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Internal-external locus of control and the life experiences of Soviet Pentecostal refugees in Portland, Oregon

Amy Roberts
Portland State University

Recommended Citation

AN ABSTRACT OF THE THESIS OF Amy Roberts for the Master of Science in Speech Communication presented January 3, 1991.

Title: Internal-External Locus of Control and the Life Experiences of Soviet Pentecostal Refugees in Portland, Oregon

APPROVED BY THE MEMBERS OF THE THESIS COMMITTEE:

Devorah Lieberman, Chair

Theodore G. Grove

Dorothy Sermol

Marjorie Terdal

The construct internal-external locus of control was utilized to examine the Soviet Pentecostal refugees' perception of life experiences in the United States as defined by three dimensions: social, economical, and political. Unlike the majority of immigration research, which focuses on structural variables, this research further addressed the concept of acculturation as a long term process of resettlement. Subjects completed an anonymous forced choice questionnaire consisting of the Rotter (1966)

locus of control instrument scale. Pearson Product moment correlation coefficients were calculated to examine the strength of the relationships between the internal-external locus of control scores and five factor analyzed life experience categories. Positive and sometimes strong correlations could be found between the internal-external locus of control scores and the five life experience factors. All five hypotheses were confirmed by the results.

INTERNAL-EXTERNAL LOCUS OF CONTROL

AND THE LIFE EXPERIENCES OF

SOVIET PENTECOSTAL REFUGEES IN PORTLAND, OREGON

by

AMY ROBERTS

A thesis submitted in partial fulfillment of the
requirement for the degree of

MASTER OF SCIENCE
in
SPEECH COMMUNICATION

Portland State University
1991

TO THE OFFICE OF GRADUATE STUDIES:

The members of the Committee approved the thesis of Amy Roberts presented January 3, 1991.

Devorah Lieberman, Chair

Theodore G. Grove

Dorothy Sermol

Marjorie Terdal

APPROVED:

Theodore G. Grove, Chair, Department of Speech Communication

C. William Savery, Interim Vice Provost for Graduate Studies and Research

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

Part of the joy in completing this thesis and M.S. Degree is thanking the people who have helped make it possible. I would first like to acknowledge the faculty and graduate students of the Portland State University Speech Communication Department for supporting an academic environment which made the course of my graduate study a true learning experience.

I am grateful to a number of professors for their invaluable contributions, professional assistance, and guidance throughout my graduate study. Very special thanks are due to Devorah Lieberman, Theodore Grove, and Dorothy Sermol for serving on my thesis committee. It was also a privilege to have taken courses from Milton Bennett, Peter Ehrenhaus, and Marge Terdal.

Grateful acknowledgement is also due to the Metropolitan Action Agency case workers and the ESL instructors at the Ross Island Center for their assistance in distributing the questionnaire. Particular gratitude is due to Lida McDonald for her careful translation of the questionnaire from English to Russian and to Linda Shepard for her insightful assistance with the statistical analysis.

Moreover, I am forever indebted to many individuals, whose kindness, support and encouragement have eased the

stresses, smoothed the way, strengthened the will, and inspired the search. In particular, my life long friend Jennifer has been with me through the worst and the best of times. A special thanks is also due to Barb and Beth for all their enthusiasm for this project.

I would also like to acknowledge my parents for giving me the rich experience of living abroad for the first seventeen years of my life. These experiences have remained a constant influence in my professional as well as personal life.

I wish to extend my deepest appreciation to my mother and father-in-law, Tappy and Gardner for their encouragement and endless support. Their belief in my work and enthusiasm for the numerous projects I have undertaken during graduate study have endowed me with a zest to achieve my goals.

Finally I would like to acknowledge my children, Crystole and Jahna, who have always been a source of happiness and joy for me. Crystole has been very patient in anticipation of the completion of this project. Moreover the fate of Jahna can only be surmised as she sat in an embryonic state through such enlightening lectures as SP440 (Introduction to Intercultural Communication) and was born six days prior to the completion of the first term of my graduate study.

In conclusion, this acknowledgement would not be complete without extending my deepest appreciation and gratitude to my husband and treasured colleague; Steven

Locke. I am forever thankful for the opportunity to link goals, efforts and minds in an exciting professional as well as personal life. Without his creativity, strengths, support and tolerance this thesis and associated course work would not have been possible.

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                                                    -Edward Hall (1977)

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

STATEMENT OF THE PROBLEM

From the first settlement of Jamestown, people have
come to the United States for religious, economic, and
political reasons. Today the numbers of ethnic groups
settling in the United States continue to increase to levels
equal to the immigration years of the late nineteenth and
early twentieth centuries (Hecht, Ribeau, & Sedano, 1990).
From an historical perspective, immigration in the United
States has been a significant national achievement when
considering that more than two million refugees have been
accepted and assisted in resettlement since the end of the
Second World War (Haines, 1985). The implications of this
national achievement are great when considering that most
experts define refugee resettlement as a complex and
multifaceted process.

The process of permanent resettlement, whereby
immigrating people are faced with the occurrence of many
changes, is called acculturation (Baldassini & Flaherty,
1982). Haines (1985) contends that all refugees must face a
long-term process of acculturation into at least some
aspects of American society. While the acculturation process

is inevitable, it is neither quick nor without difficulties for the refugees and the social service agencies which attempt to serve them.

The variety of situations refugees encounter and the responses to them by individuals in the United States varies greatly, depending upon such factors as the geographic location of resettlement and the overall economic well-being of the United States at the time of resettlement (Haines, 1985). These factors are important considerations for refugee resettlement as well as the range of skills and characteristics that refugees bring with them.

In addition to the above factors, social service agencies often depend upon research findings as a source of information to help agency staff working with refugee clients. This information often provides agency workers with an understanding of the needs of specific refugee groups and enhances their cultural sensitivity towards refugee clients. Consequently, lack of scholarly research addressing distinct ethnic groups of refugees often hinders the initial support system which makes important decisions regarding refugee resettlement.

There is an extensive amount of quantitative and qualitative research which exists on the initial adjustment and acculturation of Southeast Asian and Cuban refugees (Haines, 1985). Far less material is available for such diverse groups as the Soviet Jews and extremely limited for other, smaller groups.

Lack of research on smaller ethnic groups appears to be unimportant due to the smaller number of refugees involved in resettlement. However, a sudden influx of any number of refugees can often be devastating when they flood a particular area of the country. Recent political changes in the Soviet Union have resulted in liberalized procedures for Soviet immigration to the United States (Nelson, 1989). As a result, three main ethnic groups (Soviet Jews, Armenians, and Pentecostals) are being given Soviet exit permission in large numbers. In terms of Soviet immigration to the United States, 70,000 new arrivals were projected for the 1989 fiscal year alone and future projections for the next few years estimate 6 million new arrivals (Nelson, 1989). While the majority of applicants for refugee status are Soviet Jews and Armenians, many Pentecostals are also seeking emigration to the United States (Nelson, 1989).

The Soviet Pentecostals, in particular have drastically changed the wave of refugee resettlement in the state of Oregon (See Figure 1) (Kirschten, 1989). Previously, the largest group of refugees in Oregon were from Southeast Asia; however, beginning in April of 1988, Soviet Pentecostal refugees began to outnumber all other refugee arrivals in Oregon. By mid-1989, Oregon was receiving 180 to 200 Soviet Pentecostal refugees each month (Kirschten, 1989) (See Figure 1).

Previous research addressing Soviet refugee resettlement has largely been limited to Soviet Jews, a

NUMBER OF ARRIVALS (1988-1990)

350 325 300 275 250 225 200 175 150 125 100 75 50 25 0

1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9

*1988   *1989   *1990
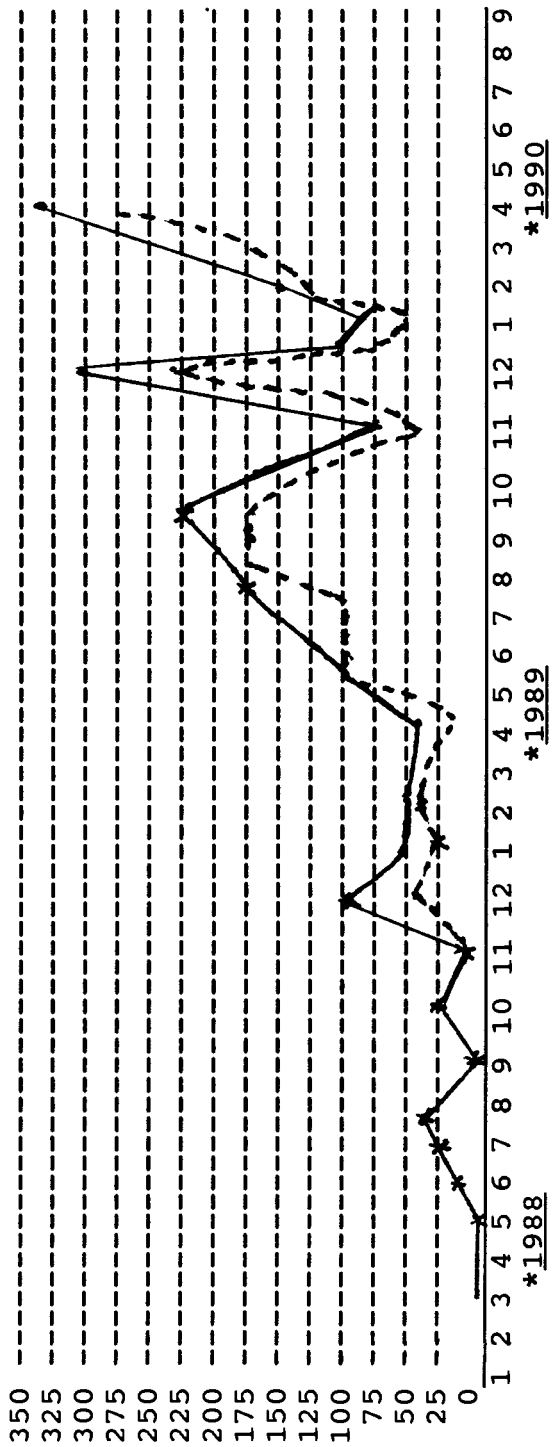
*Month and year of arrivals
——— Oregon total
– – – Portland total

Figure 1. Soviet Pentecostal Resettlement in Oregon.
(Metropolitan Action Agency, April 5, 1990)

group which differs greatly from the Soviet Pentecostal refugees (Haines, 1985). Thus, social service agencies assisting in the initial resettlement process of the Soviet Pentecostal refugees have been faced with new and very different challenges. For instance, in a demographic survey of 900 Jewish refugees, who arrived in the late 1970s and early 1980s, Simon (1985) found that Jewish refugees have much smaller families than the Pentecostals. While Jewish refugees have an average of 1.4 children per family, the Pentecostals generally have large families with between 9 and 13 children (Kirschten, 1989). According to Haines (1985), large families like the Soviet Pentecostals are often faced with major problems when trying to find appropriate housing. Haines (1985) noted that the difficulty Southeast Asian refugees have had, in regard to housing, is a result of their relatively large families. He concluded that there is a mismatch between housing needs and a rental market affected by the dual trends toward condominium conversion and market responses to shrinking American household size (Haines, 1985).

Simon (1985) also found that a majority (64 percent) of Jewish refugees had four year college degrees and worked at professional and white collar jobs while the Pentecostals generally came from working class backgrounds. The Pentecostals, because of their religious preferences had been denied the educational opportunities beyond the high school level in the Soviet Union (Kirschten, 1989).

experiences in the Soviet Union, have little understanding of social services as they are organized in the United States (Goldstein, 1979). According to Haines (1985) positive communication and interaction between refugees and those who are assisting them in resettlement are often inhibited as a result of cultural misperceptions.

American social service agencies often emphasize an interventionist counselling approach that is alien to the Soviet Pentecostals (Goldstein, 1979). Most of these refugees have spent their lives under a government that supplies a variety of basic material needs but is also relatively unresponsive to their demands (Goldstein, 1979). Consequently this group is likely to perceive that social service agencies owe them a considerable amount of material aid but will be slow and unresponsive in furnishing that aid (Haines, 1985). Misperceptions often occur which create a lack of fit between the refugee's perceptions of the agency and the agency's perceptions of their refugee clients (Haines, 1985). As a result, in many instances, refugees are kept at a distance from the very people who are attempting to facilitate their adjustment (Goldstein, 1979).

Soviet refugees also often have difficulties making the transition from a closed, totalitarian system, where the state provided many services, such as medical care to an open society, which is based on individual initiative and responsibility (Edelman, 1977). For many Soviet refugees, Edelman found, that this transition is often traumatic. The

idea of having to actively seek housing and compete in a job market is overwhelming for them. In interviews with Soviet Pentecostals in Woodburn, Oregon, Martinis (1989) reported similar attitudes and feelings. Many of the refugees settling near Woodburn were unfamiliar with the idea that they could be fired from jobs and that they must work hard to "get ahead." Martinis (1989) noted that Soviet Pentecostal refugees who are attempting to acculturate into their new culture experience great difficulty in adjusting to the American capitalist work ethics.

In general terms, Soviet refugees have been described as difficult social service clients because of their high expectations about employment in the United States (Haines, 1985). They come from a society where their occupation is the key to general status (Gilison, 1976) to a society where there is extensive alien job mobility (Goldstein, 1979). They are characterized as sometimes unwilling to take employment that is inconsistent with their prior experiences. Moreover, they often show some unwillingness to accept the need for compromise in terms of occupational goals. They underestimate the length of time necessary to achieve professional level occupations (Haines, 1985; Goldstein, 1979).

In addition, education facilities at all levels have been caught unprepared for special English as a second language needs and the particular learning styles of Soviet refugees (Andersen, & Powell, 1988). While classrooms in the

United States are more informal and interactive, classrooms in the Soviet Union are rigidly controlled by the teacher. Soviet Pentecostal students normally rise when asking or answering a question and sit with their arms folded when listening to a lesson (Andersen, & Powell, 1988). Thus, both educators and Soviet Pentecostal students are often faced with a new and very different set of challenges for which neither is adequately prepared. Learning English is an important consideration according to Caplan, Whitmore, & Bui (1985) who suggested that one of the best predictors of successful acculturation of refugees into American culture is the level of English proficiency of all family members.

While the increased rate of Soviet Pentecostal refugee resettlement is a major success story for the United States' human rights policy, the consequences of this success have presented Oregon with a complex situation. The large influx of Soviet Pentecostal refugees (See Figure 1) has placed a strain on social service agencies and other public facilities. Not only have the large numbers overwhelmed the already strained system, but extreme cultural differences have been a major stumbling block for refugees trying to acculturate, while social service agencies and schools attempt to accommodate them.

Scholarly works addressing the above issues thus far are limited (personal interview with Jody Davich, director of Metropolitan Action Agency, May 1990). While past research has been useful in examining the acculturation of

According to Haines (1985), refugees like the Soviet Pentecostals, have greater difficulty than other refugees with advanced education or particularly relevant occupational skills, as they attempt to adjust to life in the United States.

Another major difference between the Soviet Jews and Soviet Pentecostals is that the Soviet Jews have not had to rely on help from the government or quasi-governmental agencies in the resettlement process. Most Jewish resettlement has been handled by private communal organizations such as Jewish Family Services (Simon, 1985 & Rubenstein, 1989). In comparison, the majority of the Soviet Pentecostal refugees have had to rely on governmental agencies for support.

Social service and volunteer agencies have found that Soviet refugees are hesitant to accept help. After experiencing religious persecution in their native country and are presently having recollections of the difficulty in obtaining exit documents, Soviet refugees are very suspicious of assistance (Goldstein, 1979). These organizations concluded that many Soviet refugees perceived them to be an arm of the government (Edelman, 1977).

This situation, coupled with the large influx of Soviet Pentecostal refugees at a rapid rate has strained existing program resources in the state of Oregon, particularly in the Portland Tri-met area (Kirchtsen, 1989). Furthermore, Soviet Pentecostal refugees, because of their prior

refugees into a new culture, it has done so outside the refugees' personal experiences (Seipel, 1988). Thus, research is needed to gain insight into the set of factors which influence the acculturation process this new and distinct group of Soviet Pentecostal refugees are faced with while resettling in the Portland, Oregon area.

STATEMENT OF THE PURPOSE

> All too frequently, refugees and other immigrants are viewed as blank tablets on their arrival to the United States. Their backgrounds are reduced to such simple quantified measures as age, years of education or previous education.
>
> -Haines, 1985, p. 15

Although there are common patterns in the experiences of all refugees in the United States, the key to understanding their unique situations involves recognition of the wide diversity of their previous experiences (Haines, 1985). While diversity in the societies from which they came is important, the reasons for immigration and the potential for their futures in the United States are extremely important (Goldstein, 1979; Haines, 1985; Seipel, 1988).

Thus the primary purpose of this study is to examine the life experiences and acculturation of the Soviet Pentecostal refugees resettling in the Portland Tri-met area of Oregon. While the concept of "life experience" is often referred to as subjective variables relating to the degree of well-being of immigrants (Hurh & Kim, 1984), the concept can be further defined as representing major dimensions of an individual's life within the social, economic, and

political spheres (Seipel, 1988). In other words, life experiences appear to be largely a consequence of one's actions in a number of every day situations (Hsieh, Shybut, & Lotsof, 1969). Moreover as previously discussed, acculturation pertains to the process of resettlement whereby many changes occur (Baldassini & Flaherty, 1982).

The major goal of this study is to provide a basis for understanding intergroup interaction between Soviet Pentecostal refugees and refugee resettlement agencies. This study takes the position that once within the United States, programs for refugees should deemphasize admission decisions and relief efforts and concentrate more on programs to support positive adjustment and acculturation. Thus program adequacy should be based on how refugees are adjusting and acculturating during the resettlement process (Haines, 1985).

This examination will attempt to describe the acculturation, life experiences and problematic areas of adjustment of Soviet Pentecostal refugees while filling a gap in refugee research. The implications of this examination may serve social service agencies in facilitation of the successful resettlement of Soviet Pentecostal refugees in American society.

THEORETICAL SCOPE

Communication, said Kim (1988), plays an important role in the acculturation process of refugees and immigrants. She

identified personal and social communication as two interrelated processes that contribute to the acculturation process. Just as important as the personal communication process, acculturation is also dependent on the communication environment of the host culture.

Littlejohn (1989) suggested that communication is intertwined with all of human life and the term "communication theory" refers to the body of theories aimed at understanding the communication process. Moreover some communication theories focus on the attribution of meaning to behavior, specifically the processes by which people come to understand their own behavior. Kelley (1973) defined "attribution theory" as a process whereby individuals infer the causes of their behavior based on overall experience, meanings, situational factors and individual perceptual styles.

Attribution theory is an especially important component of communication theory when considering the cultural dynamics involved with refugee resettlement. While refugees are subject to their own internal social dynamics, they are also faced with a wide range of factors in the United States that can either encourage acculturation or retard it. Kim (1988) listed five factors that determine acculturation potential: 1) similarity between the original culture and the host culture, 2) age at the time of immigration, 3) educational background, 4) personality characteristics such

as gregariousness and tolerance for ambiguity, and 5) familiarity with the host culture before immigration.

Especially crucial are the ways refugees explain and understand the attributional processes which give meaning to their behaviors and personal perceptions of control within their new and often very different culture (Goldstein, 1979). In many situations, refugees are forced to make decisions concerning the attributions of their personal behavior while faced with behavior which often "clashes" with the dominant cultural norm of their new home.

In recent years, there has been widespread cross-cultural discussion of the importance of belief in personal control and belief in fate versus personal control (Hui, 1982). Starting from a social-learning framework, the locus of control concept subsequently drew widespread cultural interest. Rotter's basic hypothesis can be summarized as follows:

> If a person perceives a reinforcement as contingent upon his or her own behavior, then the occurrence of either a positive or negative reinforcement will strengthen or weaken the potential for that behavior to recur in same or similar situations. If he or she sees the reinforcement as being outside his or her own control or not contingent, that is, depending upon chance, fate, powerful others, or unpredictable, then the preceding behavior is less likely to be strengthened or weakened (1966, p. 5).

The expectation that a particular behavior will lead to a particular reward or punishment is generalizable from the specific situation to situations that are seen as similar. When behavior is viewed as a function of the individual's own action, an internal locus of control exists. In

contrast, behavior that is not perceived as a function of
the individual's own action, but rather upon other factors
such as powerful others or fate, is referred to as an
external locus of control (Gudykunst & Ting-Toomey, 1989).

The internal-external locus of control construct
classifies individuals according to the degree to which they
accept personal responsibility for what happens to them and
how individuals attribute responsibility for situations to
forces outside their control (Rotter, 1966). The external
locus of control forces might be those of chance or fate.
External control suggests an inability to understand the
world, or the influence of other, more powerful people
(Lefcourt, 1982). "Moreover, the internal-external locus of
control construct is considered to describe personal
dispositions, operating across a large number of situations,
relating to whether or not individuals possess or lack power
over what happens to them (Phares, 1976). " Thus the
internal-external locus of control construct can be linked
on a macro level to issues such as education policy, race
relations, social activism, bargaining in international
trade, management of multinational corporations in foreign
countries and cross-cultural learning (Hui, 1982, p. 302)."

The following chapters will address the relation
between sociocultural settings during refugee resettlement
and control beliefs of Soviet Pentecostal refugees.
Moreover, the internal-external locus of control construct
will be discussed as an intrapersonal variable affecting the

social, economic, and political behavior (life experiences) of Soviet Pentecostal refugees as they attempt to acculturate through resettlement in the United States.

Thesis Statement

Research is needed to gain insight into the set of factors which influence the acculturation process and life satisfaction of Soviet Pentecostal refugees resettling in the Portland Tri-met area of Oregon. Thus the primary purpose of this study is to examine these factors. Moreover, the major goal of this study is to provide a basis for understanding intergroup interaction between Soviet Pentecostal refugees and the social service agencies which facilitate refugee resettlement.

Hypotheses

On the basis of the discussion presented in chapter one and in the remaining chapters, the following hypotheses were formulated to examine the life experiences of Soviet Pentecostal refugees within selected dimensions of the social, economic, and political spheres. Hypotheses 1 and 3 address the social dimension, hypothesis 2 covers the economic dimension, and hypotheses 4 and 5 examine the political dimension.

1. The greater the internal locus of control orientation, the greater the degree of perceived well-being of the subjects as related to feelings about personal goals achieved, the approval of the new culture, social participation, and feelings about immigration to the United States.

2. The greater the internal locus of control orientation, the greater the economic condition and career opportunities as perceived by the subjects since immigrating to the United States.

3. The greater the internal locus of control orientation, the greater the perceived match between the subject's education with occupation, income with occupation, and the subject's income with American workers who do the same work.

4. The greater the internal locus of control orientation, the greater the degree to which the subjects feel trust in the United States government.

5. The greater the internal locus of control orientation, the greater the degree to which subjects are willing to support civic activities within American society.

CHAPTER II

HISTORICAL OVERVIEW OF REFUGEE
RESETTLEMENT IN THE UNITED STATES

BACKGROUND AND OVERVIEW

While the major thrust of this research concerns the life experiences and acculturation of Soviet Pentecostal refugees in the Portland Tri-met area of Oregon, chapter two provides important background information pertaining to refugee resettlement in the United States. In general, the information provided is based on the wide range of research both quantitative and qualitative which presently exists for some of the largest flows of refugee groups in the United States.

First, an overview of the refugee resettlement effort in the United States is provided from an historical perspective. Second, general patterns in the adjustment of refugees themselves are presented, with particular focus on three of the largest refugee groups in recent years: Cubans, Vietnamese and Soviet Jews. Last, a brief account of the Soviet Pentecostals' status and personal circumstances in the Soviet Union is discussed as a means to provide greater understanding of their adjustment and their reactions to resettlement in the United States.

DEFINITION OF REFUGEE STATUS

Starr and Roberts (1982) address the differences of immigrants and refugees in their research on immigrant adjustment in the United States. They posited that the implications of research on immigrants must be recognized for its limitations when addressing the special situation of immigrants who have involuntarily left their homes.

The United States government distinctly defines such immigrants under the status of "refugees." To qualify as refugees under the United States law, refugees must prove they have "a well-found fear of persecution" on account of race, religion, nationality, membership in a particular social group or political opinion (Hoffman, 1990). Individuals who do not meet this criterion are offered public interest parole status as "immigrants." While the federal government pays for such things as transportation and resettlement support assistance for refugees, immigrants receive no assistance and are required to furnish evidence that they will not become public charges (Hoffman, 1990).

In the Refugee Act of 1980, Congress stated that the objective of this act was to provide a permanent and systematic procedure for the admission of refugees who were of special humanitarian concern (Hoffman, 1990). Moreover, providing uniform provisions for the effective resettlement and absorption of refugees was also important (Hoffman, 1990).

According to the Immigration and Naturalization Service's preliminary 1989 figures, 643,025 foreign-born people lawfully established residency in the United States during the 1988 fiscal year. Of that total, 532,304 were admitted under basic provisions of the nation's immigration law. The other 110,721 came as refugees. The refugee flow continues to dramatically increase, nearly doubling from 68,000 arrivals in 1985 to an expected 125,000 in 1990 (Nelson, 1989).

From the years 1946 to 1990, 2.5 million refugees from the Soviet Union have been accepted by the United States (Hoffman, 1990). Presently, all Soviets seeking admission to the United States are granted entry either as refugees or under parole authority of the Attorney General (Nelson, 1989). Thus, virtually all Soviet Jews and Evangelical Christians, including Soviet Pentecostals are assumed by the Immigration and Naturalization Service to have a well-founded fear of persecution. This status implies that they automatically qualify for refugee status in the United States.

REFUGEE RESETTLEMENT IN THE UNITED STATES

Historically, the United States' immigration policy did not consider significant distinctions between refugees and other immigrants (Reimers, 1982 & McHugh, 1979). When increased immigration restrictions on entry into the United States were enforced in the 1920s, refugees suffered the

same immigration restrictions as all other immigrants (Haines, 1985). The consequences of these restrictions became evident during the late 1930s when the Jews attempting to flee Nazi Germany were denied entry to the United States.

It was not until the end of the Second World War that the beginning of two separate refugee programs addressed the special needs of refugees (Reimers, 1982 & McHugh, 1979). First, the Displaced Persons Act of 1948 enabled 400,000 refugees to immigrate to the United States from Europe. Secondly, the Refugee Relief Act of 1953 was enacted to allow 200,000 refugees, mostly fleeing from Communist dominated Eastern Europe, to immigrate to the United States (Haines, 1985).

As a consequence of the Displaced Persons Act and the Refugee Relief Act, several changes in United States laws developed which directly addressed refugee policy (Haines, 1985). First, refugee admissions were processed separately from general immigration. Secondly, refugee admissions policy focused on political refugees from Communist countries. Third, resettlement help to refugees in adjusting to American society was addressed.

In 1960, more than 100,000 Cubans immigrated to the United States in response to Castro's victory in Cuba (Rumbaut & Rumbaut, 1976). Important differences in this new refugee group prompted more direct federal government involvement. The Cuban refugee flow was the beginning of

increased governmental involvement which resulted in domestic assistance to all refugees in the United States (Haines, 1985).

While the number of Cuban refugees resettling in the United States began to diminish in 1975, the plight of the boat refugees from Vietnam led to the entry of 130,000 more refugees by 1983 (Haines, 1985). The Indochina Migration and Refugee Assistance Act was formulated in response to the United States' decision to allow entry to refugees who were mostly Laotion and Cambodian refugees waiting to immigrate from camps in Thailand.

The Soviet Jews were a third group of refugees during the 1970s who were important in formulating refugee policy in the United States (Haines, 1985). This situation occurred as a consequence of easing procedures for obtaining exit visas in the Soviet Union. While it was believed that the majority of Soviet Jews would immigrate to Israel, many opted for resettlement in the United States (Goldstein, 1979). The number of Soviet Jewish refugees reached 29,000 in 1979 before declining in the following years (Haines, 1985). Similar to previous refugee groups, the United States response to Soviet Jewish refugees was population specific and entailed separate legislation and a distinct program for resettlement.

The history of the United States refugee resettlement effort continues to be characterized by complexity and considerable organizational overlap (Haines, 1985).

According to Haines (1985), the concept of refugee resettlement should not be defined as a single entity but rather as a series of focused activities which involve a wide variety of organizations and individuals. The overall framework for resettlement efforts should focus on providing assistance to meet the particular needs of refugees.

REVIEW OF THE LITERATURE

The United States has increasingly become a pluralistic society (Hecht, Ribeau, & Sedano, 1990). While this trend has led to the increase of ethnic cultures in the United States, interethnic communication has increasingly become an everyday occurrence for many people in specific geographic areas. Moreover, interethnic communication is increasingly important in the acculturation of different ethnic groups.

According to Seipel (1988), the majority of research on ethnic groups immigrating to the United States has primarily focused on structural variables such as age, sex and education of immigrants. Hurh & Kim (1984) state that researchers have mostly emphasized sociological concepts such as pluralism, colonialism, institutional racism, or acculturation to describe the life experiences of many different ethnic groups of immigrants. In comparison Seipel (1988) notes that research which examines the life experiences of immigrants and refugees has been limited.

Gordon (1964) pointed out that the terms assimilation and acculturation have been used ambiguously and

interchangeably in regard to refugee research. He suggested that the two terms have often been used to mean the same thing or their meanings have overlapped. However, Gordon (1964) identified seven levels of assimilation, but distinguished cultural and structural assimilation as the most important.

According to Gordon (1964), cultural assimilation is similar to what Kim (1984) referred to as acculturation. Immigrants become "like" the host culture in such things as language, behavior, and values. Structural assimilation is the "taking up and incorporation" or full integration of immigrants into the host culture. Two very important points that Gordon emphasized in his definitions of cultural and structural assimilation were: 1) successful acculturation does not guarantee structural assimilation and 2) structural assimilation has seldom taken place in immigrant groups. Moreover, Gordon (1964) emphasized the communicative two-way process of acculturation which noted that immigrants need to be "accepted" by the host culture as well as "accepting" of the new culture.

Existing research on immigrating groups has often combined several of the concepts discussed above. In 1981 a survey sponsored by the Soviet Resettlement Program of the Council of Jewish Federations was conducted in 14 American cities with 900 Soviet Jewish refugees. This survey had two major purposes: 1) To find out about refugees' socioeconomic

adjustment and, 2) to characterize their adjustment in the United States (Simon, 1985).

Seventy percent of the respondents reported that the biggest problem in their adjustment and resettlement was learning English (Simon, 1985). Younger respondents, however and those with white-collar skills were less likely to consider language acquisition as a problem than respondents over 30 or with blue-collar backgrounds.

The availability of adequate work was the second most frequently cited problem (Simon, 1985). Thirty-five percent of respondents who were employed described themselves as very satisfied with their jobs while 49 percent considered themselves somewhat satisfied. Not surprisingly, a higher percentage of those with more skills and training were also more likely to be very satisfied with their jobs.

This study suggests that Soviet Jewish refugees, in general, are making a successful adjustment while acculturating to their new home (Simon, 1985). Based on the qualitative nature of the study, the Soviet Jewish respondents have made considerable strides since arriving in the United States.

According to Haines (1985), the occupational and educational backgrounds of refugees are important factors which can influence acculturation to the United States. When learning a new language, these factors are essential for success. In reflection on all three major refugee populations (Cubans, Vietnamese, and Soviet Jews) more than

two-thirds of those who had been in the labor force in their native countries also held white-collar positions (Haines, 1985).

Boekestijn (1988) emphasized the significance of personal relationships in explaining the success of refugee adjustment to a new culture. He suggested that the development of personal and intimate relationships between members of the immigrating culture were just as important as relationships with the host culture in determining the success of acculturation.

Forbes (1985) did further research and found that agency support has had minimal impact on refugee resettlement and monetary assistance has worked as a disincentive for success. Brodsky (1980) posited that the lack of agency success is due to the ethnocentric attitudes of social workers. She noted that Soviet clients in particular tend to draw a strict division between the coldness and formality of the public area and the warmth and spontaneity of relations with family and friends.

Brodsky (1980) posited that social workers need to: 1) be more informal and more directly and personally involved with their clients, 2) increase attention to the importance of the extended family to Soviet clients, and 3) focus on providing practical help in adjusting to American culture.

Bratt (1983) examined "Americanization" and self-definition among Dutch Calvinist immigrants in the 1920s. He noted that, "They might not remain reformed Hollanders, nor

become secular Americans but perhaps they want to develop
into reformed Americans" (Bratt, 1983, p. 677). He concluded
that while the Dutch Calvinists assimilated quickly in terms
of the language, customs and dress of the new culture, other
variables were much less affected.

For instance, the Dutch Calvinist immigrants
demonstrated that some institutional structures were
conducive to the preservation of ethnic identity. By
founding their own churches and sometimes their own schools,
Dutch Calvinist immigrants resisted cultural assimilation
(Gordon, 1964). "In these situations, cultural assimilation
was either arrested or proceeded with the upmost caution at
the door of the church" (Smith, 1979, p. 166). Consequently,
some institutions generated co-cultural relationships which
were, at least, competitive with those developing with the
new culture (Smith, 1979, p. 165). Gordon (1978) argued that
ethnic identity was best retained when religious beliefs
were involved.

Soviet Pentecostal Refugees

To most Americans, a Russian is a citizen of the vast
country referred to as the Union of the Soviet Socialist
Republics, the USSR, or the Soviet Union (Eubank, 1973). The
terms "Russian" and "Soviet" are often used interchangeably
in news releases and everyday conversation when referring to
people from the Soviet Union. Many Americans are not aware
of the fact that the USSR is a state composed of people of

many cultural backgrounds and that only some of these people can be called "Russians" (Eubank, 1973).

While the Soviet Union is a federation of 16 republics, each republic is inhabited by a different ethnic group. Recent census figures indicate that nearly four-fifths of the people of the Soviet Union live in the following republics; the RSFSR, the Ukrainian SSR, and the Byelorussian SSR (Eubank, 1973).

The people representing these republics are considered to be some of the eastern Slavic people of the USSR. By definition, Slavs are members of a particular linguistic group with languages that are closely related to each other (Gerber, 1985). This is an important consideration when recognizing that there are presently over 300 million people who are Slavs (Eubank, 1973).

Historically, most Slavic people spoke the same language and occupied a small area in the central part of what is now the Ukraine and the Byelorussia (Eubank, 1973). Gradually, Slavic people migrated into surrounding areas at which time their language and culture changed as they acculturated to new environments.

The majority of Slavic people presently living in the RSFSR are referred to as "Great Russians," while those living in the Ukraine are called "Little Russians" or "Ruthenians" (Eubank, 1973). In comparison, the people of Byelorussia are of a similar Slavic group and are referred to as "White Russians" (Gerber, 1985).

The majority of the Soviet Pentecostal refugees who are settling in the state of Oregon are Russians or Ukranians from the groups described above (World Relief, 1989). All are Slavic with similar cultures and languages and are referred to as "Christians of Evangelical faith" in the Soviet Union (World Relief, 1989). However, Soviet Pentecostals are distinct from other Evangelical groups in the Soviet Union due to their religious emphasis on speaking in tongues, healing, prophecy and the baptism of the Holy Spirit (World Relief, 1989).

Until the Bolshevik Revolution in 1917, Evangelical groups were persecuted by the dominant Russian Orthodox Church (Wertsman, 1977). With the 1917 revolution came a new Communist regime which gave the Evangelical Christian groups relative freedom to practice their faiths openly. According to Ripp (1984), this new found freedom was an attempt to diminish the influence of the Russian Orthodox Church. As a result, hundreds of Evangelical churches were established during the 1920s.

Religious freedom for all Evangelical groups was halted abruptly in 1928 with the rise of Joseph Stalin (Eubank, 1973). During this time, anti-religion laws were enforced throughout the republics.

Soviet Pentecostals, in particular, suffered persecution because they were viewed as being "anti-Soviet and therefore suspicious" (World Relief, 1989, p. 1). Because of their commitment to continue practicing the

Pentecostal doctrines and maintain religious identity, Pentecostal leaders and active church members have been continually imprisoned and harassed by the dominant forces (World Relief, 1989). Moreover their churches have been banned by the Soviet government (Hatfield, 1989).

For Pentecostal families with children, this has meant living under the constant threat of having their children taken from them by Soviet authorities (World Relief, 1989). In such cases, children are placed in special state run boarding schools where they are indoctrinated with atheistic teaching. While in school, children of Pentecostals are often ridiculed by teachers and fellow students. Further persecution is enforced by denying Pentecostal students access to higher education (World Relief, 1989).

Pentecostals and other Evangelical groups are also discriminated against in the work place. In many circumstances, Pentecostal workers have been denied promotions, paid vacations and bonuses as a consequence of their religious preference (World Relief, 1989).

While most refugees since World War II have fled their homes because of political or ethnic persecution, the religious persecution of the Soviet Pentecostals makes them unique in the twentieth century. Virtually all Soviet Pentecostals and other Soviet Christians are leaving the Soviet Union because of religious persecution (World Relief, 1989). For the sake of their religious ideals, they have migrated to the United States. Soviet Pentecostal refugees

believe that once resettlement has begun they will no longer
have to endure pressure to compromise their faith and
Christian principles. For these reasons Soviet Pentecostals
seek new homes in the United States where they can worship
and practice their faith freely.

While the personal adjustment of Soviet Pentecostal
refugees will take different paths during the resettlement
process, the effects of background such as job skills,
availability of family, age and gender will all influence
the result and the pace (Haines, 1985). However, all
refugees are likely to share in some type of conflict
between a "compulsive quest for their old identity,"
(Goldstein, 1979, p. 264) and acceptance of American
culture. With this in mind, the following chapter will lay
the theoretical foundation of examining the situation of
Soviet Pentecostal refugees in Portland, Oregon.

CHAPTER III

THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK OF THE
INTERNAL-EXTERNAL LOCUS OF CONTROL CONSTRUCT

BACKGROUND AND OVERVIEW

Social Learning Theory

The concept of internal-external locus of control was
developed out of social learning theory and has been defined
as a dual theory of personality (Rotter, 1975). The
construct internal-external locus of control integrates two
significant trends in American Psychology: reinforcement
theories (S-R) and field theories (cognitive) (Rotter, 1954;
Rotter, Chance, & Phares 1972).

Social learning theory implies that an individual's
actions can be predicted on the basis of three major
determinants of behavior (Rotter, 1954). First, the need for
a particular kind of reinforcement such as achievement,
dependency or social approval is important. Related to this
determinant of behavior are generalizations from other
aspects of situations involving some decision or problem-
solving where the nature of the reinforcements themselves
may vary.

Second, the value of the reinforcement is a major
determinant of behavior. For example, to predict a specific
behavior such as spending one hour per day doing physical

exercise, involvement in volunteer work or voting in an election information pertaining to the value of the available reinforcement to a particular individual is necessary before an accurate prediction can be made (Rotter, 1975).

Last, the psychological situation of the individual influences the first and second determinants of behavior. Consequently, predictions for the potential of a specific behavior to occur in a specific situation must involve some assessment of the alternative behaviors available in the same situation (Rotter, 1975). For example, predicting student participation in an all day protest against the American forces in Saudi Arabia as a means to determine whether students are internally or externally controlled according to some test would not be sufficient. Alternative behaviors available to the students (such as reading in the library, attending classes, or playing sports) would also be necessary to draw conclusions.

Internal-External Locus of Control Construct

The internal-external locus of control construct is unique among the general format of social learning theory because it places equal emphasis upon all variables and situational considerations instead of accentuating only certain ones (Rotter, 1954).

The concept, "freedom of movement" links the internal-external locus of control construct in social learning theory and is defined by Rotter (1954) as "the anticipation

of obtaining positive satisfaction as the result of a set of related behaviors." An individual's freedom of movement is low if the individual has a high expectancy of failure due to behaviors which reinforce failure. Thus, according to Rotter (1954), **freedom** of movement can be viewed as a generalized expectancy of success which results from individual ability to remember and reflect upon lifetime cycles of reinforcements and behaviors.

For instance, a recently established professor who anticipates a long career of teaching at the university level experiences several changes before becoming a seasoned and well-respected professor. After a few years of teaching, the professor should establish a fairly stable understanding of what the success probability of successful teaching is. The "stable understanding" constitutes the professor's freedom of movement.

While freedom of movement is an important link for the internal-external locus of control construct, it is necessary to consider one further variable: perceived control. This variable is defined as an abstraction which stems from continual cycles of specific reinforcements and behaviors (Rotter, 1954). According to Lefcourt, (1982) perceived control is a generalized expectancy for internal as opposed to external locus control of reinforcement.

While freedom of movement concerns the likelihood of success, the generalized expectancy of perceived control involves a causal analysis of success and failure. This

suggests that the generalized expectancy of internal locus of control refers to the perception of events, whether positive or negative and is the consequence of individual actions (Rotter, 1954).

Lefcourt (1982) contends that perceived control is positively associated with access to opportunity. Individuals who are readily able to attain valued outcomes will more readily have feelings of personal satisfaction and thus, are more likely to hold internal locus of control expectancies.
In comparison, the generalized expectancy of external locus of control refers to the perception of positive or negative events as unrelated to individual behavior and therefore beyond personal control (Rotter, 1954).

In summary, the internal-external locus of control construct is a basic sociological personality dimension, characterized by the generalized tendency to attribute cause or control of events to internal (i.e. personal ability, personal effort) or external causes (i.e. luck, task difficulty, and other outside forces).

Rotter (1954) noted that the internal-external locus of control construct, when utilized as a measurement scale reported that individuals with a high internal locus of control score were more alert to aspects of the environment which provided useful information to them, tried to take control of their environments, placed greater value on

skills and achievement, and tried not to be influenced by others.

In comparison, Rotter (1954) noted that individuals with high external locus of control scores believed that they had little or no control over their environments. Under this condition normal events occurred largely because of chance, fate, luck, and other external forces (Rotter, 1954).

LEARNED HELPLESSNESS

Although the majority of refugees are motivated to adapt to their new environments, they may meet conditions which Seligman (1975) referred to as reactions of learned helplessness. He defined this occurrence as the absence of a clear connection between tried behavior and expected results. Moreover, the concept of learned helplessness is useful in understanding the discussion of internal-external locus of control presented above.

For instance, refugees who have minimal command of English may experience loss of control, which, in turn can result in pessimistic views of future success, a lower level of effort and the emotional experience of helplessness and depression.

Lefcourt (1982) suggested that adverse situations, such as an inability to speak English, will have an impact only when the specific outcomes or reinforcements at stake are important to the individual. While depression is associated

with the degree of helplessness, Lefcourt (1982) notes that the more global the reason for helplessness, the more pervasive the effects of helplessness will be. Furthermore, the more internal the attribution for helplessness is, the more likely self-esteem will suffer with the associated depression.

According to Seligman, (1975) defining reactions of learned helplessness are useful in understanding some of the life experiences refugees encounter such as: 1) learning how to be communicatively competent in a new culture and 2) learning what the new role requirements and institutional arrangements are. Thus, when considering the adjustment process of refugees, the issue of learned helplessness attempts to reformulate conceptualizations about the life experiences of immigrants after resettlement has begun (Lefcourt, 1982).

In comparison, Hui (1982) posited that concepts such as reactions of learned helplessness are the consequence of cultural change, which creates anxiety and leads to an external locus of control orientation as a result of being in a new and different environment. Hui (1982), suggested, however, that the same cultural change might motivate refugees to adapt and adjust to their new culture which would result in self-reliance and an internal locus of control orientation. Whether an individual experiences reactions of learned helplessness or motivation to adapt to the new culture will partly depend upon: 1) the extent to

which the cultures are different, 2) the extent to which the environment pressures the refugees to change and, 3) the duration of the resulting stress (Hui, 1982).

ATTRIBUTION PROCESSES

The concept of learned helplessness is useful in understanding that the internal-external locus of control construct is concerned with the effects of individual perception of control (Lefcourt, 1982). It operates on the notion that, whether or not individuals believe they are able to determine their own fates, within limits, will be of critical importance to the way in which they cope with stress and engage in challenges. Thus, individuals who are able to perceive differences between others and themselves and who continue to hold the assumption that they are responsible for themselves will be in control of their own fates.

The internal-external locus of control construct has important implications when considering the difficulty, misunderstanding and conflict often encountered by interacting individuals who come from different ethnic and cultural backgrounds. Assumptions concerning the occurrence and meaning of a particular behavior depend upon the manner in which individuals characteristically perceive their social environment; that is, their "subjective culture" (Triandis, Vassiliou, Vassiliou, Tanaka, Shanmugam, 1972). The subjective culture or social environment of an

individual from one culture is different from that of an individual from another culture. Assumptions that one makes concerning a certain behavior can be quite different from the assumptions another from a different culture makes about the same behavior. In a particular intercultural interaction if the behavior of the two individuals is determined by their respective cultural norms, then differences in the norms themselves or the way in which they operate may result in the eventual breakdown of communication between the two individuals (Triandis et al, 1972).

Differences which are caused by variations in cultural assumptions about, and interpretations of, behavior can be understood in terms of the attributions that an individual makes about the others's behavior (Kelley, 1973). Attributions depend on the norms, affect, roles, and consequences of actions seen as operating in a social situation (Triandis, 1975). Discrepancies in attributions may cause misunderstandings, rejection, and low interpersonal attraction. Discrepancies are more likely and more important when interacting individuals belong to different cultures. Thus, while individuals are raised in environments which differ in norms, roles, attitudes, and values, they may develop patterns of attribution for social behavior that are different from each other (Triandis, 1975). As a result, individuals from a particular culture may interpret a given behavior very differently from individuals of a different culture (Hui, 1982).

Coupled with the internal-external locus of control construct, attribution theory offers some conclusions regarding intercultural and ethnic understanding (Triandis, 1975; Brislin, 1985). For instance, Orpen (1971) attempted to explain ethnic differences in internal-external locus of control with the notion of attributions of perceived discrimination. He compared three groups: white clerks, Black workers, and Black clerks. Orpen (1971) noted that the white clerks were the more internally oriented group and also the group least discriminated against by white dominated society. The Black clerks, who perceived the most negative attributions of discrimination, were the more externally oriented group.

In brief, attribution theory deals with the ways individuals infer or attribute the causes of their behavior. Theoretically it explains the processes by which individuals come to understand their behaviors and thus determine the meaning for any given situation (Triandis, 1975). While attribution theory is grounded in communication theory it integrates the perceptual process into the general framework of the theory of internal-external locus of control.

REVIEW OF THE LITERATURE

Like research in other disciplines, communication studies conducted with the internal-external locus of control construct have resulted in an extensive body of

research (Hui, 1982). However, only the most pertinent
research is examined in the following sections.

Cross-Cultural Comparisons

Some of the earliest cross-cultural comparisons and
some of the most quoted in papers on the study of internal-
external locus of control suggested that Chinese in Hong
Kong were more external than Anglo-Americans, with American-
born Chinese in between (Hui, 1982).

Hsieh, Shybut & Lotsof (1969) investigated the
relationship between internal versus external locus of
control and ethnic group membership in three groups of high
school students: Chinese, American-born Chinese, and Anglo-
Americans. Their results suggested that a belief in internal
versus external locus of control was significantly related
to ethnic group membership. Hsieh et. al (1969) further
suggested that cultural orientation could be closely linked
with a personal belief in internal versus external locus of
control. Thus, individuals raised in a culture that values
self-reliant, individualism and personal output, such as
mainstream American culture, are more likely to be
internally oriented than individuals from a culture that
emphasizes a different set of values.

Two later studies contradicted Hsieh's et. al (1969)
study. Tsui (1978) demonstrated that Hong Kong Chinese
college women were more internal than American-Chinese
women. In addition, Hung (1974) suggested that Chinese in
Taiwan, who were presumably less westernized than the

Chinese in Hong Kong, were not more external than a comparable sample of American students.

The implications of these two studies are discussed by Hui (1982). She defined individuals, who deviate from their cultural norms as being counternormative individuals. Hui (1982) noted that counternormatives could have a more internal locus of control orientation than other individuals from the same cultural background.

Research conducted by Cole & Cole (1974) exemplified this point. They hypothesized that once an individual exhibited counternormative behaviors, the internal-external locus of control orientation would be more internal in spite of any effect of ethnicity. They succeeded in demonstrating this hypothesis with Mexican female, business students who were defined as counternormatives. A subsequent study by the same researchers (Cole & Cole, 1977) further suggested that females in counternormative groups rejected control by powerful others or chance more than those who were not counternormatives.

In comparison, Aviram and Milgram (1977) attributed implications of internal-external locus of control to differences in socialization. They suggested that Soviet children were less internal than American and Israeli children due to contrasting environmental conditions. While social ties in Soviet society were more instrumental and less reliable than American and Israeli societies, individuals from the Soviet society were more external.

Thus, while the Soviet system encourages dependency and compliance (Goldstein, 1979), research also suggests that individuals in this society perceived themselves to be more externally controlled.

Further studies on children in India and Israel suggested that belief in internal locus of control is a function of age and education level, the one confounded with the other (Blum, 1974; Hertz-Lazarowitz & Sharan, 1979; Lifshitz, 1973; Pandey & Ram, 1978). Lifshitz (1973) found that Israeli children reared in different kibbutzim had different internal-external locus of control scores. The difference in scores were attributed to their different levels of freedom and responsibility.

In another study involving Chinese subjects, Yang & Yang (1976) suggested that parents who lacked consistent principles in rewarding and punishing raised children who were high in external locus of control. While the implications of this study appear to be consistent with Aviram & Milgram (1977) and Lifshitz (1973), discrepancies are apparent in view of other research. Pandey & Ram (1978) found that upper and lower caste students in India, where caste differences mean material, social, and recreational segregation, had similar scores on the Rotter scale (1966).

On a more global level, McGinnies, Nordholm, Ward & Bhanthumnavin (1974) compared internal-external locus of control scores from the Rotter (1966) scale across five cultures: Australia, Japan, New Zealand, Sweden and the

United States. Results suggested that regardless of culture, females were more external than males. Second, the three countries most closely linked in regard to language, customs, and values- Australia, New Zealand, and the United States- produced the highest internal locus of control scores while Sweden and Japan reported significantly more external locus of control scores.

Ethnic Groups in the United States

A great deal of cross-ethnic research has compared Black subjects with white subjects or has focused on the Black culture alone (Hui, 1982). Lefcourt & Ladwig (1966) asked Black and white reformatory inmates to respond to a questionnaire utilizing the Rotter (1966) scale. Subjects described their own viewpoint by choosing between alternative questions which reflected a fatalistic, external locus of control viewpoint and one which indicated belief in one's own ability to affect and control the events in one's life. Results suggested that Blacks acknowledged more external locus of control than did whites. While the magnitude of the difference was not great, a reliable difference obtained among a population that was homogeneous with regard to socioeconomic class and antisocial history indicated the meaningfulness of the obtained difference (Lefcourt & Ladwig, 1966).

A study conducted by Duke & Lewis (1979) utilized a special form of the Preschool and Primary Nowicki-Strickland Internal-External Locus of Control Scale in which children

were presented with cartoon representations of interactions between Black children. The children's task was to select a "yes" or "no" answer offered as one cartoon child's answer to a question from another cartoon child. Results indicated that the older Black children perceived themselves as more external while the white children exhibited the anticipated pattern of decreasing perceptions of externality with age.

Reimanis (1977) obtained internal-external locus of control scores using the Rotter (1966) scale from a sample of Northeastern Nigerian students enrolled in a teacher's college as well as from white US students enrolled in a community college. Reimanis (1977) predicted more external locus of control among the Nigerian students in comparison to the white US students. Results suggested that the Nigerian students reported having more perceptions of external control than the US students.

The results of the Reimanis (1977) study suggest that the internal-external locus of control construct is designed to deal only with an individual's perceptions and feelings concerning levels of personal control. It does not attempt to measure the individual's objective reality (Rotter, 1966). Accordingly, the internal-external locus of control construct has been utilized to predict many social behaviors and attitudes. Renshon (1974) studied the political behaviors of college students and suggested that the internal-external locus of control influenced student's attitudes and patterns of political participation. Other

researchers, Bank (1984); Fry & Grover (1982); Norris &
Niebuhr (1984); Ziegler & Reid, (1983) noted that regardless
of the subject's age, race and sex, perceived internal-
external locus of control contributed to increased job
satisfaction, life satisfaction, racial tolerance, and
social achievement.

Locus of Control as a Function of Cultural.Change

According to Hui (1982) several researchers have
investigated the effect of cultural change as a function of
internal and external locus of control. Hung (1974)
hypothesized that environmental changes and adjustment
problems experienced by overseas students would lead to
anxiety and thus attributions of external locus of control.
While the mean internal-external locus of control score of
Chinese students in Taiwan was lower than that of Chinese
students in the United States, the hypothesis was supported.

Results from immigrants in Canada were inconsistent.
Italian immigrant students in Canada perceived less personal
control over their own lives than the native Italian
students and Italian-Canadian students (Wolfgang, 1973).
However, comparing Korean, native Canadian and Korean
immigrant adolescents, Kim (1976) found that the Korean
immigrant group was more internal than the Koreans at home
and native Canadians. While the internal-external locus of
control variable was an important determinant of results,
other factors such as the disparity between ethnic groups
must also be considered as important in these studies.

In comparison, Seipel (1988) studied the life experiences of Korean immigrants who were in the process of resettlement in the state of Utah. Unlike the majority of immigration research, which focused primarily on structural variables to study unstandardized and complex concepts such as social assimilation, cultural assimilation or acculturation, Seipel's study (1988) examined the life experiences of Korean immigrants within selected dimensions of the social, economic, and political spheres. Utilizing the Rotter (1966) scale, Seipel factor analyzed the items from the scale.

Seipel concluded, "a strategy to improve the quality of life for Korean immigrants through building a strong internal-control locus of control is only a beginning" (1988, p. 70). Coupled with this, the host society must not impose unnecessary institutional barriers that frustrate the immigrants' efforts.

As an exploratory study, using a similar internal-external locus of control instrument, Hurh & Kim (1978) described and analyzed the general patterns of socio-cultural adjustment of Korean immigrants in relation to their demographic and socioeconomic variables. Comprehensive theory in this study was based on the structural-functional theory advanced by Merton (1968). Merton stated that society rewards certain behaviors and attitudes which are consistent with the valued social norms and therefore some individuals

receive greater social benefits than others on the basis of personal qualities.

Hurh & Kim (1978) illustrated the usefulness of Merton's theory in their research by referring to the American labor market. They suggested that the labor market works in such a way that greater economic benefits are given to individuals who are perceived as being in charge of their environment rather than merely subjected to outside forces. These individuals are generally characterized as being assertive, positive, sociable, competitive, creative and confident (Merton, 1968). Hurh & Kim (1978) and Seipel (1988) note that these characteristics are very similar to the descriptions of individuals having internal locus of control orientations.

Hurh & Kim's (1978) data suggested that some Korean immigrants did not possess these characteristics or, if in some cases they arrived with similar characteristics, they often diminished or disappeared after continual confrontation with the new and sometimes hostile environments. They concluded that research utilizing the concept of internal-external locus of control was beneficial as a strategy to improve the quality of life for Korean immigrants.

In summary, the utilization of the Rotter scale (1966) in cross-cultural or ethnic studies is limited when considering its' origin (Hui, 1982). While the scale was constructed in the US, it did not take into consideration

some of the relationships with important cultural variables
discussed in Chapter III.

CHAPTER IV

METHODOLOGICAL CONSIDERATIONS

OVERVIEW

The purpose of chapter four is to organize the raw data
generated from this study into a form that can be analyzed.
Therefore this chapter provides important information
pertaining to the method and procedures for collecting the
data. Tables 2 and 3 are useful in demonstrating the stages
in statistical analyses which is further clarified in
chapter five.

INSTRUMENTATION

Patterns of refugee acculturation can be researched in
various ways, through questionnaire surveys, document
analyses, interviews, and participant observations (Hurh &
Kim, 1984). This study utilized the questionnaire to examine
the acculturation and life satisfaction of Soviet
Pentecostal refugees in the United States. Subjects were
asked to complete the Rotter Internal-External Locus of
Control Instrument Scale (1966); an anonymous forced choice
questionnaire. The Rotter scale (1966) is well documented
with respect to both validity and reliability (Robinson &
Shaver, 1976). Moreover its utility as a measure of belief

in personal control within American society is well documented (Schneider & Parsons, 1979).

"The Rotter scale (1966) is designed to deal only with the subjects' perceptions and feelings about levels of personal control; it does not attempt to measure the subjects' objective reality" (Seipel, 1988). Moreover this scale suggests that subjects with a reported high internal locus of control score are: more alert to aspects of their environment that provide useful information; make strong attempts to take control of their environment; place value on skills and achievement; and try not to be influenced by others (Rotter, 1966). In contrast, Rotter (1966) noted that subjects with reported low internal locus of control scores believed that they had little or no control over their environments, and that events occurred largely because of chance, fate, luck, and other external forces. Thus, utilization of the Rotter scale (1966) could provide insight into the life experiences and acculturation of Soviet Pentecostal refugees in the United States. It is important to note that while acculturation involves the process of resettlement whereby many changes occur (Baldassini & Flaherty, 1982), life experiences are largely a consequence of one's personal actions (Hsieh, Shybut, & Lotsof, 1969).

The questionnaire measured subjects' perceived internal-external locus of control through presentation of twenty-three items which offered choices of internal and external belief statements. Items such as: "No matter how

external belief statements. Items such as: "No matter how hard you try some people just don't like you vs. People who can't get others to like them don't understand how to get along with others" were presented as closed-ended questions. According to Emmert & Barker, (1989) closed-ended questions are easy to use because subjects may simply check off their responses. The remaining six items on the scale were interspersed throughout the questionnaire and served only as filler questions. Included separately was demographic information such as: gender, age, length of stay in the United States, education received in the USSR, and education (directly related to English language training) received after immigrating to the United States. This information was presented as open-ended questions, utilizing the fill-in-the-blank format.

A written introduction to the questionnaire provided the following information:

1. The nature of the research and the academic goals as well as professional interests of the researcher.

2. That research findings would be offered to social service agencies as a means to assist in the welfare of Soviet refugee resettlement (It was hoped that this tactic would enhance subject's motivation to cooperate with the research).

3. That all subject's participation in this research would be strictly voluntary and all information obtained through the questionnaire would be kept completely confidential.

As noted in the previous chapters, one of the major stumbling blocks for refugees in the United States is the language barrier. It was assumed that the majority of

subjects would have great difficulty in completing a questionnaire in written or spoken English. The questionnaire was therefore translated from English into Russian by a local translation company.

The translator was hired on the basis of her experience in translating the Russian language. She grew up in Soviet-controlled Czechoslovakia and worked as a Czech/Soviet translator. Before moving to the United States, she led international tour groups across the Soviet Union. She has lived in the United States for approximately 20 years, and has most recently worked as a translator for Jewish Family Services. The majority of her work with this organization has been to assist Soviet Jewish refugees in resettlement in the Portland area. She is very familiar with and sensitive to Soviet culture and the situation of Soviet refugees who are settling in the United States. However because the translator was not a native Russian speaker, she consulted and worked closely with a native Russian speaker while translating the questionnaire to Russian.

Difficulties involved in literal translation from one language to another are well known (Hurh & Kim, 1984). Barna (1988) noted that an infinite number of variations in meaning are possible when translating from one language to another. Humor, for example, seldom can be translated from one culture to another (Berris, 1988). Ideas, thoughts and situations common in one culture are often totally alien in another.

The translator expressed a concern that parts of the questionnaire were not literally significant in the Russian language. Having developed an expertise on Soviet culture, the translator was concerned that the Soviet Pentecostal refugees would find the content of the questionnaire ambiguous and incomprehensible and therefore would not see the merit in it.

Before the translated version of the questionnaire was distributed to the sample population, a pretest was administered to ten Soviet Pentecostal refugees. The candidates selected for the pretest had been in the United States for approximately three years. Moreover this sample consisted of seven males and three females. Their ages ranged from 29 to 37 years and the average age was 35 years.

The criteria for selecting the pretest subjects was based on each candidate's fluency with the English language and their apparently successful acculturation to the United States. For instance, several of the pretest candidates either owned or were in the process of buying homes and all were employed.

The questionnaire took approximately 30 minutes for each subject to complete. Upon completion of the pretest, the subjects were given an opportunity to discuss and make comments concerning the questionnaire. The pretest subjects all claimed they had no problems understanding the items on the questionnaire. Based on this feedback, no items on the questionnaire were reworded, added, or eliminated.

SAMPLING DESIGN

The sample for this study was generated from the population of Soviet Pentecostal refugees in the Portland Tri-met area. Originally the goal of this study was to obtain a sample of the 749 heads of household generated from the Metropolitan Action Agency's computerized state wide immigration status file. The director of the Metropolitan Action Agency was willing to assist with transmission of the questionnaire through the mail, accompanied with a letter of explanation and return envelopes. Subjects would have completed the questionnaire and returned it in the mail, using the envelopes provided.

However, based on the recommendations of the translator it was concluded that the subjects would not be able to perform these tasks. Moreover, it was suggested that under normal conditions in the USSR subjects were accustomed to receiving the bulk of their mail from the government. Consequently, subjects might believe that the questionnaire was associated with the government and be unwilling to participate. Furthermore Emmert & Barker (1989) suggested that the overall response rate would be low, less than 35 percent. Thus, based on the disadvantages discussed above, utilization of the mail survey method was abandoned.

The second attempt to target a sample appeared to be more accessible, less costly, and the most up-to-date source. Our goal was to approach the minister of one of the

two Soviet Pentecostal churches located in the Portland Tri-met area. We requested permission to distribute and collect the questionnaire during one scheduled meeting, at the convenience of the church congregation. The questionnaire would have been distributed and completed on a voluntary basis among the 500 adult members of the congregation. The translator was willing to assist during the distribution of the questionnaire to answer subject questions in Russian and to build appropriate rapport with the subjects.

Although the minister, a resident of Portland for the previous 11 years reviewed the questionnaire and discussed our request with the elders of the church, the final decision was against our request. A brief explanation was provided by the minister. He believed that because most of the church members had recently immigrated from the USSR they would be hesitant and suspicious of filling out our questionnaire. Moreover the minister suggested that many of the church members might worry that our questionnaire was somehow associated negatively with the American government or social service agencies. Thus, the second attempt to secure a survey sample was abandoned.

COLLECTION OF THE DATA

The third alternative for selecting a survey sample and collecting the data was successful. To ensure obtainment of a representative sample, questionnaires were distributed between two central agencies that work closely with Soviet

refugee resettlement. The distribution among two separate agencies was a strategy to guard against research bias which limited the possibility of systematically excluding particular types of potential subjects and ensured that the conclusions of this study would be generalized to the entire population.

Instructors working with the Refugee English as a Second Language (ESL) Program at Portland Community College were approached and asked to assist in the research on a voluntary basis. The Refugee ESL Program provides language training to adult refugees in order to help them become self-sufficient in their new environment. Moreover the majority of students enrolled in this program are Soviet refugees. Only Soviet Pentecostal students were asked to participate.

Ninety-nine questionnaires were distributed evenly among three teachers during the first week of the 1990 summer term. A total of 17 questionnaires were returned. There were no responses from one class. A second class returned four questionnaires and the third class the remaining 13. There were an even number of Soviet Pentecostal students in each of the three classes. However, the number of responses may have been related to the following; the first two classes were taught by new teachers while the third class was taught by an instructor who was well known and respected among the students.

Questionnaires were also distributed through the Metropolitan Action Agency's administration of the Refugee Early Employment Project (REEP). The REEP program provides comprehensive services to all refugees in order to achieve early economic self-sufficiency. Case workers meet with refugee clients on a regular basis to coordinate resettlement, cash assistance, health, English as a second language training, job training and placement services. Consequently one of the existing programs which the REEP program funnels refugees is the Refugee ESL Program at Portland Community College. To guard against duplication of questionnaires, the Portland Community College instructors requested that subjects should not complete the questionnaires (after reading the introduction with the researcher's name on it) if they had already done so with the REEP program. No duplication problems were encountered.

REEP case workers presented the questionnaire on a voluntary basis and asked subjects to complete the questionnaires and return them during their next visit. Of 99 questionnaire available to case workers, 17 were returned completed over a six week period during June and July of 1990.

METHOD

A total of 34 questionnaires were returned. This total indicates that of the 200 questions distributed, the return rate was approximately 17 percent. One of the questionnaires

was rejected outright because only four of the 29 items had been marked. Judging from the written remarks made by the subject on the rejected questionnaire, it was felt the subject did not understand the instructions. Two other questionnaires were missing all requested demographic information. These questionnaires, however, were still considered usable. A total of 33 were therefore used in development of the locus of control scores and the five life experience factors.

The research subjects consisted of 21 males and 10 females. (Gender of two subjects with missing demographic information was unknown.) Ages of the subjects ranged from 22 to 66 years and the average age was 38 years. The average length of residence in the United States was approximately 7 months with a minimum stay of 2 months and a maximum stay of 25 months.

Subjects' short length of time in the United States naturally explained why the subjects had completed such a minimal amount of education after arrival in the United States. The subjects indicated a range of zero to five months of education after having arrived in the United States. According to the Portland based Metropolitan Action Agency, a social service agency responsible for overseeing the placement and education of the refugees, all education received by the refugees has focused on English language training.

Approximately 51 percent of the subjects had completed
a high school level education before immigrating to the
United States and 16 percent had completed four years of
college in the Soviet Union.

MEASUREMENT

Hersch & Scheibe (1967) suggested that factor analysis
of data from the Rotter scale (1966) could reveal item
clusters. As defined by Emmert & Barker (1989), factor
analysis is a very sophisticated form of data analysis which
determines what categories (groups of scales) are
substantially correlated with each other. Factor analysis
also reveals which categories do not significantly correlate
with scales in other categories. Thus within the scope of
this study, factor analysis is useful in revealing the kinds
of similarities and differences perceived by Soviet
Pentecostal refugees as related to their acculturation and
life experiences.

In addition, inspection of the Rotter scale (1966)
suggested that five categories could be readily identified
from the item clusters as a result of factor analysis
(Scheiber & Parsons, 1970; Seipel, 1988). Schneiber &
Parsons (1970) posited that the magnitude of correlations,
along with the reliability with which items could be placed
into categories could be sufficiently independent to be used
separately. Schneider & Parsons also noted, "if categories
on the Rotter scale (1966) could be identified reliably, the

predictions and comparisons using the scale might be refined and lend additional information to the investigation" (1970, p. 132). Thus past research has demonstrated that the utility of the Rotter Scale (1966) could be further enhanced by using five specific categories rather than treating the scale as measuring a unitary general factor (Seipel, 1988; Schneider & Parsons, 1970).

It is important to note that the studies discussed above (Hersch & Scheibe, 1967; Schneiber & Parsons, 1970; Seipel, 1988) assessed the reliability of the selected categories which were based on the factor analysis of the Rotter scale (1966). These researchers measured the stability, reproducibility and the intercoder reliability to ensure that the categories were clear and free of misinterpretation.

A factor analysis (see Table I) of the Rotter scale (1966) used in this study also indicated that the 23 items on the questionnaire could be grouped into five categories or factors (Hersch & Scheibe, 1967; Schneiber & Parsons, 1970; Seipel, 1988). Each category or factor was determined through an examination of the clusters of variables under each factor (Tucker, Weaver & Berryman-Fink, 1981). Moreover it is important to note that the five factors in Table I have been rotated using PROMAX because the principle factor matrix was not in its most theoretically meaningful form

TABLE I

FACTOR ANALYSIS OF DEPENDENT VARIABLES

Variables	Factor 1	Factor 2	Factor 3	Factor 4	Factor 5
2. Job-Education Match	.352	-.056	-.131	(.455)	.166
3. Social Integration	(.478)	.386	.082	-.011	-.161
4. Own-Others Income	-.004	.210	.248	(.603)	.065
5. Social Integration	(.812)	-.177	-.281	-.110	.040
6. Approval of US	(.380)	.080	-.063	.222	-.044
7. Officials Care	.243	-.285	.007	-.084	(.693)
9. Economic Condition	.173	-(.581)	-.078	.379	.129
10. Goal Progression	(.729)	.207	.141	-.144	-.084
11. Career Opportunity	-.105	(.620)	.315	-.170	.149
12. Own-Others Income	.320	-.282	.419	-(.426)	-.267
13. Relations Officials	-.270	.231	-.166	.310	(.552)
15. Migration Decision	(.267)	.040	.042	-.635	.065
16. Career Opportunity	-.105	(.620)	.315	-.170	.149
17. Work For Government	.246	-.341	(.623)	.052	.282
18. Relations Officials	-.061	.151	.016	-.116	(.549)
20. Trust In Officials	.317	.263	(.488)	.453	.073
21. Work For Government	-.101	.111	(.735)	.034	-.357
22. Relations Officials	-.017	-.144	.161	.240	(.545)
25. Officials Care	.313	.354	-.318	.059	(.390)
26. Trust In Officials	-.254	-.153	(.736)	-.121	-.150
28. Occupation-Income	-.152	-.295	-.182	(.553)	-.405
29. Electoral Process	-.097	-.595	(.236)	.078	.104

Note. Items in the parentheses under each factor were selected for building categories based on their highest factor loadings. (Factor 1: Life Satisfaction, Factor 2: Economic Satisfaction, Factor 3: Civic attitude, Factor 4: Status Consistency, Factor 5: Faith in Government) Items: 1, 8, 14, 19, 24, 27 are filler questions.

(Tucker et. al, 1981). Rotation of the factor matrix also corrected for part whole bias.

Each cluster of items appeared to have common characteristics which defined the factor or category in which they fell. Although they categorized and labeled their groups of items differently, Schneider & Parsons (1970) were also able to identify five factors or categories in the Rotter scale (1966) as a result of factor analysis.

In addition, Seipel (1988) designed a similar study with Korean immigrants in which he utilized five factors from factor analysis of the Rotter scale (1966). The Seipel (1988) study was comparable in design and in its scope to this study of Soviet Pentecostal refugees.

Following is a description of each factor (category) utilized in this study. These descriptions are comparable to the five categories Seipel (1988) utilized for investigation of the acculturation and life satisfaction of immigrants in the state of Utah. The descriptions are also based on past research which has demonstrated that the utility of the Rotter Scale (1966) could be further enhanced by using five specific categories rather than treating the scale as measuring a unitary general factor (Hersch & Scheibe, 1967; Schneider & Parsons, 1970; Seipel, 1988).

FACTOR 1

1. <u>Life satisfaction</u> - Subjective variables (perceptions or attitudes) related to the degree of well-being of all immigrants (Hurh & Kim,1984).

Characteristics

a. Feelings about personal goals achieved.

b. The approval of the host society.

c. Social participation.

d. Feelings about having immigrated to the United States.

FACTOR 2

2. <u>Economic satisfaction</u> - Subjective variables (perceptions or attitudes) related to socioeconomic well-being (Hurh & Kim, 1982).

Characteristics

a. The economic condition as perceived by the subjects since immigrating to the United States.

b. Subjects' views about their career opportunities in the American labor market.

FACTOR 3

3. <u>Civic attitude</u> - The degree to which subjects are willing to support civic activities within American society.

Characteristics

a. The trustworthiness subjects have of public officials or institutions in American society.

b. Subjects' willingness to work to improve the United States government.

c. Subjects' willingness to participate in the United States electoral process.

FACTOR 4

4. <u>Status consistency</u> - The degree to which subjects feel a match between achievements and socioeconomic rewards.

Characteristics

a. The discrepancy between education and occupation in American society, as perceived by the subjects.

b. The discrepancy between occupation and income in American society, as perceived by the subjects.

c. Income discrepancy between the subjects and Caucasian workers who do the same work, as perceived by the subjects.

FACTOR 5

5. <u>Faith in government</u> - The degree to which the subjects feel trust in the United States government.

Characteristics

a. The personal relationship between public officials and subjects, as perceived by subjects.

b. The views concerning public officials' ability to meet the needs of immigrants, as perceived by subjects.

Upon completion of factor analysis of the 23 questions grouped into five categories, two judges were asked to assess the analysis according to research guidelines. The judges were selected based on their academic backgrounds, previous knowledge of the Rotter scale (1966) as a measurement scale, and previous experiences as coders (Emmert & Barker, 1989). Both judges are presently university level instructors with some previous knowledge of

the Rotter scale (1966). Moreover both judges were familiar with the scope of academic research and therefore were knowledgeable of coding procedures for research purposes.

However the judges were trained to ensure that their individual skills and judgments became secondary to the objective of the coding procedure. In addition, this session allowed the researcher the opportunity to assess the clarity of the procedure itself, the thoroughness of the five factor descriptions (see p. 63-64), and the abilities of the judges to complete the coding procedure (Emmert & Barker, 1989).

During this training session an overview of the research was provided with detail information pertaining to the Rotter scale (1966) itself. In order to assist the judges with learning the procedure for labeling the five unspecified categories generated from factor analysis, descriptions for each of the five categories were presented (see p. 63-64). Thus the judges were provided with explicit information pertaining to the boundaries and characteristics of each factor.

Upon implementation of the coding process the judges were instructed to work independently of each other and to adhere to the information provided during the training session. The first step for the judges was to label the five unspecified categories generated from factor analysis. Utilizing the descriptions and characteristics of the five factors presented during the training session (see p. 63-64), the judges were able to sort the item clusters from the

64), the judges were able to sort the item clusters from the factor analysis and label them with the five factor category descriptions. There was 100 percent agreement pertaining to which factor category description should be utilized to label each of the five item clusters. Thus completion of the first step of the procedure resulted in identifying and labeling the five item clusters generated from factor analysis.

Second, the judges were instructed to assign one characteristic to each item in each factor category. (see Table II) The judges were provided with explicit definitions pertaining to the characteristics for each category. Thus both judges independently assigned each item, in each of the five factor categories one characteristic as defined in Table 3.

Overall intercoder reliability for assigning characteristics to each of the 23 items ranged from 86 percent to 95 percent. Both judges agreed 100 percent on 20 of the 23 items. According to Emmert & Barker (1989), coefficients over 85 percent are satisfactory, thus the level of reliability for assigning characteristics in this procedure was acceptable.

TABLE II

FACTOR HEADINGS

Factor Headings	Characteristics
1. <u>Life satisfaction</u>......	a. Goal progression b. Approval of U.S. c. Social integration d. Migration decision
2. <u>Economic satisfaction</u>..	a. Economic condition b. Career opportunity
3. <u>Civic attitude</u>.........	a. Trust in officials b. Work for government c. Electoral process
4. <u>Status consistency</u>.....	a. Job-Education match b. Income-Education match c. Own-Others income match
5. <u>Faith in Government</u>....	a. Officials care b. Relations with officials

CHAPTER V

RESULTS

The internal-external locus of control scores ranged
from 4-19 and the mean score was 10.5 (scored in the
external direction). In other words, an internal-external
locus of control score of 19 would indicate a high external
locus of control direction while a score of 4 would indicate
a high internal locus of control direction.

Several distinct items on the questionnaire reflected
extreme internal or external locus of control directions. Of
the subjects who responded to item 3, all but two (94
percent) responded externally to the item which stated that
"there will always be wars, no matter how hard people try to
prevent them," suggesting that war is inevitable. The
internal option for item 3 stated that "one of the major
reasons why we have wars is because people don't take enough
interest in politics." In other words, this suggested that
the level of interest and involvement in politics, which
people maintained was responsible for war.

A second interesting response was noted on item 23. All
but one of the subjects (97 percent) responded in the
internal locus of control direction. The internal locus of
control response suggested that "there is a direct
connection between how hard you study and the grades you get

in school." In comparison the external locus of control response stated that "sometimes you can't understand how teachers arrive at the grades they give." In other words the internal locus of control response asked subjects if they felt grades were the result of hard work and the external locus of control response suggested that grades are arbitrarily given by the teacher.

Perhaps the high internal locus of control direction of item 23 could be explained in light of the Soviet education system. As noted in chapter one, classrooms in the Soviet Union are rigid. Students normally rise when asking or answering a question and sit with their arms folded when listening to a lesson (Andersen & Powell, 1988). This structure suggests that everything is strictly controlled, thus preventing the possibility of grades being arbitrarily given.

To examine the predictors of demographic variables on the internal-external locus of control scores, a multiple regression analysis was performed to see if gender, age, education, and length of stay in the United States were predictors of subjects' internal-external locus of control score. The regression analysis suggested that none of these variables significantly influenced the subjects' internal-external locus of control scores. Thus, no statistical inference was made (see Table III).

Pearson Product moment correlation coefficients were calculated to examine the strength of the relationship

between the internal-external locus of control scores and the five factor analyzed categories. In addition to the combined analysis, a separate analysis of males and females was made to determine gender differences in the correlation. Results of the correlation suggested that males and females exhibited quite different patterns.

TABLE III

MULTIPLE REGRESSION ANALYSIS LOCUS OF CONTROL SCORE
WITH SELECTED DEMOGRAPHIC VARIABLES (N=31)

Independent Variables	Beta	F-Value
Sex	NS	NS
Age	.17	NS
Length of stay in US	.NS	NS
Education received in USSR	.09	NS
Education received in US	.12	NS
R-Square .29		
DF (2, 18)		
F = .15 (NS)		

As indicated in Table 5, all the correlations between the internal-external locus of control scores and the five factors were correlated and statistically significant at the .05 level and lower. Status consistency appeared to show a lower correlation and was less statistically significant with the internal-external locus of control scores than the other factors. The other factors were similarly correlated with one another; scores were statistically significant at the .01 level.

TABLE IV

INTERCORRELATIONS BETWEEN INDEPENDENT VARIABLES
(INTERNAL-EXTERNAL LOCUS OF CONTROL SCORE) AND FIVE LIFE
EXPERIENCE FACTORS GENDER (N = 33)

	Life Satisfaction	Civic Attitude	Status Consistency	Economic Satisfaction	Faith in Government
L-C Score	.54**	.54***	.43*	.53**	.55***
Male	.45	.70***	.46*	.28	.51*
Female	.60	.21	.41	.87***	.56
Life Sat.		.15	-.04	-.04	.14
Male		.23	-.07	-.45	.07
Female		-.02	-.05	.31	.17
Civic Att.			-.18	.10	.28
Male			-.05	.09	.31
Female			-.41	.20	.09
Status Con.				.28	-.01
Male				.17	-.01
Female				.43	-.06
Econ. Sat.					-.08
Male					-.46
Female					.41

Note. Male N = 21; Female N = 10

*p = .05
**p = .01
***p = .001

The life satisfaction factor is composed of four variables: a) feelings about personal goals achieved, b) the approval of the host society, c) social participation, and d) feelings about immigration to the United States. This factor correlated with the subjects' internal-external locus of control scores (r = .54) at the p < .01 level. Even though females reported a stronger correlation between life satisfaction and their internal-external locus of control scores (r = .60) than males (r = .45), individually, neither group was statistically significant at the p < .05 level. Scores for all subjects, supported the hypothesis that the degree of the subjects' perceived life satisfaction would be greater for those who reported stronger in the internal locus of control. The first hypothesis was therefore confirmed.

To test the second hypothesis, a correlation coefficient between the internal-external locus of control scores and the economic satisfaction factor was computed. The economic satisfaction factor is composed of the economic condition as perceived by the subjects since immigrating to the United States, and their views about personal career opportunities in the American labor market. The correlation (r = .52) was statistically significant at the .01 level and therefore supported the second hypothesis.

The correlation between economic satisfaction and the internal-external locus of control scores was higher for females (r = .87) than for the males (r = .22). This

correlation was interesting, in reference to the female subjects, when noting that it was the only category for the female subjects which was significant. Moreover the correlation between economic satisfaction and the internal-external locus of control scores was extremely high in comparison to correlations in other categories for both males and females.

The third hypothesis was tested by computing the correlation coefficient between the internal-external locus of control scores and the status consistency factor (factor 4). The status consistency factor measured the subjects' perception on congruence between their personal achievements and socioeconomic rewards (see page 64).

The correlation between the internal-external locus of control scores and the status consistency factor ($r = .43$) was statistically significant at the .05 level. This outcome confirms that the subjects' perceived status consistency was positively correlated with their internal-external locus of control scores. In other words, the more internal locus of control perceived by a subject suggested that he/she perceived fewer discrepancies between achievements and socioeconomic rewards (see page 64, factor 4). Thus on the basis of this outcome, the third hypothesis was supported.

Separate correlations between the internal-external scores and the status consistency factor were performed based on gender of the subjects. Correlations for each group (male and female) were weak in comparison to correlations of

other factors. The female correlation ($r = .41$) was not significant at the $p < .05$ level. The male correlation ($r = .46$), however, was significant at $p < .05$. It must be remembered that the small number of female subjects was probably responsible for the lack of significance for the life satisfaction and status consistency factors.

Hypothesis 4 produced a statistically significant relationship ($p < .001$) and a positive correlation ($r = .55$) between the internal-external locus of control scores and a faith in the government (see page 64). The two characteristics that support the faith in government factor are the subjects' perceived personal relationship with public officials and their views concerning public officials' ability to meet the needs of immigrants. The male group produced a significant correlation ($r = .51$) at the $p < .05$ level. The female group correlated much higher ($r = .56$), but was not significant at the $p < .05$ level. As one group (combination of males and females), the results of this correlation confirmed the fourth hypothesis.

Hypothesis 5 was formulated to measure the relationship between internal-external locus of control scores and the civic attitude factor. The civic attitude factor is composed of three items: a) trustworthiness of public officials or institutions, b) a willingness to work to improve government, and c) a willingness to participate in the electoral process.

There was a large difference in the correlations of the male and female groups. While the female scores were not significant at the p < .05 and showed a weak correlation of r = .21, the male scores were highly significant (p < .001) and indicated a strong positive correlation (r = .70).

As one group, however, the correlation between the internal-external locus of control scores and the civic attitude factor (r = .54) was statistically significant at the p = .001 level. Thus the fifth hypothesis was also confirmed.

In summary, positive and sometimes strong correlations could be found between the internal-external locus of control scores and the five life experience factors. All five hypotheses were confirmed by the results. Demographic variables such as age, gender, education, and length of stay in the United States were not significant variables in the

CHAPTER VI

CONCLUDING SUMMARY

DISCUSSION

Unlike the bulk of research on immigration, which has focused primarily on structural variables to study acculturation (Seipel, 1988), this study examined the life experiences of Soviet Pentecostal refugees with selected dimensions of social, economic, and political spheres. Five hypotheses were formulated to examine the life experiences and acculturation of subjects. The first and third hypotheses addressed the social dimension, the second hypothesis concerned the economic dimension, and the fourth and fifth hypotheses examined the political dimension.

As predicted, the first hypothesis was confirmed. Individuals who reported greater internal locus of control scores perceived themselves as having greater life satisfaction than those who reported higher external locus of control scores. Although the female group data had a stronger correlation ($r = .60$) than the male group ($r = .45$) no inferences could be made. This finding is evident when noting that neither the female group nor the male group were statistically significant as a group.

The second hypothesis, which measured a relationship between an economic dimension and the internal-external locus of control scores was confirmed. It is difficult to conclude why there was a higher correlation between the internal-external locus of control scores and economic satisfaction for Soviet Pentecostal females than for the males. One possible explanation may be found in the religious belief system of Soviet Pentecostal fundamentalism. Although some females hold jobs, work outside the home has traditionally been the responsibility of males. It is possible that Soviet Pentecostal females have been more responsible and thus more concerned for the family finances. Taking care of the family and shopping has traditionally been the female's responsibility. As females become more acculturated and accustomed to living in the United States, where basic needs such as food and goods are cheap and plentiful, they become more economically satisfied.

On the other hand, Soviet Pentecostal males who have immigrated from the Soviet Union, have traded one low paying blue collar job in the Soviet Union for another in the United States (World Relief, 1989). The males go to work to support their church and families. Goldstein offers the following explanation.

> Even though Soviet Pentecostal males generally have a strong emphasis on economic success and advancement, their attitudes toward and conditioned ways of achieving this success are different from those of American society. They have been brought up to feel uncomfortable about their needs for achievement and

>success, uncomfortable when in competition with others,
>and uncomfortable with authority. They are afraid of
>their own aggressiveness and generally try to be "good"
>and "polite" in order to fulfill their own images of
>being a good person in compliance with cultural
>standards (1979, p. 258).

Thus, economic satisfaction, as defined by American standards may not even be an issue for Soviet Pentecostal males. Perhaps over time, as Soviet Pentecostal males adjust more to the American work ethics their perception of economic satisfaction will coincide more with the norm of the American work force.

Taken together, the first and second hypotheses support the notion that individuals who perceive themselves with more internal locus of control tend to take steps to improve their environment, and are also more likely to evaluate their positions in a more positive light. If this notion is correct, it could be assumed that individuals who reported strong internal locus of control would be more likely to seek better jobs and to feel a greater sense of general well-being.

The third hypothesis, designed to measure the degree of perceived discrepancies between individual achievements and socioeconomic rewards (social dimension) was supported. However, this correlation, as noted previously, was weaker than any of the other factors. One explanation for this is the notion of competitiveness which is endemic only to certain western cultures such as the United States (Goldstein, 1979). In a socialist society such as the Soviet Union, the idea of getting ahead or working hard has never

held much reward for those who did not belong to the Communist party. In other words, education and occupation had little significance unless one belonged to the group in power.

The final two hypotheses, which examined the political dimension (civic attitude and faith in government) were supported (see Table IV). The results indicate that Soviet Pentecostal refugees as a whole are very confident about public officials' ability to meet the needs of immigrants. Moreover they generally have a high degree of civic mindedness. This outcome is somewhat surprising when considering their preimmigration experiences within the political dimension. Perhaps it suggests they are not generalizing their preimmigration experiences to the present as much as previous research indicates.

The framework of the structural-functional theory (Merton, 1968), as discussed in chapter 3, notes that American society rewards certain behaviors and attitudes that are consistent with the valued social norms. Some individuals receive greater social benefits than others on the basis of personal qualities. For example, utilizing the economic dimension (addressed in Hypothesis 2) in the American labor market, greater economic benefits are generally available to individuals who are characterized as being in charge of their environment, rather than merely subject to outside forces. These individuals are generally characterized as being assertive, positive, sociable,

competitive, creative, and confident (Seipel, 1988).
Moreover these characteristics are quite similar to the
characteristics associated with individuals who have
stronger internal locus of control orientations (Kim, 1984).

Based on **Merton's** theory (1968) it appears that
individuals with more internal orientations are adjusting to
the American capitalist system. This is an important
consideration when noting that Soviet Pentecostal refugees
must acculturate to a very different social and economic
system in order to be successful in resettlement.

CONCLUSION

In comparison to previous studies (see Table V) which
compared different populations, the present study is
relatively interesting in respect to the overall internal-
external locus of control scores and the significant
correlations between these scores and the life experience
factors. Given that American society is representative of an
internalized cultural orientation (Hsieh, Shybut, & Lotsof,
1969) the Soviet Pentecostal refugees show a surprisingly
similar preference for items stressing belief in internal
locus of control.

This finding is significant when noting that a cultural
orientation may be closely linked with belief in internal-
external locus of control (Hsieh et. al, 1969). Thus,
individuals raised in the American culture that values self-
reliant individualism, pragmatic ingenuity, and personal

TABLE VI

NORMS FOR THE ROTTER INTERNAL-EXTERNAL
LOCUS OF CONTROL SCALE*

Subjects	N	Mean
**Inmates of institution		
(Lefcourt & Ladwig, 1965)		
1. Black	60	8.97
2. White	60	7.87
**High school students		
(Hsieh, Shybut & Lotsof, 1969)		
1. Anglo-American	239	8.58
2. American-born Chinese	80	9.79
3. Hong Kong students	343	12.07
**Cross-cultural comparison		
(Schneider & Parsons, 1970)		
1. Males:		
United States	95	9.76
West Germans	44	9.75
Denmark	124	9.83
Japan	67	13.45
2. Females:		
United States	74	10.38
West Germans	24	10.96
Denmark	147	9.94
Japan	41	14.40
**Korean Immigrants in Utah		
(Seipel, 1988)	77	11.00
Soviet Pentecostal Refugees	33	10.50
(1990)		
1. Males	21	10.38
2. Females	10	10.20

*Scores are in external direction, the higher the
score the greater the reported external locus of control.

**For a complete discussion see the following chapters:
Lefcourt & Ladwig, 1965........chapter 3
Hsieh, Shybut & Lotsof, 1969...chapter 3
Schneider & Parsons, 1970......chapter 4
Seipel, 1988...................chapter 3

output of energy (Hsieh et. al, 1969) are likely to be more
internally oriented than individuals who have lived under a
paternalistic government that provided all information and
education and was considered the only employer (Goldstein,
1979). Freedom of choice, opportunity and expression, common
in the American culture are new experiences for Soviet
Pentecostal refugees immigrating from a totalitarian culture
(Goldstein, 1979).

These attitudes could be very threatening to the Soviet
Pentecostal refugees who learned that the individual should
submit his personal goals to the collective goals and
sacrifice his own interests for the sake of the community
(Haines, 1985). It would appear that adaptation to freedom
as defined by American society would be a major stumbling
block for the acculturation and life satisfaction of Soviet
Pentecostal refugees (Goldstein, 1979). However the contrast
in cultures does not seem to act as a barrier for the
process of resettlement.

Moreover the internal-external locus of control score
for the average American has been found to be between 10 and
12 (Rotter, personal communication, November, 1990). As a
result of this study, the internal-external locus of control
score for Soviet Pentecostal refugees was found to average
10.50 for males and females.

Since positive correlations emerged between the life
experience factors and the internal-external locus of

control scores, conclusions may be drawn about the Soviet Pentecostal refugees' acculturation to life in the United States as well as their level of perceived life satisfaction.

Considering that the Soviet Pentecostal refugee's internal-external locus of control scores fall within the range (10 - 12) of scores of individuals in the United States, it can be assumed that the refugee's level of life satisfaction is fairly high. The significant life satisfaction correlation would indicate that the Soviet Pentecostal refugees have positive feelings about their immigration to the United States, of personal goals being achieved, of approval of the host society, and of participation in society.

These results do not necessarily mean that the Soviet Pentecostal refugees do not have feelings of alienation in the United States. Much of the positive results from the refugees' life satisfaction category may be explained by their religious faith. The Soviet Pentecostal's life is centered around the church and the principle reason for coming to the United States was to escape religious persecution in the Soviet Union (World Relief, 1989). Ability to participate freely in the element of life that is most important to them would naturally enhance more positive feelings about immigration to the United States and about achievement of their personal goals.

Similar to most immigrant communities in the United States the Soviet Pentecostals have stayed together as a group. There is a great deal of social participation, approval and acceptance within their community through the church. Being able to participate within a similar language and cultural group will naturally lead to greater life satisfaction, but will not necessarily be conducive to rapid acculturation (Gordon, 1964).

Since neither the male nor female groups showed a significant correlation between the life satisfaction factor and internal-external locus of control scores, strong conclusions about the groups may not be drawn. However, the females showed a very high correlation (r = .60) between the internal-external locus of control scores and life satisfaction than the male subjects. Moreover, the female group had a high internal locus of control score (10.20), which could suggest that the females have a high life satisfaction and acculturation potential (see Table V).

The positive correlation between the internal-external locus of control scores and economic satisfaction should not be construed to indicate that the Soviet Pentecostal refugees are economically satisfied. As mentioned in the results section of this chapter, economic satisfaction is not a significant issue for males. Females on the other hand may tend to see and be encouraged by the economic possibilities in the United States.

Results of the correlation between internal-external locus of control scores and status consistency tend to suggest that the Soviet Pentecostal refugees perceive a relationship between personal achievements and socio-economical rewards. The overwhelming internal response to item 23 on the questionnaire, which linked studying to good grades in school would tend to support this conclusion. However, as noted in the previous section of this chapter, this correlation was the weakest of all the factors analyzed. In light of previous research on the Soviet refugees (Haines, 1985), it is doubtful that the notion of competition and working hard to get ahead is of major concern to this group.

The last two correlations between the internal-external locus of control scores and faith in government and civic attitude factors are noted as the most interesting and unexpected results of this study. Considering the totalitarian system the refugees have fled from (Goldstein, 1979), one could infer that this population would not exhibit a high degree of trust in government or a high degree of willingness to participate in government. The refugees' overwhelming internal response to item 3 on the questionnaire, (as discussed in Chapter IV) further supports the conclusion that Soviet Pentecostal refugees perceive themselves as having a trust in government and a willingness to participate in the governmental process. This is especially true for the male population. Unfortunately,

while measuring the potential and intensity of patriotism of Soviet Pentecostal refugees is interesting, it falls outside the scope of this study.

A few explanations exist for the above results although they are unsupported by past research. One possibility is that the refugees are naturally going to trust a government that has befriended them by giving them a place to worship their religion without persecution. The refugees also have received assistance in the form of language and job training, food stamps, housing and welfare. This last explanation, however is rather weak when considering that, generally, Soviet refugees expect this type of assistance from the government (Haines, 1985).

LIMITATIONS OF STUDY

Perhaps a major consideration and limitation of this study that may have affected the results is the total number of subjects. While approximately 200 questionnaires were distributed, only 17 percent were returned. Additional research, utilizing a larger subject population is needed to replicate this study. Some of the correlations for the females showed high correlations, but were not statistically significant. Thus a larger sample population from female refugees could have led to more significant results.

Moreover future research should utilize demographic variables of Soviet Pentecostal refugees, such as length of stay, age, level of education, gender etc. Researchers (Kim,

1984) have documented the importance of these variables while addressing subjects' level of acculturation.

Moreover, studies of ethnic groups, such as this one are frequently addressed as studies of stereotypes (Osmond & Martin, 1975). Often studies on stereotypes are based on the assumption that the degree to which subjects endorse certain perceptions is indicative of the degree to which they are willing to accept change in ethnic group status. While this assumption is important, it seems increasingly apparent that reality is more complex than a single assumption. Therefore, while an individual may endorse, at once, two characteristics which contradict each other; such characteristics could be poor predictors of actual behavior (Osmond & Martin, 1975). For example, as revealed by the analyses of this research, Soviet Pentecostal females appear to perceive a higher degree of economic satisfaction than do their male counterparts. While the higher degree of perceived economic perception among females was significant at the $p < .001$ level, it does not necessarily indicate that Soviet Pentecostal females can be stereotyped as an economically satisfied group. Special consideration should be given while interpreting or emphasizing the significance of studies such as this one.

RECOMMENDATIONS

Social Service Agencies

Numerous sources note the lack of US cultural
sensitivity and knowledge of others outside of the US (Burn
& Perkins, 1980, Kerr, 1979, Taylor, 1979). One such study
noted the narrow relationship among knowledge, attitudes,
and language as they pertain to foreign relations (Barrows,
Clark, & Klein, 1980). Thus, it is not surprising that a
review of the literature has revealed that case workers and
other agency support staff sometimes experience confusion
and hostility toward Soviet refugees when they do not fit
the preconceived image of what Soviet immigrants should be
like (Haines, 1985).

The information above is useful when considering the
low correlation for Soviet Pentecostal males between
economic satisfaction and the internal-external locus of
control (r = .22). Goldstein (1979) suggests that the Soviet
Pentecostal males' attitudes toward ways of achieving
success are different from those of Americans (see p. 76).
Hence one explanation for the low correlation could be
related to to the conflicting definition of economic
satisfaction the Soviet Pentecostal males have with the norm
in their new environment.

Perhaps many social workers, who are not aware that
Soviet Pentecostal males maintain different attitudes toward
economic achievement (as compared to the norm for Americans)
also do not anticipate conflicts while working with

refugees. Consequently conflicts often occur as social workers attempt to assist Soviet Pentecostals with job searches, opportunities for economical advancement and other areas related to economic stability. As a result, agency support workers often encounter negative experiences as they try to adjust refugees to the "American way of life" (Goldstein, 1979, p. 260).

Moreover, Forbes (1985) and Brodsky (1980) suggested that agency support has had minimal impact on refugee resettlement and monetary assistance has worked as a disincentive for their success. This is an important point when noting that Soviet Pentecostal refugees have spent their lives under a government that supplies a variety of basic needs but is also unresponsive to their demands. Consequently many Soviet Pentecostal clients don't interpret agency support as a temporary incentive for future independence, but rather as a government benefit which is owed to them.

However, Brodsky (1980) posited that the lack of agency success is partly due to the ethnocentric attitudes of social workers. She noted that Soviet clients, in particular, tend to draw a strict division between the coldness and formality of the public area and the warmth and spontaneity of relations with family and friends. According to Haines (1985), misperceptions often occur which create a lack of fit between the refugee's perceptions of the agency and the agency's perceptions of their refugee clients.

Brodsky (1980) recommends the following guidelines for
social workers who are involved with Soviet clients:

1. Social workers need to be more informal and more
   directly and personally involved with their clients.

2. Social workers need to increase attention on the
   importance of the extended families of Soviet
   clients.

3. Social workers need to focus on providing practical
   help in adjusting to American culture.

The above guidelines are applicable to the situation of
Soviet Pentecostal refugees when noting their personal
characteristics discussed in chapter II. For instance,
Brodsky's third recommendation suggests that practical help
in adjusting to American culture is important for Soviet
Pentecostal refugees. When considering their educational
backgrounds, as well as their previous occupational
backgrounds, it is apparent that practical help with finding
jobs and helping their families feel comfortable would be
most useful to them. Moreover the Pentecostal doctrines
suggest that all followers should lead simple lives which
focus on caring for families and being faithful members of
the Pentecostal church.

Moreover, Brodsky's guidelines suggest that social
service workers, case workers and other agency support staff
need to become aware of their own dogmatism and
ethnocentrism while working with the Soviet Pentecostal
refugees. Thus, ability to deal with different communication
styles is an important factor for agency success (Hannigan,
1990). According to Hannigan (1990), communication skills

are frequently cited as an essential factor for intercultural effectiveness. Based on this information, the goals of social service agencies should be to help support staff recognize the importance of different communication styles.

Agency staff should also be aware of potential problem areas. As noted in the results section of this chapter, status consistency, or the idea of competitiveness and working hard to get ahead, can not be assumed with Soviet Pentecostal refugees. Social workers, employers, and those interacting with the refugees must be careful not to negatively evaluate the refugees as lazy or unmotivated.

Agency staff need to understand that Soviet refugees often find it difficult to make the transition from a closed, totalitarian system, where the state provided many services, to an open society based on individual initiative and responsibility (Edelman, 1977). Soviet refugees are accustomed to receiving support from their native government and therefore perceive that American social services owe them a considerable amount of material aid. In addition, the idea of competition in a job market in which they could be fired from jobs is overwhelming (Martinis, 1989).

Second, social service agencies should consider the religious persecution Soviet Pentecostal refugees experienced in their native country. Often, Soviet Pentecostal refugees are suspicious of assistance and associate social service agencies negatively with the

government (Edelman, 1977). Support staff need to take this into consideration when they are faced with Soviet clients who are unwilling to accept agency assistance without suspicion.

In addition, Gordon (1978) noted that ethnic identity is best retained when religious beliefs are involved. While Soviet Pentecostal refugees are eager to resettle, they could also be resisting acculturation more than other groups without strong religious identities. Social service agencies should accept that Soviet Pentecostal clients may not be adequately prepared to function without agency support when their benefits are terminated at the end of the established eighteen months period.

Soviet Pentecostal refugees would also benefit greatly if American values were exposed to them early in the resettlement process. While this exposure would help prepare them to participate more fully in resettlement, Grove & Torbiorn (1985) suggest that newcomers are more receptive to specific information at different stages of their acculturation. Consequently extended and ongoing support of exposure to the American way of life is important.

Soviet Pentecostal Refugees

According to Simon (1985), Soviet refugees over the age of 30 or with blue-collar backgrounds are more likely to have problems with language acquisition than younger refugees or those with white-collar skills. Haines (1985) notes that refugees without advanced education or

particularly relevant occupational skills, such as the
Soviet Pentecostals, also have greater difficulty adjusting
to life in the United States.

Since the mean age of the Soviet Pentecostal refugees
is 38 years of age (see p. 59) and the majority of them are
not educated beyond the high school level, adjusting to life
in the United States and successful language acquisition are
important considerations. The implications of this situation
suggests that extended English language training should be
an important consideration for all Soviet Pentecostal
refugees. The refugees need to understand the implications
of, and purpose of continued English language training.
While many refugees view English training merely as one of
the requirements to maintain good status with the social
service agencies, they need to consider another aspect of
it. Soviet Pentecostal refugees should understand that one
of the best predictors of successful acculturation of
refugees into American culture is the level of English
proficiency of all family members (Caplan et. al, 1985).

In addition, Soviet Pentecostal refugees should
understand the structure of education facilities in the
United States. While they are accustomed to learning in an
environment which is rigidly controlled by the teacher
(Andersen, & Powell, 1988), Soviet Pentecostal refugees need
to accept that learning in American classrooms is normally
more informal and interactive. They should not mistake the
American educational structure as lacking seriousness for

learning English but merely as another approach to learning. Consequently Soviet Pentecostal refugees need to accept the situation in American classrooms as one which involves a new and very different set of challenges in which they might not be adequately prepared for.

Oberg (1960) further defines English language training as the key to interaction with the host culture. This is an important consideration for the Soviet Pentecostal females. While Soviet Pentecostal families often have several children, it seems apparent that the females often are excluded from programs such as English language training as they remain at home with young children. This is a discouraging situation when considering that there was a high correlation between the perceived life satisfaction and perceived economic satisfaction for females. (Females see the possibilities and the opportunities of living in the United States.)

Programs need to consider the potential benefit of Soviet Pentecostal females to society and take measures to ensure them similar opportunities as their male counterparts. Perhaps one option would be to provide a child care program which would encourage females to participate more fully in programming.

According to Goldstein (1979), Soviet immigrants want to feel good about themselves while experiencing feelings of being free. He notes that the greatest advantage of American life to them is the freedom to be what they want to be.

Consequently Soviet Pentecostal refugees should be willing
to take advantage of the institutions which are available to
them. These include education and various sectors of the
labor market.

Support which focuses on providing the refugees with
information about cultural differences and techniques to
establish successful communication within these institutions
is important. Given the strong religious structure of Soviet
Pentecostal life, this support could be made available
through their Portland based Pentecostal churches. Church
leaders could facilitate discussions of applicable topics as
one option for helping refugees learn about cultural
differences and techniques to establish successful
communication (Goldstein, 1979).

Concluding Statement

In conclusion it should be noted that this research has
attempted to gain insight into the set of factors which
influence the acculturation process and life satisfaction of
Soviet Pentecostal refugees in the state of Oregon. Moreover
it has been the intention of this research to provide a
basis for understanding intergroup interaction between
Soviet Pentecostal refugees and the social service agencies
which facilitate their resettlement. Thus, attention to the
above issues supports the claim that "intercultural contact
can be a failure or success, depending on the extent to
which each person understands and appreciates the culture of
the other" (Triandis, 1975, p. 344).

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APPENDIX A

QUESTIONNAIRE: ENGLISH

THE ROTTER SCALE:
INTERNAL-EXTERNAL LOCUS OF CONTROL

<u>PLEASE READ</u>

My name is Amy Roberts. I am an English teacher at the Ross
Island Center where I work with many Soviet refugees like
yourself. I am also a graduate student at Portland State
University where I am studying the problems refugees like
yourself face when they come to a new country.

Part of my study of Soviet refugees includes asking them to
fill out a questionnaire that asks them how they feel about
different aspects of their lives in the United States.

I would like you to help me complete this part of my
research by filling out the following questionnaire. Your
answers will be completely confidential and anonymous.
Please do not put your name on the questionnaire.

By completing the following questionnaire, you will be
helping schools and social service agencies better
understand the problems and needs you may have encountered
since arriving in the United States. The information from
the questionnaire will be used to assist refugees like
yourself to better adapt to life in the United States.

Thank you for your participation,

Amy Roberts

<u>Instructions</u>

This is a questionnaire to find out the way in which certain important events in our society affect different people. Each item consists of a pair of alternatives lettered a or b. Please select the one statement of each pair (and only one) which you more strongly believe to be the case as far as you're concerned. Be sure to select the one you actually believe to be more true rather than the one you think you should choose or the one you would like to be true. This is a measure of personal belief; there is no right or wrong answers.

Please answer these items carefully but do not spend too much time on any one item. Be sure to find an answer for every choice. For each numbered question make an X on the line beside either a or b, whichever you choose as the most true.

In some instances you may discover that you believe both statements or neither one. In such cases, be sure to select the one you more strongly believe to be the case as far as you're concerned. Also try to respond to each item independently when making your choice; do not be influenced by your previous choices.

I more strongly believe that:

1. ___a. Children get into trouble because their parents punish them too much.
   ___b. The trouble with most children nowadays is that their parents are too easy with them.

2. ___a. Many of the unhappy things in people's lives are partly due to bad luck.
   ___b. People's misfortunes result from the mistakes they make.

3. ___a. One of the major reasons why we have wars is because people don't take enough interest in politics.
   ___b. There will always be wars, no matter how hard people try to prevent them.

4. ___a. In the long run people get the respect they deserve in this world.
   ___b. Unfortunately, an individual's worth often passes unrecognized no matter how hard he tries.

5. ___a. The idea that teachers are unfair to students is nonsense.
   ___b. Most students don't realize the extent to which their grades are influenced by accidental happenings.

6. ___a. Without the right breaks one cannot be an effective leader.
   ___b. Capable people who fail to become leaders have not taken advantages of their opportunities.

7. ___a. No matter how hard you try some people just don't like you.
   ___b. People who can't get others to like them don't understand how to get along with others.

8. ___a. Heredity plays the major role in determining one's personality.
   ___b. It is one's experiences in life which determine what they're like.

9. ___a. I have often found that what is going to happen will happen.
   ___b. Trusting to fate has never turned out as well for me as making a decision to take a definite course of action.

10.___a. In the case of the well prepared student there is rarely if ever such a thing as an unfair test.
   ___b. Many times exam questions tend to be unrelated to course work that studying is really useless.

11.___a. Becoming a success is a matter of hard work, luck has little or nothing to do with it.
   ___b. Getting a good job depends mainly on being in the right place at the right time.

12.___a. The average citizen can have an influence in government decisions.
   ___b. This world is run by the few people in power, and there is not much the little guy can do about it.

13.___a. When I make plans, I am almost certain that I can make them work.
   ___b. It is not always wise to plan too far ahead because many things turn out to be a matter of good or bad fortune anyhow.

14.___a. There are certain people who are just no good.
   ___b. There is some good in everybody.

15.___a. In my case getting what I want has little or
       nothing to do with luck.
   ___b. Many times we might just as well decide what to do
       by flipping a coin.

16.___a. Who gets to be the boss often depends on who was
       lucky enough to be in the right place first.
   ___b. Getting people to do the right thing depends upon
       ability; luck has little or nothing to do with it.

17.___a. As far as world affairs are concerned, most of us
       are the victims of forces we can neither
       understand, nor control.
   ___b. World affairs are directly influenced by the
       actions we take and the decisions we make.

18.___a. Most people can't realize the extent to which their
       lives are controlled by accidental happenings.
   ___b. There really is no such thing as "luck."

19.___a. People should always be willing to admit their
       mistakes.
   ___b. It is usually best to cover up one's mistakes.

20.___a. It is hard to know whether or not a person really
       likes you.
   ___b. How many friends you have depends upon how nice a
       person you are.

21.___a. In the long run the bad things that happen to us
       are balanced by the good ones.
   ___b. Most misfortunes are the result of lack of ability,
       ignorance, laziness, or all three.

22.___a. With enough effort we can wipe out political
       corruption.
   ___b. It is difficult for people to have much control
       over the things politicians do in office.

23.___a. Sometimes I can't understand how teachers arrive at
       the grades they give.
   ___b. There is a direct connection between how hard I
       study and the grades I get.

24.___a. A good leader expects people to decide for
       themselves what they should do.
   ___b. A good leader makes it clear to everybody what
       their jobs are.

25.___a. Many times I feel that I have little influence over
       the things that happen to me.
   ___b. It is impossible for me to believe that chance or
       luck plays an important role in my life.

26. ___a. People are lonely because they don't try to be
        friendly.
    ___b. There's not much use in trying too hard to please
        people, if they like you, they like you.

27. ___a. There is too much emphasis on athletics in high
        school.
    ___b. Team sports are an excellent way to build
        character.

28. ___a. What happens to me is my own thing.
    ___b. Sometimes I feel that I don't have enough control
        over the direction my life is taking.

29. ___a. Most of the time I can't understand why politicians
        behave the way they do.
    ___b. In the long run the people are responsible for bad
        government on a national as well as on a local
        level.

APPENDIX B

QUESTIONNAIRE: RUSSIAN TRANSLATION

ROTTER SCALE:
INTERNAL-EXTERNAL LOCUS OF CONTROL

Пожалуйста прочитайте

Меня зовут Амы Робертс. И преподаваю английский язык в ПСС Рос Айленд, где я работаю со многими беженцами как вы из СССР. В то же время я учусь в аспирантуре Портландского государственного университета, где я изучаю проблемы, с которыми беженцы сталкиваются в новой стране.

Часть моих изучениий советских беженцев представляет анкета, которую я прошу их заполнить. В этой анкете я спрашиваю беженцев о разных проблемах их жизни в США.

Я прошу вас помочь мне кончить эту часть моих иисследований тем, что вы заполните следующую анкету. Ваши ответы будут анонымные и конфиденциальные. Пожалуйста не расписывайтесь на этой анкете.

Заполнением этой анкеты вы поможете школам и социальным организациям понять лучше проблемы и нужды, которые у вас есть со дня вашего приезда в США. Информациями, полученными из этой анкеты, будут пользоваться, чтобы помочь беженцам, таким, как вы, лучше привыкнуть к жизни в Соединнёных Штатах.

Спасибо вам за терпеливость.

Амы Робертс

ЛИЧНЫЕ ДАННЫЕ

A. Когда бы приехали в США?

_____ год, _____ месяц.

B. Вы женщина _____ , мужчина _____?

C. Ваш возраст _____ .

D. Вы женаты _____ ? Вдовец/вдова _____ ?
Холостой/незамужняя _____ ? Разведённый/разведённая _____ ?

E. Ваше образование в СССР _____ .

F. Ваше образование в США _____ .

ИНСТРУКЦИИ

Пожалуйста прочитайте каждое пронумерованное изречение быстро и выберите тот факт, который лучше всего описывает ваши чувства или позиции. Для каждого изречения выберите или «а» или «б» и поставьте крестик.

● Не выбирайте больше одного факта для каждого изречения.

● Пожалуйста не пропускайте ни одного изречения. Нет правильного или неправильного ответа. Выберите такое, которое лучше всего изображает ваши чувства.

● Пожалуйста не говорите со своим соседом.

● Нужно закончите эту анкету в течении 20 минут.

На пример:

1. -- а. Человек всегда должен признаться в своих ошибках.
   X б. Обычно лучше скрывать свои ошибки.

АНКЕТА

1. -- а. Дети попадут в беду потому, что родители слишком строги с ними.
   -- б. Беда многих детей сегодня в том, что их родители легкомысленны в их воспитании.

2. -- а. Многие несчастья в жизни людей происходят из-за несчастливой судьбы.
   -- б. Беды людей являются результатом их собственных ошибок.

3. -- а. Одной из главных причин почему существуют войны является то, что люди не достаточто интересуются политикой.
   -- б. Всегда будут войны несмотря на то, что люди пытаютса предотвратить их.

4. -- а. В конце концов людей оценивают по их заслугам.
   -- б. К сожалению, заслуги человека часто не признаются не смотря на то, что он очень старается.

5. -- а. Мысль, что учителя несправедливы к детям - это бессмыслица.
   -- б. Большинство студентов не представляет себе до какой степени влияют случайности на их отметки.

6. -- а. Без благоприятных обстоятелств человек не может бить еффективным лидером.
   -- б. Способные люди, которые не успевают стать лидерами, не могли воспользоваться вполне своими возможностями.

7. -- а. Не смотря на ваши старания, некоторые люди не любят вас.
   -- б. Люди, кторые не могут внушить любовь к себе, не умеют ладить с другими.

8. -- а. Наследственность играет главную роль в определении особенностей характера человека.
   -- б. Жизненный опыт человка определяет, что он за человек.

9. -- а. Я часто предчувствовал/ла, что должно случиться, то случается.
   -- б. Покоряться судьбе никогда не казалось мне верным так, как мои решения принимать определённые меры.

10.--а. Для хорошо подготовленного студента редко, если вообще, бывает контрольная работа несправедливой.
   --б. Часто вопросы на экзамене имеют тенденцию быть не связанными с работой на курсе.

11. -- а. Приход успеха является результатом упорного труда; счастье имеет маленькое или вообще никакое влияние на успехи.
    -- б. Получение хорошей работы зависит главным образом от того, находитесь ли вы в нужном месте в нужное время.

12. -- а. Средние граждане могут влиять на решения правительства.
    -- б. Миром правят несколько всемогущих людей и мало что могут изменить обычные люди.

13. -- а. Когда я составляю планы, то почти уверен/на, что смогу их выполнить.
    -- б. Не всегда благоразумно составлять планы слишком далеко вперёд, так как многие вещи могут измениться или зависеть от удачной или неудачной судьбы.

14. -- а. Есть люди, которых можно считать плохими.
    -- б. В каждом человеке есть что-то хорошее.

15. -- а. Что касается меня, то мои стремления немного или совсем не зависят от удачи.
    -- б. Многие решения мы принимаем с помощью жребия - орёл или орешек.

16. -- а. Стать начальником часто зависит от того, кому удаётся быть первым на нужном месте в нужное время.
    -- б. Делать хорошо какое-то дело зависит от способностей; удача не имеет на это влияние или имеет маленькое.

17. -- а. Что касается мировой политики, большинство людей
становятся жертвами сил, которых мы и не понимаем, и не
можем контролировать.
-- б. Принимая активную роль в политических и общественных
организациях, люди могут контролировать мировые события.

18. -- а. Большинство людей не может сознаться в том, до какой
степени их жизнь зависит от случайностей.
-- б. Не существует таких вещей, как счастье.

19. -- а. Человек всегда должен охотно признаваться в своих ошибках.
-- б. Обычно лучше всего скрывать свои ошибки.

20. -- а. Тяжело узнать, нравитесь ли вы действительно другому
человеку.
-- б. Количество друзей у вас зависит от того, являетесь ли вы
хорошим человеком.

21. -- а. На протяжении времени, плохие дела, которые мы совершаем,
уравновешиваются хорошими делами.
-- б. Большинство бед являются результатом недостатка
способностей, невежества, лени, или всех трёх.

22. -- а. Если приложить достаточно усилий, то можно уничтожить
коррупцию в политике.
-- б. Обычным людям трудно изменить дела, которые политики
делают на службе.

23. -- а. Иногда я не понимаю, как учителя приходят к отметкам,
которые они ставят.
-- б. Существует прямая связь между тем, как усиленно я работаю
и тем, такие отметки я получу.

24. -- а. Хороший лидер добивается от людей решений того, что они
будут сами делать.
-- б. Хороший лидер ясно покажет каждому, какова есть его
обьязанность.

25. -- а. Часто я чувствую, что имею маленькое влияние на то, что со
мной случается.
    -- б. Невозможно для меня поверить, что случайность или судьба
играют большую роль в моей жизни.

26. -- а. Люди одиноки, потому что они не стараются быть
дружескими.
    -- б. Не стоит стараться слишком много угождать людям - если вы
им нравитесь, вы им нравитесь.

27. -- а. В средней школе слишком много внимания уделяется спорту.
    -- б. Те виды спорта, где играет свою роль команда, имеют
превосходное влияние на укрепление характера.

28. -- а. Что случится со мной - это моё дело.
    -- б. Иногда я чувствую, что мне не хватает силы воли изменить
направление, в котором течёт моя жизнь.

29. -- а. Чаще всего я не понимаю, почему политики ведут себя таким
образом, как они себя ведут.
    -- б. На протяжении времени люди сами ответсвенны за плохое
правительство на уровне национальном, так как и на уровне
местном.