book reviews and editorial reviews. It is easy to label the memoir as Islamophobic, but Ilana Teitelbaum believes that Chesler has not condemned Islam in her book, and neither has she written it to tirade against her ex-husband which is evident from her sympathetic and compassionate portrayal of her Afghan family, respect for many Eastern customs and relating the experience with "ruthless intellectual precision" admitting that the failure of their marriage was inevitable not only because of the culture of Afghan but also her Western ideals and sense of independence. Teitelbaum further writes that this book is "structured as a dialogue between East and West, in the ongoing exchanges between Chesler and her Afghan ex-husband". Rivka Haut also recognizes the potential of this book to encourage a reform in "interfaith dialogue".

In Chicago Tribute's review of the book, while Julia M. Klein has praised Chesler's *An American Bride in Kabul* (2013), she has also criticized Chesler's failed attempt to contextualize her account: the narrative is repeatedly interrupted by her unending digressions about the encounters of other Westerners with Afghanistan, and the history of the country in regards to Jews and condition of women, thus preventing the seamless fusion of history and memoir. In her review of the memoir, Harikleia Sirmans has also complained about the repeated interruptions in Chesler's personal narrative saying that it has more research material on other topics than her own experiences. Kate Tuttle, in her review of *An American Bride in Kabul* (2013) for the Boston Globe, has made the same complaint Klein and Sirmans have made in their reviews that the political narrative entwined in the memoir overwhelms or eclipses the personal narrative. However, she has admired the fact that through her own personal story, Chesler has focused on the treatment of women in Islamic world.

In her review of *An American Bride in Kabul* (2013) for the Jewish Book Council, Rachel Sara Rosenthal has presented a contradictory view from Tuttle, Sirmans and Kelin. While they find the departure from the personal narrative tedious, Rosenthal finds the detailed description of the history of Afghanistan and particularly the history of Jews in Afghanistan interesting. The presentation of this history in the view of recent or modern events such as 9/11 and American military operations in Afghanistan provides an opportunity for the readers to acquire knowledge about the region (Rosenthal). Publishers Weekly has also praised Chesler's skillful blending of personal story with the captivating history of Afghanistan, Islamic terrorism against other Muslims and Westerners alike, and the hardships countered by Afghan feminists (Dystel, et al.).

In a news article "For Phyllis Chesler, Reality Eclipses Love in *An American Bride in Kabul*" published for Jewish News Syndicate (JNS), Chesler's use of dual voices narrative technique is admired: one is a voice of a young and innocent Jewish woman in search of adventure and excitement and the second voice is of a veteran with decades of experience and "here-and-now retrospective tone" filled with wisdom. While many reviewers did not like the memoir straying from personal narrative, this article declares this juxtaposition of personal with historical and factual to be the reason why this memoir is compelling.

Rochel Sylvetsky says that this memoir's undercurrent themes impart with the comprehension of the issues that transcend Chesler's personal account. She further says that the narration of the incidents presented in the memoir reinforce the cultural gap that exist between East and West. Sylvetsky also makes an observation reflected through Chesler about the shortcoming in Western thinking that it is unfathomable for the Westerners that non-Westerns like Abdul-Kareem only act as westerners in Western space and revert back to their old selves in Eastern spaces, and moreover, they harbor no intentions of civilizing their countries and instead display disdain towards the "best on the earth" civilization. Along the similar lines, Nonie Darwish says not only the memoir provides a vivid picture of Afghan women's lives through American woman's perspective but it also explains the how and why of American women being lured into an Islamic marriage. What both Darwish and Sylvetsky are trying to say is that Eastern men like Abdul-Kareem are so convincing in their role as a Westernized man that they are easily able to fool the Western women into thinking that they harbor the same ideologies but they revert back to their Eastern ways when they go back home.

According to Soraya Mire, Chesler's account validates the stories of Muslim women's experiences. In "Chesler Memoir Powerfully Illustrates Muslim Misogyny", Abigail R. Esman writes that the memoir is basically an analysis of the plight of Muslim women in the world and it helps the readers to understand why Afghanistan is the way it is: "the treatment of women in Afghan culture sets the stage for the tribal strife, the violence, and the insularity of the Afghan culture as a whole" (Esman). Such doomed conditions, the misogynistic ideology and Islamic fundamentalism together have created the backward country or society that it is today (Esman). Esman further notices that through the portrayal of her ex-husband, Chesler has also pointed out the sheer ignorance and denial of Afghan men (including the so-called-Westernized ones) regarding the issues of abuse and oppression Afghan women suffer from, and the injustices and persecutions directed at Jews and other minorities.

Elana Sztokman, who in her review article "Between Misogyny and Radicalism: Phyllis Chesler's *An American Bride in Kabul*" twisted and exaggerated some of the events described in the memoir that were inquired by Chesler through her letter to the Lilith Magazine and are also clarified by her in the same letter that was later published by Huffpost, has made an accurate observation about the memoir's

capacity to capture the conflict between “Islam and encroaching modernity”. Labeling her relationship with her ex-husband, his wife, children and family as strange, she also questions Chesler’s ambivalent attitude towards the man who was an abusive husband and now is a close friend and like a family and declares it’s negation of basic feminist principles.

2.4.3 Betty Mahmoody

Betty Mahmoody, born in 1945 in America, is an author and a public speaker. She has three children: two sons from her first marriage and a daughter who is also an author and a public speaker now, from her second marriage. She is famous for authoring a worldwide best seller memoir *Not Without My Daughter* (1987) that sold over 12 million copies, describing her marriage to an Iranian-Muslim man named Sayyed Bozorg Mahmoody and her harrowing experience of being trapped by her husband in Iran with their daughter Mahtob Mahmoody and their escape from Iran after eighteen months of entrapment and abuse. Her memoir has been translated into many languages and nominated for Pulitzer Prize. Her memoir garnered immense attention which led to it being produced into a movie with the same title in 1991 by Harry Ufland and Mary Ufland. Both the book and the movie adaptation have been praised worldwide but they have also attracted criticism for perpetuating orientalist narrative by stereotyping Iranians and Muslims as primitive savages with violent tendencies and regressive culture, ideologies and religion.

She authored another book in 1992 named *For a Love of a Child*, that is a sequel to her previous book, which documents the aftermath of her escape from Iran into America and her struggle with the legal system to protect her child, and it also has compilation stories of other parents whose children were abducted by their foreign spouses. She is invited to present lectures about her books and experience across the country and around the world. She has also been invited as a guest for interviews to many famous T.V shows hosted by Ophra Winfrey, Dr. Phill, and Larry King, and radio shows to share her story to millions of viewers.

Her own experience motivated her to help others trapped in the same situation she was once in by founding ‘One World: For Children’ organization dedicated to encourage or build understanding among cultures and provide security for the children that are product of inter-cultural marriages (“International Parents

Conference”). She did not stop there and also became chief investigator for legislation passed in Michigan, place of her birth and residence, regarding international child kidnappings, worked on a Federal Bill that was passed into a law, became a consultant of international child kidnappings for the State Department and also worked as an expert witness in custody cases. She has been bestowed with numerous honors and awards: ‘America’s Freedom Award’, ‘Gold Key to the City of Paris Award’, ‘Woman of the Year’ and ‘Most Courageous Woman of the Year’ in Germany, ‘Author of the Year’ in Netherlands, ‘Outstanding Woman of the Year’ by Oakland University, ‘Child Abuse Prevention Services Award’, an honorary degree of ‘Doctor of Letters’ by Alma College and admission as a member of Omicron Delta Kappa (ODK) Honorary society.

A ninety minute documentary titled “Without My Daughter” was produced by Kari Tervo and Alexis Kouros in 2002 in which Sayyed Bozorg Mahmoody shares his side of the story refuting the accusations made by Betty Mahmoody against him. He directly addresses their daughter, trying to explain his perspective of the events. He also points out the fact that the book is also co-authored by William Hoffer, a Zionist, who previously wrote a book demeaning Turkish culture and has done the same using his story to “attack Iran and Islam” (Kouros and Tervo “Without My Daughter (Part 2 of 6)” 08:40-09:25). The documentary also includes interviews from friends, witnesses, and some experts supporting Mahmoody’s narrative. Film Scholar, William Vincent makes the connection of Betty’s representation of Iran with America’s tendency to demonize the enemy because at the time America-Iran conflict was apex (Kouros and Tervo “Without My Daughter (Part 3 of 6)” 07:08-09:09). Political context provided in the documentary is an attempt to explain why Betty and Hoffer represented Mahmoody, Iran and Muslims the way that they did.

In 2013, their daughter Mahtob published her perspective of the events in her book *My Name is Mahtob*. She solidifies her mother’s claims by recounting the memories of her witnessing the abuse subjected to her mother and forced detention in Iran by her tyrannical father and their harrowing escape. She also shares about her life after returning to America being plagued by trauma, nightmares, anxiety, panic attacks and constant fear of abduction by her father and her eventual journey to healing through Christianity and forgiveness. Now, Mother-daughter duo travel around the globe together to share their survival-story.

Mahmoody presents his side of the story after decades in 2013 in his book *Lost Without My Daughter*, published posthumously. His book is an “exercise in truth, the last-ditch attempt of a father desperate to reach his daughter, to let her know that he is not the monster he has been portrayed to be” (“Lost Without My Daughter”). He attempts to counter Betty’s accusations and clear his name by explaining how he went to Iran to help Iranian soldiers during Iran-Iraq war with Betty’s consent, how Betty actually left on a flight contrary to her claims of crossing the border to Turkey by traveling through mountains, how all his property was taken by Betty and how he was divorced and lost custody of their daughter without his knowledge. He also dives in the political and cultural history to provide context to his personal narrative.

2.4.3.1 *Not Without My Daughter* (1987)

The memoir has been repeatedly called out for its Oriental portrayal of Iran and Iranians and for perpetuating anti-Muslim and anti-Iranian sentiments among Westerners by critics and many research scholars have proved it to be an Oriental text through their extensive research of the memoir in the light of the concepts developed under Orientalism. Betty de Hart has analyzed thirteen books, including Mahmoody’s *Not Without My Daughter* (1987), of Western woman’s marriage to an Oriental man in her study “*Not Without My Daughter: On Parental Abduction, Orientalism and Maternal Melodrama*”. Hart indentifies these Western women like Mahmoody as ‘foolhardy women’ who victimize themselves by marrying Oriental men after been captivated by their Oriental charms and during their marriages their spouses become the Oriental savages turning the ‘inter racial family romance’ into ‘maternal melodrama’ in which women’s sacrifice to save their children from abduction transforms them into heroines who stand against the Islamic culture and men and come out victorious, making their stories cautionary tales for white women against Oriental men.

Deepshi Arya has used Edward Said’s Orientalism as a framework to explore the binaries that emerge in Mahmoody’s representation of the East and West and the way she constructs the image of Other and Self. Her biased description of Iran and its inhabitants as unhygienic, uncivilized, uncultured, fundamentalists, irrational, senseless fanatics, uneducated, barbaric and violent and its political upheavals at the time implying it is everything that America is not and omitting the information such

as racism faced by her husband in America, riots in Detroit, progressive Iranians standing against the regime of Ayatollah and women taking up men's jobs in Iran as more and more men went off to war forms the image of the Other against which Self is presented; thus, successfully creating the uncivilized East-civilized West binaries. Arya believes that the socio-political tussle between America and Iran played the part in people absorbing the degenerated picture of Iran without second guessing Mahmoody's narrative.

Maja Mugerle has also explored orientalism in the memoir and the importance of the historical context in the creation of the Other. The timing of the memoir's publication in 1987 and its movie adaptation's release, when anti-Muslim sentiments were on rise, is an important factor in its worldwide fame and acceptance as a true representation and creation of the Other. Due to the Iran Hostage Crisis of 1979, Iran Air 655 incident of 1988 and Persian Gulf war, the attention of the world, in particular America because of its conflicts with Iran, was on Iran. American media adamantly portrayed it in a negative light, and in such times an American women's tale of victimization and survival in Iran and her stereotypical description of an Iranian husband as a tyrant, Iranian society and culture as barbaric, its people fundamentalists and its religion as extremist created an Oriental perception of Iran as the Other, was bound to be taken as truth. All of this contributed in solidifying the already established negative views of the Orient, its culture and religion. Mugerle says that Mahmoody's memoir is very questionable because it clearly deviates from objective representation of Iran and presents her own personal opinions and experiences as inarguable facts about the Other: she demonizes the Oriental and at the same time perpetuates the West's superiority by repeated negative descriptions of Iran, its people, culture and religion against positive descriptions of America and its culture, making the memoir a "modern Orientalist text" (Mugerle 51).

Hossein Nazari, in his article "Constructing Alterity: Colonial Rhetoric in Betty Mahmoody's *Not Without My Daughter*", has employed David's Spurr's concept of Debasing, Affirmation, Negation and Bestialization, along with other colonial tropes i.e collective images, cult of domesticity and linguistic sovereignty, to explicate the construction of Other in the memoir achieved through comparing the East against the West. Debasing is explored through Mahmoody's defiled, contaminated, and revolting description of Iranian people and places that

encompasses the bodily and spatial description to indicate the moral corruption, sexual perversion and primitivism of Iranians. Affirmation and Negation are observed in Mahmoody's negation of the Other by describing Iranians' manners as animalistic and primitive, while affirming the Self through her own sophisticated Western manners. Mahmoody's subscription of animal traits to Iranians and use of animal metaphors and imagery to describe their movements supports the colonial rhetoric of Other's Bestialization. Besides Spurr's identified colonial tropes, Nazari also analyzes other colonial rhetorics dispersed in the narrative: Mahmoody's picture of chaotic, dirty, and mismanaged domestic spaces against her own orderly, clean and properly managed domestic space reinforce the superiority of civilized West over Orient; collective images of Iranians as frightening irrational mobs stripped of individuality, thus void of humanity, also reinforce the image of the Other; and lastly, regarding Iranian language as incoherent and incomprehensible chattering, meanwhile describing those who can speak English language positively also successfully creates the Other.

In another article "*Not Without My Daughter: Resurrecting the American Captivity Narrative*", Nazari identifies the memoir functioning as traditional American captivity/hostage narrative, with the convergence of three subgenres of the captivity narrative (religious pilgrimage, propagandistic, and sensationalized) out of which Iran, Iranians and Islam emerges as primitive, fundamentalist, and threat to the West. The story of Mahmoody operates as a religious pilgrimage of redemption, divine help and reaffirmation in faith of a White Christian woman whose betrayal of her own faith to marry a man of another faith is punished by being trapped by the violent man in his hellish country under primitive Islamic laws, but the hope and strength in her Christian faith and God's grace allows her to escape from the dangerous situation to share the cautionary tale to the Christian West as a devout Christian woman. It also functions as a site to initiate the propaganda against Islam, Iran and Iranians by utilizing the Orientalist tropes and widely believed myths and misinformation such as capital punishment system granting death penalty over everything, abduction of young boys sent on the forefront of Iran-Iraq war, Iran's revolutionary guards rapping virgin girls prior to their execution, Islamic divorce laws and many more to instill Islamophobia and Iranophobia in the West. Third subgenre is that of a sensationalized captivity narrative supported by exaggerations, fabrications,

and capitalization on suffering and horrors: memoir is filled with the images of Mahmoody, an alone defenseless and vulnerable woman's physical entrapment in home by her husband and his family, who is victimized by the hatred and violence subjected by Iranians because of her position as an American Christian woman in the backward Islamic land that is enemy of the West and Christianity. Nazari has also commented upon the tradition of using ghost writer to write the captivity narratives for the purpose of stylizing and molding the narrative with professional help, which in this case is William Hoffer who has previously perpetuated similar Oriental stereotypes about Turks in his book that extend towards Iran and Islam in this memoir.

Megan Goodwin identifies the memoir as a narrative of domestic terrorism and contraceptive nationalism wherein domestic violence and sexual violence is exacted on a White foreign woman's body by her Iranian husband at home and sexually promiscuous Iranian men in public. The constant sexual threat presented to her foreign body by Iranian Muslim men extends to American body politic through their fanaticism and pervasiveness that is characteristic to Islam. Muslim masculinity is constructed to be a threat to not only a foreign woman's body but to America itself, presenting Islam as inherently anti-American, at odds with American way of life that grants a female body autonomy and agency. Through this very construction of threatening sexually pervasive Muslim masculinity that informs of domestic terrorism inflicted upon a female body, narrative of contraceptive nationalism emerges that rejects the religious outsiders (Iranians or Muslims) on the basis of religious differences being unacceptable by discrediting it using anti-Muslim rhetoric.

Gautami Pawar has explored cultural differences such as status of women, dress code, domestic violence, hygiene, marriage, Islamic laws, and gender preferences between Iran and America that cause cultural conflict in *Not Without My Daughter* (1987). Iranian women are treated like slaves, denied any individuality and considered to be the property of their men who have control over every aspect of their lives, where as in America they have freedom and equality. In America, women can wear whatever they want but Iran follows a strict dress code that if violated can result in arrest. America has laws in place against domestic violence but in Iran beating your wife (whether in private or public) is considered common and there are no laws to protect them, instead Iranian law grants a man full authority over women. Iran's

hygienic conditions are dire with filthy and unsanitary domestic and public spaces, bad personal hygiene, and contaminated food, as opposed to America where hygiene is prioritized. Marrying cousins in America is considered taboo but in Iran it is preferred. Moreover, in regards to marriage, one automatically becomes an Iranian citizen when married to an Iranian and the child born out of such a marriage also becomes Iranian citizen. Laws about marriage and divorce are also different: according to Iranian law (based on Islamic law) everything including children, property, house, and money belongs to husband and in the event of divorce woman does not get anything, not even her children and in the event of husband's death child's custody goes to his family, on the other hand, assets are shared during the marriage and primary custody goes to woman in divorce in America. Furthermore, women exercise the right to plan their pregnancies in America but in Iran the use of contraceptives is illegal. Child is discriminated on the basis of gender in Iran: boy is preferred than a girl. In America, both girl and boy hold equal importance. Another issue is that a woman is supposed to adopt the religion that her husband practices, whereas, there are no such legal demands in America. The stark difference between the cultures of both countries, one advocating equality, liberty and freedom of choice and the other extremely restrictive in freedom and equality with suffocating ideologies, patriarchy, culture, religion and customs, causes Mahmoody to suffer from trauma and stress because of the imposition of this alien culture.

There have been sufficient studies on the memoir proving it to be an Orientalist narrative promoting the rhetoric of Other and binarism, a traditional American captivity narrative, and narrative of maternal melodrama, and the notion of domestic terrorism exacted on a white body and the furthering of anti-Islamic sentiments through contraceptive nationalism and the cultural difference have also been examined, but it has not been explored through the lens of Intimate Mobilities and Acculturation Strategies, which is achieved by this research study.

2.5 Conclusion

The purpose of the above review of current literature is twofold: to provide the general background for reader's understanding and then specific information that is relevant to the topic, and to identify the gaps in that information to highlight the necessity and importance of this study. The first two sections of the review comprise of general background of Acculturation and Mobility that, while has no direct link to

the two theories discussed in the next chapter, do provide a context that would develop better understanding of the theories. Shifting the focus from general to particular, the latter parts of the sections provide pertinent information which helps to see the gaps in the body of literature. Foregathered literary studies on the immigrant's acculturation show that the focus of academia is on the comprehension of Eastern immigrants' acculturation experience in Western countries because of its fixation with Post-colonialism. Plethora of studies are available that solely focus on Eastern immigrants like Pakistani, Indian and Chinese etc, and even among those there is a significant portion dedicated to the examination of female Eastern immigrants' acculturation; however there is only one study available that investigates into Western immigrants' acculturation in East. This unequal attention towards the acculturation of immigrants clearly shows the need for more studies on Western immigrants. Moreover, that one available study on Western immigrants only centers on Western men's acculturation in East, which means that there is no exploration of female Western immigrants' acculturation whatsoever. Numeration of all the studies unearths a gap that is the result of lack of representation of Western immigrants in literary studies. This study helps fill that gap by inquiring into not only Western immigrants but into the gendered acculturation experience of female Western immigrants in Eastern spaces. The review on mobility and intimate mobility also reveals a definite gap in the current literature as there is no literary study that has used this perspective to understand the motivations behind migration/mobility. This again adds on to the significance of this study to discover what motivates Western women to migrate to Eastern countries, Muslim countries to be specific.

The third section also follows the same method of moving from general to specific by first introducing memoir that is genre of the texts analyzed in this study, and then memoir's relation to gender (women) because the memoirists of the analyzed texts are all women, and lastly discusses the chosen memoirs as Orientalist and Captivity narratives; and the last section provides a detailed introduction of the three authors, Geldermalsen, Chesler, and Mahmoody and all the reviews and studies on their memoirs. Both sections serve to help readers understand the kind of texts these are, which genre they belong to, which narrative style they are built upon, who the authors are, how their works have been perceived, and through which perspectives have they been explored in literary studies. Again, a gap emerges in the current body

of literature because Western women's memoirs of marriage (to Easterners) and migration (to Muslim countries) are overlooked for research studies and while *Not Without My Daughter* (1987) has been subjected to examination, it has been mostly investigated through the perspective of Orientalism and not from the perspectives focused upon by this study. This study on Western women's memoirs of marriage and migration not only adds into current knowledge by filling the empty space but also brings this neglected genre to spotlight which would prompt future researchers to investigate them more.

This literature review presents the evidence of definite gap in the current body of literature that is eliminated by this study of mobility and acculturation on female Western immigrants in East as there has been no literary study that has explored female Western immigrants' motivations for migration, especially from the aspect of intimacy, and acculturation in Muslim countries of settlement, in their memoirs of marriage and migration.

CHAPTER 3

RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

This chapter outlines the framework of this study by introducing the theories that support this study by addressing its research questions, and the research method that is used for data collection and analysis of the selected texts.

3.1 Research Design

This research study is qualitative in nature. Qualitative research, in essence, is the “collection, analysis, and interpretation of comprehensive narrative...to gain insights into a particular phenomenon of interest” (Gay, et al. 7). This study is executed through the employment of two concepts: the theory of Intimate Mobilities and Mobile Intimacies by Christian Groes and Nadine T. Fernandez, and Acculturation Strategies by John W. Berry. The purpose of the study is to attain the understanding of the role that intimacy plays in mobility decisions, and to identify the acculturation strategies that Western women adopt for their survival in Eastern spaces, in the selected memoirs, *Married to a Bedouin* (2006) by Marguerite van Geldermalsen, *An American Bride in Kabul* (2013) by Phyllis Chesler, and *Not Without My Daughter* (1987) by Betty Mahmoody. To support this study with textual evidence, information is extracted from the memoirs using textual analysis proposed by Alan Mckee. This particular method grants the researcher the liberty to unearth the information and construct the meanings beyond what the author has shared, allowing a new perspective to surface.

3.2 Theoretical Framework

This study, that aims to comprehend the involvement of intimacy pertaining to mobility or migratory-related decisions, and to determine the strategies employed by Western women to acculturate into the East, is substantiated by two concepts: Intimate Mobilities and Mobile Intimacies by Christian Groes and Nadine T. Fernandez, and Acculturation Strategies by John W. Berry. The first concept is paramount to the understanding of migration conditioned by intimacy, its divergence from other motivations, and the subsequent effect of migration on personal/intimate choices, and the latter provides ground to identify the acculturation strategies preferred by Western women in an Eastern culture that is foreign to them, the

consequent changes initiated by process of acculturation and mobility between different strategies.

3.2.1 Intimization of Mobility: From Desexualized to Sexualized Outlook Towards Migration

3.2.1.1 Development: Synthesis of Mobility and Intimacy

In the past, the reasons behind migration were judged strictly in terms of “push-and-pull factors” in Migration studies (Groes and Fernandez 4). Solely the reasons deemed ‘rational’ such as economic and socio-political were the nucleus of migration research while aspects like emotions, sexuality, love, intimacy, and relationships remained at the periphery. In the recent years, migration research was finally “infused with an awareness of the centrality of relationships and emotions for understanding motivations...and experiences of mobility and migration” (Charsley viii). Besides the admission of intimacy’s influence, another reform occurred in migration research with the introduction of ‘Mobility turn’ that pointed out the fault in migratory studies for only focusing on spatial aspect of movement and overlooking its circumambient links. While migration is solely concerned with the physical act of moving or geographical relocation, mobility is not only concerned with the movement of people, but also its connection or relation to the flux in money, status, ideas, materialities, and knowledge, and comprehension of how these motilities are realized or restricted (Groes and Fernandez 4).

Before, the focus was largely placed on a mobile person, not its relation to the mobility of objects and ideas but with Mobility’s involvement in the Migration studies, its restrictive approach broadened to perceive the transnational movement of people in relation to other things that were believed to be unrelated. Due to mobility, the “experiences and practices of migration, and...how migration changes various practices, at individual, familial, local, national or international levels” are focused upon by Migration studies (Fortier 70). Christian Groes and Nadine T. Fernandez, who criticized Migratory studies’ “desexualized” outlook towards migration, combined the concepts of ‘Mobility’ and ‘Intimacy’ to theorize ‘Intimization of mobility’ because in tandem ‘Intimacy’ can first explain intimacy’s affect on mobility/migration decisions and then ‘Mobility’ can describe the influence of

mobility/movement on intimate decisions or personal life afterwards (Groes and Fernandez 1).

3.2.1.2 Intimate Mobilities and Mobile Intimacies

Christian Groes and Nadine T. Fernandez, in their book *Intimate Mobilities: Sexual Economies, Marriage, and Migration in a Disparate World* (2018), have presented the concept of Intimate Mobilities and Mobile Intimacies, pivoting around the idea that intimacy and transnational mobility are intertwined notions. Reasons for transnational mobility are not straightforward rational: it is not only motivated by economic factors, refugee issues, political upheavals, and prospect of better future as previously was thought, it can also be triggered by ‘irrational reasons’, intimacy to be specific. “Rather than viewing people’s cross-border movement as being a result of rational choice, pure necessity or merely an individual or collective strategy, mobility could encompass all sorts of journeys, including those sparked by hopes, obligations, nostalgia, desire, images, symbols and cultural practice” (Groes and Fernandez 5).

Intimacy issues such as love, sex, family, marriage, reproduction, divorce, sexuality, hopes, desires, dreams, obligations, and conjugal matters can play a substantial role in a person’s decision to migrate to another country. Even when the reasons for mobility are seemingly ‘rational’, there are generally ‘irrational’ reasons underlying the surface reasons; for example a person who migrates to another country to earn money is apparently motivated by economic (rational) reason but if inquired into it further, he may actually be motivated by his love for his family and desire to provide a better life for them to migrate in search of better economic opportunities, making his true reasons for mobility to be intimacy/emotions (irrational). Intimacy/emotions and mobility/migration cannot remain isolated and hence the junction of intimacy and mobility produces the concept of Intimate Mobilities or Intimitization of Mobility, elucidated upon by Groes and Fernandez as follows:

Intimate mobilities involve all forms of mobility shaped, implied or facilitated by bodily, sexual, affective or reproductive intimacy, spanning what has been coined as marriage migration, family migration, sexual migration, romance travel, erotic adventure, sex work migration, and sex tourism, as well as any kind of mobility motivated by emotions, desires, or pleasures, or conditioned by kinship, family ties or reproductive ambitions. (1)

Furthermore, similar to how intimacy can determine a person's decision of mobility, mobility can also significantly impact the intimate decisions of a person afterwards because they both have a complex interdependent relation with each other, where one affects the other and vice versa. Mobility to another country has repercussions on the person's life and decisions and can affect, for instance, their social position, or emotional state, or it can cause isolation, estrangement, or ruin relationships. This change in intimacy followed by mobility is termed as Mobile Intimacies and described as such by Groes and Fernandez: "Intimate issues shape Mobility across and between countries, and at the same time, transnational spaces and movements also shape people's intimate choices" (1). Mobility causes a transnational space to be born which becomes a medium for immigrants to negotiate between home and host cultures, and together, mobility and transnational space, force change on immigrants on an intimate/personal level. This emerges as a point of connection between Mobile Intimacy and the second theory, Acculturation, because the transnational spaces are managed through the process of Acculturation using different strategies and all the consequent changes become part of the Mobile Intimacies.

3.2.2 Acculturation During Multi-Cultural Engagement

3.2.2.1 Development: Two Dimensional Cultural Orientation

In 1970, inspired by Redfield, Linton, and Herskovits' assertion in "Memorandum for the Study of Acculturation" that assimilation is not the sole outcome of acculturation, John W. Berry conducted psychometric studies to understand acculturation phenomenon. He first made the distinction between 'Assimilation' and 'Integration' strategies and then added two additional taxonomies, 'Rejection' in 1970 which later became 'Separation', and 'Deculturation' in 1972 which later became 'Marginalization'. He also introduced a component of 'Relational attitudes' which was later renamed 'Acculturation attitudes' in which attitude regarding retention of original culture and interaction with dominant culture were measured as two independent dimensions. Berry was the first one to suggest that the degree of orientation towards one's own culture and host culture should be evaluated by considering them as two distinct dimensions, as opposed to the opposite ends of the continuum (Navas, et al. 23). In 1974, Berry added a third dimension 'Acculturation expectations', acknowledging the influence of dominant society on how acculturation takes place, producing another framework in which if an

acculturating individual's prerogative to choose is taken away then 'Assimilation' becomes 'Melting pot', 'Rejection' or 'Separation' becomes 'Segregation', 'Deculturation' or 'Marginalization' becomes 'Ethnocide', and 'Integration' becomes 'Multiculturalism'. After years of refinement, the concept earlier known as 'Modes of Acculturation' and 'Varieties of Acculturation' reached its final form known as 'Acculturation Strategies' in 1984.

3.2.2.2 Fourfold Model of Acculturation Strategies

The process of Acculturation is initiated imminently following the immigration, and different individuals approach this process in disparate manners, leading to different outcomes which are referred to as Acculturation Strategies. These strategies are the "differences in how people go about their lives during this process [acculturation]" (Berry, "Contexts of Acculturation" 27). John W. Berry has identified four strategies that can be employed by the individual for the Acculturation process: Assimilation, Separation, Integration, and Marginalization. These strategies comprise of two correlated components: Attitudes (Preferences) and Behaviors (Actual Practices or Outcomes) that are demonstrated in everyday intercultural encounters (Berry, "Conceptual Approaches to Acculturation" 21). By Preference, it means what one really wants, that is the will to preserve one's identity and culture, and/or to reach out to interact with the other culture. Behaviors are what one is actually able to do, that is being able to maintain their cultural identity, and/or to successfully embrace the other culture. Scarcely does what an acculturating individual seeks (Preference) correspond with what they are actually able to accomplish (Behavior) (Berry, "Conceptual Approaches to Acculturation" 21). Sometimes, Preferences remain unrealized on the account of impediments on Behaviors, causing conflict between Preferences and Behaviors.

Individuals partaking in acculturation hold Attitudes (Preferences) regarding how they hope to become "involved with, relate to, other people and groups they encounter in their acculturation arena", which are termed Acculturation Attitudes (Berry, et al., "Acculturation Attitudes in Plural Societies" 186). These Attitudes are cultural continuity or maintenance (orientation towards one's heritage culture and maintaining the cultural identity), and contact and participation (orientation towards the dominant society and seeking intercultural contact and participation). Measuring

these two independent attitudinal dimensions generates the fourfold model of Acculturation Strategies.

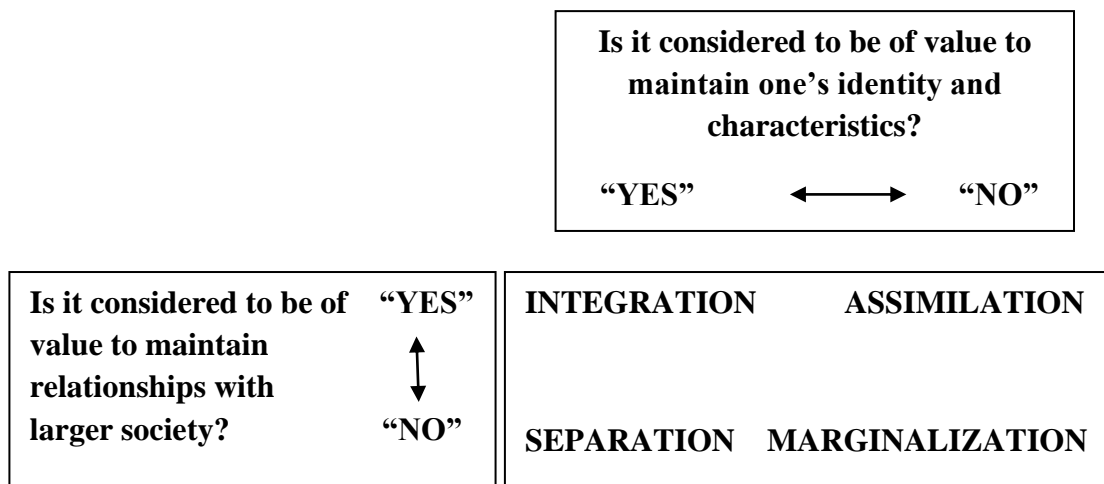


Fig.1. Reproduced framework of Acculturation Strategies from: Berry, John W. “Immigration, Acculturation, and Adaptation.” *Applied Psychology: An International Review*, vol. 46, no. 1, 1997, pp.5-34.

Positive or negative responses to these two dimensions produce four outcomes of acculturation: Integration (Yes/Yes), Assimilation (No/Yes), Separation (Yes/No), and Marginalization (No/No).

1. Integration:

Integration option is adopted during acculturation when an individual has an “interest in both maintaining one’s original culture, while in daily interactions with other groups...here, there is some degree of cultural integrity maintained, while at the same time seeking to participate as an integral part of the larger social network” (Berry, “Immigration, Acculturation, and Adaptation” 9). Association is sustained with both the original and the dominant cultures in Integration, resulting in preservation of cultural integrity and acceptance in larger society. Instead of choosing one or the other, the acculturating individual strikes a balance between both to create a bi-cultural identity, which ensures acceptance into their original ethnic group and the mainstream society. Integration strategy is not attainable unilaterally; success in Integration relies on the accepting nature of the dominant cultural group and involves mutual accommodation in which an individual accepts basic values of the dominant group and dominant group provides safe and accepting environment for cultural

diversity to thrive in. Integration's positive orientation pronounces it the best outcome among all four strategies.

2. Assimilation:

In Assimilation, the individuals partaking in acculturation "do not wish to maintain their cultural identity and seek daily interaction with other cultures" (Berry, "Immigration, Acculturation, and Adaptation" 9). In this strategy, the individual holds no interest in the retention of their original cultural identity, leading them to abandon it to adopt the new culture. Therefore, it requires cultural shedding of the old, and adjustment into the new cultural space. The need for assimilation can stem from the desire to belong in the mainstream society, and to earn their acceptance. The downside of this strategy is the relinquishment of the heritage culture, causing disassociation from that ethnic group, and the upside is the acquisition of another culture that could be beneficial.

3. Separation:

The contrasting strategy from Assimilation is Separation, wherein the acculturating individuals "place a value on holding on to their original culture, and at the same time wish to avoid interaction with others" (Berry, "Immigration, Acculturation, and Adaptation" 9). Maintaining the connection with original culture takes precedence over establishing a connection with the new cultural group in this strategy. Separation entails rejection as it involves voluntarily keeping distance from anything that remotely relates to the other dominant group to prevent influence because the heritage culture and identity is extremely valuable for the individual. Obvious drawback of this strategy is inaccessibility into the new cultural milieu, and the advantage is the continuity of the original cultural pattern without the intervention of the new culture.

4. Marginalization:

Marginalization is defined when "there is little possibility or interest in cultural maintenance (often for reasons of enforced cultural loss), and little interest in having relations with others (often for reasons of exclusion or discrimination)" (Berry, "Immigration, Acculturation, and Adaptation" 9). To put it simply, the link with both cultures is terminated in Marginalization, either voluntarily or involuntarily. Severing bond with the heritage culture due to the desire to no longer associate with it or being

forced to do so by the dominant group coupled with no inclination for the larger cultural group or impediments on prerogative of participation in the mainstream society characterize Marginalization. Though Marginalization is an approach to engage in acculturation, it can also stem from failed venture of assimilation due to rejection and discrimination from dominant cultural group. The negative orientation of the strategy on the account of cultural loss and expulsion proves it to be the least accommodating strategy during acculturation.

These strategies are not the final outcomes: due to Acculturation being a continuous process, different strategies can be employed at different times according to the situational factors. An individual can hold variable degrees of inclination towards each strategy; for instance, one may have positive attitude towards both integration and separation strategies as they both involve continuation of original culture and identity (Berry, "Contexts of Acculturation" 37). Furthermore, different strategies can be adopted at the same time; for instance, an individual may practice linguistic assimilation in the social context but linguistic integration in the private sphere, and similarly, one may adopt cultural integration in social setting, but cultural separation in private setting such as home. Analyzation of the both components (Acculturation Attitudes and Behaviors) and the two attitudinal dimensions (cultural continuity and maintenance or contact), aids in the assessment of Acculturation Strategies.

3.2.3 Conclusion

The theoretical framework of this study is constructed with two theories: Intimate Mobilities and Mobile Intimacies, and Acculturation Strategies. While both theories explain different phenomena and answer different questions, one about intimacy's role in migration and the other about the different ways cultural change occurs after relocation, they are both connected through their proximity to migration phenomenon. Additionally, the minor concept of Mobile Intimacies, that states that mobility/movement/migration and transnational spaces impact intimate choices, becomes a link between both theories. Transnational spaces are born as a result of mobility, and in it cultures and identities are negotiated, and that negotiation happens through different Acculturation Strategies. In this way, mobility of a person from one spatial location to the other and the transnational spaces that become a site of multicultural interaction and negotiation, both impact immigrant's life and personal

decisions when they have to engage in acculturation through various strategies by making different decisions that impact every aspect of their lives. Together these theories create a framework that is able to answer all the questions this study poses regarding Western women's migration, from what motivates their mobilitites to Eastern spaces to what strategies they prefer to acculturate in East after their migration.

3.3 Research Method

Textual analysis is a process through which data is collected and analyzed in a research study. It involves close reading of the text to understand the words, pictures, and symbols, and prescribing them a meaning. The purpose is to gain comprehension of the structure and content to unearth the hidden messages within the text. According to Alan McKee, "when we perform textual analysis on a text, we make an educated guess at some of the most likely interpretations that might be made of that text" (1). Mckee's post-structuralist approach to textual analysis holds that there is no correct or incorrect interpretation of a text as different people experience reality differently, and therefore, one's interpretation of the text can be constructed and supported by treating the text as a clue and conducting a thorough analysis through sense-making practices.

CHAPTER 4

ANALYSIS

This chapter examines the primary texts selected for the study, namely, *An American Bride in Kabul* (2013), *Married to Bedouin* (2006), and *Not Without My Daughter* (1987), to support the premise of the study through the application of the two theories, Intimate Mobilities and Mobile Intimacies, and Acculturation Strategies, discussed in the previous chapter. This chapter analysis the texts in order to answer the research questions regarding the Intimate motivations of Western women for Mobility and the Strategies they use during Acculturation when confronted with Eastern culture, with the aid of the established theoretical framework. Divided into three sections, the chapter deals with each text individually in the order of decade the events in the memoirs happened, starting from Chesler's narrative that took place in the 60s, then Geldermalsen's that happened in the 70s, and ending with Mahmoody's that occurred in the 80s. Each section is further divided into two parts, beginning with the synopsis of the memoir, after which the text is analyzed using Mckee's method of textual analysis.

4.1 *An American Bride in Kabul* (2013)

4.1.1 Synopsis of the Memoir

In her memoir, *An American Bride in Kabul* (2013), Phyllis Chesler recounts her romance and marriage to a Muslim-Afghan and her successive entrapment in Afghanistan and interaction with its culture. Chesler, a Jewish American, met Abdul Kareem, a foreign student, in college at the young age of eighteen and shortly they both fell in love. In 1961, after three years of relationship, they tied the knot after Chesler was convinced by Kareem that they would be able to travel around the world together, a dream they both shared, and meet his family in Afghanistan with convenience if they were espoused. Immediately after their marriage they went to Afghanistan where Chesler's American passport was confiscated by the Afghan officials straightaway at the airport with a false assurance that her passport would be returned to her after few days.

Initially, she was welcomed into the family and treated with kindness and care but gradually it changed; she was mistreated by her mother-in-law, Kareem became

increasingly hostile and abusive towards her and the rest of the family disregarded her concerns and feigned ignorance to her plight. Life in Afghanistan came as a shock to her: she was baffled by the life of harem, the submission of women, the cruelty and indifference of men, and the restricted life of women between four walls. When she fathomed Kareem's intentions of indefinite settlement in Afghanistan, she decided to seek help from the American Embassy to help her escape the country but they refused to help her because by marrying an Afghan she had become an Afghan citizen. After contracting hepatitis and becoming gravely ill, she became resolute that she must leave and knowing that Kareem began to rape her nightly despite her declining health so he could force her to stay by impregnating her. She became pregnant but kept it a secret and requested her father-in-law to help her as she could die in the country without medical attention after which he provided her with an Afghan passport with six months of American visa.

After arriving in America, she sought medical attention but miscarried the baby due to poor health. She resumed her life and education while Kareem sent her letters demanding and even threatening her to come back. She had to go through legal issues to prove that she was indeed an American citizen when her visa expired and filed for a divorce that Kareem refused to give. It was finally annulled after years of struggle, during which time Kareem persistently wrote to her demanding her to come back and not pursue divorce. They met again in 1971 after Kareem, forced by Russia's invasion of Afghanistan, moved to America with his family and she reconnected with him and his family again. Her memoir tells of her first love and marriage, her life in Afghanistan and lessons she learned, and depicts her thoughts concerning Islam, Jewish history in Afghanistan, Afghan culture, the patriarchal setup, matriarchy, and the deteriorated condition of women, and her lasting connection to her Afghan family.

1.1.2 Analysis of the Memoir

4.1.2.1 For Love and Mobility

Wondering the answer to the question as to why she went to Afghanistan, Phyllis Chesler writes in her memoir's preface that "it was kismet, *bashert*, fated, written in stars; clearly it was my destiny" (*An American Bride in Kabul* xiii). Discounting the push of fate claimed by her, there are concrete reasons that prompted

Chesler to go to Afghanistan. An educated and independent Jewish American girl's willingness to go to a country that is cruel and hostile to women and Jews cannot be comprehended through the consideration of what Migration scholars call 'rational reasons' of migration. Her motivations for transnational mobility can only be deduced if intimate perspective is brought into focus through Groes and Fernandez's concept of Intimate Mobilitites that reveals the "complex and yet powerful ways in which intimacy and mobility are entangled" (2). Chesler's mobility is dominantly influenced by her intimacy/emotions because the both two reasons that encourage her transnational mobility to Afghanistan stem out of her love: her love for Abdul Kareem and her love for adventure and mobility itself.

The main reason is unquestionably her love for her Afghan husband, Abdul Kareem, that she happily agrees to go to Afghanistan to meet his family. Despite the fact that she is a highly educated and smart woman, her emotions still cloud her rationality and prevent her from accessing her situation before making an informed mobility-decision. Instead of researching the country to educate herself about the cultural dynamic of Afghanistan and how her life may possibly be impacted by the mobility decision, she naively trusts Kareem's decision because she is not suspicious of the man she ardently loves. She confesses to her own foolishness to not research the country beforehand because of Kareem: "I blindly, stubbornly followed Abdul-Kareem...I had not carefully researched the country. I did not seek out other American wives of Afghan men. I was not suspicious" (Chesler, *An American Bride in Kabul* 208). If her intimacy had not intervened, she could have tried to know more about the country and the condition of women and Jews which would have thwarted her mobility as she does lament her decision not to do so throughout the book and repeatedly mentions that if she had an inkling of the patriarchal subjugation of women and systematic impoverishment of Jews, she would not have followed Kareem to Afghanistan. Another problem is that she trusts Kareem to have her best interest at heart as he is her spouse and does not expect him to withhold important information that could have negative impact on her life. She leaves a life altering decision of transnational mobility upon a man_who fails to warn her off about the consequences of her mobility and prepare her for what is to come afterwards. She never doubts his mobility decision because of not only that she is in love with him but also because she considers him to be her "measure of Afghanistan" (Chesler, *An American Bride in*

Kabul 115). Since he is extremely convincing in his role as an Americanized/Westernized Eastern man, an alarm never goes off in her head against mobility to East. He is the embodiment of Afghanistan for her and therefore, she judges the country based on her compromised (due to her feelings of love) perception of him as a progressive man. In this way, her intimate relationship with her husband and emotions of love for him control her mobility.

Besides her emotions of love for her husband, her dreams and desires also play an equally important part in her decision of mobility. Chesler desires to gain freedom of mobility that would allow her to achieve her dream of travelling the world in pursuit of new experiences and adventures. Belonging to an Orthodox Jewish family, Chesler's freedom is restricted since childhood. She wants to break free from the constraints placed on her will by her strictly religious family, which is why her need for freedom and agency manifests itself in her desire for mobility. For women like Chesler who are brought up in a strictly conservative setup and who are faced with limitations in their freedom by the society due to their gender, their capacity to move (mobility) equates to sense of freedom, agency, and independence. Chesler, who is a "slave to romantic fantasies" begins to indulge in the act of what Parkins has called "romanticising mobility" (Chesler, *An American Bride in Kabul* 6; Parkins 11). Women like Chesler, who have had their lives controlled, tend to romanticize the act of mobility because women's mobility correlates to their freedom and agency, and hence Chesler becomes a "naive dreamer who believed that she could have a grand, fairy-tale-like adventure without paying some terrible, unknown price" (Chesler, *An American Bride in Kabul* 95). In fact, even though she is in love with Kareem, the reason she marries him at a very young age of twenty-one is because he lures her into it with the promise of mobility and freedom that was denied to her throughout her life by her own family, and at the time in the sixties when women had limited mobility, it was the only suitable option for a woman who desired to "travel the wide, wide world together, like gypsies or abdicating aristocrats who have permanently taken to the road" (Chesler, *An American Bride in Kabul* 60). Mobility has always been "gendered as masculine" so for women who want to travel, marriage becomes one of the "socially acceptable ways" for their mobility (Parkins 11; H  l  ne Le Bail). Not only that, her very act of mobility to a Muslim country also comes from her desire "to rebel against tradition" and what would be a better way to defy her Jewish family than to

marry a Muslim man and then go to a Muslim country against their wishes (Chesler, *An American Bride in Kabul* viii). In the process of achieving her freedom through her body's physical movement to a Muslim country, she defies the traditional path she was expected to follow by her conservative Jewish family and subverts the societal notion of mobility being a masculine domain. Her mobility becomes a medium to fulfill her inner desire for freedom and adventure, and break traditions. In this way, her mobility to Afghanistan is the result of her intimate desires and dreams.

Chesler explicitly states both her intimate motivations for going to Afghanistan and also clarifies her intentions of transnational mobility, not migration: "I had never intended to stay there. I really thought we would be meeting his family, travelling the country, and then leaving together" (*An American Bride in Kabul* 133). Chesler enters Afghanistan as a sojourner that is one of the four types of migrants classified by Berry, who arrive at new locations "only temporarily in a variety of roles, and for set purposes" ("Contexts of Acculturation" 30). She is a sojourner who intends to take a brief trip to Afghanistan as a newly wedded 'wife' with the purpose to 'meet' her in-laws and explore the country but her voluntary transnational mobility turns into a forced migration as her American passport is confiscated on the airport immediately after arrival because marrying an Afghan man automatically makes her a citizen of Afghanistan, a fact she is oblivious of: "I am now an Afghan citizen...I did not understand that by marrying Abdul-Kareem, I was divorcing my country and revoking my citizenship" (Chesler, *An American Bride in Kabul* 95). Chesler's voluntary transnational mobility transpired by emotions (of love) and dreams (of freedom and mobility) ultimately transmutes into involuntary migration.

Mobility is connected to everything; therefore, when a person moves from one place to another, their mobility impacts every aspect of their life. A transnational space is generated wherein this impact can be observed as the immigrant undergoes the process of Acculturation. Chesler's mobility also triggers change in her life that she tries to deal with through the process of acculturation.

4.1.2.2 Integration to Partial Assimilation

Acculturation comes as one of the unavoidable consequences of transnational mobility for immigrants and regardless of the fact that Chesler's migration is uninformed and involuntary, she cannot escape acculturation. By becoming a citizen

of another country through her marriage, she establishes ties with two countries at once, her home country America and the host country Afghanistan which turns her into a transnational individual who must participate in transnational activities such as Acculturation in the transnational space. She is suddenly forced to confront two cultures, her American/Western home culture and her Afghan/Eastern host culture, which creates a transnational space in which she tries to sort out the clash of two cultures through acculturation. The acculturation process affects a person on every single level because it has numerous domains such as psychological, biological, linguistic, and symbolic, and the acculturating subject is required to make choices pertaining to each domain by selecting different Acculturation Strategies. Chesler's acculturation also involves many such domains ranging from cultural, physical, biological, to psychological, religious and behavioral and far more, and since each person has his own peculiar way to deal with acculturation, Chesler uses different ways or strategies to deal with different types of changes from each domain.

1. Linguistic Acculturation

After migration, new set of "culture-specific skills" are needed in order to function in the society, and one of the most important skills is the ability to communicate in the new language (Masgoret and Ward 58). After Chesler's arrival in Afghanistan, she has to acquire the new language to be able to negotiate in the new cultural milieu. Her attitude towards Linguistic Acculturation is highly positive as she makes the plan of learning *Dari* (Afghan Persian) immediately and requests for a language tutor to gain formal education in *Dari*. The reason behind her urgency to acquire new language is to be able to communicate with the Afghan people, establish new relationships and take part in society. Her initial approach to Linguistic Acculturation is Integration:

I start trying to learn the language. I ask for tutor. Until one arrives...[they] teach me Dari phrases and names for things. We walk around the house, and I point to something, and they tell me the name for it in Dari. I make a list of all these words in phonetic English...A face is a *roose*. Eyes are *cheesm*. A chin is *zanak*. A cow is a *jow*. A village is a *kor*. "It's hot" is "*hawa garm ast*." (Chesler, *An American Bride in Kabul* 24-25)

Chesler begins to enthusiastically learn the new language through “Intimate borrowing” in which the acculturating subject begins to pick up words during close contact with people from host culture (Johnson 427). When she spends time with Afghan people, she concentrates on their language and also points at things to ask what they are called in *Dari* and makes an active effort to make a list to be able to memorize the words and phrases. Despite her desire to master the new language, she is only able to gain minute comprehension of the language because she is never provided with a tutor despite her repeated requests and there is only so much she can do herself to learn. Her Acculturation Preference fails to align with the Behavior (acculturation outcome) because of the lack of cooperation from host group and as Berry has established, successful Integration requires mutual accommodation. Her inability to speak *Dari* excludes her from being part of the community as there is link between an immigrant’s “language fluency and social interaction” with host group (Masgoret and Ward 62). She complains that: “I’ve sat through hours of conversation...that I don’t quite understand” (Chesler, *An American Bride in Kabul* 25). She simply has to sit and listen to Afghan people talk in *Dari* that she is unable to comprehend which leads to a lack of participation in the new society as she cannot contribute anything towards the conversation which also results in the failure of establishing interpersonal relations with her Afghan in-laws. Since she mainly communicates in her first language that is English, a little bit in French and German languages, and limited *Dari* and gestures, her strategy becomes Partial Integration. To summarize, her Acculturation Attitude/Preference towards the language of host culture is positive in the beginning as she is eager to learn it but she is denied the opportunity to properly and completely acquire the language, resulting in only Partial Linguistic Integration.

2. Clothing Acculturation

Besides language, traditional clothes are also an important part of a culture as they reflect people’s association with certain culture and ethnicity. Chesler shows similar avidity to dressing like a traditional Afghan woman as she does in her pursuit to learn Afghan language. When it comes to Clothing Acculturation, her intentions of Assimilation are clear from the start when she takes immediate liking to her mother-in-law’s attire at the airport: “She is wearing a long, loose, comfortable dress under which I can see her Turkish-style trousers. I immediately want a pair of trousers of my

own. Yes, I am eager to go native; I will undoubtedly be more comfortable dressed as a traditional Afghan woman (or man)” (Chesler, *An American Bride in Kabul* 11). She fulfills her desire to look like a traditional Afghan woman by excitedly purchasing and wearing such clothes. Moody et al. have pointed out that there is an association of a person’s choice of clothing with their emotions, and thus, in the light of that, it can be said that Chesler’s willingness to dress like an Afghan woman reflects her positive and accepting emotions towards host culture which would also explain the reason why she chooses the Assimilation Strategy (161). Also, this desire of hers to dress like them exhibits her intentions of wanting to become a part of the host group by imitating their appearance and it is also reflective of her fascination with Afghan culture.

However, her intentions of Assimilation change once the shocking sight of women wearing *burqa*, described by her as “ghost-like”, “airless, claustrophobic, moveable prison”, “ghostly sheets”, “pile of clothing”, “odious garment”, “body bags”, “sensory deprivation chamber”, and “moving prison-shroud”, leaves her livid and horrified (Chesler, *An American Bride in Kabul* ix, 23, 38, 37, 42, 184). Her choice of words to describe *burqa* indicates her negative feelings or emotions towards this particular piece of Afghan clothing because it is not simply a piece of clothing, it is symbolic for Afghans from religious and cultural perspectives; however, for a Western woman like Chesler, it is symbolic of the reality of women’s condition in Afghanistan. Suffocating *burqas* trap women, reducing their physical mobility, just like Afghan’s suffocating culture encloses women between four walls, rendering them immobile. How she views these *burqas* is the extension of how she sees the Afghan culture that refuses to let women become mobile agents in society. The repetitive image of women in *burqas* and *burqas* throughout the memoir serves as a symbol that represents her current situation of being caged inside *harem* without being allowed outside or her inner feelings about how suffocating she finds Afghan culture. She abandons her Assimilation approach towards Clothing Acculturation after her encounter with the physically constricting garment.

There were certain expectations from women in Afghanistan in the sixties in regards to what they should wear and how to behave outside of home and her in-laws expected Chesler to comply with these rigid customs established for women of properly covering oneself from head to toe. There is a pressure on her from her

Afghan in-laws to conform to their standards as she is often told stories of foreign women who wore *burqa* to indirectly encourage her to start wearing it and headscarves are also often laid out for her to prompt her to do hijab. There is also a pressure from Afghan society, men to be specific as they occupy public spaces, who laugh at her, ogle at her, stalk her, cat call her, and sexually harass her when she goes out in public without covering herself: “What had I done? What had I forgotten to do? I realized that they thought I was an Afghan woman without her burqa, without even her headscarf and coat.” (Chesler, *An American Bride in Kabul* 44). Nevertheless, she does not give into the pressure to follow the strict dress code and only wears traditional afghan clothing. The reason why her in-laws pressure her is because they see her as an ‘Afghan woman’; in their eyes, by marrying an Afghan man, her identity has also become that of her husband’s. But contrary to their opinion, Chesler does not see herself as an ‘Afghan’ but as an ‘American’. As Safdar et al. have stated that there is a link between an immigrant’s cultural identity, preference of clothing and acculturation strategies, Chesler’s preference not to wear *burqa* shows that she still identifies as an ‘American’, and therefore, she refrains from adopting Assimilation Strategy (36).

Her strategy is then switched to Integration which means that she prefers the integration of both Afghan and American cultures, evident from her two attempts at wearing Western clothing in Afghanistan: once she wears a bikini to sunbathe and the other time she wears a bathing suit for swimming at a party. Both times her acts of defiance against Assimilation in the favor of Integration are harshly discouraged by the host group. She wants to find a middle ground between the both cultures through Integration but her attempts at wearing Western clothing are deemed as unacceptable and inappropriate behavior. Hence, a conflict arises between her Preference to incorporate Western culture and Behaviors as she is unable to do so due to the intolerance of host group, thus switching her Acculturation Strategy back to Partial Assimilation. She is partially assimilated (in terms of attire) because she only wears selective Afghan clothing.

3. Dietary Acculturation

Traditional food is another important signifier of a culture and sojourners usually do show enthusiasm towards trying traditional foods because they want to taste new flavors of different places they travel to but Chesler is “no stranger to this

food” and had already acquired the taste for Afghan food before she even went to Afghanistan because Kareem and his friends cooked Afghan dishes for her, which means that Chesler’s Dietary Acculturation began in America (Chesler, *An American Bride in Kabul* 16). In America, her strategy is Dietary Integration, but after her mobility to Afghanistan, her strategy becomes Complete Assimilation because she loves Afghan food and thus, with pleasure she eats the local cuisine for three days until the cooks resume the use of *ghee*, which forces her to cease the consumption of Afghan food because “most foreigners, who have not grown up with ghee, abhor the taste of it, partly because ghee wreaks considerable havoc on soft foreign stomachs. The smell makes some foreigners nauseous; others throw up after a few mouthfuls. I literally could not eat anything cooked in ghee” (Chesler, *An American Bride in Kabul* 21). Chesler loves Afghan food but she cannot eat it when it is cooked in *ghee* because not only that its smell bothers her, she becomes very sick after eating it. Satia-Abouta believes that sometimes Dietary Acculturation can lead to “negative health consequences” in immigrants, which can be observed in Chesler as she suffers decline in her health after her initial decision to completely adapt Afghan’s food practices (75). Her body’s rejection to adapt to *ghee*-cooked-food can be symbolic of her inadvertent rejection to Dietary Assimilation. Her hatred for *ghee* finds expression in the way she defines it as “evil-smelling, rancid clarified animal-fat butter” (Chesler, *An American Bride in Kabul* 21). A solution for the easement of her Dietary Acculturation is to use cooking oil to prepare the Afghan food which she presents to her Afghan family but her request is denied because they do not consider her as an American anymore but an Afghan wife who must adopt and eat what they eat with no exceptions despite her strong resistance: “You cannot force me to eat what I can’t eat. My adjustment to life in Kabul cannot be measured in digestive terms. It’s not humanly possible”, she complains to her Afghan husband (Chesler, *An American Bride in Kabul* 30). *Ghee* is a staple in an Afghan’s diet and since her in-laws believe that through marriage to an Afghan she has also assumed Afghan Identity, they force their own dietary preferences on her.

Acculturation strategies are always circumstantial and change with accordance to the situational demands so after her in-laws’ refusal to make concessions for her causes the failure of the Assimilation strategy, Chesler switches her strategy from Assimilation to Separation for her survival which means she stops the consumption of

Afghan food entirely and decides to only eat American food. After much pleading to her husband she is provided with insufficient American canned goods that are eventually confiscated by her hysterical mother-in-law who considers her use of them and her inability to consume food cooked in *ghee* as an insult to their Afghan culture, marking the failure of her Separation Strategy. Immigrants tend to consume their tradition food as an attempt to maintain their cultural identity in foreign land but Chesler's desperation for American food does not stem from her desire to retain her American identity or culture; it is only a way for her survival in a land where her dietary needs are not being met and her detrimental nutritional status is affecting her body. However, her Acculturation Attitude fails to coincide with her Behavior because of the unavailability of American food and inability to digest Afghan food, resulting in Marginalization.

4. Religious Acculturation

Another important segment of culture is religion but there is a fundamental difference between how they are ingrained in Western and Eastern societies. Western societies tend to keep religion and state matters separately and religion has a weak influence on culture but in Eastern societies, religion is inextricably involved in state matters and functions as an ultimate authority that dictates everything, including culture. In this way, Afghanistan and America are different from each other. Chesler is a Jew born in America where the population is predominantly Christian but because religion is considered to be a personal matter, she has the freedom to decide for herself but Afghanistan has a fundamentalist approach to religion where religious differences are intolerable. Chesler is "a secular anti-religious rebel" despite the strictly Jewish orthodox upbringing and she plans on remaining adhered to her views in Afghanistan too (Chesler, *An American Bride in Kabul* 161). Even though she is secular and has no prior knowledge of Islam, she still respects and appreciates the religion that Afghans zealously follow and is even left mesmerized at occasions by their devotions she witnesses and when her mother-in-law urges her to consider converting to Islam, she promises to consider out of politeness but has no intentions of ever doing so. Her approach here can be either Separation or Marginalization or even somewhat both depending on the perspective: if Chesler's intentions of avoiding conversion to Islam and remaining true to her secular beliefs is considered then it is Separation strategy, but if her refusal to devote to Judaism (her original religion) is

also considered alongside the religion of host culture (Islam) then it is Marginalization. Her Preference for Marginalization is apparent in her statement that “one religion seemed as foolish and dangerous to me as the other” (Chesler, *An American Bride in Kabul* 161). As a secular, she has no affinity for her own religion and neither does she care about accepting Islam to appease her new Muslim family. However, adherence to her secular views pose a threat to her life in Afghanistan, and women who marry Muslims have to convert to Islam, thus her ragging mother-in-law forces her towards Religious Assimilation:

If I say I will convert, even if I do not mean it, will it make my life easier here?...It is harder to admit that I was this foolish, this frightened, this alone that I would actually jettison the religion of my ancestors for another religion about which I knew nothing. But I did it. I repeated...a single sentence in Arabic...and that was it: *la illah-ha illah allah, Muhammed a-rasul Allah*. (Chesler, *An American Bride in Kabul* 72)

Her proselytism is a way for her to survive in a country with the history of hostility towards Jews and other religious minorities, and a way to placate her mother-in-law who abuses her and starves her. Chesler is very young at the time, stuck in a foreign land with no support or protection and her mother-in-law’s increasing hostility leaves her paranoid for her safety, which is why she meekly accepts Islam. Switching her strategy from Marginalization to Assimilation saves her life, but the conversion is not genuine as she herself claims that she “did not take this conversion seriously” because she does not become a Muslim as a result of some epiphany or spiritual pull but because of the unrelenting pressure of her Muslim mother-in-law who wants the satisfaction of converting a Jew into Muslim and play a happy Muslim family (Chesler, *An American Bride in Kabul* 161). Because she is not expected to practice Islam by her Muslim in-laws and neither she makes the attempt to practice and the mother-in-law still treats her as infidel, screaming, cursing, insulting, spitting at her and calling her a *Yahud*, it reverts her back to the Marginalization status because she feels like she is neither Jewish nor Muslim.

5. Traditional/Cultural Acculturation

The society is constructed on cultural values, beliefs and customs, and as religion is saturated into public spaces in Eastern societies, people believe their

cultural values and customs to be part of their religion and religious values because of which they attach great significance to them and ruthlessly enforce them on society. In Afghanistan, patriarchy reigns under the cloak of Islam so that the patriarchal system cannot be challenged and questioned. Therefore, all the Afghan customs, beliefs and values are somewhat reflective of that patriarchy and must be followed by women. After migration, female immigrants' gender roles and identities always transform in accordance to the expectations of the host culture through the process of acculturation and the same can be observed in Chesler's situation (Espin 162). After Chesler's arrival in Afghanistan, her identity transforms as she becomes an Afghan and her gender role also operates in new a social and cultural context, turning her into an Afghan 'wife', not an Afghan 'woman' because in her new host culture women do not have identities independent of their role in relation to a man. By assuming that identity she becomes like other Afghan women who are expected to follow all the cultural customs, traditions, beliefs and values of Afghanistan: "I am now subject to the laws and customs of Afghanistan. I am an Afghan wife. This does not mean that I enjoy the rights of an Afghan (male) citizen; rather, I now belong to one man and his family. I am their property" (Chesler, *An American Bride in Kabul* 12). In the new socio-cultural environment of Afghanistan, her gender role is negatively affected as she is rendered an object because women are considered to be the property of men in Afghanistan who must abide by the strict rules and customs dictated by patriarchy.

In Afghanistan, women are supposed to live in *pardah*, in seclusion, away from men in women's quarters (*harem*) which is a perplexing arrangement for a Western woman like Chesler but she has no option but to live "under a polite form of rather posh house arrest, together with his mother and the other women" (Chesler, *An American Bride in Kabul* vii). She has to live trapped between the four walls of the *harem* just like the other women of Afghanistan because Afghan women are not allowed to speak to the opposite gender and go out and experience life beyond home. Their mobility to the outside world is restricted because that space is solely reserved for men and they must hide their existence from men by remaining inside their homes which signals the "historically problematic connotations of female mobility...centering around the idea that within a wider ideological structure orienting around the binaries of masculine/feminine and public/private spheres or spaces, female mobility posed a threat to the stability of social order" (Mathieson 28-29).

Restriction on female mobility is placed in societies such as Afghanistan where both genders are strictly defined and distinguished in terms of binaries like masculine/feminine and strong/weak, and placed at the opposite ends in a social hierarchal structure. Women's mobility outside the home can pose a challenge to the patriarchal society and culture as it would allow them to penetrate public spaces reserved for men and to disturb the social hierarchal structure by moving upwards from the bottom, which is why a Western woman like Chesler, whose mobility poses a threat to the institutionalized patriarchy, is placed inside the *harem*. Chesler does not know before her migration to Afghanistan that her love for freedom and transnational mobility that takes her to the East would actually take away her mobility altogether once she reaches there due to a transformation of her gender role because of the local customs, values and beliefs held in regards to women. Becoming an 'Afghan wife' as a consequence of her migration means that she is only allowed to participate socially with women in the tight sphere of home and not function as a mobile agent in the society and interact with the opposite gender. These constricting rules are preposterous for Chesler who has enjoyed the freedom West has to offer, which is why she cannot come to terms with her new cultural situation: "I am a young American girl used to getting out and doing things on my own. I have been taking public transportation by myself in New York City since I was ten years old...I am not used to staying home. I am not used to being in the company of only women" (Chesler, *An American Bride in Kabul* 22). In her home culture, she operated as an independent mobile agent and participated in the society while the host culture restricts her from entering public space and keeps her in private space of a home, away from the gaze of men. Her previous culture allowed her freedom and independence and taught her to rely on herself but her new culture takes away all the things she enjoyed, imprisons her in a *harem* among Afghan women and leaves her utterly depended on men. Chesler shares a fragment of her diary she kept in Afghanistan, in her memoir regarding this situation:

It is difficult to know the date not only because everyone follows a Muslim, not a Gregorian, calendar but because today is like yesterday, the days melt into each other—no, "melt" is too soft a word. Rather, the days shatter into each other like large rocks, one after the other, along the road of time. Am I

dreaming? Am I awake? I am alone. I am lost in a large, dark cave. I cannot find the exit. (An American Bride in Kabul 36)

Calendar is a physical record of all the individual days, and here, both Muslim and Gregorian calendars represent Chesler's life in Afghanistan and America. Gregorian calendar becomes the symbol of her exciting life in America where each day was different, whereas, Muslim calendar becomes the symbol of her monotonous life in Afghanistan where she cannot identify one day from another. Her inability to follow the Muslim calendar like other Afghans shows that she cannot live her life in the same dull way as them. Her new life stuck inside the home is absolutely monotonous and uneventful which is why she feels as though the same day is repeating on a loop. In many of the old fables and myths, rocks are used as symbols for obstacles (Kraus). Here, these rocks represent the Afghan culture and customs that have placed hurdles in her life in Afghanistan by caging her inside home, stopping her life at one point. She cannot resume her old life because she is a woman shackled by Afghan culture and the passage of time has stopped for her, while the world outside the walls (society) continues to move forward. She feels as though she is lost in a cave with no way out which is a metaphor. A dark cave can symbolize a prison (*harem*) she is trapped in, where the light of the outside world cannot reach her, and she cannot find a way to cross the threshold to enter the world. Another meaning of the dark cave can be the Afghan culture that is still primitive and where the light of civilization cannot reach. She is stuck in a primitive and uncivilized culture and society and she cannot physically leave the country no matter how much she tries because the customs of this country have made her the property of her husband without whose consent she cannot leave home let alone the country.

Her Acculturation Attitude/Preference is highly negative towards these customs enforced upon by women, and thus being a fearless independent American woman, she tries to resist these customs by escaping on her own alone to explore the city, breaking many customs established for women: first, she goes outside when women are supposed to stay home; secondly, she goes outside alone without a male chaperon; and lastly, she does not comply with the custom of properly covering oneself before going outside. Her excursion shows her defiant attitude towards the Afghan customs, hinting at the Separation strategy. Since she breaks the rules set by the host culture by not obeying the customs, she is stared at, laughed at, sneered at,

and harassed by men who consider themselves to be the sole possessors of public domain. Her excursion causes Kareem to explode on her, telling her that she needs to understand that Afghanistan is not a safe place for women and she could have easily gotten kidnapped, raped, or murdered, meaning that the threatening and menacing Afghan men force women inside the walls. In patriarchal cultures like Afghanistan's, men consider sexual assault as a way to 'punish' women for breaking the customs and encroaching on their space, which is why Chesler faces so much harassment for not acculturating to their customs and values. With the realization of the dangers that this new culture harbors to women, her Acculturation Strategy changes from Separation to Integration because fearing that she might to escape again, her Afghan relatives begin to take her outside which is a rare activity for Afghan women. Chesler writes about how she is perceived in the new Afghan culture:

They [foreign women] come from another world. They are naked faced, naked armed, and naked from the knees down. These are wildly independent women. Perhaps they are seen as super or as less than human. I occupy a place somewhere in between. I may appear naked faced but never alone, and I am not allowed to roam the bazaar freely...I am an Afghan wife, and what I see is limited by my inability to travel alone outdoors. I see what I am taken to see. I am never allowed to simply wander about. My every interaction is planned and monitored. (Chesler, *An American Bride in Kabul* 48-49)

In this society, as a Western woman she can somewhat get away with not complying with the customs completely. While she is granted limited mobility in Afghanistan unlike Afghan women, her mobility is controlled by the host group, and thus, in a way she is not breaking the rule but she is also granted some exceptions, making her acculturation strategy Integration. Her position as a Western woman grants her permission to enter male centered (public) spaces, but as an Afghan woman, she cannot enter them without the presence of a male chaperon or few older women who monitor her. Here, her identity as an American and Afghan is just as integrated as her Cultural Integration. Chesler records about one such outing in Kabul's bazaar that "*I am enchanted. Thousands of birds are singing. Instinctively, I look for the trees. But the birds are all caged*" (*An American Bride in Kabul* 50). This is metaphor for Chesler who is happy about being let out of the 'cage' (*harem*) for once and physically she may be free for a while, but symbolically she is still trapped.

She does not have the freedom she once possessed in West that allowed her to roam freely like a bird; now, she is just a caged bird that is freed sometimes but under the watchful eyes of the host group that controls her movements and would eventually cage her inside again. It means that she is never truly free in the Afghan culture even when she can occupy public spaces sometimes.

The family dynamic is different in Afghanistan where the patriarch is the ultimate authority and the whole family must obey him and comply with the custom of bowing and kissing the hand of the patriarch as a sign of respect, servitude, and resignation. Chesler refuses to obey this custom because it strikes her as “embarrassing and infantile”, establishing her approach to be Separation (*An American Bride in Kabul* 15). Tightly knitted family system is in place in Afghanistan where the whole family must live together. Living arrangement for married couples is different in both countries. In America, Chesler and Kareem lived together even when they were not married but in Afghanistan she is expected to live in a house with her father-in-law, his three wives, twenty-one children and several servants. Concept of privacy is lost on Afghans and living alone is taken as disrespect to family, whereas living with the entire extended family is considered odd in America where privacy is highly valued. She wants to resist this tradition of joint family system by insisting that they live alone but she fails to do so because it would have been insulting to the Afghan culture and her Afghan relatives, indicating that she has no option but to assimilate to this particular custom.

Besides living with the entire family, Afghan women are also expected to show unconditional servitude to them, mostly men and matriarch of the family but it is not the case in America which is why, for Chesler, “living with an external family as an obedient wife and daughter-in-law is a fantasy—a nightmare” (*An American Bride in Kabul* xii). The obedience and devotion that are characteristics of Eastern women are expected of her as well but she refuses to do so by maintaining Separation Strategy. Chesler admits that “this type of restricted, protected, and utterly family-centered life did not work for me” (*An American Bride in Kabul* 57). Her life in Afghanistan is limited to the interaction with family at home where a woman belongs and is safe according to the Afghan culture but she hates these customs that are supposedly made to protect women from the outside world and men. She likens herself and other Afghan women to “treasured cattle[s]” that are herded around

outside by men in the name of protection from the “brigands” (*An American Bride in Kabul* 52). This analogy of women being herded around by men also reinforces the power dynamic between both genders; men are shepherds, the superior creature, in charge of taming the animals (women), the inferior creature, and protecting them (because they are weak) from brigands, who represent the strange men that pose danger to women’s honour. A life in Afghan culture, where she is controlled by men, caged in the walls of the house, not allowed to talk to anyone from opposite gender, is supposed to just live abiding by the role of a typical Eastern wife and daughter-in-law, is far from being desirable for someone like her who has always known freedom and autonomy, signaling towards hatred for these new cultural norms but she cannot control this aspect of her acculturation by assuming the Separation Strategy because of the pressure from host group.

Afghan women have no sexual and reproductive rights not only because their bodies are considered to be the properties of men but also because of the beliefs that a woman should not deny sex to her husband and that using contraceptives is a sin. Once they arrive in Afghanistan, Kareem ceases the use of contraceptives even though Chesler repeatedly requests that he does which shows her preference for her American culture where she had access to contraceptives. While she thinks progressively when it comes to contraceptives, she thinks like Afghan women in that she believes she has no right to deny sex to her husband who nightly rapes her. Chesler foreshadows the marital rape in the beginning when she likens Kareem to Prince Shechem and herself to Dina who was abducted and raped by the Prince, alluding to “The Rape of Dinah” in Bible (Adelman). Besides having no sexual rights in Afghanistan, she also has no right over her body’s reproductive system as she is impregnated by Kareem against her will. Apart from Chesler’s beliefs that she cannot deny sex to her husband, she enjoyed some sexual rights in the West but all her rights are taken away in Afghanistan, bringing her down to the level of other Afghan woman, making her strategy Assimilation, though forced.

Over all, her reaction is against all the Afghan customs, traditions and values because of their patriarchal roots: “I was living in a culture where extreme gender apartheid was the norm and where my reactions to it were considered abnormal and unusual” (Chesler, *An American Bride in Kabul* ix). Afghanistan is centuries behind in progression and women’s rights are non-existent, and therefore, what Chesler

considers to be abnormal is norm in the Afghan culture, so a cultural conflict or shock becomes the hindrance in the acculturation process. Hearing about the inhumane treatment of women like honor killings, child marriages, domestic violence and polygamy etc that are a part of the Afghan culture, are too terrifying for her to willingly adopt the Afghan customs and traditions and she confesses her failure to comprehend this new culture: “These customs do not amuse me. They frighten me...I know that my American understanding of due process has no place here...I am definitely at the mercy of another kind of culture” (Chesler, *An American Bride in Kabul* 75). Woman immigrants face “double jeopardy”_during their acculturation because not only do they have to adjust to the new culture, there is an added pressure on them due to their gender (Sam, “Acculturation of Immigrant Children and Women” 403). Being a woman places Chesler at a greater risk during the acculturation because of the patriarchal nature of the new culture. Her Acculturation Preference is to reject all these customs, traditions and beliefs but her Acculturation Behavior is being controlled by the host group, which leads to the failure of her Separation Strategy. She wants to exercise her right to freedom but the constraints of the local culture on women prevent the retention of American ways and force her to surrender to her fate as an Afghan woman. However, her Assimilation is partial because of the selective adoption of cultural customs and traditions.

6. Psychological and Behavioral Acculturation

While in the beginning, Chesler’s Preferences are clear, slowly as she spends more time under the influence of this new culture, she undergoes psychological and behavioral changes and begins to unconsciously internalize the Afghan culture because the longer an immigrant remains in the new place, the more susceptible they become to the change:

I have begun to internalize the unspoken rules: Wait, and watch what the other women do before acting. Even I feel a bit too daring when I make my escapes into the city. I am beginning to experience as taboo, dangerous, what would have been perfectly acceptable behavior back in New York. I am also getting used to spending my days at home, reading and waiting for the men to return. (Chesler, *An American Bride in Kabul* 59)

Chesler undergoes Behavioral and Psychological Acculturation as she unconsciously begins to mimic the behavior of other Afghan women and administer her responses accordingly as to prevent doing anything deemed unacceptable or inappropriate. She is used to going out alone in America and knows that it is perfectly normal to do so but as time passes her thought process undergoes change because she is constantly told what is acceptable and what is not, leading her to eventually feel that her Afghan relatives are right. She begins to think like other Afghan women and internalize their behaviors that women should not go out because it is dangerous and that woman's place is at home. In the beginning, she hates being subjected to the dull monotonous life inside the *harem* but she slowly resigns to her gender role and gets used to staying at home, waiting for them men to come back from work. She unconsciously begins to pick up some behaviors of other Afghan women, proving her Partial Behavioral Assimilation.

Before, she rebels against the Afghan tradition of confining women at home but eventually her Psychological Acculturation advances and her attitude/emotions change from resisting to becoming grateful for little concessions: "It is impossible for a Westerner to imagine the deadening torpor of a protected life under house arrest. Eventually, one is grateful for the smallest outing outdoors" (Chesler, *An American Bride in Kabul* 59). From becoming angry for not being taken outside of home before to becoming grateful and thankful for a small outing once in a while, shows how the progression of her Psychological Acculturation affects her attitude, emotions, thoughts and behaviors. For instance when she is taken to a boring and mindless school recital she is just happy that she is able to get out of the house for a while: "The prisoner is so grateful for her afternoon out" (Chesler, *An American Bride in Kabul* 51). Another example of her Psychological Assimilation is when Kareem secretly tells Chesler about them being invited to a party where there is liquor, no gender segregation and dancing, and her reaction is similar to his: "Abdul-Kareem closes the bedroom door in order to whisper. We are going to a Western-style party in the home of a young progressive Afghan couple. Foreigners will be there. The event is hush-hush. Men and women are going to be dancing together. By now, this feels forbidden, dangerous, even to me" (Chesler, *An American Bride in Kabul* 53). Here, her reaction does not coincide with her old American values. Going to a party, drinking and dancing with men that is common in America, feels like a dangerous and

risky activity to her in Afghanistan. It shows that she also begins to think like Afghans for whom such things are taboo. Concerning Psychological and Behavioral Acculturation, she inadvertently Partially Assimilates.

7. Economic Acculturation

Any change in the economic status, either reduction or increase, that follows after migration is associated with Economic Acculturation. Chesler, before an independent American woman, has no economic power or position in Afghanistan because women are not permitted to have careers and jobs, and they are kept economically crippled. She cannot earn her own money, so like other Afghan women she is reliant on men for her financial needs. Even though her Preference is to rely on herself, her financial dependency on men continues till her departure from Afghanistan which is only made possible because her father-in-law bought her a plane ticket, indicating Preference's failure to translate into Behavior. Due to impediments from host culture, her strategy is Economic Assimilation.

8. Social Acculturation

Besides economic and cultural changes, acculturation also entails social change. Similar to economic change, social change also involves change in social status or position and Chesler's social position decreases in Afghanistan immediately after arrival because migrants' 'entry status' in the new culture tends to be lower than their 'departure status' in the country of origin (Berry and Kim 216). There are three reasons that contribute in lowering her status in the host society: her gender, her nationality and her religion. Chesler recalls that she felt "endangered as a Jew, as a woman, as an American, and as a foreigner" (Chesler, *An American Bride in Kabul* 74). First, she is a woman in a misogynistic country where women are treated as second-class citizens; secondly, she is an American, a foreigner, with progressive ideologies, not an Afghan with conservative ideologies that are esteemed in society; and lastly, she is a Jew in a Muslim country with the history of impoverishing its Jewish population and driving them all out of the country, making her a minority. In the early sixties, America had yet to have second wave of feminism but the social position of women was still better than anywhere else so as a woman, Chesler suffers from an enormous downgrade in social position in Afghanistan. Furthermore, Chesler, as a Jew, was a minority in America too but the degree of intolerance for religious

minorities in Afghanistan was extreme, so again her social position becomes precarious in Afghanistan. Her Preference is to retain her pre-migration social status through the Separation Strategy but since it is beyond her control, the strategy becomes Assimilation.

9. Literary Acculturation

Literature also has a deep connection to the culture because the literature is manifestation of the culture it is produced in. Being an academically excelled, highly intelligent scholarship student who loves to read books and write poetry, Chesler wants to continue her intellectual life in Afghanistan as well by learning about Afghan literature because she is fond of reading literature of other countries (English, Russian and French). Her desire of “memorizing Persian poetry beside campfires” in Afghanistan is evident of her positive attitude towards Literary Acculturation (Chesler, *An American Bride in Kabul* 20). Integration becomes her preferred Acculturation Strategy but unfortunately, her desire remains unfulfilled as she is unable to learn about Afghan literature because of the lack of reading culture in Afghanistan and lack of support from the host group. She hopes her Afghan relatives would teach her about Persian Literature but they themselves have no literary interests which disappoints her: “The Afghans and Persians have a great reputation for both writing and reciting poetry aloud...none of my well-meaning relatives recited poetry that day in Paghman” (Chesler, *An American Bride in Kabul* 91). Her Integration Strategy to Literary Acculturation fails just like Linguistic Acculturation and Dietary Acculturation, again due to the uncooperative attitude of her Afghan relatives (host group). It impels her to switch her acculturation strategy from Integration to Separation by attempting to read the books she brought with herself to the journey but she is interrupted repeatedly because her “true and only joy, reading, is seen as an act of despair or as a traitorous activity” by her Afghan family (Chesler, *An American Bride in Kabul* 25). The urgency of her attempts at reading books she brought from home is a way to establish a connection to her culture, her home, and her previous intellectual life and the disruptiveness in this activity that provides her with a sense of familiarity in otherwise unknown culture, by her Afghan family shows the interference of the host culture in the maintenance of connection to home. However, despite the host group’s incessant interruptions and hindrances, she is able to read all the books she brought, thus successfully implementing Separation Strategy.

10. Physical and Environmental Acculturation

Physical and environmental changes are also part of the acculturation process and the colossal difference between the surroundings of home and host countries can require assiduous effort to make adjustments. For Chesler, going to Kabul is like “stepping into the Bible. Here are the nomads, caravans, fat-tailed sheep, camels, turbans, veiled and shrouded women, a pleasant confusion of ancient dust and mingled male voices” (Chesler, *An American Bride in Kabul* 4). When she says that she feels as though she stepped into Bible, it means that Afghanistan is so untouched by the civilization and modernity that she feels as if she has traveled back to biblical times. Chesler finds her surrounding to be shockingly primitive and it is evident in her choice of words to describe Afghanistan as “medieval”, “trapped in past”, “tenth century”, “bygone era”, “past-present”, “centuries back-ward in time”, “middle ages”, “semitribal life”, “tribal and nomadic past”, “backward”, and “dark cave” (*An American Bride in Kabul* 45, 190, 20, 34, viii). Her reaction to her primitive surroundings is the result of her being the product of American modernity: “I am a child of the New World and am used to fast subway trains, supermarkets, and kitchen machines that make cooking an easy matter. Being in Afghanistan enables me to see how most people have lived for millennia—at a much slower pace” (Chesler, *An American Bride in Kabul* 80). Overcoming her initial shock, Chesler actually becomes excited about her new surroundings because it provides her a glimpse into the ancient past. She is fascinated by the sights of painted decorated buses, amulets, horse-drawn carriage, *Kuchi* (nomad) women laden in colorful jewelry, open *bazaars*, mosques, historical sites, barefooted people, men riding donkey, camels on streets, flocks of animals being herded, food stands and vendors, courtyards and fragrant gardens. Though she thinks Afghanistan is centuries behind in time, she still responds positively to her new surroundings because experiencing the ancient becomes a part of the adventure she craved and that motivated her mobility. While the outside surroundings are old, ancient and lacking in infrastructure, Chesler finds some familiarity of modernity in her surroundings inside the in-law’s European style home with marble floors, electric kitchen, indoor plumbing, modern bathrooms, latest imported cars, and luxurious furniture, making her surroundings the mixture of old and the new world. Lastly, the environmental change includes the weather and Kabul’s weather is extremely cold for her: “The country can be deadly cold and

inhospitable. I have never known such cold as I experienced in Kabul in my first and only winter there” (Chesler, *An American Bride in Kabul* 80). Chesler not only has to mentally adjust in the new environment but her body also has to physically adjust to the extreme temperatures, making her Physical/environmental Acculturation Strategy Assimilation. The ‘deadly cold’ and ‘inhospitable’ weather also reflects the nature of the host culture for a foreign female body or its treatment of the outsiders.

11. Biological Acculturation

Acculturation does not exclusively entail cultural changes, but it also involves biological changes because changing geographical location comes with the risk of being exposed to new diseases. Chesler is from a developed country that prioritizes hygiene so her immune system is vulnerable to the germs, parasites, unhygienic conditions, and diseases that Afghans are immune to. She writes, “I was and still am a soft city-bred American...My immune system and my gastrointestinal tract are simply not ready for Kabul” (Chesler, *An American Bride in Kabul* 63). She develops a terrible case of Dysentery and contracts a virulent strain of Hepatitis. The assault of diseases on her body is symbolic of the dangers that Afghanistan represents to the fragile American body of an outsider and her body’s incapacity to withstand the diseases is symbolic of her physical rejection of Afghanistan. Chesler is just like the vulnerable deer Lara that is left crippled after it is attacked by the wild dogs, an incident that she considers to be a bad omen for her own physical safety and that indeed foreshadows her own future. She wonders: “Was it a warning to me that I had better stay strong and healthy?” (Chesler, *An American Bride in Kabul* 100). The whole incident retains metaphorical meaning if Lara, the pet deer, symbolizes Chesler, and the wild dogs symbolize the various local diseases that attack the weak and vulnerable deer (Chesler), leaving her crippled and unable to move just like Chesler is left bed ridden without any strength for physical movement. The wild dogs can also symbolize the Afghan culture that poses danger to an American woman, and that renders her physically immobile and unable to escape the country by taking away all the freedom, autonomy and power from her and imposing its primitive and tribal rules on her.

Health care system and medical culture is non-existent in Afghanistan; there are no proper hospitals and medical facilities, whereas, American citizens have access to the latest medical treatments and highly experienced doctors and medical staff.

When Chesler has Dysentery, she regrets not bringing antibiotics and medicines from America with her because she has no access to them in Afghanistan. Moreover, when Chesler's nearly every organ is infected with hepatitis and she is close to death, the indifference and incompetence of Afghan doctors who do not take her condition seriously and dismiss her condition prompts her to decide to only go to an American doctor which shows that she only trusts doctors educated and trained in America and distrusts the terrible Afghan medical culture. Chesler describes the situation that "I fear that I will die and be buried in a Muslim cemetery somewhere out in the wild countryside...What should I do? Kabul has no good hospital...I do not want to see any more Afghan doctors. I beg to see an American doctor." (Chesler, *An American Bride in Kabul* 101). Her lament on not bringing American medicines and the reliance on American doctors to cure her show her Preference for Separation, despite her original attempts at Integration by getting futile treatments from Afghan doctors. Here, her positive Attitude towards American medical care aligns with the Actual outcome. Returning to America for treatment to save her life is representative of her reliance on her own culture to save her and protect her, and the failure to receive treatment in Afghanistan shows that a White American body cannot rely on East to save her.

Lastly, Biological Acculturation also includes interbreeding and Chesler does become pregnant with Kareem's child after he repeatedly rapes her. The forced insemination happens on two planes, physically and symbolically, as her body becomes the site of the merging of two cultures. That "Jewish Muslim child—the tragic fruit of a love affair gone wrong" becomes the very emblem of the integration of the two races, two ethnic identities and two cultures (Chesler, *An American Bride in Kabul* 110). The fetus in her womb, that is a by-product of the merging of two identities, Afghan and American, becomes symbolic of her absorption of the Afghan culture, and when she miscarriages it after going back to America, it becomes symbolic of her shedding of the Afghan culture.

The above discussion shows that Chesler experiences Linguistic, Dietary, Clothing, Religious, Traditional, Cultural, Psychological, Behavioral, Literary, Economic, Social, Physical, Environmental, and Biological changes during her acculturation and throughout her involvement in the process, she constantly switches between all four strategies (Integration, Assimilation, Separation, and

Marginalization), determined through acculturation Preferences and Behaviors, but she mainly adheres to Integration and Assimilation, and rarely adopts Separation and Marginalization. The reasoning or logic behind the selected strategies hinges on many factors. Chesler loves adventure and new experiences, so her intentions in Afghanistan are to interact with the new culture because it is fascinating to her and in fact it is this same curiosity that is one of the reasons for her transnational mobility. Her genuine love and fascination for East is reflected in her words that “something about the Islamic world had called me...Perhaps I am also multicultural and belong both to the East and West” (Chesler, *An American Bride in Kabul* ix). Due to this reason, her initial acculturation strategy is Integration as she wants to incorporate a little bit of the new culture into her life. She actively attempts to establish connection to Afghan culture through Linguistic, Clothing, Dietary, Literary, Environmental, and Physical acculturation; however, since she believes her stay in Afghanistan to be temporary and remains unaware of the change in her citizenship status until months later when she attempts to seek help to escape the country, she seeks temporary and superficial incorporation of Afghan culture in her life because according to Berry “the process of becoming involved [in acculturation]...is complicated by their [temporary migrant’s] knowledge that they will eventually leave” (“Contexts of Acculturation” 30).

Her statement that “I was at the crossroad where the East literally met the West”, a historical reference to Silk-road, becomes symbolic of her cultural situation (Chesler, *An American Bride in Kabul* 33). She desires the union of the Eastern and Western cultures in her acculturation by retaining the cherished aspects of her old cultures and adopting some acceptable aspects of new culture while rejecting the intolerable ones. Demarcation between two physical locations, America and Afghanistan, vanish in the non-physical transnational space as she learns to embrace two identities and cultures at once. This transnational space unites two Eastern and Western spaces because she forgoes the distinction of ‘their’ culture and ‘her’ culture as they both become ‘her’ cultures through the act of cultural integration. This distinction, however, reappears in the transnational space as her integration strategy fails after a while.

One of the factors in the failure of her Integration Strategy is the host group because the success in the Integration of two cultures depends on the accommodation

of host group, which in Chesler's case she is unable to receive due to the rejection and intolerance for her Western customs and values in the Eastern space. She wonders: "Is my unexpected captivity in Kabul something of a cautionary tale about what can happen to any Westerner who believes she can enjoy a Western or modern life in a Muslim country?" (Chesler, *An American Bride in Kabul* 205). Transnational individuals such as Chesler, while occupying another space, still want to remain connected to their home space through their behaviours, manners and practices that were a part of their everyday life in their home country. Union of both cultures in the transnational space is no longer an option for her because the host group wants her to sever her affiliation with America and become part of the Afghan society through Assimilation.

Even though Chesler wants to adjust in the new socio-cultural space, she faces difficulty as she is left "overwhelmed...by a clash of cultures, one that was unanticipated and for which...[she] was totally unprepared" (Chesler, *An American Bride in Kabul* 19). This difficulty arises not only because of the colossal difference between both cultures but also because she had no prior knowledge of the Afghan culture and according to Linda Asquith, forced migrants such as Chesler tend to suffer in new cultural environment because they lack knowledge regarding the host society (62). Furthermore, the lack of knowledge can also cause them to suffer from "personal traumas" (Asquith 62). Chesler arrives in Afghanistan without an iota of knowledge about the new country's culture and how it would negatively impact her as an educated and progressive Western woman with feminist ideologies for whom even the America of sixties and its culture was not ideal, which leads to a cultural shock and psychological trauma once the realities of Afghan culture are unraveled before her: Chesler states that "I have come here as a feared stranger, knowing only one person, unable to speak the language, cherishing the opposite values...our living conditions are wrong, unacceptable, intolerable—for me and probably for most Western women" (Chesler, *An American Bride in Kabul* 62). She is a Western woman with rights of freedom, autonomy and individuality but in Afghanistan she is an object or property of a man who can dictate her fate, and thus, this disparity between the both cultures in their treatment of women is unacceptable to her. Her disillusionment kills her enthusiasm towards the absorption of Afghan culture and causes her to reiterate from her Integration strategy by establishing the boundaries between her

home and host countries that she had previously diminished. The construction of boundaries does not only happen in the metaphorical sense in the transnational space but it is also visible in the construction of her memoir. Chesler's memoir is divided into two sections: one titled as "In Afghanistan" and the other as "In America". The boundary she builds to separate her American culture with Afghan culture in transnational space when she is in Afghanistan, is reconstructed again decades later in the memoir as she records her experience in both countries separately that hints at desire to opt for Separation strategy. Chesler's strong sense of identification with her American identity is also detected in the title of the memoir. She regards herself as an 'American Bride' which means that she identifies herself as an American, not Afghan, and wants to remain connected to her heritage cultural roots even in the new physical location of Kabul.

The failure of her Integration Strategy due to the lack of corporation needed to maintain connection to American culture and Separation Strategy due to the pressure to accept the Afghan culture from the host group results in her being pushed towards Assimilation. An example of it is when her Afghan family becomes extremely agitated by her friendship with another Western woman, Heidi, who is the very embodiment of West and defiance against Afghan culture. The act of Kareem and his sister physically pulling Chesler away from Heidi in order to separate both women is emblematic of host group separating Chesler from the Western culture that she wants to maintain a connection to by associating with Heidi. The failure of her Integration due to the lack of corporation needed to maintain connection to American culture and pressure to accept the Afghan culture from the host group results in her being pushed towards Assimilation. She has no desire to assimilate but the incessant pressure from the host group to fit in and mold herself to their standards and expectations overpowers her Acculturation Behavior, forcing her to engage in Psychological, Religious, Behavioral, Social, Economic, Biological, Traditional and Cultural Acculturation. She is advised to forget that she was ever an American and accept her fate as an Afghan woman if she wants to survive in the Muslim country; therefore, she assimilates in order to survive in the new cultural space and divert the threat to her life. However, her Assimilation is only partial because of her selective adoption approach.

4.1.2.3 Conclusion: Marked by the Change

The thorough analysis of the memoir, *An American Bride in Kabul* (2013), shows that Phyllis Chesler's mobility to an Eastern country is the result of her intimacies/emotions. Her love for her Afghan husband, passionate desire for mobility and adventure, and will to defy her Jewish family, prompt her to go to Afghanistan. Her intimacies prevent her from rationally considering the dangers a Muslim country would pose to her as a woman and a Jew. As Grose and Fernandez have said that mobilities prompted by intimacies and the transnational spaces affect the immigrant afterwards, Chesler is also affected by her body's transnational mobility. Migrations or transnational mobilities are always consequential, and Chesler has to engage in the acculturation process as a consequence of her migration. Her old American culture and new Afghan culture are managed in the newly formed non-physical transnational space located in physical Eastern space. Chesler uses different Acculturation Strategies to manage both cultures: her initial acculturation strategy is selective Integration that would allow her to navigate into the country as a sojourner with ease such as acquisition of language, wearing Afghan clothing and eating Afghan dishes, but she is slowly forced into Assimilation, such as converting to Islam, following Afghan customs, and living in *harem*, for her survival as the situation turns hostile and adherence to her Western culture becomes a threat to her existence. Mobility and transnational spaces transform immigrants and this transformation can also be observed in Chesler who is transformed by the Eastern space through the process of acculturation as she undergoes changes of psychological, behavioral, economic, cultural, biological, dietary, religious, linguistic, clothing, environmental, physical, social and traditional nature. East and its culture mark her with change and turn her into an Afghan woman/wife and even after she abandons Afghanistan to go back to America, the Eastern culture is carried through the transnational space into America where it remains part of her life: she says that "*I've already been touched, marked, changed*" (Chesler, *An American Bride in Kabul* 111). She is forever changed by her Mobility to Afghanistan, the Eastern space and Acculturation in Afghan's culture.

4.2 *Married to a Bedouin* (2006)

4.2.1 Synopsis of the Memoir

Married to a Bedouin (2006) is an account of Marguerite van Geldermalsen's life in Jordan among the Bedouin community after her marriage to a Bedouin. In 1978, Geldermalsen, a twenty-two year old certified nurse from New Zealand, was traveling in Jordan, when she met Mohammad Abdallah, a Bedouin in Petra. He invited her to stay in his cave and introduced her to the Bedouin lifestyle. She went back to New Zealand after spending time with him but after realizing that she had fallen in love with him, she came back to be with him. They both got married only after two and half months of knowing each other. Geldermalsen embraced his Bedouin way of life by living in cave and becoming part of Al-Manajah Bedouin tribe. They had three children and lived together until his demise in 2002 after which Geldermalsen left Jordan and moved to Australia.

4.2.2 Analysis of the Memoir

4.2.2.1 Marriage Migration

Marguerite van Geldermalsen's reasoning behind the decision of transnational mobility and then migration to Jordan where she is to live in the caves of Petra alongside the Bedouin tribe cannot be explained through a rationalist approach, but by considering the irrational factors at play that can be supported by Groes and Fernandez's concept of Intimate Mobility that acknowledges that there are intimate and emotional reasons tied to the migratory decisions and not always the conventional rational reasons. Initially, Geldermalsen enters Jordan as a sojourner and her transnational mobility is simply prompted by her desire to travel in search of adventure and excitement, and to discover something different and something new beyond New Zealand. Geldermalsen spends years travelling across New Zealand, and then Britain, Ireland, Egypt, and Greece, before moving on to Jordan which shows that she is purely motivated by her love for mobility because it connotes "escape, liberation and adventure" (Parkins 11). Mobility is way for a modern woman to exercise her freedom and such is the case with Geldermalsen. As many modern feminists believe that "leaving home is a necessary condition of liberation" for women, Geldermalsen experiences that liberation by leaving New Zealand through her mobilities to other countries (Parkins 11). Her transnational mobilities allow her

to escape the bounds of home (country) to experience liberation and freedom, find new adventures, and gain new experiences out in the world.

Geldermalsen comes to Jordan in search of something exciting, interesting and adventurous and she finds exactly that in Petra where she hears about the Bedouins: “Bedouin! There was a mysterious, romantic air about that word. Something wide and open, I thought. Now we were interested” (Geldermalsen, *Married to a Bedouin* 4). Since she came “looking for adventure”, she becomes instantly captivated by the Bedouins and her fascination with Bedouins leads her to take an offer of a Bedouin, Mohammad Abdallah, to experience their way of life briefly (Geldermalsen, *Married to a Bedouin* 12). Her yearning for a unique experience and adventure is satiated by proximity to Bedouins as she gets to live in cave, attend a Bedouin wedding, make Bedouin friends, eat traditional Bedouin feast, transform into a Bedouin woman, participate in local traditions and customs, and receive an Arabic name etc. Transnational mobility becomes a medium through which she is able to fulfill her desire and wish.

Her fascination with Bedouins and excitement for nomadic way of life does not play any direct role in her decision to permanently migrate to Jordan, it only indirectly creates the reason as she gets to know Abdallah during her adventure and falls in love with him. After concluding her sojourn and going back to New Zealand, she comes back again with the intentions of permanently settling in Jordan because she wants to spend the rest of her life with Abdallah: she confesses that “I knew there was nowhere I would rather be than in Petra with Mohammad. I flew back to get married” (Geldermalsen, *Married to a Bedouin* 33). Geldermalsen’s transnational mobility allows her to meet Abdallah and eventually establish an intimate relationship with him because “mobility can create intimacy” and in turn, this same intimate relationship becomes the deciding factor for her transnational migration because “mobility decisions and practices are shaped by relationships” (Holdsworth 30). Her migration into an Islamic country requires her to establish an intimate relationship of marriage with him while the very reason she is migrating in the first place is to be with him, which means that mobility is aided by intimacy and intimacy is aided by mobility, corroborating to the “entanglement of mobility and intimacy” (Groes and Fernandez 1).

Her first transnational mobility to Jordan as a sojourner (temporary migrant) is motivated by her love for travelling but her second transnational mobility to Jordan as an immigrant (permanent migrant) is motivated by her love for the local Bedouin. Both times her motivations are of intimate nature, however, more so the second time because she is willing to forgo Western civilization for a life in a cave as a nomad just to be with the man she loves: When asked, “what is your reason for living here in this ancient city of beautiful mountains?” I knew the answer. I glance at Mohammad walking beside me, looking gorgeous, and said without hesitation, ‘He is.’” (Geldermalsen, *Married to a Bedouin* 248). Her mobility is characterized by intimacy/emotions/irrationality because she knows pretty well that her mobility decision will result in her living in a cave in a desert, surrounded by a nomadic tribe, away from the civilized world. If rationality had intervened in her mobility decision, as an educated woman and a professional nurse, she would not have been able to abandon her Western world for the Eastern world. Perhaps her marriage migration is also an extension of her desire to have adventure, an adventure that would last a life time as she would get to experience a nomadic and ancient way of life through marriage to a Bedouin and settlement in Petra.

Parkins has observed that women’s “emotional responses to movement can symbolize women’s investment in a desire to be elsewhere, the stimulating feeling associated with escape from a confining location or the hope invested in another place beyond the known” (159). Geldermalsen’s emotional/intimate response to transnational mobility emanates from her desire to escape New Zealand because “nothing exciting was ever going to happen here. New Zealand was too far from the world”, and enter the world beyond the national boundaries in search of something new and exciting, and once she finds that something, investing her hope in her romantic relationship, she permanently moves to that location (Petra) (Geldermalsen, *Married to a Bedouin* 17). It is her overwhelming desire for adventure that leads her to Jordan and later, her emotions of love and longing for Abdallah that bring her back to Jordan permanently to settle in a cave away from the civilization of her home.

To recapitulate, her brief holiday romance on a sojourn prompted by inner desires turns into a permanent voluntary marriage migration prompted by emotions and feelings of love, attachment and longing and creation of intimate relationship. Her mobility and transnational space change her life and shape her intimate decisions such

as her decision to marry and permanently migrate, which proves Groes and Fernandez's assertion that mobility can be transformative to intimate life. Her permanent migration is just as transformative to her life as it creates a transnational space to negotiate her old Western culture and new Bedouin culture that requires her to make life changing decisions in regards to every aspect of life through different Acculturation Approaches.

4.2.2.2 Voluntary Participation and Successful Assimilation

Transnational mobilities come at the expense of change, a change in the cultural pattern and psychological makeup of a person that is observed under the process of acculturation. Geldermalsen first arrives in the country as a sojourner, making her a temporary resident and thus making her acculturation temporary as well, and she later migrates, making her a permanent resident and thus pushing her acculturation status from impermanency to permanency. One substantial factor in her acculturation process is that she is a voluntary migrant who voluntarily submerges herself into the process of adaptation to become part of the host group. The strategies she employs during the negotiation of Western and Bedouin cultures for her adjustment in the eastern space can be determined with the help of Berry's identified four approaches which are Integration, Assimilation, Separation and Marginalization.

1. Linguistic Acculturation

One of the first changes Geldermalsen is confronted with is Linguistic Acculturation. During her initial sojourn, Geldermalsen's approach is Linguistic Separation because learning another language is not a priority for temporary migrants. She mostly communicates in English because she is only a tourist and has no intentions of permanently staying, and thus learning Arabic has no usefulness to her, but she still tries to pick up few words of Arabic in good humor as tourists often do like hello, welcome, bye, good night, introducing oneself etc. Once her intentions of staying solidify, her acculturation approach changes accordingly and she begins to learn Arabic because "if individual making cross-cultural transitions are to communicate successfully across cultures, they will be required, at least to some extent, to speak the language of the receiving community" (Masgoret and Ward 61). As a voluntary permanent immigrant, Geldermalsen seeks interaction with the Bedouin community in order to create new relations and be accepted as a part of Al-

Manajah Bedouin tribe, thus she requires the acquisition of the Arabic language for successful interaction to take place with the host culture; and in addition to that, she needs the new language to be able to function in the host country or society as an active agent and perform the day-to-day activities with ease as a local resident. However, acquisition of a new language is difficult for her because English and Arabic are extremely different languages. Geldermalsen shares her struggle: “I still only knew a few words of Arabic. I couldn’t really imagine learning the language. Spoken, it sounded just like the written script appeared—musical and flowing but totally incomprehensible, and so I surprised myself when I correctly recognized sounds that bubbled up” (Geldermalsen, *Married to a Bedouin* 59). In the beginning, she is unable to grasp the host culture’s language but as she spends more time in the company of Bedouins, she is slowly able to discern the Arabic words among the alien sounds, indicating the progression from Acculturation Preference to Acculturation Practices.

Since her “limited but rapidly expanding Arabic” is not enough for proficient communication, she utilizes her first language to communicate as well, making her strategy Integration because she is incorporating both the languages of home and host countries (Geldermalsen, *Married to a Bedouin* 164). When she masters the Arabic language slowly over the years and then solely speaks it, with few exceptions off course, because her Acculturation Preference is for Bedouin Arabic, her strategy becomes Linguistic Assimilation. One extract from the memoir is able to concisely explain all three stages in the acquisition of host culture’s language, starting from Separation, to Integration, and then finally to Assimilation:

In the beginning I don’t understand what he is saying so he doesn’t get a reaction. Later, when I do understand him but don’t have the Arabic to answer, I have to stifle my reaction, which is a frustrating stage. But eventually the day does come when I am able to say, ‘Too bad, I’m standing on his neck’—the very satisfying Arabic equivalent of ‘I’ve got him under my thumb’—teasing them both. (Geldermalsen, *Married to a Bedouin* 117)

Here, at the first stage of Linguistic Acculturation process, she has no knowledge of the host culture’s language which means that is unable to discern what is being said to her in Arabic. She is unable to react accordingly or communicate with the Bedouins and can only rely on her mother tongue English to communicate to the

few Bedouins who know extremely limited English. At this stage, where she cannot understand host culture's language and only manoeuvres in society using home culture's language, her Linguistic Acculturation Strategy is Separation. As the acculturation process progresses, she develops some understanding of the language but not sufficient enough to communicate properly. She begins to recognize familiar words and understand what people are trying to say to her in Arabic, and while she can communicate in Arabic through words and small sentences, she is not proficient enough to not rely on English, and thus, has to integrate both languages to achieve intercultural interaction. At the last stage, the Linguistic Acculturation process concludes with Complete Assimilation as she masters the Arabic language because the longer she longer she stays and remains in contact with the host society the more she absorbs their language. She is able to become a part of the Bedouin community and form intimate relations with them by becoming fluent in Arabic, Bedouin specific Arabic to be precise, through Linguistic Assimilation.

2. Dietary Acculturation

Next up, Geldermalsen engages in Dietary Acculturation which is a process through which "immigrants adopt new dietary practices" (Satia-Abouta 72). Geldermalsen comes to Jordan as a sojourner, and sojourners tend to be more enthusiastic about trying local delicacies so her Dietary Acculturation Preference is to indulge in local cuisine, establishing from the very start the Assimilation Strategy. Each locale has its own food patterns which are an important element of its culture, and attached with those are some particular practices and manners that become part of the food culture, and Geldermalsen adopts both. Geldermalsen first experiences Bedouin food in the form of stew and bread which are meant to be eaten in a particular way, so she has to learn how to "fold ripped-off bits of it [shraak] to scoop up the stew. It wasn't easy but the food was delicious" (Geldermalsen, *Married to a Bedouin* 12). While she loves the local food in general, there are some dishes which are hard for her to acquire taste for, but despite that her strategy remains Assimilation because she does not want to insult the Bedouins by refusing to eat the food they generously provide her:

We were pulled down to join them and urged to eat with little scooping motions of their hands...we ate as little as we could. The meat was a greyish colour and the smell was rich and strange. This was our first ever *mensef*, and

although we couldn't see any eyeballs or tongues, or heads...goat meat cooked in yoghurt, especially as breakfast, took some getting used to. (Geldermalsen, *Married to a Bedouin* 22)

When one is accustomed to a certain taste palate, it can be difficult to indulge in another, especially if they are colossally different from each other, which is why she finds the appearance as well as smell of *mensef* to be very odd and foreign. Furthermore, she is used to eating light food in the morning because of which a heavy rich diet is overwhelming on her foreign stomach.

After her permanent settlement in Petra, she rapidly acquires a taste for all the traditional Bedouin dishes including the *mensef* that she found to be odd at first but now comes to love because the unfamiliar taste palate becomes familiar with time, and along with that she also acquires the food practices and manners of eating such as eating with the whole family in one dish or tray while sitting on the floor, saying *Bismillah* before starting, and eating with the scooping and dipping motions with the right hand. The act of eating traditional Bedouin food with other tribe members in the same dish creates a symbolic connection with the host culture and host society. Her adoration for the traditional food is reflected in her exuberance to master the cooking skills: "ever since I first saw *shraak* being made I imagined I would be able to do it, and I had been dying to have a go", she reveals (Geldermalsen, *Married to a Bedouin* 78). Through her commitment to learn to cook traditional food, her Assimilation reaches its completion. Her Preference for Assimilation strategy for Dietary Acculturation remains the same regardless of her impermanency factor as a mere tourist or permanency factor as a resident, as she is able to convert her Preference into to her Acculturation Behavior by eating the local food, learning the food consuming practices and manners, and cooking the traditional food.

3. Clothing Acculturation

Clothes are a very important part of the culture and in Muslim countries it reflects partly the religious beliefs and partly the cultural/tribal values and codes. When Geldermalsen first arrives in Jordan, a Muslim country that insists on modesty, she does not care to engage in Clothing Acculturation, because she knows as a foreigner who is just passing through, she is exempt from following the local dress code: "I wore shorts and a singlet...and it didn't even occur to me that I might offend.

Elizabeth felt it was polite to cover up because we were in a Muslim world, but I didn't care. If they wanted to cover themselves, fine. I didn't usually and I didn't see why I should change for anyone" (Geldermalsen, *Married to a Bedouin* 5). Her Preference for her own western attire precedes any consideration for the local dress code or people's sentiments, making her strategy Separation. She is able to wear revealing Western clothes not only because of her status as a mere Western traveler on whom local dress code cannot be enforced but also because of the accepting nature of the host society that does not show any hostility towards her culture. Her Separation approach soon falters as she begins to somewhat comply with the local dress code of wearing modest clothes, as she recalls that "I was glad I had put on my shocking-pink blouse because it was long-sleeved, and I was careful to keep my legs tucked under my skirt" (Geldermalsen, *Married to a Bedouin* 20). However, she uses western clothing to achieve this modesty goal due to the consideration of comfortability and ease of mobility that can be otherwise hindered with traditional Bedouin garments.

Geldermalsen's decision to permanently settle in Petra changes her Acculturation Approach as she begins to combine Western and Eastern clothing both. She wears a local *mudraga* with a Western blouse underneath for her wedding. Opting for an attire that is the amalgamation of two cultures for an occasion that is the union of people from said cultures, becomes suggestive of the unification of both cultures. The longer one remains in a place the more they begin to adopt and the same happens with Geldermalsen who after her marriage migration starts incorporating Bedouin clothing articles like *mudraga* and *mendeel* along with her Western clothing articles like jackets, jeans, blouse and bikini, indicating shift in her acculturation approach from Separation to Integration. She upholds the Bedouin tradition of wearing *mudraga* and *mendeel* in her own individual way, showing some diversion from the established tradition: "My scarf was called a *mendeel*...most of the girls wore *ashaars*... tied under their chins, but I never wore my scarf like that simply because I didn't like how it looked" (Geldermalsen, *Married to a Bedouin* 108). Her choice to wear the traditional clothes differently than they are intended as, creates a distinction between the host group and her ethnic identity.

Then, over the years, she slowly moves closer and closer towards Assimilation by predominantly following the attire of local Bedouin women because she desires to

become a member of the host group and eliminate the previously established distinction between her and the host group by mimicking their appearance: “I was going to be a Bedouin woman from now on so I put on my *mudraga* and long-sleeves and tied the scarf over my hair before we got back to Petra. I wanted to slip back in where I had left off, and I knew nowadays that image was important” (Geldermalsen, *Married to a Bedouin* 183). Her choice to dress like a Bedouin woman is not simply reflective of her Preference for the Bedouin culture; it is the expression of her ethnic identity as a Bedouin woman and her national identity as a Jordanian citizen because “immigrant’s choice of clothing is a reflection of their ethnic and national identity” (Safdar et al. 36). By assuming the new identity as a Bedouin woman and discarding the old identity of a Western woman, she becomes a part of the tribe. Clothing Assimilation fulfills her “desire to fit in” the host society because it is important for permanent immigrants like Geldermalsen to gain host group’s approval (Safdar et al. 36). However, over the years she revisits her Western attire but only when she is away from Petra’s Bedouin community, indicating Assimilation in the vicinity of Petra arising from the need of the tribe’s approval and beyond that, the Integration or Partial Assimilation approach.

4. Religious Acculturation

Religion holds an utmost significance and regard in any culture and it becomes the part of its occupant’s identity. Geldermalsen identifies as a Christian and has no interest in Islam; hence, apparently her Acculturation Strategy is Separation. However, two possible strategies emerge if the following quote is dissected:

Christian...Muslim...religion didn’t concern me much and I would have converted if it had been necessary part of the marriage, or if Mohammad had insisted...But now I had a choice. Islam, Mohammedans, Muslim, I thought—I don’t know what it all involves. ‘If I don’t have to change, I won’t,’ I replied...And I found I was pleased that I wouldn’t be a hypocrite in two religions. (Geldermalsen, *Married to a Bedouin* 47)

Looking through one perspective which is the maintenance of her Christian identity by not engaging in conversion, her strategy is Separation, but if the perspective is shifted on her disregard for her own religion, then it indicates another strategy. She has a very nonchalant attitude towards conversion as well as apostasy

which means that religion is of no significance to her and she herself states that she would have assimilated if marital conversion was obligatory which means that she does not have any particular Acculturation Preference for the retention of Christianity or acceptance of Islam. Since she is not a religious person, if her inattention to her own religion is taken into consideration then her Acculturation Strategy becomes Marginalization wherein the acculturating subject disengages itself from both original and new cultures. In this way, her strategies can be both Separation or Marginalization depending on which ever perspective is paid attention to, but her dislike for the Integration strategy is obvious from her relief at not incorporating both religions because following two different religions that preach contradictory views would have made her a ‘hypocrite’.

When living among the members of community that value their religion, it is only proper to give respect to their religion and not hurt their sentiments, which is why Geldermalsen begins to mimic the Bedouins around her and one example of it is when she goes to a pilgrimage with her in-laws wearing the traditional clothes out of respect even though she is very uncomfortable in them: “I would have preferred to wear just a T-shirt and jeans...but since I had become a part of the tribe I tried to consider what the Bedouin thought. This was a pilgrimage; I wanted to be suitably covered. Besides a headscarf I wore my *mudraga* over cotton trousers, and now I tucked it up like her [mother-in-law]” (Geldermalsen, *Married to a Bedouin* 88). She wants to gain the approval of her community by respecting their religious beliefs and creating a positive image of herself. She gradually absorbs more and more either consciously or subconsciously and somewhat Integrates the religion into her life by complying with certain things out of manners and habits like saying *Bismillah* before starting any task, and saying *Al-humdulillah* and *Fi amman Allah* etc, and out of respect and consideration like not eating and drinking in front of people who are fasting, participating enthusiastically in religious rituals, events and holidays.

Her desire to become part of the Bedouin community prompts her to incorporate little religious activities in her daily life which initiates her process towards Religious Assimilation, and that desire increasingly grows as she spends time among them until she completely Assimilates by converting to Islam:

I had become a Muslim slowly. I didn’t have a certificate to say so yet—that came years later when I went up to the court and swore with my hand on the

Koran: ‘There is no god but Allah and Mohammad is his prophet’...I discovered that Mohammad (peace be upon him) was the latest in a long line of prophets...[and] I had also discovered Allah in just about every sentence and found He fitted. (Geldermalsen, *Married to a Bedouin* 253)

Her act of religious Assimilation is born out of her Preference to become a part of the community to feel a sense of belongingness and her own genuine interest in Islam, and she successfully puts into affect her Acculturation Preference through her Acculturation Behavior by conversion of faith. To summarize, when it comes to Religious Acculturation, her initial strategy is Separation, that soon switches to Integration and then over the years the strategy becomes Assimilation as she completely accepts Islam.

5. Traditional Acculturation

Each locality has its own particular customs and traditions that require adherence in order to become a part of that group. Since there is no pressure from the Bedouin’s tribe, Geldermalsen determines which traditions she wants to follow and which she does not, using Selective Assimilation as her Acculturation Strategy. She celebrates all of their religious and traditional celebrations, and even marries in an Islamic ceremony and has a traditional Bedouin wedding. However, her compliance to traditions and customs is always selective or limited; for example she breaks the wedding tradition of wearing *aba* and letting herself be paraded around in the fields. Then there are some customs she quietly obeys despite not liking them like the imposed celebrations after the birth of her child when Bedouins take over her house while she wants privacy and rest and there are some that she hates so she rejects them out right like the local tradition of men coming to her to convince her to marry Mohammad. There is one tradition in particular that she fights hard against that is to be called in reference to a male, showing Preference for Separation but unable to behave in accordance to it: “I should have been prepared for her [daughter] name to be swept aside as soon as Raami arrived. I fought it for as long as I could... But I couldn’t keep it up and quite soon I was Umm Raami, and Umm Salwa disappeared like Marguerite before her” (Geldermalsen, *Married to a Bedouin* 224). She is unable to maintain her own identity against the local tradition of identifying women in relation to men, making her the ‘wife’ of Mohammad and ‘mother’ of Raami. She wants to retain an identity independent of her relation with the men, like the one her

old culture had granted her, but she is unable to retain an autonomous identity because she is in a male centric society, leading to the failure of her Separation approach.

Her approach to Traditional Acculturation is generally Selective Assimilation but she also takes liberty to create her own traditions by altering the local traditions to her own Preferences and the traditions in question are of staying home for forty days after giving birth and taking the child to a shrine or other important holy site first after forty days have passed. She describes that “most women waited forty days before they took their babies anywhere, but by the time I had spent fourteen days stuck on my ledge...I decided that that was one of the traditions I was not going to bother to keep” (Geldermalsen, *Married to a Bedouin* 221). She refuses to stay home for forty days and ignores the important custom of taking her baby to somewhere significant and instead makes her own tradition of introducing her children to her in-laws first: “so my own tradition of ‘introducing’ my children to my in-laws was started” (Geldermalsen, *Married to a Bedouin* 221). Besides Assimilation, she also integrates the western custom of celebrating birthdays but she does so by including the traditional Bedouin festivities.

Just like traditions and customs, the Bedouins also have certain values and beliefs and Geldermalsen approaches them all differently. She understands that men and women are supposed to stay away from each other even in the beginning when she is just a sojourner, but she also realizes that deviation from these are inconsequential for a foreigner like her so her approach becomes Selective Assimilation; for example, when she met Mohammad they “shook hands and kissed on both cheeks but held off with the embrace” because they did not want to offend the onlookers, but at the same time she does not follow the gender segregation rule and goes to men’s tents and dances with them as she recalls that “although no other women were dancing, as soon as Mohammad asked me I took advantage of being a tourist and danced the night away in that crowd of joyful guys” (Geldermalsen, *Married to a Bedouin* 30, 27). And when she is no longer a tourist who is just passing through but staying in Petra, she lives with Mohammad even though it is against the local values for an unmarried man and woman to live together but not against the western values, which makes her approach Separation because she is following her old values while disregarding the local values; however, the strategy switches to

Assimilation when she gives into the idea of matrimony because of people's displeasure and speculations over their relationship.

Women have to revise their "social and gender role expectations as a consequence of their migration" and Geldermalsen is also expected to embrace new social and gender roles as a Bedouin woman after her permanent migration (Espin 162). Men and women have their own traditional roles in the Bedouin culture they must adhere to and her approach to change her gender role is again Selective Assimilation: on one hand, she molds into the role of a traditional wife by allowing herself "to be lured gently into the domesticity of cave life" but at the same time detracts from it by getting a job that is a man's role (Geldermalsen, *Married to a Bedouin* 69). Similar selectivity is seen in regards to how a traditional woman should behave; for instance, quietness is a highly valued trait in a traditional Bedouin woman which is why she also "got very good at sitting comfortably with...[her] thoughts...nice and quiet" but on the other side of spectrum she defies it when necessary like when she in the hospital giving birth, she does not try to muffle or hide her pain like Bedouin women who are taught to bear any pain silently without letting their presence known as Geldermalsen remembers the incident that a "Bedouin woman came into the ward this morning and only her baby's first cry had alerted the woman in the next bed to call a nurse. All her traditions had taught her to stay quite. I didn't have any such traditions; I cried loudly" (Geldermalsen, *Married to a Bedouin* 140, 160). She changes her stance on traditions depending on the situation she is in.

As previously stated, Geldermalsen upholds the custom or rule of opposite genders refraining from touching even when she is just a tourist, but this impediment on her Preference for physical contact almost takes on a romantic air as she Assimilates:

It was amazing to feel the air between us tingling—our eyes could touch but we could not. In the future, I enjoyed this sensation especially on occasions when women sat separate and Mohammad came to seek me out...and I had to stop my hand from reaching out to stroke his cheek—to make do with the brushing of our fingers...A touch and a promise. (Geldermalsen, *Married to a Bedouin* 65)

In the beginning, she follows the rule out of obligation and respect for the culture and tradition but this statement shows that the longer she remains there the more she internalizes or even rationalizes this rule by attaching romantic meaning behind it. Romanticizing this rule can also be a way for her to come to terms with it because otherwise, it can force her to realize that the culture she chose to Assimilate into is regressive.

Since she is in control of her own acculturation, she is not forced by the external pressures to give into the values and beliefs that Bedouin women cannot even dare to think of breaking, and thus, she roams the bazaar alone, uses contraceptives, hangs out with the men, eats with them and plays games with them at night. She writes:

I often sat with the men. In the beginning...I always sat with Mohammad and ate with the men and it was only as I got to know the women and a bit of the language that I started sitting with them. However, during weddings or longer celebrations, there were often moments when Mohammad extracted me and took me to sit with him...And if he wasn't around I made a point of wandering in so it wouldn't become unusual. In future it was my confident behaviour in any situation that earned me the compliment '*tigool rajul*', she's like a man. (Geldermalsen, *Married to a Bedouin* 235)

The rule of gender segregation is not imposed on her by the host group not only because of their own friendly and accommodating nature but also because being a foreigner exempts her from the social codes, a digression from which would not have been tolerated if it was coming from a Bedouin woman. Her status as Western woman lets her retain the characteristics reserved for a Bedouin man, which is why they tell her that she is like a man. However, there are some situations that require the practice of these codes even by a foreigner, an example of which is the time when she has to follow gender segregation at a job: "The director told me that it wasn't acceptable for me to sit in a room with the men. At first I tried to explain that my seeking their company was purely for communication's sake, but I realized that he believed the act of sitting with them was unacceptable in itself. I was not there to change the world, so I went and sat with the girls" (Geldermalsen, *Married to a Bedouin* 101). Her compliance in this situation shows that her Acculturation Attitude is more or less conditional on external circumstances and she switches her

Acculturation Strategies in accordance to them. She breaks the rules in situations where it is okay to do so and it won't cause her any trouble, but she quietly follows them when she is in situations beyond her control.

While she clearly has no avidity to change their Bedouin ways as she previously states herself, there is one matter that she shows strong resistance against which is that men are believed to be superior than women and thus valued more and therefore, there is an insistence on the importance of birthing a son. She states in her memoir:

It irritated me that even all the women, just like the vendors at the Treasury, seemed to believe that boys were better. I *knew* that wasn't true. And was busy proving, every time I got a chance, that I could do as well as them, if not better. Subconsciously I might have wanted a girl so I could prove that I would treat her the same as I would a boy. (Geldermalsen, *Married to a Bedouin* 151)

Geldermalsen is an educated and progressive woman, which is why she refuses to accept their cultural belief in the superiority of men and inferiority of women. She is against this particular cultural belief and afraid that if she births a daughter, she would have to face gender discrimination. Here, Geldermalsen's denial of their beliefs is aided by her Separation strategy that allows her continuation of her western belief in the gender equality.

To summarize, her Acculturation strategy in pertaining to retention or rejection of the local traditions, customs, values and beliefs oscillates between occasional Separation and Selective Assimilation. She continuously switches her Acculturation strategy throughout her contact with the Bedouin culture as immigrants tend to "adopt different strategies at different times...to deal with different life issues" (Sam, "Acculturation: Conceptual Background and Core Components" 19). Depending on the situation she in or the change she is confronted with, she adopts a strategy best suited for her immediate needs. She even goes back and forth between different strategies while dealing with the same issue.

6. Symbolic Acculturation

Tribal people believe in many myths and superstitions that sometimes originate from their attempts to explain natural phenomenon or things that they cannot

understand due to either their limited comprehension abilities or lack of education. Geldermalsen's new Bedouin community is untouched by civilization, science and education, because of which they have many myths and superstitions that sound ridiculous and absurd to an educated westerner's ear. Her Acculturation approach to deal with these is Selective Assimilation because some she either comes to believe in or understands the reasoning behind, and some she gives into out of respect and not to offend anyone despite her considering these to be ridiculous, and then there are some she straight out rejects because they are too absurd to even pretend to believe in. She silently listens and nods along to some impossible local myths and stories, she goes to pilgrimage to a sheikh's tomb regardless of her skepticism about the myth that it would bring the visitors good luck and if the pilgrimage is not performed it would bring misfortune, and goes with her mother-in-law to a *Khateeb* who spits or steps on people to cure them, break magic spells and give out amulets for protection despite finding the situation to be preposterous, which shows that even though she does not believe in these, she assents to seem agreeable, meaning that her Acculturation Attitude is unable to correlate to her Acculturation Behaviour. There are many other superstitions she encounters that she rejects because she "didn't believe in their superstitions" like revealing pregnancy can lead to misfortune, sleeping on mattress after giving birth can open the back, sleeping facing west after giving birth, wrapping sick baby in the skin of baby goat, bathing the baby in pure gold soaked water left under stars overnight, hiding newborn from evil eye, and menstruating women being unclean etc (Geldermalsen, *Married to a Bedouin* 164). Then there are some that she tries to disprove: Geldermalsen recalls that "later, when my own week-old baby caught the flu, either from my sharing tea glasses with everyone else to prove I was not unclean, or from my letting everyone kiss her to prove there was no such thing as the evil eye, I understood the wisdom in their superstitions" (*Married to a Bedouin* 97). Geldermalsen wants to prove them wrong for considering that menstruating women or the women who just have had babies are unclean, they should not touch anything and that they should remain hidden in a room alone; and the very concept of an evil eye that can bring disaster and misfortune, and that new born babies should be kept hidden away from the people to protect them from evil eye. So even though she does not believe in their superstitions, she eventually comes to respect them after understanding their logic behind these after her baby gets sick. There are some superstitions she complies with after insistence from the Bedouin tribe like letting

them throw dried up umbilicus in school because they believe it would mean that the child would be able to go to school later on, and remedy to bathe baby in lentils soaked water just to get them off her back. She remembers one such incident in her memoir:

They insisted...and I decided it was much easier to say, ‘Yes’...than to try to explain...that I didn’t believe in such powers...so I threaded my gold wedding ring, my silver puzzle ring and Umm Laafi’s precious *kebass* onto a safety pin and pinned it to Salwa’s blanket. Also to keep the peace, I put a *shabriya* under my pillow; for my own—purely symbolic—protection. (Geldermalsen, *Married to a Bedouin* 164-165)

To keep peace with her Bedouin in-laws and community, she gives into a lot of their superstition based demands because she does not want to instigate any arguments with them and also gain their acceptance. She always holds her tongue as a gesture of respect when they speak of their superstitions because insulting them for their beliefs can result in a rift in her relationship with the host group. By not pursuing her Separation Preference into her Behavior, she opts for Selective Assimilation Strategy because of her selective inclusion.

Her Bedouin tribe also believes that dreams hint at omens, signs and blessings, but she rejects their interpretations of their dreams about her like what would be the gender of her child, what she should name her child or how many children she will have etc, establishing a Separation approach because she is a logical person who rejects that dreams are future revelations or signs from God. However, her Acculturation Attitude in regards to this spiritual belief improves later on when she “loved hearing their future-telling dreams and seeing which prophecies came true” (Geldermalsen, *Married to a Bedouin* 255). The positive shift in her Preference indicates her crossing the threshold to Assimilation. She completely Assimilates when she begins to find meanings and signs in her own dreams; for instance when she dreams that her husband is about to sacrifice their daughter but a neighbor brings a black and white goat as a replacement, and considers it a sign from God to sacrifice a goat on *Eid a-Thehiya* and her trust in her dream reaffirms when Mohammad brings home a black and white goat that looks similar to the goat in her dream, bought from the same neighbor she saw in the dream: “There was my dream; I understood it now”, she says (Geldermalsen, *Married to a Bedouin* 178).

7. Behavioral Acculturation

Each country has its own set of etiquettes, manners, habits and behaviors that are reflective of its cultural values and beliefs, and Geldermalsen's adoption of these is also very selective. In Bedouin culture, elders are treated with utmost respect, and are referred with respectful titles, not their names unlike in West, and they are greeted with a kiss on hand, a sign of respect but it is very odd for Geldermalsen so she assumes the Separation strategy in the beginning: "Mohammad told me, 'you call him [father-in-law] Amm, Uncle, and kiss his hand.' I hadn't thought about in-laws...much less about kissing hands. I couldn't do either. I mumbled '*marrhaba*' as I took his extended hand and shook it as firmly as I dared. I probably looked him in the eyes...he smiled at me—despite my lack of respectful kiss" (Geldermalsen, *Married to a Bedouin* 49-50). However, her strategy changes after a while when she begins to mimic this particular manner of greeting of kissing the elder's hand. She also learns the local manners and etiquettes of insistence on paying because it is considered an honour, never rejecting people's invitation because it is against the manners, and congratulating people on acquiring every little thing because it is rude not to do so. She observes their mannerisms and then copies them to appease them: "I had to get used to noticing my friends' new possession too, so I could congratulate, and not offend them" (Geldermalsen, *Married to a Bedouin* 133). While rejecting someone's invitation is against the manners, rejecting admission of guest is as well because they are considered to a blessing from God, and despite her dislike for people's invasive habits of entering her house without her consent and presence, hence violating privacy, she surrenders herself to this because it would be unacceptable, rude and disrespectful behavior otherwise: "There is no way I can shut the door and pretend we aren't home. There is no way I can tell them I want to be alone or ask them to leave. I learned that early on" (Geldermalsen, *Married to a Bedouin* 257). Besides acceptable manners and behaviors, she also picks up some habits like starting every task in the name of God by saying *Bis-millah*, sitting cross legged, tying money in the corner of scarf, and crouching. Some of the things she internalizes unconsciously after living among the host group and some she makes an actual conscious effort to adopt. She closely observes Bedouins performing different tasks, memorizes their way of doing it and then implements it; for example "We were being watched so I washed diligently as I had seen them do, swishing the barely dissolved soap around my mouth and

rinsing and spitting onto the ground” (Geldermalsen, *Married to a Bedouin* 68). Geldermalsen shows avidity towards learning the local mannerisms, habits and behaviors because mimicking these are important for her to feel like other Bedouins and fit in their world, and therefore, she Completely Assimilates.

8. Physical/Environmental Acculturation

Adapting to one’s physical environment and lifestyle is also part of the acculturation process and it is something Geldermalsen is able to embrace with ease. The governing factor for the acceptance of Environmental Assimilation is her love for Mohammad Abdallah and she is able to acclimate to her physical environment effortlessly because before her permanent commitment to this Bedouin lifestyle, she gets to know about it and experience it for two months prior to her marriage, and since she “wasn’t put off by his cave or way of life... [and] really liked the idea of no mortgage or electricity bills, and only one room to clean” she adopts (Geldermalsen, *Married to a Bedouin* 31). She lives in a small cave in the middle of desert, with no modern conveniences like electricity, running water, and phone; there is no furniture so they have to use big stone blocks as substitutes for stools and drum for table, and sleep on the floor; there is no toilet so they have to go out behind the bushes; she has to go to a water channel to bath, wash clothes, and bring water in drums on a donkey for drinking; she has to learn to recognize correct wood and collect it to make fire for cooking; they have to use burning coals at night for warmth and Tilley lamps for light; and there are no transport vehicles so she has to either walk on foot or ride a donkey like other Bedouins. She acquires all the wood-collecting, fire-making, and animal-riding skills to be able to function better in this new world untouched by civilization and modernity. She learns new Bedouin ways with each change she encounters: “I had to learn a new sound to drive the mule. I had found it hard enough to drive the donkey with the right sound, *hrrwl*, and now I had to learn another...When we got a horse, I had to learn *hirraa*, and when we got a camel it was *heet, heet*” (Geldermalsen, *Married to a Bedouin* 115). This new habitat is entirely different from her previous world, and it harbors new unknown dangers like wild animals, poisonous snakes and scorpions and due to this world being beyond the reach of modern medicine, she learns to protect herself from these poisonous attacks by employing the same tricks the Bedouins use: “I still wasn’t used to scorpions. In New Zealand we didn’t have such dangerous things. I had to remind myself to look

whenever I picked up anything off the ground, and I learned to go straight for the kill” (Geldermalsen, *Married to a Bedouin* 131). Living like a Bedouin comes naturally to her and she has the support of the whole Bedouin community along with her husband to make her adjustment easier.

Her acculturation Preference leans towards this simple, pure, and uncomplicated Bedouin lifestyle with its calm and serenity, away from the noisy, complicated, stressful and demanding urban life. The ‘cave’ she occupies itself is the emblem of Primitivism, and her love for it represents idealization of a simple way of life. However, over the years, a little modernity seeps into their life as they accumulate conveniences like gas oven, sewing machine, refrigerator, gas light, kerosene heater and car, use electricity, construct walls, concrete floors, a shower, and toilet pit etc. Old things are slowly replaced by relatively new things until the Bedouin way of life is totally lost when they are forced to move from the cave. She likens this modernity with a dusty cloud that slowly spreads, and becomes more and more visible and seems to move nearer with each passing year, just like modernity that crept into her life slowly and begin to dominate and threaten the Bedouin lifestyle. Geldermalsen is unable to continue her Assimilationist approach when she is moved to *Umm Sayhoon*, government’s resettlement project, which brings modernity in their life with concrete infrastructure, electricity, water supply and more. There are two angles to look through that determine two different Acculturation Outcomes: if the ingression into the modern life after being uprooted from Bedouin life is taken into account then it can be a Separation Strategy in which the acculturating subject retains the original culture which in Geldermalsen’s case would be modernity and civilization, however, if the degree of modernization is considered from Jordanian point of view instead of the two polar extremes (Bedouin’s and New Zealand’s) then it can still be considered Assimilation or at least Integration.

9. Literary and Artistic Acculturation

Local literature, art and music are cultural assets and part of the cultural heritage. Geldermalsen is fascinated by these and goes to listen to a local Bedouin artist recite poetry, sing and play *rababa*, a local Bedouin musical instrument: “The hauntingly beautiful music echoed along the valley with the poetry of the mountains. Often I was his only audience. I couldn’t understand the words but I would get goosebumps” (Geldermalsen, *Married to a Bedouin* 113). The hypnotic pull of the

Bedouin music is symbolic of her attraction towards the new Bedouin culture. Apart from showing interest for these, she learns the local art of filling glass bottles with colorful sands to make pictures and sceneries. She peruses her Preferences for the Bedouin art, literature and music, through her Assimilationist Practices.

10. Economic and Social Acculturation

One's economic and social status change drastically after migration and adjustment to the new status becomes a part of the acculturation process. Geldermalsen is a registered nurse who is used to working, and upon insistence from people, she takes on the job as an aid nurse in Petra clinic. While the money is nothing compared to what she was earning in New Zealand, it still gives her an economic independence. Her economic status is connected to her social status. Resuming the nurse's position earns her higher social status because "to be a civil servant carried quite a bit of prestige so I [she] was steadily becoming more acceptable" and people call her "*as-Sitt* Fatima", "a kind of respectful title for a woman" (Geldermalsen, *Married to a Bedouin* 100, 171). Her economic status is higher among Bedouin women who don't work and among Bedouin men too because of her highly respected medical profession, and this status also solidifies her social status, but there is another reason behind her higher social status which is the very fact that she is foreign white woman. In a way, it is both Assimilation and Integration: Assimilation because she is simply accepting the economic and social status the people have given her, and Integration because she is breaking the rules such as getting a job that Bedouin women would not have been able to break, which means that her being a foreign woman grants her exceptions.

11. Identificational Acculturation

One's name is attached to one's identity, and when the name changes, so does that person's identity. Her name, Marguerite van Geldermalsen, has been her identity since birth and this identity is very precious to her so when the Bedouins decide to give her an Arabic name during her sojourn she does not care because she knows it is only temporary while she in Petra and that she'd always remain Geldermalsen. She writes that "They decided we should have Arabic names. I hadn't yet heard any Arabic names that I could pronounce, let alone prefer so when Fatima suggested hers, and it seemed to make her happy, I saw no need to argue. It didn't occur to me that it

might last longer than that day, or I might have put a bit more thought into the decision” (Geldermalsen, *Married to a Bedouin* 24-25). While she is a guest of Bedouins, she becomes Fatima, and that identity continues on until after she becomes a permanent member of the Bedouin community by marrying a Bedouin.

From the very beginning, she introduces herself as ‘Fatima’ to all the locals and the remnants of her old identity is only left in the legal documents like her migration papers and marriage certificate. This very act of introducing herself as ‘Ana Fatima’ marks the transitioning from Western woman to a Bedouin woman, making her Acculturation approach to be Assimilation. This change in her identity is part of her psychological acculturation and it progresses over the years as like other Bedouin women, her identity becomes entangled with other’s identities: She is sometimes ‘Fatima’, sometimes ‘Marrat Mohammad’ (Mohammad’s wife), ‘Umm Salwa’ (mother of Salwa) for few years before becoming ‘Umm Raami’ (Raami’s mother), and briefly ‘*as-Sitt* Fatima’, and rarely ever ‘Marg’. Her identity evolves over the years and her psychological acculturation reaches its conclusion with her complete immersion in her Arabic Identity as Fatima which is evident from these lines written by her: “There was an article about me in the *New Zealand Woman’s Weekly*. The reporter hadn’t picked up that my name was Fatima (or Umm Salwa, or Umm Raami) and for some reason it pleased me. It almost felt as if she was writing about someone else” (Geldermalsen, *Married to a Bedouin* 251). When years later a magazine regards her as Geldermalsen, she cannot even relate with that old identity of hers; that identity is strange and unfamiliar to her because she completes her Assimilation into the identity of ‘Fatima’, a Bedouin woman.

Being Fatima is not simply about her personal identity because by becoming Fatima, she also becomes a Bedouin woman, which means that her identity as Fatima is attached to her ethnic identity as a Bedouin. Humans have a tendency to create groups because it gives them a sense of belonging and creates an identity, which is why it is important from permanent migrants like Geldermalsen, who have willingly left their own social group, to become a part of the host group. Becoming Fatima makes her a Bedouin, which earns her the right to become part of the ethnic group. Being a Bedouin identifies her with the Bedouin ethnic group and creates a sense of belonging, and with that she successfully becomes part of the host group through complete Assimilation. There are transnational *ways of being* and transnational *ways*

of belonging: the first is about the transnational actions and practices and the latter involves the awareness of identification with the group that spans space (Levitt). It means that Geldermalsen does not simply involve in the transnational *ways of being* through Bedouin practices and cultural adaptation aided by Assimilation, but she also engages in the transnational *ways of belonging* as she develops consciousness that she belongs to or identify with the Bedouin tribe. Together these transnational *ways of being* and *ways of belonging* help her create this new identity as a Bedouin in the transnational space.

During her engagement in the acculturating process, Geldermalsen adopts all four strategies for plethora of changes she encounters: she rarely assumes Marginalization and Separation, occasionally employs Integration strategy, and predominantly oscillates between Partial Assimilation and Complete Assimilation. Collectively speaking, her acculturation outcome is Complete Assimilation as she replaces her very identity as a Dutch woman named Marguerite van Geldermalsen with a Bedouin woman named Fatima. Her complete surrender to the Bedouin culture becomes more obvious when she has a chance to interact with her old culture during her visit to New Zealand: “I was bored...despite picnics and playgroups, bush walking and family, the days in between were hard to fill. I didn’t like having to ring friends to see if it was all right to visit. I wanted to just call in, and I wanted them to call in the next day. We started to recognize the things we enjoyed about Jordan and got ready to go back” (Geldermalsen, *Married to a Bedouin* 183). She gets the chance to reconnect to her old culture but she rejects it to go back to Jordan to seek connection to her Bedouin culture because by completely immersing in the Bedouin culture, she begins to prefer its aspects more than her old culture’s. This example proves the completion of Geldermalsen’s Assimilation wherein the acculturating subject adopts the host culture and abandons the old culture.

Her Assimilation is the result of her desire to become part of the Bedouin community and not be a foreigner, which is supported by her anger and frustration at locals who point at her and call her ‘*ajnebiya*’ even when she wears traditional clothing and speaks Arabic and at tourists who single her out among Bedouins. She describes her feelings at begin pointed out for being different: “Occasional skeptical looks (I could see ‘hippie gone native’) and praying questions made me defensive. I didn’t want to appear, to those I sat with, any more different than I already was, so if I

saw tourist coming I sat with my back to the path or hid inside the cave” (Geldermalsen, *Married to a Bedouin* 108). Her attempts at hiding are reflective of her fear of being different than the people of her new community. There are some latent reasons behind this fear: she is scared of rejection by the Bedouins (host group) for being different and people recognizing and pointing her out for being a foreigner when she is among Bedouin is a constant reminder that she is not a part of the host group/society. Process of acculturation aids her “movement of belongingness as she learns about her new culture” (Pound)._Geldermalsen writes, “fasting was now another thing I did the same as them, and it gave me another connection to the tribe. Now they were describing me proudly to strangers, they added ‘She fasts in Ramadan,’ to my usual list of credits, which went something like: ‘She speaks Arabic, she makes bread and she became a Muslim’” (*Married to a Bedouin* 253). Choosing Assimilation to be her Acculturation Strategy provides her a way to diminish the difference and be acknowledged as one of the member of the tribe. Immersion in the Bedouin culture fills her with the sense of belongingness and fulfillment because she successfully becomes the member of the tribe. The realization of it is described in her words: “I felt surrounded by the blissful feeling of being a part of it all” (Geldermalsen, *Married to a Bedouin* 236). She adopts the Bedouin way of life, the values and traditions of the tribe, Islam, and the culture and customs of the east, while still maintaining her own individuality.

The whole memoir *Married to a Bedouin* (2006) is constructed in a way that mimics her journey that begins with a Western woman trying to build a new identity that completes with the conclusion of the memoir. Larson believes that memoirs are about how culture, time, memory, history and ethnicity are “expressed within our individual lives” (xii). Memoirs are not just about the memoirists but their relation with the subject of their narrative which in Geldermalsen’s memoir is the Bedouin culture. Geldermalsen’s memoir is not about the reconstruction ‘self’ alone but how that ‘self’ is created in relation to the new Bedouin culture. Usage of this genre to write her narrative of Assimilation allows her to merge herself with the subject that is Bedouin culture. Hence, this genre is able to capture the Assimilation of the ‘self’ with the ‘culture’.

4.2.2.3 Conclusion: Forever a Bedouin/Nomad

Above discussion of the memoir *Married to a Bedouin* (2006) proves that both of Geldermalsen's transnational mobilities to Jordan are influenced by her intimacies and emotions: her desire to see the world outside of New Zealand and experience something unique and adventurous drives her mobility as sojourner and later on, her passionate love for a Bedouin, and desire to establish an intimate relationship of marriage inspire her migration. Her transnational mobility creates a space of intercultural interaction for her Western culture and the new Bedouin culture, as a consequence of which she undergoes the process of Acculturation. As a tourist, she is mainly confronted with cultural changes of lingual and dietary nature in the beginning but as she sheds the status of a tourist for it to be replaced by the immigrant status, the changes expand towards the rest of the cultural changes like traditions, religion, values, beliefs, habits, behaviors, manners and more while magnifying in the degree the longer she stays in the new cultural space.

Migrations and new locations can transform a person and Geldermalsen's permanent settlement and her Nomadic surroundings also transform her: she converts to Islam, adopts Bedouin way of life, accepts the tribal codes, traditions and values, and changes her very identity. Discarding her old identity, she transforms into Fatima, a Muslim Bedouin woman. Her Complete Assimilation into the host culture helps her establish a connection with her Bedouin tribe and become a part of the community because acceptance by the host group is very important for immigrants like Geldermalsen. Her mobility and Acculturation bring positive changes in her life and turning her into a Bedouin woman named Fatima, belonging to an Al-Manajah Bedouin tribe, and living in the ancient caves surrounded by loved ones and the Bedouin community, transform her into a Nomad forever.

4.3 *Not Without My Daughter* (1987)

4.3.1 Synopsis of the Memoir

Not Without My Daughter (1987) is the memoir of Betty Mahmoody's marriage to an Iranian man, her traumatic experience being trapped in Iran with their daughter and their escapement after two years. Betty, a young American woman, met Dr. Sayeed Bozorg Mahmoody during her treatment at the hospital in 1974 and they both began dating shortly thereafter and became espoused in 1977. They had a daughter named Mahtob and lived fairly normal lives until seven years later when Mahmoody persuaded Betty to visit Iran for only two weeks. After two weeks in Iran, Mahmoody declared that they will live in Iran permanently, confiscated their American passports, and banned Betty from contacting her family and leaving the house. Taking her child with her, Betty ran from home to seek help from the embassy where she was informed that they could not help her because she and her daughter had become Iranian citizens.

Betty slowly managed to increase her mobility by convincing Mahmoody that she had accepted the religion and culture and that she also wanted to live in Iran. Feeling lost in the new culture of misogyny and religious fundamentalism with no rights and protection, being subjected to anti-American sentiments of locals in the post Islamic Revolution Iran, and embroiled in the atrocities of Iran-Iraq war, Betty risked her life to build contacts with people who could potentially help her. Multiple plans of escape fell through until she met Amahl who promised to smuggle them out of the country but before the plan could take form Mahmoody granted Betty permission to go back to America to attend the funeral of her father but without their daughter. Once Betty figured out Mahmoody's intentions to send her back home in order to divorce her so that he could prevent her from ever entering Iran and accessing their daughter, she refused to leave Iran; however, Mahmoody battered her and locked her in the house, where she was supposed to remain until the day of the flight, but by chance Mahmoody received an emergency call from the hospital which gave Betty a chance to escape the house with her daughter. After two years of being held hostage against their will in Iran, Betty and Mahtob were finally able to escape Mahmoody's clutches after bravely crossing the dangerous mountains through the help of smugglers into Turkey, from where they flew to the safety of America.

4.3.2 Analysis of the Memoir

4.3.2.1 Mobility for the Love of the Daughter

Mobility/Migration decisions can be very complicated and there are myriad of reasons that can incentivize transnational mobility including rational and irrational. Sometimes mobility can be purely influenced by intimacy/emotions, sometimes it can be purely influenced by rational reasons, and sometimes it can be influenced by the combination of rational and irrational reasons and this mixture of rational and irrational reasons shape Betty Mahmoody's transnational mobility to Iran. Initially when Mahmoody's husband suggests that they go to his homeland for a two week sojourn, Mahmoody is adamant about not going but she realizes that she has only two options: either go to Iran with Mahmoody or get divorced. She recalls that "I did not want to put myself and the children through the trauma of divorce. But I did not want to go to Iran, either" (Mahmoody and Hoffer 353). Mahmoody is hesitant to opt for divorce, an alternative of transnational mobility, due to a variety of rational and emotional reasons: she is afraid of the financial burden as she cannot maintain her current lifestyle and provide for her three children as a single mother without the income of her husband; she is still very much in love with her husband and believes him to be in love with her too; she feels immense sense of guilt towards her children for even thinking about breaking up the family; and she does not want to be divorced again for a second time. Despite her hesitations to divorce, she consults a lawyer about her situation but her alternative option is also rendered moot because if joint custody is awarded after divorce, Mahmoody can kidnap Mahtob to take her to Iran permanently. If Mahmoody refuses to go to Iran, she would have to face financial strains, end her emotional attachment to Moody, deal with guilt towards her children for breaking up the family, engage in the legal battle for the second time, and share custody of a child who may get kidnapped. Holdsworth believes that intimate mobility becomes a necessary condition for women to be able to sustain spousal relationship and family life and thus by taking on transnational mobility, Mahmoody is able to prevent the disintegration of her marriage and family (21). Also, the issues of financial and legal nature (rational reasons) that could result from divorce are prevented by her through intimate mobility.

While the influence of both rational and irrational reasons is undeniable, the seemingly 'rational' reasons are still tied to her complicated emotions. Mahmoody

says: “It [divorce] was a word I detested and feared. I had traveled that road once and did not relish a return trip. To divorce Moody was to give up a life I could not maintain on my own and to give up on a marriage that I still believed to be based upon a foundation of love” (Mahmoody and Hoffer 218). She does not want to be financially unstable because she loves her children and wants them to grow up in an environment or lifestyle they are accustomed to. If she refuses to go to Iran which would result in divorce, she would be unable to provide for her children and their necessities, and maintain their lifestyle alone. Similarly, she does not want to engage in legal battle for divorce and custody because she loves her children and wants them to grow up in a normal united family, and prevent them from suffering the trauma and emotional ordeal of belonging to a broken family. She herself does not want to be divorced, not only because she still loves Moody, but also because she had been divorced before and suffered the emotional stress of a divorce, and thus, she does not want to be divorced a second time because divorced still carried a stigma in American society in the 80s, and also, she is scared to go through the emotional ordeal again.

Reasons behind Betty Mahmoody’s assent to Iran sojourn are many but the main determinant is her daughter as she herself professes: “I could enumerate the reasons we had come—financial, legal, emotional, and even medical. But they all added up to one bottom line. I had brought Mahtob to Iran in one last desperate attempt to assure her freedom” (Mahmoody and Hoffer 104). All the previously mentioned reasons are merely peripheral and it is her emotions of love for her daughter and fear of losing her, coupled with her intimate maternal bond with her daughter that condition her transnational mobility to Iran. She is scared to lose her daughter in the event of divorce because Moody can kidnap Mahtob to take her to Iran with him during his visiting hours. Therefore, her mobility allows her to remain married to Moody and maintain an intimate relationship with him that would guarantee her access to her daughter at all times. Her intimate mobility is resultant of her maternal love and resolve to protect her daughter from getting kidnapped by her partner and permanently losing her which is reflected through her words: “How could I bring her here? But I knew the answer. How could I not? Strange as it seemed, the only way I knew to keep Mahtob out of Iran permanently was to bring her here temporarily” (Mahmoody and Hoffer 45). Her reasoning is that by letting Moody take

them to Iran to meet his family and letting his family see Mahtob once would perhaps prevent parental kidnapping.

Mahmoody is a smart and knowledgeable person who is aware of the dangers her transnational mobility to Iran would pose. She shares her fear that “I don’t want to go to Iran. I’m afraid that if I go there, he [Moody] isn’t going to let me come back” (Mahmoody and Hoffer 354). Iran is a male-centric nation where men have the right to control women and make decisions for them and Mahmoody knows well that once she goes to Iran, her mobility won’t be in her control anymore. She fears permanent entrapment in Iran by her husband. She is also aware of the political conflict between Iran and America, and knows that her safety as an American would be at risk in Iran, the land of enemy. She reflects on her decision of transnational mobility in her memoir that “what was an American woman doing flying into a country that had the most openly hostile attitude towards Americans of any nation in the world?” (Mahmoody and Hoffer 3). Her rationality tells her that she should not go but her intimacy tells her otherwise. Ironically enough, all her ‘rational’ fears regarding mobility are deemed ‘irrational’ by people around her. There is a battle of mind (rationality) and heart (irrationality), out of which intimacy emerges as victorious. Reflecting on her decision for transnational mobility, she writes in her memoir: “Moody had every reason take us back to America after the two-week vacation. And he had every reason to force us to stay in Iran. Given that chilling possibility, why, then, had I agreed to come? *Mahtob*” (Mahmoody and Hoffer 4). She makes the mobility decision with the awareness of the dangers this transnational mobility would pose on her foreign body, but the resolution to protect the daughter outweighs her own fears and concerns. Other subsidiary intimate factors are hope that her loving Americanized husband would never betray her trust and faith in power of religion as Mahmoody takes an oath on Quran to subside her fears.

Unfortunate for Mahmoody, her temporary sojourn to accompany her husband to Iran to let his family meet their daughter Mahtob, motivated by overpowering emotions of love for her daughter, fear of losing her, hope in her husband and faith in the religion and intimate mother-daughter bond, turns into a permanent forced migration after her and her daughter’s American passports are confiscated and she finds out that by marrying an Iranian, she and her daughter have automatically become Iranian citizens: ““You are an Iranian citizen,” Helen said softly. “No, I’m an

American citizen.”...firmly, she explained that from the moment I married an Iranian I became a citizen under Iranian law” (Mahmoody and Hoffer 71). By marrying an Iranian man, she automatically becomes an Iranian woman because since a ‘wife’ lacks independent legal identity, her immigration status is “derivative of her husband’s status” (Clifford and Pearce). The change in her immigration status after her arrival in Iran turns her temporary sojourn to permanent migration.

Transnational migrations are consequential and bring change in a person life and Mahmoody also faces these consequences as a result of her intimate mobility. The mobility of her body from America to Iran generates a transnational space where her Western and Eastern cultures collide and she tries to deal with them through the process of Acculturation using different strategies.

4.3.2.2 Temporary Acculturation to Permanent Acculturation

There is a relational link between transnational mobility and acculturation because the former always entails change in the cultural patterns. Mahmoody is a sojourner that comes to Iran with a set purpose and intentions to leave after two weeks, making her a ‘temporary participant’ in the acculturation process. Berry has observed hesitation among temporary immigrants “to become fully involved, to establish close relationships, or to begin to identify with new society” because of their intentions to return to home country, so for Mahmoody, the knowledge of her temporary stay in Iran and eventual return to America becomes a hindrance in the initiation of the acculturation process (“Contexts of Acculturation” 30). Mahmoody’s reluctance to acculturate even minutely on temporary basis is caused by her detestation for the Iranian culture, but she is still forced to make few exceptions out of respect for her Iranian husband and in-laws. However, once her status as ‘temporary participant’ is replaced by ‘permanent participant’ when Moody’s premeditated plan to trap her in Iran is revealed along with the change in her citizenship status from American to Iranian, she is cornered into acculturation. The three main acculturative changes she is initially confronted with during her presumed two-week vacation are lingual, clothing and dietary, and once the permanency of her stay dawns, these changes intensify in the degree and the process expands to other changes like religion, traditions, and values etc.

1. Linguistic Acculturation

Linguistic Acculturation is one of the dominant integral parts of the process after transnational mobility as the acquisition of the new language contributes to ease in navigation of the new land and to initiate the intercultural communication; however, Mahmoody's general disdain for Iranian language, proven by her description of the language as "chattering", "shrill cry", 'high-pitched voices', 'din' and "cacophony" that "assailed" her ears, together with the knowledge of her eminent return to America after two weeks prevents her from learning the Farsi language (Mahmoody and Hoffer 9, 6, 15, 33). Her acculturation Attitude/Preference towards the Iranian verbal and non-verbal way of communication is highly negative because "to a westerner, a normal Iranian conversation appears to be a heated argument, filled with shrill chatter and expansive gestures, all punctuated with "Ensha Allah." The noise level is astounding" (Mahmoody and Hoffer 18). Mahmoody's way of describing the Farsi language by associating it with 'loudness', 'violent', and 'anger' proves her extremely negative perception of the language and it also reflects her inner emotions of pure hatred and dislike for it. On the other hand, whenever someone is speaking English, she automatically believes them to be kind and gentle, because she sees her language that way; for instance "she spoke to me kindly in impeccable English" (Mahmoody and Hoffer 270). It can also mean that listening to her own language has a soothing and calming effect on her because it gives a sense of familiarity in a foreign country. Mahmoody's tendency to describe her home culture's language in terms of 'politeness' and 'gentleness', and the host culture's language in terms of 'aggressiveness' and 'loudness' clearly shows where her Acculturation Preference lies. Nazari has observed that Mahmoody represents those who speak English in a very positive light in her book, and that she also considers them to be cultured and civilized ("Constructing Altery" 1189-1191). For example: "[They] seemed a bit more Westernized, more open to variation, more cultured and friendly, and definitely more hygienic. They were more likely to speak English and were far more courteous" (Mahmoody and Hoffer 32). Her description of them shows that she considers their ability to be able to speak English synonymous to them being more cultured and westernized. The reason for this is that she considers her own culture to be superior, and naturally has a Preference for it over the Iranian culture, which is why when someone speaks English, she considers it a sign of their affiliation to her

Western culture. Since she can no longer be part of her Western culture due to her occupation of another location, she maintains a connection to home culture and language through these people which is why she sees them in positive light.

Since she hates the Farsi language, her only alternative is to communicate through her own mother tongue, English, making her acculturation approach Separation wherein the acculturating individual has a Preference for his/her own culture and wants to avoid new cultural influence. Linguistic Separation approach causes obstruction in intercultural communication, and because Farsi is incomprehensible and indiscernible for Mahmoody, it leaves her heavily dependent on other English speaking Iranians for translation. Though her Preference is to speak her own language solely, the situation demands change in the Acculturation Behavior after the revelation of her permanent stay in Iran, causing shift in her strategy from Linguistic Separation to Linguistic Integration as she decides to learn Farsi because it can aid her escapement: "I realized that every word of Farsi I learned had the potential of helping me find a way around—and out of—Tehran" (Mahmoody and Hoffer 135). During her two years of stay in Iran, she is able to procure very rudimentary comprehension of Farsi, limited to few words and simple sentences, implying only Partial Integration of the new language. This leaves her frustrated at times for not being able to get her thoughts and words across properly, but she is mainly satisfied with her minuscule progress because she able to perform the tasks for which she decided to learn the language in the first place easily with using English, little Farsi, gestures and her daughter as a translator.

Predominant use of English in Iran emanates from affinity for her home-culture's language and it is a way for her to retain a piece of her own culture with her, which is evident from her actions of eagerly watching English news segments even though they are anti-American, going to Quran study classes for foreigners "just to hear my [her] own language", reading English newspapers filled with hatred for America and random books including Islamic and Iranian books just because they are in familiar language, and seeking out friendship with people who can speak English, especially native English speakers because "it was wonderful to find an English-speaking friend...This was far different from talking to an English-speaking Iranian, with whom I could never be sure how completely I was understood...[Now] I could speak freely and know that she comprehended" (Mahmoody and Hoffer 25, 149). Her

Preference for her own language only permits Partial Linguistic Integration of Farsi as she only employs Farsi on occasions that necessitate its use; otherwise, she primarily speaks in her mother tongue.

2. Clothing Acculturation

The second cultural change she is confronted with is the local dress code that is one of important signifiers of a culture. The events of the memoir take place in the eighties when despite certain restrictions, women had the freedom to dress as they wished in western societies because of women's liberation movement, but that was not the case in the East that firmly held onto the centuries old traditions and regulated extremely strict dress codes. Mahmoody, being an American woman, who is accustomed to dressing as she wishes is educated about the Iranian dress code for women that require arms, legs and forehead to be covered, before the commencement of sojourn. Since exposed skin is not allowed in Iran, she travels in a very conservative suit to Iran and before the plane even lands, she wears panty hose to cover her legs and scarf to cover her head because she wants the approval of her Muslim in-laws, suggesting the Integration strategy because even though she does comply with the dress code by not showing skin, she uses western clothes to achieve the said purpose.

There is a pressure on Mahmoody from inside by her Iranian husband and in-laws, and from outside by the Iranian government and law, to adhere to the "harsh requirements of the dress code" that involve covering the entire body from head to toe with *montoe*, *roosarie* and *chador*, otherwise she can get beaten by her Iranian husband and arrested by the *pasdars* who strictly enforce dress code on women (Mahmoody and Hoffer 5). It means that she is expected to wear Iranian clothing within private and public spaces both. Observing extremely orthodox dress code that is "reminiscent of a nun's habit in times past" is unimaginable for a western woman like Mahmoody who is brought up in a modern society so she is unable to grasp the Eastern society's obsession with controlling what women wear: "It was difficult for me to comprehend this insistence upon propriety" (Mahmoody and Hoffer 5, 31). Mahmoody describes Iranian clothing as "long, oppressive coat", "stupid scarf", "cumbersome robe", "omnipresent heavy black *chador*", "long, heavy green scarf", and "hated black *chador*" (Mahmoody and Hoffer 11, 9, 24, 76). Her choice of words reflects her inner hatred for Iranian clothing. The description of Iranian clothing as

‘suffocating’, ‘oppressive’, and ‘heavy’ has literal meaning and figurative meaning: the Iranian clothes are physically restrictive on her foreign body and they are also symbolic of women’s oppression in the patriarchal culture. Nazari has also noticed that “the chador is not a symbol of religious observance but is transmogrified into shackles chained to the Iranian women’s body and souls” in Mahmoody’s narrative (“Resurrecting the American” 41). The description of Iranian clothes is the appendage of how she perceives the Iranian culture to be for women. Her hatred for Iranian clothing reflects that her Acculturation Preference is highly negative and that she wants to opt for Separation Strategy.

Once the permanency of her stay is established, regardless of her negative Acculturation Attitude towards Iranian dress code, she is forced into Complete Assimilation by her domineering husband, religious in-laws, and the strict laws put in place by the fundamentalist government of Ayatollah Khomeini that employed hostile *pasdars* to keep a watch on women. Since her Acculturation Behavior is being controlled by the threatening situation, she cannot transmute her Preference for Separation strategy into her Acculturation Behavior, leaving her with no choice but to Assimilate: “In deep melancholy I dressed in the uniform, black pants, long black socks, black long-sleeved *montoe*, black *roosarie* wrapped around my head. On top of all this paraphernalia went the hated black *chador*” (Mahmoody and Hoffer 76). This incident not only marks her Assimilation but also the loss of her culture. Each item of her clothing is black, and Americans dress themselves in black on funerals, making this color the symbol of death and mourning. This whole ritual of wearing black Iranian clothes in a melancholic mood becomes a metaphor for her preparing to mourn the loss or death of her own culture.

Mahmoody’s Assimilation Strategy allows her a chance to become part of the society but she has no desire to become the part of the Iranian society by dressing like them because she hates the Iranian culture and still prefers to disassociate with it, which is evinced through her words: “the ache in my soul reached deeper than ever. How I longed to return to a society where I could dress as I wished. Where I could breathe” (Mahmoody and Hoffer 319). Again, her emphasis is on the suffocating nature of the Iranian culture that does not let her have the freedom to dress as she wishes. Unable to disassociate because her survival is dependent on her conformity and unable to demit her Preference for western clothing, underneath the layers of

conformity, she still wears long conservative western clothes that serve as a connection to her home culture, a connection she cannot reveal in the outer socio-cultural space. She Completely Assimilates only socially; privately, she is Partially Assimilated because inside the walls of the house, while she does have to wear *montoe*, *roosarie* and *chador* depending on which guests and relatives are at home, on occasions when she is alone, she does not have to cover her western clothes with outer Iranian garments. Her revulsion for Iranian clothes is renewed each time she is forced to wear them but at the end when she is planning her escape, her hatred briefly subsides because these clothes provide her anonymity that protects her from captors; Betty confesses, “For the first time in a year and a half I was grateful for the opportunity to hide behind the *chador*” (Mahmoody and Hoffer 368). At that point her Preference and Behavior are actually able to align because she does not want to be discovered by her husband and his relatives while hatching her escape plan and wearing Iranian garments allows her to blend into the society as her outward appearance resembles the rest of the population: “Wrapped up in my *montoe* and *roosarie*, I hoped that I was unrecognizable as a foreigner” (Mahmoody and Hoffer 69). Iranian clothing items that were previously the symbols of oppression briefly become the symbols of protection. They offer her protection from the hostile family and society both, and aid her in escaping Iran to go back in the embrace of her own Western world. To sum it up, she adopts complete Assimilation in public spaces and Partial Assimilation in private spaces.

3. Dietary Acculturation

Food is another important part of the culture because the food patterns of a place are passed down throughout centuries, through generations and become part of the tradition. While intercultural couples may find it hard to absorb the many aspects of each other’s cultures, food is one aspect of the culture that is readily accepted and same is the case with Betty Mahmoody and Moody (Mahmoody). Mahmoody Integrated Iranian food into her life in America before even marrying Moody because sharing food culture can be a stepping stone towards acceptance of the other’s culture. She explains, “Moody taught me Islamic cooking...and I readily acquired a taste for the food” (Mahmoody and Hoffer 52). In America, she loved Iranian food and cooked it for their own family and Mahmoody’s Iranian acquaintances, and prepared elaborate Iranian feasts on Iranian holidays and parties, so she arrives in Iran with the

intentions of continuing that Dietary Integration but her excitement for the Iranian food dies down pretty quickly due to the unhygienic cooking preparations, oily greasy dishes and the use of *dohmbeh* made of animal fat. Even though she develops a negative Acculturation Attitude towards Iranian food, her strategy remains the same because she is only appalled by the Iranian food cooked by Iranians because of the unsanitary cooking practices and once she moves out of her in-laws' home, she herself makes Iranian dishes and proclaims herself to be a "better Iranian cook than any Iranian" (Mahmoody and Hoffer 93). The strategy is Integration, not Assimilation, because she does not stop the consumption of American food in Iran as she is provided with many opportunities to prepare American feasts for her Iranian family on their requests and after moving to her own home she has much more liberty to prepare her American food. She still likes and cooks Iranian food and learns much more about the Iranian food culture like beef is a lower class meat and chicken is considered superior meat in Iran and the dietary limitations imposed by Islam etc but she finds herself craving American food mostly because it allows her to experience "a touch of home" when she is forced to stay so far away from home (Mahmoody and Hoffer 36). American food is a way for her to retain association to home that is otherwise denied to her. The first time she gets the chance to cook American food in Iran, she cooks an Apple pie which is a "longstanding symbol of America" and "epitome of American patriotism" (Eschner; Peoples). It shows her longing and loyalty for her own country and culture and also her desire to remain connected to it. For immigrants, home food provides comfort and its consumption becomes symbolic of their association with the homeland and home culture. An example of her love for American food is when she finds cook books in a store that instantly fill her with excitement and joy: "I...found a supply of used, dog-eared cookbooks, and thought I was in heaven. How I had missed the simple opportunity to study recipes! Entire menus spun through my mind, and I only hoped I could find the necessary ingredients or manage substitutes" (Mahmoody and Hoffer 289). Her excitement and joy shows that she prefers her American food over Iranian food but her attempts at cooking American food is always "hampered by cultural differences" because of scarcity of American ingredients and utensils, resulting in her able to produce only imitations of American food (Mahmoody and Hoffer 37). When it comes to Dietary Acculturation, though she prefers her American food more, her strategy remains Integration instead of Separation.

4. Religious Acculturation

Religion is one of the most influential and highly esteemed parts of the culture whether it is in the West or the East, but there is a crucial difference between how it is ingrained in both societies. West has separated religion from state and public matters, however, it is entirely dominant and omnipresent in each facet of life, public and private both, in Eastern societies, especially in Islamic/Muslim societies. Mahmoody and Moody had an inter-religion marriage: Mahmoody was Christian and Moody was Muslim. Mahmoody did not convert because religion was never an issue in their marriage as they were not religious people; however, Betty had acquired basic knowledge of Islam from Mahmoody which she found interesting because of the similarities between Islam and Christianity. She respected the religion, even married in an Islamic ceremony and celebrated religious holidays in America with Mahmoody, though her Integration of her husband's religion was on surface level in America. She wants to continue the same strategy in Iran too but it is impossible because at the time of her arrival in Iran in the eighties, the country was under Ayatollah Khomeini's extremely fundamentalist government post Islamic Revolution and Iranians attached highly sentimental value to their religion. This kind of religious devotion is shocking for a western woman who even "ignored [her own] religion for years" and she shares her surprise at this revelation: "I marveled at the power...their religion held over them" (Mahmoody and Hoffer 226, 5). She dislikes the religion and the obsession of Iranians with it. She describes *azan* as "a sad, extended, wailing sound, calling the faithful to their sacred duties" that is heard multiple times a day (Mahmoody and Hoffer 18). Her aversion for Islam is obvious from the way she describes *azan*. Her consideration of *azan* to be very intrusive in daily life actually tells that she considers Islam to be very imposing and domineering in her life in Iran.

Mahmoody wants to remain respectful of the religion despite her particular dislike for it and avoid participation in it, indicating her Preference for Separation Strategy. She wants to distance herself from Islam but it is almost forced on her by domineering relatives who encircle her to teach her about Shiite sect, gift her Islamic books, and take her to holy sites and since she thinks that this acculturation situation is impermanent she does not resist and after the revelation that she is to remain in Iran till death, she willingly Integrates it even further into her life so that she can "rely upon the religious morality" to appeal to her Muslim relatives (Mahmoody and Hoffer

43). She desperately studies the English translation of *Koran* day and night so that she can use its knowledge to her advantage. *Koran* becomes a medium through which she can fashion her freedom from the Iranian culture. Her Integration of Islamic religion in her life allows her to gain important information needed to argue her case to let her leave Iran but all her points are refuted on the grounds of her not being Muslim: “These were Shiite Moslems, still glorying in the success of revolution, clad in the self-righteous robes of fanaticism. How could I—a Christian, an American, a woman—dare to offer my explanation of the Koran over the views of Imam Reza, the Ayatollah Khomeini, Baba Hajji, and, indeed my own husband?” (Mahmoody and Hoffer 58). She is ruthlessly pushed into following the religion such as she is coerced into studying Quran and about Islam, forcibly taken to holy sites, graves and pilgrimages and made to celebrate religious holidays and occasions, pushing her into Assimilation. She still tries to resist Assimilation in the beginning by arguing that she does not want to take part in religious events because they have nothing to do with her or lying that she is menstruating to get out of participation but the threats and verbal and physical assaults break her barriers against Religious Assimilation since her personal safety correlates with her acceptance of Islam. She says of the ordeal that her Muslim husband “centered much of his wrath upon the fact that I was not Moslem” (Mahmoody and Hoffer 230). Not being a Muslim in an Islamic country puts her safety in jeopardy. Her resistance to Religious Assimilation results in her being discriminated against her by her Muslim husband, in-laws, and outsiders.

Exertion of external pressure results in only Partial Assimilation because it is a survival strategy for the eyes of people, and has an opposite effect privately as her faith in Christianity is renewed and she finds solace in her religion in privacy: “Our prayers intensified. Although I had neglected church attendance for many years, I had retained a strong faith in God. I could not fathom why He had imposed this burden on us, but I knew we could not lift it off our shoulders without His aid” (Mahmoody and Hoffer 105). Basically, Christianity becomes her crutch in hard times as it gives her hope in a dismal situation that is beyond her control. Her own religion Christianity becomes a symbol of hope and the host culture’s religion Islam becomes a symbol of danger for Mahmoody. Christianity becomes her Acculturation Preference and she prays to her God secretly and tries to even find Bible, but she knows that she cannot reveal her connection to Christianity through her Acculturation Behavior because her

religion has no place in a strictly religious Islamic fundamentalist environment, so she settles for a Separation Strategy in private and Partial Assimilation in public.

The longer she remains in her confinement in Iran, the more and more she begins to internalize of the Islamic religion under the psychological pressure and switches her strategy to the Integration of both religions: “God was my only companion through the tedious days and nights. I spoke to Him constantly. Gradually, over how long a period of days I do not know, a strategy evolved in my troubled mind. Helplessly trapped, unable to do anything in my own defense, I was willing to try any course of action...And so I turned my attention to Moody’s religion” (Mahmoody and Hoffer 234). Betty starts to learn Arabic, pray, and read Quran regularly for appearance so that her situation can become less hostile but she slowly begins to genuinely follow Islam as she switches from praying her God for help to praying Allah for help and even makes a *nasr* which is a promise to Allah, indicating the penetration of Assimilation from public and into the private. Assimilation of Islam occurs not only due to her own conscious decision but also from the unconscious internalization:

Surely my desire to go on the pilgrimage would reassure him [Mahmoody] of my growing devotion to his way of life. But there was a far deeper reason for my eagerness. I truly wanted to make the pilgrimage...I fervently wanted to believe in the miracles of Meshed...I no longer knew what I believed—or did not believe—about Moody’s religion. I knew only that desperation drove me...The pilgrimage affected me deeply, bringing me closer than ever to really believing in Moody’s religion. Perhaps it was the effect of my desperation, combined with the hypnotic lure of the surroundings. Whatever the cause, I came to believe in the power of the *haram*...Over and Over I repeated my wish to Allah, and I felt a strange sense of peace settle over me. Somehow I knew that Allah/God would grant my wish. (Mahmoody and Hoffer 252-254)

In the beginning, pretending to accept Islam is merely a part of a strategic plan to avoid being beaten by Mahmoody by pleasing him but slowly Islam seeps into her vulnerable mind unconsciously. Here, the Complete Assimilation results from the overlapping of the Religious Acculturation with the Psychological Acculturation because in a confused declining mental state after long term isolation and abuse, she begins “confusing the tenets of Islam and Christianity” and her desperation derives her

into confusing her God and Islamic God, making them one entity (Mahmoody and Hoffer 241). Her vulnerable psychological, emotional and physical state, leads to the internalization of Islam and completion of Religious Assimilation.

5. Traditional Acculturation

Customs and traditions of a place are important for people because they are representative of their rich culture and history. Iran has vastly different customs and traditions from America which can be immensely startling for an American, so when Mahmoody arrives in Iran she is also left flabbergasted by the welcoming custom. The very first custom she is introduced to is that all the relatives come to welcome the guests because guests are considered to be a blessing from God and receive the highest honor:

Immediately Moody was engulfed in a mob of robed, veiled humanity that clawed at his business suit and wailed in ecstasy. More than one hundred of his relatives crowded around, screaming, crying, pumping his hand, embracing him and kissing him, kissing me, and Mahtob. Everyone seemed to have flowers to thrust at Mahtob and me. Our arms were soon full. (Mahmoody and Hoffer 9)

An ambushing sight as this is just terrifying for Mahmoody and she hates this custom immediately. This “clamorous procession” does not conclude at the airport, as they are hauled into the decorated car of honor driven by the eldest son of the most eldest and respected relative to be taken to that relative’s home because it is an honor to drive and reside the guest (Mahmoody and Hoffer 10). Welcoming ceremony resumes at home where there is a big feast with the entire clan but an important part of the welcoming custom is the blood ceremony, called by Betty a “crazy tradition” and a “stupid thing”, in which the guests have to walk across the sheep’s fresh blood, slaughter in their honor, spilled on the floor when entering the house for the first time while the relatives mumble prayers (Mahmoody and Hoffer 14). Mahmoody says: “I thought it was a crazy tradition, but I did not want to offend anyone, so I agreed reluctantly. As I picked up Mahtoob, she buried her face against my shoulder. I followed Moody around the pool of blood to the street side and stepped across it as his relatives intoned a prayer. Now we were officially welcomed” (Mahmoody and

Hoffer 14). This custom is outrageous for her but she complies out of respect and fear of insulting them.

Another custom in Iran is to present tea in a strict order: it is first presented to the head of the family or men, then to the matriarch, and then to other people at last like herself and her daughter. Same hierarchic rule applies to the sitting arrangement too: the higher place is reserved for the most honored man or the patriarch and women usually sit on floors. Even though Mahmoody does not want to be involved in such traditions, she caves because of the lack of another option. One important tradition is that the entire family gathers at the home of the eldest relative, the patriarch of the family on every Friday to pray for *Sabbath*. Either voluntary or involuntary, she participates in all the customs and traditions because her resistance to Assimilate is subdued with violence and threats. She is completely Assimilated when it comes to following customs and traditions herself but she shows strong resistance and defies them once for the sake of her daughter because Iranian custom is to celebrate birthday on a Friday instead of the real date and men are the ones who unwrap presents: “I continued to resist. If I could not stand up to Moody for my own rights, I would battle for whatever happiness I could find for Mahtob. I did not care a thing about Iranian customs” (Mahmoody and Hoffer 62). Only once she is able to successfully defy the Iranian customs, otherwise she is forced to Completely Assimilate.

Cultural values and beliefs of a place are reflective of the society and its occupants as these are passed down through generations and dictate how people should live their lives, what are their roles, what ideas and believes they need to adhere to, and how they must behave. Conforming to these same cultural values and believes bounds the whole society together and in order to become a part of the society or to gain acceptance into it, one is expected to strictly obey these. Some Iranian values are cultural, some have patriarchal inceptions, and some are originated from religion which is why they place them in high regard and enforce others to uphold those certain cultural values and believes as well. For Mahmoody, the Iranian cultural values like gender segregation, men and women not being allowed to touch in public or display any affection, not making eye contact when talking to the opposite gender, and properly covering even indoors especially in front of the patriarch etc are shocking but she endures some of them and implements some of them, indicating selective Assimilation. Iranians have rigid family value system that is ruminative of

their cultural values wherein the patriarch of the family, the eldest man, has the ultimate authority to reign over the whole clan and in Mahmoody's in-law's family, Baba Hajji is the head, whose will is carried out by everyone and Mahmoody is no exception. When Mahmoody gathers the whole family to support her case by relating to them the whole ordeal of her captivity and Mahmoody's blasphemy, Baba Hajji performs the role of the judge and favors Mahmoody's decision to force them to stay in Iran, and Mahmoody has no option but to just accept Baba Hajji's verdict because she cannot question his decision, argue with him or overrule his decision. For American born and raised Mahmoody, the concept of the joint family is a nightmare and their authority and involvement in her personal life is unbearable but she cannot escape it despite her resistance so she resigns to the imposition of these cultural values making her Acculturation Strategy Assimilation.

Along with the religious influence, Iranian values and beliefs have patriarchal origins, that dictate that men rule their families and no one can interfere with their decisions and women must silently and submissively obey their husbands because they are inferior creatures. "Subject[ed] to the laws of this fanatic patriarchy", Mahmoody is Assimilated into the role of a "dutiful Islamic wife" by Moody who batters her into submission (Mahmoody and Hoffer 71, 144). No one steps in to save Mahmoody from Moody's abuse because their cultural values and beliefs are instilled in them so the occurrences of a husband's exertions of violent tendencies are normal for them and instead they tell her to "learn to play by the rules of this horrid land" so for the fear of her life she does learn (Mahmoody and Hoffer 103). Mahmoody completely Assimilates to be a submissive Iranian wife who meekly follows the husband's orders, silently suffers from the abuse, and seeks husband's permission for every task: "I asked Moody's permission for my every action. Every excursion I took, every rial I spent, was first cleared with him" (Mahmoody and Hoffer 279). When the realization of her internalization of Iran's value system hits her she wonders that "had Moody beaten me beyond the point of resistance? I feared the answer" (Mahmoody and Hoffer 209). Mahmoody completely transforms into a meek, submissive, dutiful housewife in order to survive in the Eastern cultural space by employing Assimilation Strategy. Here, her gender dictates her Acculturation as she takes on the new role of an Iranian wife and abandons the old role of an American woman.

Iranian women are instilled with the believe that the outside world is men's domain and if they are to step into their world they must do it under the protection of men but Mahmoody breaks that rule: "I knew of no other woman—Iranian, American, or otherwise—who risked the vicissitudes of regular excursions into Tehran without the protection of a man or at least another adult woman companion" (Mahmoody and Hoffer 274). She is rarely able to break this rule otherwise she is always under the watch of a chaperon. For an independent woman like Mahmoody Iranian cultural values and believes are absurd and she has highly negative Acculturation Preference towards them but her survival hinges on her absorbing these, so she Assimilates.

Like customs and values, holidays, both national and religious, are a very important part of a country's tradition for people because they commemorate a significant event and a piece of history is attached to them. Mahmoody Integrated Islamic holidays like *Eid* into her life in America and happily celebrated them with Moody and Iranian community but Mahmoody wants to refrain from celebrating them in Iran by employing the Separation approach to Acculturation because before she celebrated them on her volition. However, she is unable to exercise the Separation strategy because she is forced by her Iranian husband and relatives to celebrate all the Iranian and Islamic holidays like War Week, First Friday of *Moharram*, *No-ruz*, *Sabbath*, Imam Reza's and Imam Mehdi's birthdays, and *Eid e Ghadir* and at the same time she is denied the connection to her home as they forbid her to celebrate American holidays, meaning that she is force to Assimilate. She is not allowed to celebrate her first Christmas in Iran, not even allowed to wish Christmas to her family back home, but she is gifted Islamic books as Christmas presents by Mahtob's teachers. Similarly, when next year she does finally get the permission to celebrate Christmas, it is hijacked by Aga Hakim to tell the story of the birth of Christ from Islamic point of view. Besides these, she is allowed to host dinner party on Thanks Giving and New Year's Eve, but not in a true American way. Regardless of her Preference to celebrate only American holidays and avoid Iranian and Islamic holidays, she has to Assimilate.

6. Behavioral Acculturation

When it comes to Iranian manners, behaviors and habits, Betty is absolutely disgusted and repulsed by them, which is evident in the way she describes them in "animalistic terms" (Nazari, "Constructing Alterity" 1183). In the beginning, her

Strategy is Complete Separation but the longer she remains in Iran, the more she absorbs their behaviors because people are likely to pick up manners, behaviors and habits of other people in close vicinities to them. However, Mahmoody's approach is Selective Integration as she implements some and rejects some. Like other Iranians, she takes off her shoes outside before entering, dines on floor while sitting either cross-legged or perched on one knee, politely sits for hours in front of guests, properly covers in front men, remains respectful in front of the patriarch, does not leave a morsel on the plate, and asserts herself in public places where people push and shove. There are some habits and manners she straight out refuses to follow and sticks to her American ways like she refuses the use of hands to eat and instead uses proper utensils, and she indulges in her "American habit of showering every day" unlike Iranians (Mahmoody and Hoffer 27). She also picks up some manners and habits from them by observing them such as the Iranian way of putting sugar cubes in the mouth to drink tea through it that she had seen her brother-in-law do. Iranian women use their *chadors* for blowing nose instead of using tissues or handkerchiefs, a habit she found disgusting and repulsive but on one occasion she unintentionally does the same: "My nose was running. Tears rolled down my cheeks. I had no handkerchief, no tissues, so, like anyone else...I wiped my nose on the scarf" (Mahmoody and Hoffer 42). Her pattern points towards Selective Integration Strategy wherein she implements some habits and manners but refuses some that she dislikes, and sometimes she exhibits those disliked manners and habits too if the situation arises.

7. Law/State Acculturation

Every country has its own laws and regardless of one's nationality, the laws of the land in which they are present are applicable to them. Once Mahmoody lands in Iran, she becomes subjected to Iranian laws because in accordance to Iranian law by marrying an Iranian she had become an Iranian citizen without her consent or knowledge, as the result of which she is unable to exercise her rights as an American citizen to escape the country, because Iranian law considers women and children property of men, and without their permission they are granted no mobility. Since women are mere properties of men, they can do as they please with them, which is why when Betty is beaten by Mahmoody at home and many times in public, no one comes forward to help her or call police because the law does not interfere or prevents domestic violence as they consider it a right of a man. Domestic violence is a big

crime in America but in Iran it is a norm so she has no protection from law when Moody physically assaults her, rapes her, threatens to cut off her ears and nose, and kill her, and neither does she even bother to seek their help because she studies Iranian laws and knows it won't offer her any solution because it favors men: "I tried to deal with the realization that I was married to a madman and trapped in a country where the laws decreed that he was my absolute master" (Mahmoody and Hoffer 68). Iranian law dictates that father has ultimate authority and custody of the child so a mother cannot even access her own children without her husband's consent. When Mahmoody tries to take her daughter from school because she is scared that Moody will kill them both, the school refuses to hand over her daughter to her because they need her husband's permission, leaving Betty "frustrated at every turn, numb with fear, disgusted at the Islamic law that denied me [her] access to my [her] very own daughter" (Mahmoody and Hoffer 192). According to Iranian law, use of contraceptives is a capital offence. A woman has no reproductive rights because her body is her husband's property and therefore, she has no right to deny him children. In secrecy, Betty had put in IUD in America and she is scared of "the bit of plastic and copper wire that could condemn...[her] to death" if she is found out (Mahmoody and Hoffer 231). This IUD "functions both as material evidence of Mahmoody's sexual agency and an object of anxiety in the context of domestic terrorism" (Goodwin 771). While this IUD protects her reproductive rights in accordance to American laws, it is also a source of constant anxiety in Iran because it's use is against the Iranian law. She removes the IUD from her body because she is scared that a doctor may find it after an episode of domestic violence. By removing it, she becomes a law abiding Iranian and also prevents death penalty. Being an Islamic country, Iranian law is strict about propriety of women and has *pasdars* appointed everywhere to keep an eye on women to force them into following strict rigid local dress code. To prevent going to jail, Mahmoody follows the law but she is still stopped by *pasdars* and screamed at and threatened to be put in jail on many occasions over insignificant offenses like few hairs showing through *roosarie*, not wearing *montoe* once, having wrinkled socks, and not wearing long enough socks. Betty follows all the laws of Iran because her Assimilation is necessary for her survival and to prevent going to jail or getting executed over the slightest of offences.

8. Social and Political Acculturation

All the changes discussed previously are part of the social change and besides that comes a change in social status as a result of migration. There are many factors that decrease her social status upon entry: religion, nationality and gender. She is a Christian in a fundamentalist Islamic country, making her a minority and also her position precarious as an infidel. Second reason is that she is an American in a country that hates America so she feels endangered in this hostile country that decreases her social status to that of an enemy. An example of this hostility is anti-American demonstrations with people yelling ‘Death to America’ on War Week and Mahmoody shares her feelings upon hearing this hate hurled at America and her being an American: “*Maag barg Amrika!*” In Tehran that night, as many as fourteen million voices were raised as one. Rolling from rooftop to rooftop, building to a crescendo, engulfing the populace in a hypnotic frenzy, the crushing, debilitating, horrifying chant knifed into my soul” (Mahmoody and Hoffer 75). Here, her social position is related to the political situation: “Rarely was I allowed to forget that, as an American, I was the enemy” (Mahmoody and Hoffer 33). Furthermore, because of her nationality as an American she is often sexually harassed by Iranian men who believe that American women are sexually promiscuous as opposed to their own Iranian women who are pious: “We had never heard of such assaults on Iranian women, and we wondered if the Iranian press, with its concentration of stories about the American divorce rate, led Iranian men to think that we were sex-crazed sirens” (Mahmoody and Hoffer 302). Third factor that reduces her social position is her gender because immigrant women always suffer from gender inequality in the societies they settle in (“Women and International Migration” 28). The country Mahmoody migrates to is a patriarchal and sexist society that decreases her social status because it believes women to be synonymous of inferior and weak. A decrease in social and political position is part of the acculturation but this type of change cannot be controlled by the acculturating subject, which means that she has no autonomy to adopt Separation Approach to remove herself from the situation, forcing her to Assimilate.

9. Economic Acculturation

Similar to political and social position, economic position also changes after migration. Mahmoody was an economically independent American woman before she married Moody and even though she had to leave her job after their marriage, she still

had economic power as Moody provided her money freely. She also worked for Moody at his private practice, and later worked for over a year at a job to support her family alone after Moody was fired from his job. Her economic status drops to the bottom after her arrival in Iran as Moody confiscates their check book in an attempt to take away her freedom that economic power would grant her. Iranian law states that the husband owns everything so legally Betty has no claim whatsoever on the money, and to keep Betty economically crippled he keeps track of every rial she spends: “He did not wish me to have any money of my own, for money provided at least a limited freedom” (Mahmoody and Hoffer 94). She suffers from financial abuse at the hands of her husband like other Iranian women do. She cannot get a job because she is locked up in the house and when she is taken outside she is always under the close watch of someone, and while she works for Moody as a receptionist and treats female patients, she is not earning anything from it and is only being exploited for free labor. She unwillingly Assimilates to be like other Iranian women who are dependent on men for their financial needs.

10. Physical and Environmental Acculturation

Transnational mobility is followed by the change in the physical environment because the geographical location is switched, and each locality has its own specific environment. Mahmoody is a first world country’s citizen from Michigan so the third world physical environment of Tehran is quite displeasing to her which is evident from her choice of words to describe it as “alien world”, “strange new world”, “strange society”, “strange land”, “backward nation”, “strange and repulsive”, “horrid land”, “hell” and “bizarre land” (Mahmoody and Hoffer 5, 12, 31, 54, 55, 59, 103, 308, 389). Betty hates the extremely hot climate immediately after her arrival and complaints: “the overwhelming, oppressive summer heat of Tehran...that seemed to physically press down upon us” (Mahmoody and Hoffer 4). The ‘heat’ Mahmoody is talking about is not just in reference to the weather of Iran; it extends to Iranian culture in general and also foreshadows Mahmoody’s fate in Iran. This heat represents the cultural violence that Mahmoody and other women in Iran are subjected to and it also mirrors Moody’s anger. The term ‘physically press down’ foreshadows episodes of domestic violence and marital rape. The weather of Tehran offers hints about Mahmoody’s Acculturation in the Iran. Mahmoody’s statement, “Perspiring profusely, I thought: I must smell like the rest of them by now”, shows her physical

acclamation to her new hot physical environment or her body being affected by it (Mahmoody and Hoffer 9). Her fear of smelling like Iranians also suggests her fear of becoming similar to the rest of the Iranians during her acculturation. Her physical environment becomes representative of her inner condition. Nazari has noticed that in Mahmoody's memoir, "the entire city of Tehran mutates into a metropolitan prison circumscribed by the mountain ranges that serve as its towering walls" ("Resurrecting the American" 38). Adding onto Nazari's view, the mountains can also symbolize the Iranian culture that has surrounded Mahmoody from all sides, which means that she is unable to disassociate with the host culture because she (a hostage) is physically tapped in Iran (her prison), and thus being Assimilated.

Besides the disagreeable weather, Betty is repulsed by the extremely unhygienic and unsanitary environmental conditions like open sewages, sewage streams along every road, garbage, mosquitoes, dirt, loud-crowded streets, insects and rat infestation etc and while there are few modern conveniences like telephone, television, air conditioner and refrigerator around her to provide her a familiar touch of modern world, the general hot and dirty physical environment created by people is unbearable to her: "how I hated the heat and the overpowering stench of unwashed humanity that invaded...how I loathed Iran!" (Mahmoody and Hoffer 38). Nazari has noticed that the book is filled with the images of contamination and defilement in Iran on domestic, corporeal, and public levels, which serves to draw the East/West dichotomy ("Constructing Alterity" 1177-1179). It means that these images draw a sharp contrast between her civilized and modern culture and environment, and Iran's uncivilized and primitive culture and environment. Her preference is to reject this uncivilized, backward and primitive environment but she cannot physically remove herself from the third world environment, so she "somehow grew accustomed to the pungent atmosphere", and also masters how to navigate in the new city, which indicates that even though her Acculturation Preference goes against her immediate environment she Assimilates into it (Mahmoody and Hoffer 86).

Her environment also carries a threat of death because of the on-going war with Iraq, and each time air raid sirens are blared and the sounds of blasts shake her house, she is left with paralyzing fear: "sure that this was the moment of our death. Never had I been filled with such dread. My heart pounded. My ears ached, filled with the overwhelming, blasting noise of destruction" (Mahmoody and Hoffer 155).

Adding to the threatening dangerous environment is the threat of Police and *pasdars* carrying rifles and the discovery of terrorist's bombs near her house and public's hostility toward Americans. Though, she is unable to get accustomed to the threats and Prefers to go back to the safe environment of America, she cannot carry out her Preference into her Behavior because her transnational mobility is controlled, preventing her to escape her physical environment, resulting in unwelcomed Assimilation, made hard due to the gargantuan downgrade from first world America to third world Iran.

11. Biological Acculturation

Transnational mobility also entails biological changes because it can be harmful for the physical frame due to exposure to new diseases and the general stress and fatigue of changing spatial location. Mahmoody's exposure to unhygienic conditions of the new country leads to biological changes such as diarrhea, stomach cramps, nausea and vomiting because her foreign body cannot tolerate the new environment and extreme headaches due to stress of adjustment, so she has to find "solace in pills" Moody brought from America (Mahmoody and Hoffer 62). The rejection of her body to adjust in the new unhygienic conditions that Iranians are immune to is symbolic of her physical rejection of the hostile Iran, and her reliance on American medications to treat these afflictions caused by Iran are symbolic of her reliance on her home country to protect her. Furthermore, her Biological Acculturation is connected to her psychological condition because her deteriorating physical health correlates to her strained psychological state. Her failing mental state due to the trauma of being trapped in Iran and not being allowed to go back to America causes her physical body to shut down: "Days passed—countless miserable, hot, sickly, tedious, frightening days. I slipped further and further into melancholy. It was as if I were dying. I ate little and slept only fitfully" (Mahmoody and Hoffer 60). She is terrified, lonely, isolated, and extremely distressed because she is shut inside the walls, sometimes for weeks at a time, alone with no way out, causing her to become extremely depressed and melancholic, as she recalls in her memoir:

Back to the lonely bedroom, back to the days of nothingness, back to nausea and vomiting, back to deep depression...cut off from the world...wallowing in homesickness, one afternoon I tried to write a letter to Mom and Dad, unsure how I would get it into the mail. To my dismay, I discovered that my hand was

too weak; I could not even scrawl my own name...I was sick, enervated, depressed, losing my tenuous hold on reality...I was cornered. (Mahmoody and Hoffer 73)

Her strained mental condition worsens her biological condition and uncertainty of her physical safety also impacts her psychological state as Moody repeatedly beats her to an inch of her death and threatens to kill her, leading her to become frantic, paranoid, hysterical, and pessimistic: “fear kept me awake—fear that he would rise from his own troubled slumber and come at me with a knife, a piece of rope, his bare hands...I awaited my last moment, impotent against the rage of my demented husband” (Mahmoody and Hoffer 197). The new reality of domestic violence that leaves her physical frame bruised and battered is part of the Biological Acculturation because domestic violence is norm in Iran, and Mahmoody tries to remove herself from the situation by begging his family to save her from his attacks but no one comes to her aid because she is an Iranian wife who must get accustomed to the cultural norms, meaning forced Assimilation.

Last biological change involves the IUD she had put in place in America in secrecy, that she pulls out of her body herself risking bleeding or hemorrhaging to death, because it is illegal in Iran. This act of pulling IUD out of her body and discarding it shows her abandonment of her old American ways to survive in new land by Assimilating Biologically but the strategy is soon replaced with partial Assimilation when she steals oral contraceptives that were among the many medicines Moody had brought from America, showing again her reliance on her home country to save her from Complete Biological Assimilation.

12. Psychological Acculturation

Internalization of the cultural values, beliefs, manners, habits, customs and traditions are all part of the Psychological Acculturation, but besides these the psychological state of mind in reaction to the new cultural environment and behaviors are also part of it. Mahmoody strongly resists the psychological push into conformity in the beginning, but ends up surrendering to her situation by Assimilation. An example of it is her stoic resignation to how things simply are in Iran:

How strange it was to be ecstatic over the opportunity to remove vermin from my food! In two months my priorities has changed dramatically. I realized

how the American lifestyle had pampered me into fretting about the minor concerns. Here, everything was different. Already I had learned that I must not allow the details of daily existence to impinge upon larger tasks. If there were bugs in the rice, you cleaned them out. If the baby pooped on the Persian carpet, you wiped up the mess. If your husband wanted to leave the park early, you left. (Mahmoody and Hoffer 88)

She is disgusted and mortified by how things are in Iran in the beginning but slowly her emotions change from being that of disgust, irritation and anger to resignation and contentment. This drastic change in her emotions in regards to different things like bugs in the food, filthy surroundings and obedience to husband, are all due to Psychological Acculturation. She learns to accept these things as a natural way of life like other Iranians. The longer she stays, the more she begins to behave and think like Iranians, changing her personality. She predicts, “The longer I remained in Iran, the more I risked becoming [submissive] like her” (Mahmoody and Hoffer 282). She resists becoming like Iranian women but she ultimately adopts the submissive behavior of other Iranian women to survive. “She [Ellen] advised me. “Just sit there and let him say anything he wants to about you and don’t say anything.”...Hating myself, I tried...biting my lip, listening to Moody rage against me...I sat submissively, allowing Moody to vent his insane anger” (Mahmoody and Hoffer 195). She consciously begins to copy the behavior of other Iranian women but it begins to take psychological affect when her personality becomes meek and timid as she begins to lose her old strong personality traits. Few examples of it are when she “began to cry, suddenly impotent against his rage”, “dared not defy the madman”, and “took the abuse silently...I wanted to scream...But I held my tongue” which hints at the psychological breakdown of her old personality that would have never been this weak and tolerant of abuse (Mahmoody and Hoffer 68, 122, 112). Acculturation can result in “personality disorganization”, which is why Mahmoody’s defiant and resilient personality that always stood up to Moody begins to disappear as she unconsciously molds herself to be a perfect Iranian wife that always obeys her husband, silently suffers from his abuse, and never defies his will (Weinstock 7). Her old personality dismembers itself to reorganize itself into a personality accepted in the new socio-cultural space. To sum it up, change in her behavior and personality is intentional in the start so that she can survive in this new culture by mimicking the behaviors of

other Iranian women, but ends up getting somewhat Psychologically Acculturated without realization.

Mahmoody's engagement with the Acculturation process in the beginning is temporary and superficial including very basic changes because she is only staying in Iran for two weeks, but her acculturation process becomes permanent when the permanency of her stay is established. Since Mahmoody is an involuntary immigrant who is stuck "among people whose language and customs I [she] could not comprehend", she is forced to tackle the new culture through the process of acculturation (Mahmoody and Hoffer 39). Her Acculturation Preference is to remove herself from the new culture but because her transnational mobility is being controlled, she is unable to adopt a Separation strategy, so during her engagement in the acculturation process, among the four acculturation strategies (Integration, Assimilation, Separation and Marginalization) identified by Berry, she chiefly employs Assimilation strategy, briefly Integration strategy, and rarely Separation and Marginalization strategy to confront the acculturative changes. If all the changes are measured collectively instead of observing the changes individually, then her acculturation outcome is somewhere between Partial and Complete Assimilation.

The deciding factor in her Assimilation is the fact that her migration and acculturation are not voluntary; her acculturation is forced by the host group because if her acculturation was under her own control she would have chosen the Separation strategy. Her resistance to adopt the Iranian culture is snuffed out by her Iranian husband subjecting her to battering, her controlling and abuse-enabler in-laws, and the laws and rules of the fundamentalist government. Conformity through the Assimilation strategy is a way for her to survive in the hostile state with the history of Islamic revolution. This strategy becomes a necessity to divert any threat to her life. The other factor is the time period of her stay. She is trapped in Iran for eighteen months without the hope of escapement, so the longer one interacts with a new culture the more they adopt whether consciously or unconsciously and it is something she predicts in the very beginning: "Soon, I realized, I would simply accept my plight and drift away from my family and my homeland forever...Before I knew it, the seasons—time itself—would merge into nothingness. The longer we remained here, the easier it would be to acquiesce" (Mahmoody and Hoffer 73). For her survival, Mahmoody Assimilates into the Iranian culture despite her hatred for it and her

Preference for the Separation strategy, because her Acculturation Behavior is under the control of her host group.

The genre of ‘oriental’ memoir and ‘captivity’ memoir supports the content of the memoir that is about Mahmoody’s journey from Separation to Assimilation into the Iranian culture. The bi-national and multi-cultural ties that are established through marriage and mobility turn her into a transnational individual and create a transnational space for her to engage in transnational activities and practices through the act of Acculturation. Stark distinction between America and Iran forms in this transnational space that is captured in the binaries that emerge in the ‘oriental’ memoir to reflect her conflicting or contradictory attitudes towards both cultures and countries. Creating binaries during the Acculturation is a mechanism to separate both cultures and sustain a boundary to prevent integration, which she does through the employment of Separation Strategy; however, these binaries dissipate slowly as she begins to Assimilate.

4.3.2.3 Conclusion: Abandoning the East

Proven from the analysis of the memoir *Not Without My Daughter* (1987), Betty Mahmoody’s transnational mobility is transpired by rational and irrational reasons but it is ultimately her intimacy that prevails and takes her to Iran. Her intimate reasons include the fear of divorce, possible trauma to children and love for her daughter. Her maternal bond with her daughter is so strong that she willingly ignores all her rational fears to take on the Intimate Mobility. Her mobility from America to Iran impacts her life because migration/mobility from one country to another country brings a tremendous change in a person’s life because each locality has its own culture and when an immigrant is confronted with two cultures (home and host cultures), a transnational space is born. A transnational space is born in the Eastern space through her mobility and in this space she is suddenly forced to confront two cultures, her American/Western home culture and her Iranian/Eastern host culture. She tries to deal with the two cultures through the employment of different Acculturation Strategies which prompt her to make decisions and choices that affect her on every level like religious, cultural, traditional, biological, and psychological etc. Her initial response to Acculturation in Iranian culture is to opt for Separation approach because as a forced immigrant, she lacks the desire to interact or adjust in the Iranian socio-cultural space and wants to maintain connection to her

beloved American culture. As the process progresses and adherence to her American culture, values, and traditions becomes a threat to her life because the host society wants her to completely merge into their culture, her Strategy becomes Assimilation. Her Acculturation oscillates between Partial Assimilation and Complete Assimilation. As Groes and Fernandez state that the movements and locations immigrants move to have an impact on them, Mahmoody's mobility and the Iranian cultural space impact her as she faces the vicissitudes of Iranian life and culture, and becomes an Iranian woman/wife. Her Intimate mobility causes her the loss of her precious American culture and enforced gain of hated Iranian culture. The transnational space created by her Intimate mobility disappears when she escapes Iran to go back to America as she sheds all these cultural aspects she was assimilate into. Abandoning physical Eastern space, also diminishes the non-physical transnational space of East and West's cultural interaction.

CHAPTER 5

CONCLUSION

This chapter presents the condensed overview of the whole study including the premise of the study, established arguments, and analytical findings, and relates those findings with the research questions and research aims/objectives. This chapter also discusses the contribution of this study in the current body of knowledge and the gaps it has helped to fill in the current literature. Lastly, it offers recommendations for potential research studies.

This is a gender centric study that is premised on the Western women's experiences of migration and acculturation in Eastern locations because "gender is central to any discussion of the causes [motivations for mobility] and consequences [Acculturation] of international migration" ("Women and International Migration 27). The study strives to understand why Western women are migrating to the Eastern spaces, what could be the motivators that are allowing their transnational mobilities, how their intimate reasons for mobility are different from the other factors, how they interact with the Eastern culture, what strategies they use for their survival, what changes they undergo during the process of Acculturation, and what are their acculturation outcomes in the three chosen memoirs, *An American Bride in Kabul* (2013), *Married to Bedouin* (2006), and *Not Without My Daughter* (1987).

The initial research questions/objectives of the study are regarding the transnational mobility of Western women in Eastern countries, to be specific, what factors motivate their mobilities, how these factors are different from conventional triggers and what role intimacy plays in the scenario. These are unraveled with the aid of Christian Groes and Nadine T. Fernandez's concept of Intimate Mobility that considers transnational mobility to be the product of intimate, emotional and irrational reasons (see Theoretical Framework, Ch. 3). Excluding rationality to make estimation and acknowledging the interference of intimacy in mobility/migration related decisions to analyze the primary texts aided in unearthing the motivations behind transnational mobilities of all three Western women, Phyllis Chesler, Marguerite van Geldermalsen, and Betty Mahmoody, to the Eastern spaces.

Proven through the findings in the previous chapter, all three Western women's mobilities to Eastern countries are instigated by their intimacy. Phyllis Chesler goes to Afghanistan for many reasons, all of which are connected to her emotions, directly or indirectly. The first reason is her emotions of love for her Eastern husband and unwavering trust in him that she consents to the sojourn, the second reason is that she grew up in a strictly Jewish orthodox environment, so transnational mobility to a Muslim country becomes a way for her to rebel against traditions, and the third reason is her ardent love for adventure and mobility itself and the desire to realize this very dream that becomes a strong motivator for her mobility. Marguerite van Geldermalsen's reasons are also similar to Chesler, as her love for adventure takes her to Jordan looking for adventure and her love for Mohammad Abdallah compels her to migrate to Jordan by creating an intimate relation through matrimony, which is an ample example of how her mobility created intimacy and how her intimacy granted her migration. Like other two women, Betty Mahmoody's motivations are also rooted in her emotions because she prevents the collapse of her marriage, the emotional ordeal of a divorce, and the guilt of breaking the family by assenting to go to Iran, but the most important reason is her love for her daughter, her fear of losing her, and the maternal instincts to protect her child from potential parental abduction.

This shows that there are myriad of reasons for Western women's transnational mobilities to Eastern countries, ranging from love, intimate relations, maternal bond, to desire for adventure, new experiences, and freedom of mobility. Their transnational mobilities become tools to sustain their intimate relationships like Mahmoody prevents divorce through her mobility to Iran. Mobility also becomes a medium to rebel against traditions and subvert the notion of mobility being exclusive to men for Western women like Chesler who, by taking on transnational mobility to a Muslim country, fulfills her desire to rebel against her orthodox Jewish family that refused her freedom, and gains her freedom of mobility that was denied to her by her family and society due to her gender. Western women like Chesler and Geldermalsen are able to fulfill their desires and dreams of adventures and new experiences by abandoning the safe space of home to migrate to the Eastern countries.

These findings clearly demonstrate that incentives behind their mobilities are quite different from the conventional reasons such as educational, economic, political,

environmental, improvement in living standard, and religious persecution etc, all of which are considered the rational reasons of migration. The reasons that impel their transnational mobilities to these Eastern spaces are not straightforward rational, but irrational, intimate and emotional. Geldermalsen, an educated woman, surrendering the life of modernity for the nomadic life of cave, is not rational. In fact, despite her fascination and curiosity for Bedouin way of life, she actually does not like the run down cave, but after she falls in love with Mohammad Abdallah, she decides to migrate to Jordan to live in the very same cave with him. Her intimacy and emotions dictate her mobility/migration even if it meant spending the rest of her life like Nomads. Her emotions of love allow her to abandon her old culture of modernity to settle for a life in a cave of Petra. Mahmoody who knows how dangerous it is for an American like her to go to Iran during a tumultuous political situation between Iran and America still willingly risks her own safety to go to Iran because she loves her daughter and her safety far precedes any consideration for her own safety. This alone is not the only danger she is aware of, she knows she would have to face a lot more dangers once she enters Iran. She knows that once she enters Iran she would not be able to protect herself from her husband and her very mobility that took her to this new land, would cease to exist but she still goes there ignoring all of her rational fears, just in a hope that by taking on this transnational mobility in order to meet her Iranian in-laws and letting them meet their daughter, she can prevent her daughter's paternal kidnapping and losing access to her forever. Her maternal bond with her daughter is so strong that her emotions of love overpower her rationality, aversion for Iran and fear of potential entrapment to enable her intimate mobility. Chesler, blinded by her love for her Afghan husband and yearning for an exotic adventure goes to Afghanistan without rationalizing and researching about what would happen if a Jewish woman were to go to a Muslim country. Her own emotions of love for her Afghan husband and desire for mobility prevent her from accessing her situation before making the decision of transnational mobility and take her to a land where she nearly loses her life.

Their "intimitization of mobility" shows that decisions of these women's transnational mobilities to Muslim countries cannot be measured in terms of rationality but only with the consideration of intimacy (Groes and Fernandez 3). Intimacy and emotions manipulate their rationality and blinding them to the realities

of the new spaces and the consequences of their mobilities, take them on journeys to the other side of the world unbeknownst to them even if meant risking their lives. All three women have their own unique motivations for travelling to Muslim countries but the common variable remains the same: their emotions of love and intimate bonds with their Eastern husbands or maternal bond with child take them to the Eastern spaces.

The second research question addresses the influence or consequences of their Intimate Mobilities on their lives after migration (which would be answered at the end), and Groes and Fernandez have pointed out that these Intimate Mobilities and transnational spaces shape or have an influence on their decisions and lives after migration, in the other half of the concept Mobile Intimacies. Western women's change of geographical location through their Intimate Mobilities to Eastern spaces generates transnational spaces of intercultural interactions, which are not material spaces but only "liquid notion of space[s]" (Collyer and King 3). Immigrants use transnational spaces to "organize their lives" as their home and host cultures collide with each other (Mountz and Wright 415). These Western women use these newly formed transnational spaces to negotiate their bi-national and inter-cultural identities as their "bodies become the site for struggles concerning disorienting cultural differences" by using different Acculturation_Strategies (Espin 7). Their lives are transformed by their mobilities and transnational spaces since Acculturation affects every dimension of their lives i.e language, attire, food, psychology, body, values, religion, traditions, culture, behaviors, and even identities, and thus all the changes triggered by the Acculturation process become the consequences of their migratory decisions.

This brings us to the third research question which is to determine which Acculturation Strategies are preferred by these Western women during their interaction with the Eastern culture in Muslim countries and in the process of answering that question the study's objective of finding out the kind of changes they undergo during the process along with their strategies are also fulfilled. This aim is achieved by employing John W. Berry's model of Acculturation Strategies in which he has identified four possible strategies or approaches that the acculturating subject can adopt during the acculturation process which are Integration, Assimilation, Separation and Marginalization, which are determined through their Attitudes toward

the original/home culture and the new/host culture (see Theoretical Framework, Ch. 3). Each individual approaches acculturation in their own unique manner so Berry's fourfold model of acculturation strategies aids in revealing how these Western women engage in the Acculturation process for their survival in the new cultural milieu. By analyzing the texts in the light of Berry's theory (see Analysis, Ch. 4), the emergent data reveals that these women employed different strategies for different new cultural aspects they encountered, depending on their own personal preferences, circumstances and the situational demands and identifying each strategy to a specific change helped with the overall estimation of their final outcome of Acculturation.

Phyllis Chesler's intimate motivations for transnational mobility have a great influence in regulating her Acculturation Strategies. Chesler's Acculturation Preference in the beginning is to interact with the host culture because she came with the intentions of fulfilling her desire for adventure and new experience associated with exploring new territories, so engaging in new culture is exciting for her. For sojourners like Chesler who are in search of adventures, the pull of new location compels them to interact with the new culture. Besides, she believes her transnational mobility to be temporary; therefore, she seeks temporary and superficial inclusion of the host culture by engaging in Linguistic Acculturation by attempting to learn Dari language, Dietary Acculturation by eating Afghan food, and Clothing Acculturation by wearing traditional Afghan clothing, all of which are needed for navigating the new land. Her intentions are to establish intercultural connection through Integration strategy by adopting the basic cultural aspects of the Afghanistan while maintaining her old American cultural values. However, her Integration strategy fails on the account of two reasons: one is host group and the other is her mobility. First is that she lacks the assistance of her Afghan family (host group) in making her transition easier as they refuse to make exceptions for her while she is attempting to learn or becoming accustomed to the new culture and not showing tolerance towards her adherence to American culture as they interpret it as disrespect to their culture. Second reason is again related to her transnational mobility: she comes to Afghanistan temporarily but as she legally becomes the citizen of Afghanistan, and her migration status becomes permanent, she cannot migrate out of the country without the consent of her husband. Chesler has no choice but to Assimilate, to become a true Afghan wife, in order to survive in the cultural space because of the permanency of her

situation even though she wants to adopt the Separation strategy by ceasing all cultural interaction with Afghanistan and retaining American culture. For Chesler, the retention of her own faith, progressive and modern American culture, and feminist values becomes dangerous, and therefore, she assimilates into the Afghan culture by converting to Islam, following local cultural values and traditions, surrendering to male dominance, forgoing her sexual, bodily and reproductive rights, undergoing social, economic and biological changes, and physically adjusting into the new cultural environment and lifestyle for survival in the Eastern space.

Similar to Chesler, Mahmoody arrives in Iran as a sojourner, but the difference between both is that Chesler does show some enthusiasm for the local culture and devises the Integration strategy to adopt the new culture; however, Mahmoody detests the Iranian culture and has no intentions whatsoever to engage in acculturation, establishing a Separation strategy from the very beginning. Just like in Chesler's situation, transnational mobility is also a factor in determining Mahmoody's Acculturation Attitude towards the home and host cultures. Since she comes as a temporary guest in the country, her Preference is to follow her own American culture strictly even in the foreign land while avoiding any interaction with Iranian culture; however, she wants to prevent offending the sentiments of her Iranian-in-laws and be respectful of her husband's culture which is why she reluctantly changes her strategy to Partial Integration by engaging in Dietary Acculturation by eating and cooking the Iranian food and Clothing Acculturation by complying with the modest dress code and wearing scarf and *chador*, thinking herself to be the 'temporary participant' in acculturation. Her selected acculturation strategy is circumstantial, only temporary in order to maintain cordial relationship with her Iranian-in-laws. Again, similar to what happened to Chesler, once it is revealed that Mahmoody has been trapped in Iran permanently by her Iranian spouse and has become an Iranian citizen by marriage, she becomes a 'permanent participant' in acculturation. She has no choice but to assent to Assimilation that is being forced by host group, to save her life from the threatening situation that is unavoidable for her because like Chesler her transnational mobility is also under the control of host group (Iranian husband, Iranian in-laws, and Iranian government). Mahmoody devises a plan to pretend to adopt the Iranian culture to deceive her husband and his family into thinking that she is willing to spend the rest of her life in Iran, by selecting the Assimilation strategy but the longer she spends

time in the new cultural space the more she unconsciously adopts, making her 'temporary' Assimilation 'permanent' with the passage of time. In order to prevent getting killed at the hands of her abusive husband, Mahmoody assimilates by following Islam, complying with strict dress code for Iranian women, eating Iranian food, following all the local customs and traditions, performing pilgrimages, becoming a subjugated Eastern wife, forgoing her reproductive, sexual and bodily rights, adopting the mannerisms and habits of other Iranians, and strictly abiding by the local laws. Her Assimilation becomes a necessity to survive in an Eastern space.

Geldermalsen's situation is very different from these both women precisely for the reason that she engages in acculturation voluntarily. Being a voluntary migrant, she herself decides to engage in the process without the pressure from the host group and even before her marriage migration when she is just a sojourner, she willingly follows the local Bedouin culture. Since she has no qualms or reservations about the Bedouin culture, her acculturation strategy is to Completely Assimilate from the very beginning. While fear for life become the triggers for the Assimilation of Chesler and Mahmoody, Geldermalsen's acculturation Preference for complete adoption of the Bedouin culture and abandonment of the old western culture stems from her desire to become part of the host group and feel a sense of belongingness. For voluntary migrants like Geldermalsen who decide to spend the rest of their lives in another country, gaining acceptance of the host group becomes important, and the way to achieve that is to accept their culture and mimic their behaviors. Her Complete Assimilation grants her the love and acceptance of her Bedouin tribe as she converts to Islam, learns Arabic, eats and cooks Bedouin food, follows Islamic teachings and values, adopts the Bedouin lifestyle by living in cave void of modern conveniences, travels on donkey, wears tradition Bedouin attire, engages in Bedouin customs and traditions, internalizes the values and codes of her Al-Manajah tribe, and replaces her identity as a Western woman with a Bedouin woman. Her complete acclamation to the new culture by employing the Assimilation strategy is the result of her own volition without the interference of the host group.

All of the three Western women follow different strategies for different types of changes at different situations to arrive at the same conclusion. Outcome of acculturation is same for all three women which is Assimilation but the degree of their Assimilation varies, with Chesler Partially Assimilated, Mahmoody occupying the

space in between Partial Assimilation and Complete Assimilation, and Geldermalsen being Completely Assimilated. Geldermalsen undergoes Complete Assimilation as she discards her very identity as Marguerite van Geldermalsen by changing her name to Fatima. On the other hand, Chesler's Assimilation is only partial because while she does adopt the Afghan culture, her Assimilation is selective, for example her clothing acculturation. She dresses like a traditional Afghan woman but she refuses to don scarf to cover her head or *burqa* to cover her whole body like other Afghan women. Lastly, Mahmoody's acculturation outcome is somewhere between Partial Assimilation and Complete Assimilation because while she entirely adopts the Iranian culture, she is unable to completely abandon her American culture. A few traces or remnants of her old culture remain in the form of her cooking American food sometimes and talking in English language.

The answer to this study's research question about the employed acculturation strategies is that Chesler and Mahmoody first chose Integration strategy by incorporating Afghan or Iranian cultural aspects in their lives while maintaining their American cultural traits, but then as the pressure from the host culture became unbearable, they selected Assimilation strategy by abandoning their old culture and adopting the Afghan or Iranian culture, and Geldermalsen chose Assimilation strategy from the very beginning by leaving behind New Zealand's culture and replacing it with the Bedouin culture in Jordan. For these women, Acculturation becomes a tool for adjustment in the new cultural milieu and Assimilation becomes a way to survive in it because the degree of their adaptation of the new culture correlates to their safety (in Chesler and Mahmoody's case) and acceptance in the new location by the host group (in Geldermalsen's situation), after their transnational mobilities and eventual migrations.

Returning back to the second question posed by this study in regards to the change in these Western women's lives and decisions as a result of their transnational mobilities/migrations, all three women are transformed as a consequence of their migrations to Eastern spaces and subsequent creation of transnational spaces. When their migrations cause transnational spaces to be born, they try to deal with their bi-national identities and home/host cultures through different Acculturation Strategies (already discussed before), and these require them to make personal choices and decisions in regards to every dimension of their life including Religious, Biological,

Psychological, Linguistic, Dietary, Clothing, Traditional, Cultural, Economic, and Social. It means that all the changes these women go through during Acculturation become part of their Mobile Intimacies. Besides their decisions being influenced, their lives are changed as they take on new Eastern identities. After Chesler's migration to Afghanistan, an invisible transnational space is born wherein her American/Western culture meets the new Afghan/Eastern culture, and she tries to deal with them through Partial Assimilation, which transforms her into an Afghan wife. Mahmoody negotiates between her American/Western culture and Iranian/Eastern culture through Assimilation, meaning that her transnational space transforms her into an Iranian wife. Lastly, Geldermalsen opts for Compete Assimilation while dealing with her New Zealand/Western culture and Bedouin/Eastern culture, transforming into a true Bedouin woman named Fatima. Their Intimate mobilities/migrations, resultant transnational spaces, and acculturations change their lives and identities. In this way, all three concepts of Intimate Mobilities, Acculturation Strategies and Mobile Intimacies tie together to answer all the questions about Western women's experiences from transnational mobilities/migrations to cultural changes to resultant consequences on lives.

Summation of this study's findings are that intimate factors compel these three Western women to travel/migrate to Eastern locations and change in the geographical locations due to their transnational mobilities creates transnational spaces where their bi-national and inter-cultural identities, and the home/host cultures are negotiated through different Acculturation Strategies and all the changes that occur during Acculturation become the part of the intimate changes that occur after migration. Mobility and the newly founded transnational spaces transform immigrant's life by controlling their intimate choices, all of which include the choices made during Acculturation regarding single aspect of their lives like religion, attire, food, behavior, body, psychology, traditions, culture, values, and more, as they reorganize their identities within the new cultural context. While this data is based on only three narratives and cannot be held true for every Western woman, it offers insight into this rapidly growing phenomenon of Western women's migrations in Eastern countries and their interactions with local cultures. Because of the focus on Post-colonialism, most available research is based on Eastern émigrés, a fact already explored in the Literature Review, where as the experiences of Western women's migrations are

overlooked. Besides contributing in the current body of knowledge by exploring these Western women's narratives of migrations, this study also highlights the importance of the consideration of intimate reasons when discussing female immigrants.

5.1 Recommendations for Future Research

This study can be used as a model for further research on Western women's memoirs of migration as there is plethora of such narratives available which are yet to be explored. Furthermore, besides female, studies on male Western immigrants can also be conducted to explore their experiences because consideration of gender is important in immigrant's experience. To the researcher's knowledge, it is the first study in English literature to have focused on intimitization of mobility by using Groes and Fernandez's theory which is a fairly new concept, thus this study has introduced a new perspective to future researchers by presenting this new aspect of migration.

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